

HISTORY OF MICRONESIA

A COLLECTION OF SOURCE DOCUMENTS

VOLUME 14—FULL CENSUS OF THE MARIANAS, 1746-1773

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by

Rodrigue Lévesque

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- v. 6. Revolts in the Marianas, 1673-1678.
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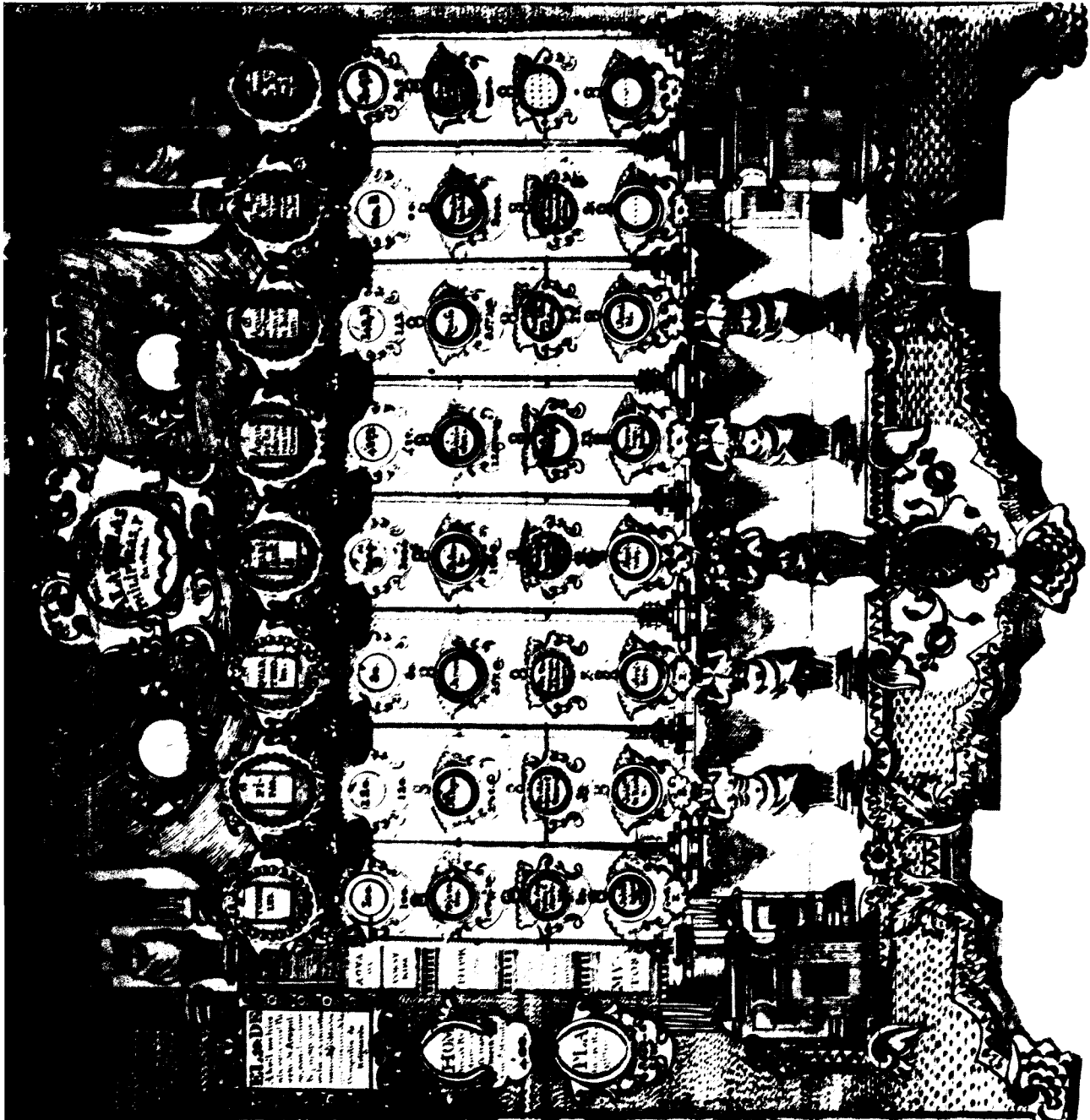
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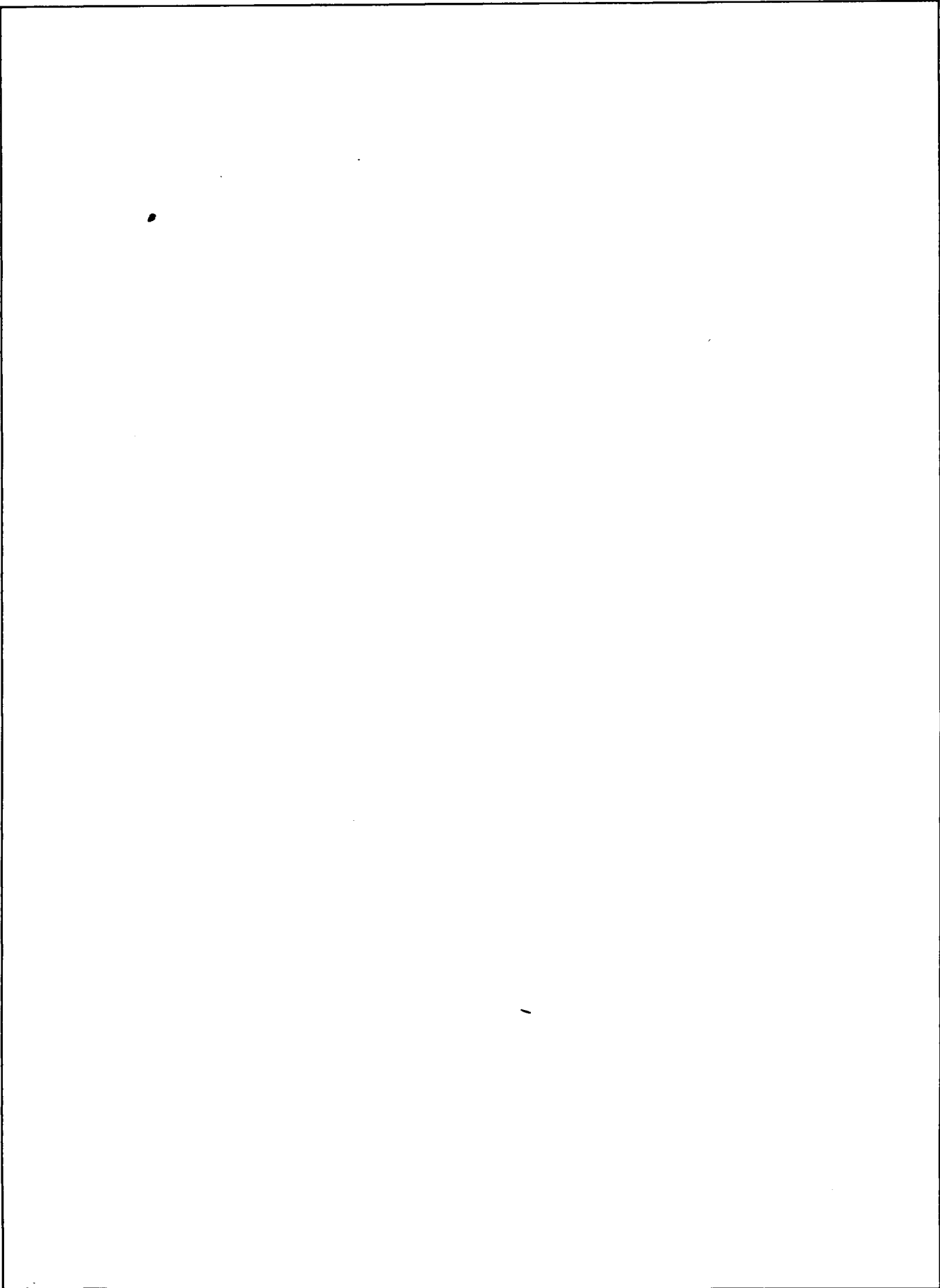
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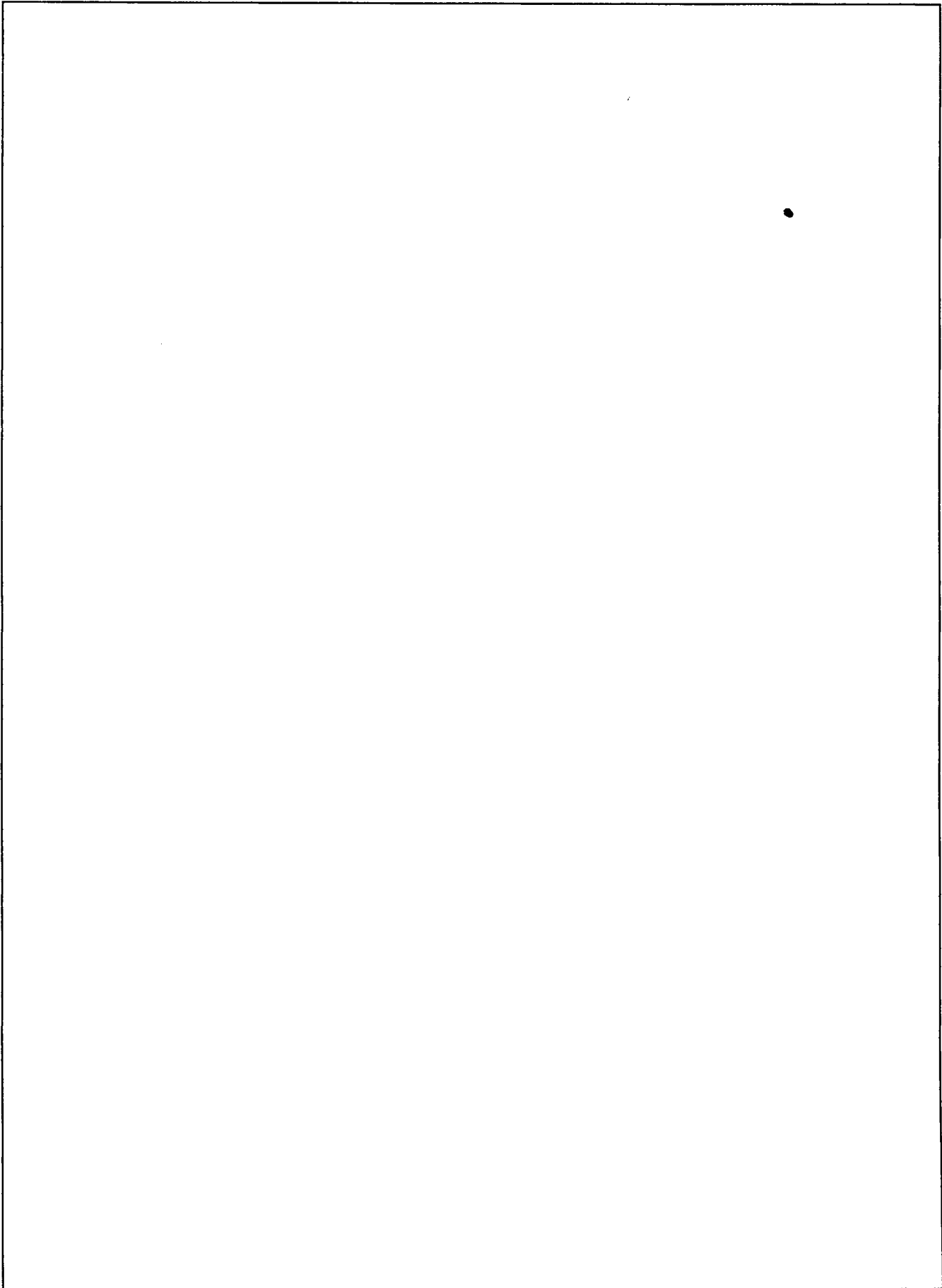
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Front endpaper **Results of the 1755-56 voyage of the galleon Santísima Trinidad**, by Captain Pedro Antonio Cosío (From AGN Mexico).

Rear endpaper **Chart of the East Indies, showing the Mariana Islands, and other islands as far as Japan**, by Jan B. Elwe & Langeveld, Amsterdam, 1788 (From the Araneta Collection, Ayala Museum, Makati, Manila).
N.B. Note the mention of the Gani Islands, north of Saipan.

Abbreviations

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

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

Foreword

"History can be interpreted many ways for as many different reasons, but the past belongs to those who lived it."

Anthony Wilson-Smith, Canadian author.

The past also belongs to the descendants of those who lived it, provided they know who they ancestors were. Genealogy is a relatively-modern science, one that is possible only if full census information has been kept in government archives. For Micronesia before 1900, we have only a few lists of names that the Spanish collected in the Islands of Guam and Rota. This volume contains the only full census that will ever be presented, for the year 1758, at a moment in time when the population was at its lowest point in history—only 1,700 inhabitants in the Marianas. Half of the people still used old Chamorro nicknames (as their family names), and the other half had Filipino names, or European names that they got from their Spanish or Mexican fathers; many such names are, of course, still in use.

Two years earlier, in 1756, a proposal had been made to evacuate the Mariana Islands, and move their inhabitants to the Philippines; this idea was rejected by the Spanish court, in favor of enticing some Filipino families to emigrate to Guam instead. However, the first ship carrying a handful of Filipinos turned back in distress and was shipwrecked, with a loss of lives. After that, there were no more volunteers, only replacement soldiers.

The first regular English visitors to Micronesia were the crews of passing ships of the East India Company, on their way to China by the Pacific route. They usually left the Thames River as a fleet and kept together as long as they could. The first fleet that passed through Micronesia did so in 1761. They were trading ships, unlike the last pirate ship of 1742, that of Commodore Anson, that made the Island of Tinian known throughout the world (see Vol. 13). For the first time, in the present volume, one can see and compare the different ways that ship logbooks were kept by Spanish, French, and English pilots; they used very much the same instruments, techniques, and technical language.

In 1772, two French ships that had just taken possession of New Zealand (and baptized it Austral France) visited Guam, and none too soon, as the crews were dying of scurvy, and had run out of food. They found a savior in the person of Major Tobias, the Governor of the Marianas. This generous Spaniard provided everything they needed at his own expense. He even gave them a pilot to guide them to Manila. However, upon leaving Guam, some French soldiers and seamen escaped, and they were not found. In frustration, the two captains may have insinuated that the good governor

may have arranged their escape. This rumor caused consternation in the mind of the man whom they had called their “redemptor.” In fact, I have uncovered some documents that Tobias wrote at the last minute, warning the Governor of the Philippines about the “ingratitude” of the Frenchmen. He should not have worried, because they praised him very highly, even in the published narratives of their Voyage, so much so, in fact, that a cleric, known as Abbé Raynal, used Tobias as an example of a good colonial master in a book that was also translated and published in London. Sad to say, another Frenchman visiting Manila a few years later reported that the good Tobias had been accused of many evils, and divorced, by his Spanish wife; she managed to get the greater part of the then-Colonel’s salary paid directly to her...

A major event of this period was the English invasion and occupation of Manila Bay, between 1762 and 1764. The English wreaked havoc with the Spanish possessions, including their well-kept archives. They sacked the city in true pirate fashion, even after collecting part of a ransom. They heard of the incoming galleon **Filipino** having stopped in the Strait of San Bernardino; they immediately sent ships to seize her treasure, but arrived too late. They had better luck with the other galleon, the huge ship called **Santísima Trinidad**. She had been dismasted near the northern Marianas, and had in the meantime turned back in distress. Two English ships were looking for the Filipino when they spotted her. A long fight ensued and the Trinidad was riddled with thousands of shots from English guns. The full story of her capture, by her own commander, General Meylan, is given here for the first time, in quite sober tone. This ship was repaired and taken as a prize all the way to Plymouth, England, where she was offered for sale, years before her prize cause was even decided in court...

Among the booty that the English carried to England were some nautical charts. Most of these were published by Alexander Dalrymple in the 1780s and 1790s, when he got money to do so from the English Parliament. These charts are reproduced in this volume, with the proofs that the original sketches had come from the Philippines.

Another event of major importance was the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain and her colonies. When the orders came from Spain, in 1769, there were only three missionaries left in Guam and Rota, a far cry from the glorious period of a century before. The Jesuits were persecuted by the Bourbon courts of Europe strictly for political reasons, not at all for their performance, which was always the best among the Christian missionaries worldwide. The most terrible blow, however, came in 1773 when the Pope himself suppressed their religious Order.

The latter half of the 18th century was a time when European governments reached a peak, relatively-speaking, in the quality of their administrations. The methods they invented are still used in all developed countries. The faraway Pacific was not exempt from their reach. The Governors of the Philippines revised their regulations for the management of the galleons, and also their ordinances “for good government” in general. The Viceroy of New Spain, specially the Marquis of Croix, a Frenchman, also cleaned up the corruption at the port of Acapulco, and two royal officials there even wrote their own handbook of standard procedures.

The attempts to implement a new, and safer, route for the Acapulco-bound galleons were another matter altogether. Time and time again, after endless meetings of pilots and treasury officials, it was decided to adopt a new route around the north side of Luzon, but the traders in Manila always found a way to get the governors to change their minds, and risk arousing the wrath of the Council of the Indies in Madrid. The track used by the galleon **San José** in 1770 was a typical one. By the 1770s, the galleons no longer rose as high as 40° lat. N. in mid-Pacific, and made a stop at the tip of California, to get refreshments and cure their sick.

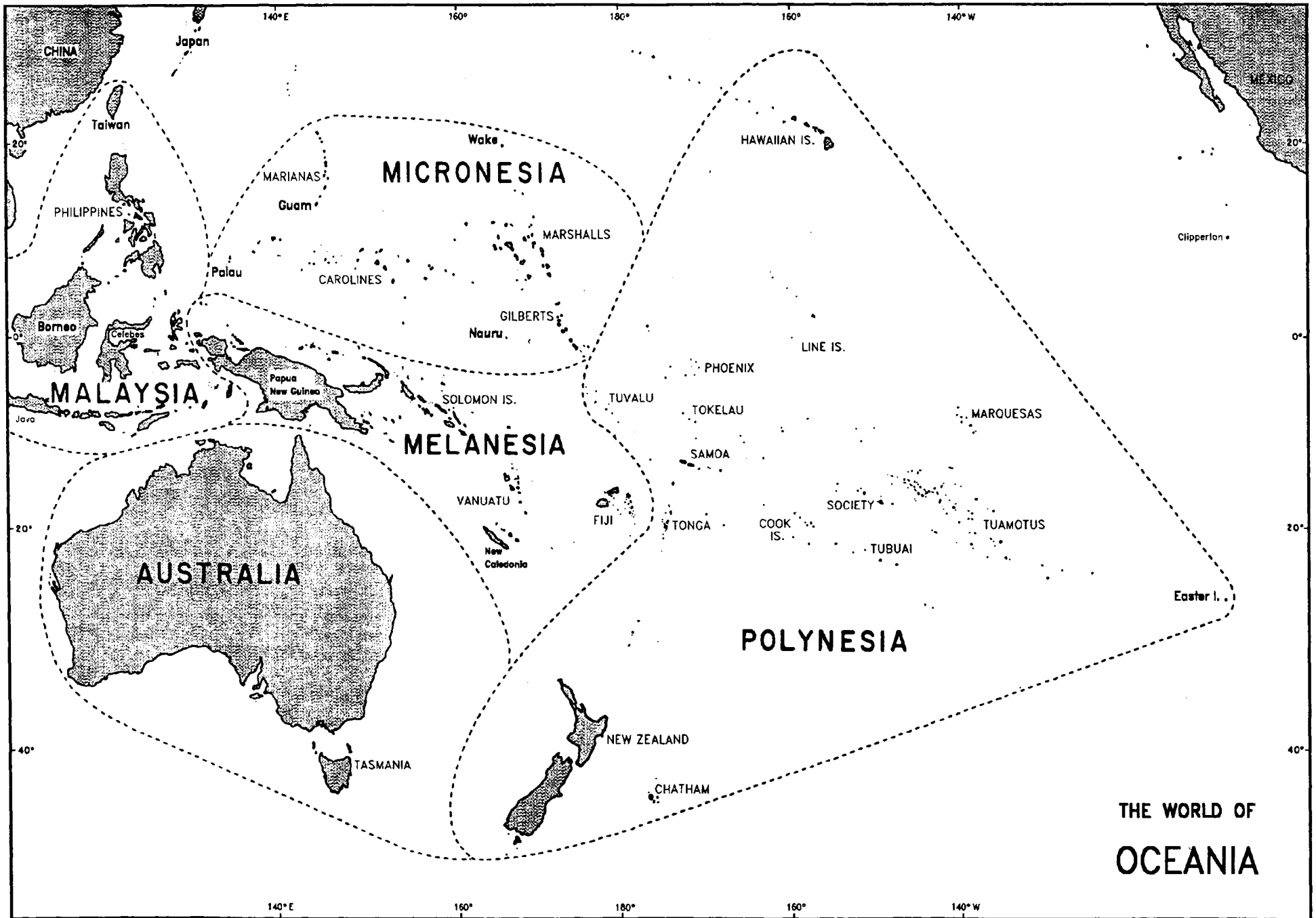
Rod Lévesque,
Gatineau, December 1999.

Errors and corrections

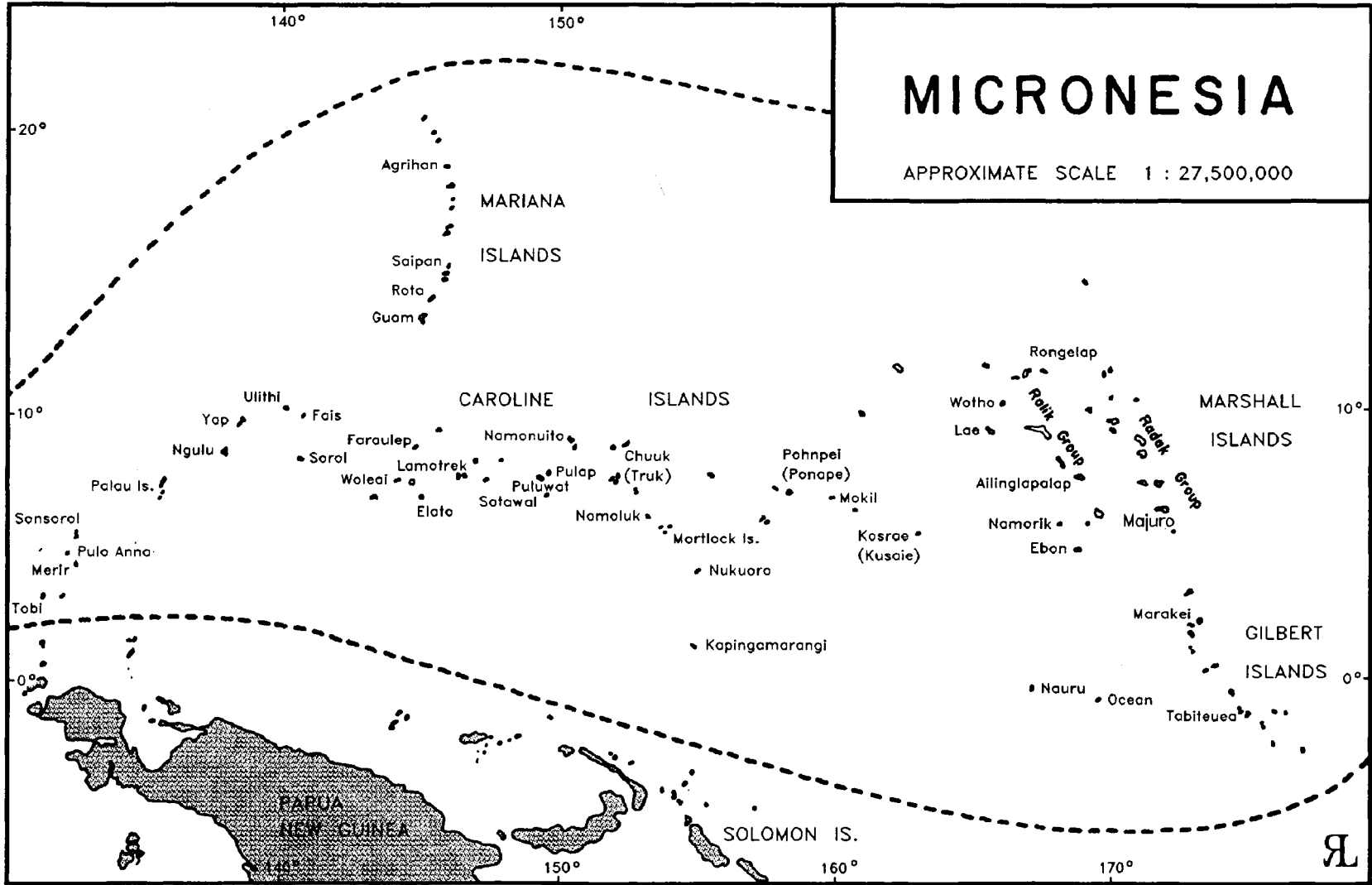
Despite every effort to check the facts, minor errors have undoubtedly remained. For these, as well as for the judgments expressed, the editor takes full responsibility. However, readers who spot factual errors are sincerely invited to submit corrections.

Note on place names

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



THE WORLD OF
OCEANIA



Documents 1746E

Royal order appointing Olavide Governor of the Marianas

Source: AGI Fil. 111 (formerly 68-2-25).

Note: There are two draft copies, both unsigned, also another one, addressed to the Governor of the Philippines, also unsigned. Similarly, the letter of appointment, unsigned, is also there. It appears that the appointment was delayed by one month because the Council could not get the royal seal placed upon the official copies of all documents, until a new King assumed power, King Philip V having died in the meantime. However, the new king, Ferdinand VI, signed them on 16 August.

E1. Letter to the Audiencia of Manila, dated Buen Retiro 16 August July 1746

Original text in Spanish

El Rey.

Presidente, y Oidores de mi Real Audiencia de las Islas Philipinas, que reside en la Ciudad de Manila.

Por mi Real Titulo de fecha de este día hè hecho merced à Don Henrrique de Olavide, y Michelena del Governo, y Capitanía General de las Islas Marianas, en la forma que por el citado Titulo entenderéis; y respecto de que mi voluntad es que se dè cumplimiento à ello, os mando, que en el caso de que el Presidente de esa Audiencia no disponga se le dè la posesion que se requiere, faciliteis que la tome, sin permitir la menor dilacion, y que si alguna persona estubiere sirviendo el referido Gobierno, y Capitanía General por nombramiento del expresado Presidente, cese desde luego para que entre à exercerle el mencionado Don Henrique de Olavide, y Michelena, dandome cuenta de averlo executado para hallarme enterado de ello.

Fecha en [blank]

Translation.

The King.

President and Members of my Royal Audiencia of the Philippine Islands, residing in the City of Manila.

By my Royal Letter of this date I have favored Don Enrique de Olavide y Michelena with the title of Governor and Captain General of the Mariana Islands, in the form

that you will understand by the letter itself; and given that it is my will that it be effected, I order you, unless the President of that Audiencia does it first, to give him possession thereof, to expedite same without the least delay, and if there should be another person presently serving as Governor and Captain General by appointment of the above-mentioned President, he is to desist at once in order for the above-mentioned Don Enrique de Olavide y Michelena to take his place, and you are to report your compliance to me, for my intelligence.

Made at [blank].¹

E2. Letter of appointment, dated Buen Retiro 16 August 1746

Original text in Spanish.

Titulo de Governador, y Capitan General de las Islas Marianas, para Don Henrique de Olavide y Michelena.

Don Fernando por la gracia de Dios &a.

Por quanto en atencion â los servicios de Vos Don Henrique de Olavide, y Michelena, residente en las Indias, y al pecuniario de quatro mil, y treientos pesos fuertes, que por vuestra parte se han entregado en mi Thesoreria general; fué servido mi amado padre, y Señor, Don Phelipe Quinto, (que estè en gloria) por su Real Decreto de treinta de Mayo de este año en concederos, como por el presente mi Real título tambien os concedo, el Gobierno, y Capitania General de las Islas Marianas, por el tiempo de cinco años, para suceder al ultimo provisto, con calidad de que en caso de que no podais servirle por el todo, ô parte de los referidos cinco años, lo execute en vestro lugar Don Diego de Aristizabal, ô Don Juan Infante de Sotomayor, siendo de la aprobacion del Presidente de mi Real Audiencia de las Islas Philipinas, que reside en la Ciudad de Manila:

Por tanto, mando â mi Governador, y Capitan General de las espresadas Islas Philipinas, y al Presidente, y Oidores de su Audiencia, que tomen, y recivan de vos el mencionado Don Henrique de Olavide, y Michelena, el juramento acostumbrado, con la solemnidad, que en tal caso se requiere, y debeis hacer, de que bien, y fielmente servireis el referido Gobierno, y Capitania General; y que aviendole executado, y puestose Testimonio de ello â espaldas de este Título, os pongan en posesion de èl; luego que haya cumplido el tiempo por que se le conferí al Capitan Don Isidro Alva de Raba ultimo provisto, pues si el referido Presidente le huviere concedido interinamente, es mi voluntad, que cese desde luego en su exercicio la persona que le estuviere sirviendo; y que os entreguen los Despachos, y Instrucciones que se huvieren dado â vuestros antecesores, para que con la que ahora se os entrega con este Título, firmada de mi Real mano, y refrendada de mi infrascripto Secretario, sirvais el mencionado Gobierno, y Capitania General, por tiempo de cinco años, mas, ô menos, el que fuere mi voluntad,

¹ Ed. note: Originally drafted on 9 July, but only signed on 16 August.

segun, y en la conformidad, en que lo han hecho, y debido hacer vuestros antecesores, dando la Residencia en la referida mi Real Audiencia de las Islas Philipinas. Y assi mismo ordeno al enunciado Presidente, y Oidores de ella, â los demas Jueces, y Ministros de los Tribunales de aquellas Islas, y â los vecinos, y moradores de la Jurisdiccion del expresado Govoierno, y Capitania General de las Islas Marianas, que os hayan y tengan por tal Governador, y Capitan General de ellas, y os guarden, y hagan guardar todas las honras, gracias, inmunidades, prerrogativas, exempciones, y preeminencias, que os tocan, sin limitacion alguna; y tambien mando, que se os asista con ciento, y diez pesos de sueldo al mes, que ès el que està asignado â este empleo, pagandoseos de los efectos de mi Real Hacienda, y â los tiempos, y plazos â que se satisfacieren los sueldos de la gente de guerra del Presidio de las mencionadas Islas Marianas, desde el dia en que tomareis posesion en adelante, por todo el tiempo, que sirviereis el expresado Gobierno, y Capitania General; que en virtud de este título, ô su traslado signado de escrivano publico, y vuestras Cartas de pago, serà bien dado todo lo que por esta razon se os satisfaciere, sin otro recado alguno; y declaro, que de esta merced, y del sueldo, que aveis de gozar, no debeis, cantidad alguna al derecho de la Media Annata, respecto de que tengo declarados por de guerra viva los empleos militares de los Presidios de mis Reynos de las Indias, y no causarla los que me sirven en ellos. Y en el caso de que no podais servir el expresado Gobierno, y Capitania General por el todo, ô parte de los referidos cinco años, es mi voluntad, que lo puedan executar en vuestro lugar Don Diego de Aristizabal, ô Don Juan Infante de Sotomayor, siendo de la aprobacion del Presidente de la mencionada mi Real Audiencia de las Islas Philipinas, entendiendose este Despacho con el que de los dos entrare â exercerle, como si â su nombre fuese expedido.

Y del presente mi Real Título se tomarà la razon en las Contadurías generales de Valores, y Distribucion de mi Real Hacienda, dentro de dos meses de su data, y no executandolo assi, quedará nula esta gracia; y tambien la tomaran los Contadores de Cuentas, que residen [en mi Consejo de las Indias, y los Oficiales Reales de las Caxas de Manila].

...

Translation.

Title of Governor and Captain General of the Mariana Islands, for Don Enrique de Olavide y Michelena.

Don Fernando¹ by the grace of God, etc.

Don Enrique de Olavide y Michelana, resident of the Indies: In view of your services and of the pecuniary deposit of 4,300 pesos on your behalf into my general treasury, my beloved father, and Lord, Philip V (may he rest in peace), by his Royal decree of 30 May of this year, has granted to you, as by the present my Royal letter of appointment I also grant you, the Government and Captaincy General of the Mariana Islands, for

1 Ed. note: Originally written in the name of Philip.

a period of five years, to succeed the last person so named, with the condition that, in case you are unable to serve for the whole, or part, of the above-mentioned five years, your place will be taken by Don Diego de Aristizabal, or by Don Juan Infante de Sotomayor, subject to the approval of the President of my Royal Audiencia of the Philippine islands, which resides in the City of Manila.

Therefore, I order my Governor and Captain General of the above-mentioned Philippine Islands, and the President and Members of their Audiencia to take and receive from you, Don Enrique de Olavide y Michelena, the customary oath, with due solemnity befitting the case, swearing that you will serve well and loyally in the above-said Government and Captaincy General. Once this has been carried out, and the record of proceedings been placed on the reverse side of this Letter, you will be in possession thereof. As soon as the term that was granted to the last appointee, Captain Isidro Alva de Rabe, has expired (given that he might have been appointed on an interim basis by the above-mentioned President), it is my will that the person serving in said post on an interim basis should desist at once, and that the Despatches and Instructions that might have been given to your predecessors be delivered to you, so that with the present Letter of appointment being delivered to you, signed with my Royal hand and countersigned by the undersigned my Secretary, you are to serve in the above-mentioned Government and Captaincy General, for a term of five years, more or less, according to my will, and in accordance with to the management that your predecessors applied, or should have applied, subject to an audit in the above-said my Royal Audiencia of the Philippine Islands. And in addition I order the above-mentioned President and Members thereof, and other Judges, and Ministers of the Tribunals of those Islands, and the residents and inhabitants of the Jurisdiction of the above-said Government and Captaincy General of the Mariana Islands to hold you as their Governor and Captain General, and to bestow upon you all of the honors, favors, immunities, prerogatives, exemptions, and pre-eminences that you deserve, without any restriction. I also order that you be assisted with 110 pesos of salary per month, as it is the salary earmarked for said post, to be paid out of the funds of my Royal treasury, and at the same times and frequencies as the salaries of the other military men of the Garrison of the above-mentioned Mariana Islands, from the date of your taking possession forward, for the whole of the period that you will serve in said Government and Captaincy General. The exhibition of this Letter, or a copy thereof signed by a Notary Public, and of your Paybook, will be sufficient proof for you to receive said payments, without any other document being required. And I declare that no-one is to deduct any amount from this favor and the corresponding salary that you are to enjoy, under the heading of Half Annata, since I have already declared as employment in a war zone all the military posts in the garrisons of my Kingdoms of the Indies, those serving me there not being affected by it. And in case you may not be able to serve in the above-said Government and Captaincy General for the whole, or part, of the five years in question, it is my will that you may grant same to Don Diego de Aristizabal, or to Don Juan Infante de Sotomayor, subject to the approval of the President of the above-said my Royal Audiencia of the

Philippine Islands, with the understanding that this Despatch would be applied to those two upon entering their service, as if it had been issued with their name.

And the present my Royal Letter of appointment shall be heeded in the pay sections of the general Accounting offices of my Royal treasury, within two months from its date, as otherwise, this favor will become null and void, and also the Accountants in the accounting sections [of my Council of the Indies and the Royal officials of the treasury of Manila].¹

¹ Ed. note: Last lines missing in the AGI copy but replaced by the standard phrase.



Our Lady of Peace and Good Voyage. *This statue of the Virgin Mary has been venerated at Antipolo, Philippines, since before 1639. It was originally brought from Mexico in 1626 by Governor Tabora. It was placed aboard a Manila galleon 8 times to ensure good voyages. In 1746, it was placed aboard the almiranta Pilar. (From Fr. William Repetti's Pictorial Records, 1938).*

Documents 1747A

Report on ceremonies held in Guam at the coronation of Fernando VI, etc.

Sources: Three copies of one original (missing) document in the Archivo Histórico of the Jesuit Province of Aragon, located at San Cugat del Vallés, near Barcelona, under Islas Marianas, Carpeta N° 2; listed at MARC under AHPA E-1-c-6, -5(b) and -5(r), where it was transcribed and translated by Carolyn McClurkan in Working Papers #49 and #50 in 1987.

Note: This file was created by Governor Gomez in an effort to substantiate his claim for reimbursement by the Governor of the Philippines for the expenditures that he made to celebrate the news of the coronation of King Fernando VI, that followed the death of Philip V.

Historical synthesis of the first part of this report, compiled at the request of the Governor of Guam

On 18 June 1747, there arrived at Guam from Acapulco the flagship **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** commanded by General Francisco Gonzalez de Quijano and the almiranta **Nuestra Señora del Pilar** under Captain Juan Bautista Carranza. The new Archbishop of Manila, Doctor Fray Pedro de la Santísima Trinidad, was on board the flagship. It was he who officially notified the local Spaniards of the death of their king and the coronation of a new one. The Governor of Guam, Captain Domingo Gomez de la Sierra, decided to commemorate these events, anticipating orders to that effect.

By 1747, the subsidy for the Marianas had not been delivered for four years, as the few ships that passed by did not wish to stop, says Gov. Gomez. In the aftermath of Anson's raid in 1743, and the lack of galleons for the two years that followed, the Mexican authorities had presumed that the new galleons would want to avoid stopping at Guam for a while.

Fr. Jacob Heypel, the Vice-Provincial, ordered a funeral mass to be held on Thursday, 27 July, and a thanksgiving mass to be held on Sunday 30th. The other Jesuits then living in Guam at the time were: Fr. Stainbeck, the Rector of the College of San Juan de Letrán; Fr. Urfarer, the curate of Inarajan, Merizo and Umatac; Fr. Bonani, the curate of Agat; and Fr. Reitemberger, the curate of Rota. The priests accepted the loan of some wine and flour, with which to celebrate masses, from the Governor, whose supplies had been obtained from the flagship, as General Gonzalez acted as the garrison's agent at Manila.

On the day appointed for the funeral ceremony, three guns were fired before mass, after which the Governor made a speech. In the afternoon of the same day, he distributed 100 pesos among 8 lepers and 12 widows.

As for the ceremonies to commemorate the coronation, the streets if Agaña were lit for three nights in a row, the troops received an advance in pay, and a special mass was celebrated on Sunday, before which the troops fired volleys from their muskets on the parvis of the church. Everyone had put on their best uniform or dress for the occasion. The church ceremony was extraordinary, in the sense that it was also the feast of St. Ignatius of Loyola. That afternoon, the Governor proclaimed a general pardon for all army desertors. That evening, there was a masked ball in the public square, where a painting of the new King had been exposed on a special platform. The Governor's son, Captain Juan José Gomez, acted as royal grandee and, after he led the crowd in shouting Long live the King! he threw handfuls of pesos in the air. After some more merriment, and more salvos from the musketeers, the Government Secretary for Administration and War, Captain Jorge del Castillo, read a proclamation, in Chamorro, to explain the meaning of the occasion to the natives present. This was followed by more pesos being thrown at the crowd by some Spanish officers.

The next day, Monday 1 August 1747, musicians riding carts went about the town. Over the next few days, two comedy acts and some bull-fights were held, as well as feasts in the native style. The comedies were impromptu productions; the one held on the 2nd was entitled: "The good king comes from Heaven," and that held on the 6th was a burlesque show given the title: "Love makes the mute speak."

Official complaint of the officers of the Guam garrison, dated July 1747

We, the serving and retired Captains and other officers and all of us serving in this royal garrison of San Ignacio of Agaña, with the greatest of humility do appear before Your Lordship and declare:

That on account of the failure to receive the yearly subsidies, paid out of the Royal treasury in Mexico, for four years in a row, we have been suffering great necessities of food supplies and clothing and much more so our wives, children and families, to such an extent that most of them have not been able to go to church, on account of their nudity. Such calamities could have been somewhat avoided, if only General Juan Infante had behaved in a Christian manner and in accordance with his duty, not only because of the promotions that he had obtained when he was a member of this garrison for a short time, but also because he is the official agent for Sergeant-Major Miguel Fernandez de Cárdenas, and as such he looked after our affairs in Manila City, and should have remitted the goods that we had ordered through him, that is, our ammunition, for which we turned over 2,500 pesos that belonged to us six years ago, as Your Lordship was made aware of when you looked over the accounts of said Sergeant-Major, when you arrived at these Islands in September of last year. It was when we regained hope because when Your Lordship took possession of this government, you

accepted to look after our interests as a father would, and to solicit our relief, specially when you noticed that the patache that brought you carried nothing on board destined for us, and you presented a verbal petition to its officers and merchants, to exchange the very few textile goods that it carried for a quantity of food supplies that we provided them, and against our overdue subsidies. The same arrangement served us to get some tools and other necessary effects that were not to be found in these Royal warehouses for the construction of the boat that is being completed, for the transport of the meat for our subsistence from the Island of Tinian. To pay for these goods, the records show that you issued warrants to your agent to pay from your own account. With this measure we thus received a fair amount of relief. The recent visit of the flagship **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** and almiranta **Pilar** on the 18th of last month, under the command of General Francisco Gonzalez Quijano, has made us hope that we will continue to receive relief; indeed, although the three subsidies that had accumulated in the Royal treasury of Mexico and belonging to us did come aboard them—since another one had already been sent with the patache **Santo Domingo** that bypassed these Islands and went straight to the Philippines [in 1746]—they were not in fact unloaded, in spite of the efforts made by Your Lordship, when you went aboard said flagship twice, and requested her Captain and Master for them, and protesting many times that we would be seriously and adversely affected [otherwise]. Even when you entrusted him to do so in the name of His Majesty (whom may God save), said Master always excused himself by saying that he had given his written acceptance in the manifest of the order received from the Royal officials of Acapulco, not to deliver it unless it be to the Sergeant-Major Miguel de Cárdenas, or his agent, and if he were not in these Islands, he had to take it to said Philippines. The only exception that he promised to make, which he respected, was for the clothes, hats and soap, in amounts corresponding to one year, and this he did without any paperwork or list given to the government of Your Lordship, for our guidance, the agents thus failing to follow legal procedures, and to deserve the trust of Your Lordship and much more so, that of said Royal officials as was their obligation as faithful and zealous ministers, and vassals of His Majesty; indeed, by preserving this garrison they would have served the King, instead of serving the interest of someone they wish to favor.

Since this is such an important matter, Your Lordship is responsible for soliciting the remedy for the serious and pernicious consequences that originated from such a bad conduct, for which we will have to suffer, and which we must tolerate out of loyalty toward His Majesty who appears to have abandoned this garrison, one that has received many more benefits than all others from his Royal generosity. That is why we verbally begged Your Lordship not to give them the customary refreshments that this infantry normally provides abundantly, not until they made said delivery. In this respect, Your

Lordship ordered a pause, meanwhile you advised His Most Illustrious and Reverend Lordship, Fray Pedro de la Santísima Trinidad,¹ who came aboard said flagship as Archbishop of Manila about this idea, as well as said General Francisco de Quijano, for them to intervene with their authority, and wise judgment, to get a more favorable outcome. The better to get it, we made use of the opportunity of the stepping ashore the next day of His Most Illustrious Lordship who, moved by paternal charity, celebrated the Holy Sacrifice of the Confirmation, when we had the good fortune to have him from sunrise to sunset. We knelt before him and succeeded in having him listen to us with complete love and kindness, but he was unable to succeed in having a meeting take place about this business, because it was not possible in the short time that the stopover of said ships lasted here, to gather the persons who had to attend it and resolve the issue. Upon seeing this, Your Lordship decided to take the measure that only someone zealous of the Royal service would take, that of giving said refreshment to said galleons, and it was given to them even more abundantly than usual, so that they would not suffer from the evil doings of one bad individual, upon receiving his word that he would seek to get us complete relief, though it be with borrowed funds, He did, in fact, tried to do just that, offering to pay for it from his own pocket, in order to get us some succor.

Touched by his pious obligation, and forced by our misery to obtain relief, we approached Your Lordship to beg you to apply your customary kindness and untiring zeal for our welfare and be pleased to order them to pay us the back pay owed us for the last 14 months, plus an advance of 10 more months, to make up the two years of subsidy that the ship **Santo Domingo** had carried over, and which we did not doubt could be collected from the flagship **Rosario**, or in case they be lost (God forbid) it should be paid on account of the subsidies that are yet held in Mexico, and they were to give Your Lordship a receipt for the sum total of said succor, and a special power-of-attorney (if necessary) for their recovery. Should Your Lordship deign to grant us our petition, as we hope, we consider it as a favor already done, because such a payment would free us from our monetary obligations, though not from our miseries, because almost everyone will go home with the only consolation of having seen money. We must therefore beg and beseech Your Lordship, should there be some effects in stock, left from the above succor that came from said patache, to please give us the equivalent of one of the unpaid subsidies, and we, of course, oblige ourselves to give a receipt for it and to pay it with the first money that will come our way. But if this money does not come, Your Lordship could approach His Lordship the Viceroy of Mexico, wherever may be most appropriate. And if a replacement should come for Your Lordship, and if said supplement still be owed by us then, we also oblige ourselves to pay it back, promptly and in cash, from whatever funds might then be left to our credit in this

¹ Ed. note: His religious name. His real family name was Martinez de Arizala. He was then 52 years old and had previously served as a member of the Audiencia of Quito for 17 years (ref. B&R 48: 145).

Royal treasury. Consequently, we beg and beseech Your Lordship to be pleased to apply a remedy to our necessities, and miseries, and therefore to accept this our petition—a great benefit and relief that we hope to receive from your pious kindness and largesse.

Fernando Estanislao Agüero

Juan Antonio Rotea

Juan Luís Sanchez

Santiago Solis

Jorge Eduardo del Castillo

Domingo Garrido de Malaver

Dionisio de Castro

José Granados

José Afán de Ribera

Felipe Pedrosa

Salvador de la Cruz

Diego de la Cruz

Francisco Xavier de Villaseñor

Manuel de Benavente

Miguel de Tovez

Francisco de Tovez

Bernardo Ignacio Palomo de Montes

Juan Egidio de la Vega

José de León

Tomás Miguel Llanes y Cienfuegos

Manuel José Peredo

Antonio de los Ríos

Bernardo de Agüero

Francisco Gutierrez

Juan José de Quiñones

José Peredo

Fernando Moreno Yuste

Eleuterio de Guzman

Antonio Caravajal

Feliciano García

Ignacio Grijalva

Juan Antonio de Agüero

Manuel José de Acosta

Fernando Izquierdo

Cayetano Mónica

Pablo de los Ríos

Domingo de Guzman

Tomás de la Cruz

José de Espinosa

Juan de Espinosa
Domingo de Xavier Sanyu
Tomás Verdugo¹
Cándido de Castro
Tomás Tenorio
Lucas del Castillo
Ignacio de la Cruz
Bartolomé de los Reyes
Miguel Manacop
Pedro de Robles
Andrés Casimiro
Santiago de la Concepción
Lorenzo Lopez
Ignacio Cueto de Leyba
Francisco de la Cruz
Carlos García
Andrés Mendiola
Domingo García
Agustín Felix de la Cruz
Felix Arceo
Simón de Buenaventura
Luís de la Cruz
Guillermo Aranzuru
Miguel Ventura.

Additional comments.

Five retired Captains, all Spaniards, added their signatures later on, but were not party to the drafting of the above petition: Diego de León Guerrero, Francisco del Carmen, José Miguel de Torres, Luís Fernandez de Ubiarco, and Pedro Cayetano de Astudillas.

Part of the petition was granted, with some wages being paid in cash, but in the presence of the wives of the married soldiers who were known to be inveterate gamblers, and the rest paid in kind, out of the effects in the government warehouse, to the tune of 125 pesos's worth of goods for every man belonging to the two Spanish companies, and 40 pesos for the Pampangos.

The new boat that was being built, to replace the one that Commodore Anson had burned, was 20 cubits in keel length. Some of the guns of Fort San Luís in Apra Harbor and of Fort San Angel in Umatac had their wooden carriages rotten; some new ones were made, out of the local *ipil* wood. A new shed was built next to the headquarters of the Spanish Infantry, and some physical exercise equipment was installed there-

¹ Ed. note: He was in charge of the government warehouse and store.

in for the recreation of the troops. The roof tile factory was also refurbished, to provide tiles for the houses of the officers, as all the public buildings already had them.

By March 1748, two private houses had already been so improved, and they are said to have been the first such houses to have tiled roofs in the island. The boat had also been completed, and fitted out with sails made of Ilocos cloth, riggings and cables made of hemp. There was not yet any cattle in Guam that belonged to the Crown, but all cattle in Tinian was public property and the source of beef for the garrison. The patron saint of the garrison of Agaña being Our Lady of Conception, her feast-day of December 8th was celebrated every year still, at public expense; in 1747, the cost was 625 pesos. As for the ceremonies held on the occasion of the news of the death of the old king and the coronation of a new one, the money spent by Governor Gomez amounted to 3,144 pesos; there is no evidence that he was ever reimbursed said sum.

There was no Manila galleon in 1748, so that Governor Gomez did not leave until the following year, when his replacement arrived.

Documents 1747B

Royal decrees of 27 September 1747

Sources: AGN Californias, vol. 26, fol. 1-2v, and fol. 179-181 respectively.

B1. Regarding Captain Coronado and other candidates for Governor of the Marianas

Note: A copy was found among the papers seized from the Jesuits at Manila in 1769 by Judge Galvan (ref. AHN Clero Jesuitas, Leg. 891, doc. n° 1). It was addressed to the President and Members of the Audiencia of Manila, asking them to send a report on potential candidates to serve in government posts in the Marianas. There is no copy of this document in AHN, but it is found at AGN.

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Al Gobernador, y Capitan General de las Islas Phelipinas, y Presidente de la Audiencia, que reside en la Ciudad de Manila, y Regente, y Oydores de ella.

En atencion al merito, y circunstancias del Capitan Don Manuel Coronado, le he conferido el Gobierno de las Islas Marianas, para suceder al ultimo; mandando a mi Consejo, y Camara de Indias que despidan los despachos correspondientes.

Y queriendo que este empleo recaiga siempre en sugeto idoneo, de notorias calidades, experimentada conducta, y calificado merito, para que aquellos naturales esten gobernados con la recta administracion de Justicia, que tanto importa, y atendido con el amor, y consideracion, que corresponde, asi para su fomento, y conservacion, como para que la dulzura, y benignidad en su trato, atraiga al gremio de nuestra santa Madre Iglesia à aquellos, en quienes pueda hacer el exemplo mas poderosa impresion, que la predicacion, y la doctrina, Os prevengo, que tomando en adelante à tiempo oportuno noticias reservadas de los Padres Jesuitas, empleados en las Misiones de las mismas Islas Marianas, me formeis con anticipacion, y con igual reserva de los sugetos, que en ellas, ò en otro paraje de esos mis Dominios, consideraseis a proposito para desempeñar mi deseo, y confianza en un cargo de tanta gravedad, pasando a mis manos por la de mi infraescripto Secretario de Estado, y del despacho universal de Indias, ò el que le succedere en estos empleos, los referidos informes con las noticias originales, que recibireis de los Padres Jesuitas Misioneros, en las ocasiones que se ofreciesen, con reflexion à que lleguen oportunamente, à fin que pueda valerme de ellos para la provision del Gobierno en lo succesivo; y Os recomiendo mui particularmente toda vuestra aten-

cion, y cuidado en tales informes, recargando vuestra conciencia, para responder de qualquiera resulta, que mi conformidad à ellos pueda originar en deservicio de Dios, y detrimento de aquellos naturales, à demas de los efectos de mi indignacion, que experimentaréis, si entendiése que no correspondeis à esta confianza: que tal es mi voluntad.

*En Buen Retiro à veintisiete de Septiembre de mil setecientos quarenta, y siete.
Yo el Rey.*

[Firma:] *Cenon de Somo de Villa*

[Membrete:] *V.M. manda al Presidente, y Oidores de la Audiencia de Manila orden oportunamente informar de los Sugetos, a quienes juzgaren a proposito para servir el Gobierno de las Islas Marianas, en ellas, ò otro parage de aquellos Dominios.*

Translation.

The King.

To the Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, and President of the Audiencia residing in the City of Manila, and its Regent, and Members thereof.

Concerning the merit and personal record of Captain Manuel Coronado, I have conferred upon him the governorship of the Mariana Islands, to succeed the last one, and ordering my Council and Court of the Indies to issue the corresponding despatches for me.

And wishing for this job to always be filled by an ideal individual, with known qualities, a proven conduct, and substantiated merit, so that those natives will be governed with a righteous administration of justice, which is so important, and cared for with the love and consideration that they deserve, not only for their advancement and preservation but also for them to be attracted to the fold of our holy Mother the Church by sweet and kind treatment, because the example can make a more powerful impression on them, than sermons and catechism lessons. I notify you that from then on you are to request, ahead of time, confidential information from the Jesuit Fathers residing in the Mariana Islands, and you are to submit to me a report about individuals who are judged appropriate to carry out my desires, and deserving of my trust to serve in such a serious post there, or in any other neighborhood in those my Dominions. The above-mentioned reports should reach me through the undersigned, my Secretary of State, and through the general mail office of the Indies, or whomever may be filling said posts. along with the original notes that you would have received from the Jesuit missionary Fathers, as occasions might offer, and planned so that they will reach me in sufficient time for me to use them in appointing the future Governors. I specially recommend that you pay very special attention and care to the writing of such reports, and be willing to conciously accept responsibility for whatever [bad] result might originate in disservice of God and to the detriment of those natives, were I to concur with your recommendations. in addition to suffering the effects of my indignation, if you should fail to honor the trust I have placed in you: as such is my will.

Buen Retiro, 27 September 1747.

I the King.

[Signed by:] Cenon de Somo de Villa.

[Endorsement:] Y.M. orders the President and Members of the Audiencia of Manila to give timely reports on individuals who may be judged fit to serve as Governors of the Mariana Islands, or in other neighborhoods in those dominions.

B2. Regarding financial assistance to the Mariana Mission

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey.

Mi Governador, y Capitan General de las Islas Phelipinas, y Presidente de la Audiencia, que reside en la Ciudad de Manila; y oficiales de las Caxas de mi Real Hacienda de ella.

El Padre Pedro de San Christoval de la Compañia de Jesus, Procurador general de la Provincia de esas mismas Islas, me hà representado el atraso, que padecen los Religiosos, que se emplean en la conversion de los Indios, y asistencia de los Neophitos en las Marianas, con la falta de los estipendios, que les estan consignados para su manutencion, respecto de no tener mas obvençiones [sic], frutos, ni otra Renta; y me hà suplicado que para evitar los notables perjuicios que se les siguen de este atraso, como los han experimentado, con motivo de la perdida del Galeon, que apresò el Vice Almirante Yngles Jorge Anson, me digne mandar se entregue el importe de esta consignacion en esas Caxas Reales, y que en caso de que se lleve, como hasta aqui, desde Mexico con el situado de essas Islas, no corran el riesgo los Misioneros. sino que recivan integramente en esa Ciudad lo que les esta asignado.

Enterado de esta instancia, y teniendo consideracion à los santos, y loables fines con que se emplean los Misioneros, y a lo que interesa el servicio de Dios, y la propagacion de nuestra santa Fee Catholica, en que no falte à esos Religiosos lo necesario para su avio, y subsistencia, para que puedan dedicarse, sin el cuidado de solicitarlo, à cumplir con el fervoroso celo, que tienen acreditado todas las obligaciones de su cargo; hé venido en condescender à su instancia. En su consecuencia os mando, que de los caudales, que haya existentes, y entraren en las caxas de mi Real hacienda, pertenecientes à ella, sea puntualmente satisfecho el sugeto, apoderado para la percepcion de lo consignado à esas Misiones, de lo que huviere de haver a proporcion que se fuere venciendo, a los Plasos mas commodos, segun huviese cavimiento en las mismas caxas, y conviniere à los Misioneros, que se les aprompte, atendida su necesidad, y urgencia, sin esperar que llegue para el respectivo libramiento, el caudal que con este destino se embiare de Mexico con el situado; en inteligencia de que hé mandado se comunique esta resolucion al Virrey de Nueva España encargandole cuide de que no se omita con motivo alguno en las ocasiones de Despacho de Galeones, la remesa del caudal correspondiente à esta obligacion para que no haya atraso en su pago, y puedan reintegrarse otras caxas del caudal, que suplieren. Que asi es mi voluntad.

Dada en Buen Retiro a veinte siete de Septiembre de mil setecientos quarenta, y siete.

Yo el Rey.

Cenon de Somo de Villa.

[Membrete:] *V.M. manda al Governador, y Ofiziales Reales de Manila asistan puntualmente a los Padres Misioneros de las Islas Marianas con el situado que tienen para aquellas Misiones, sin esperar que se envíen de Mexico caudales con este destino.*

Translation.

The King.

My Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, and President of the Audiencia residing in the City of Manila, and the officials of my Royal treasury there.

Father Pedro de San Cristobal of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General of the Province of those same Islands, has represented to me the delay suffered by the Religious who are employed in converting the Indians and in assisting the neophytes of the Marianas, with a lack of the stipends that have been assigned to them for their sustenance, since they have no other subventions, rents or incomes; and he has begged me, so as to avoid notable prejudices that this delay might cause them, as has already happened when the galleon was lost, that which was captured by the English Vice-Admiral George Anson, to deign order the release of the total value of these assignments by that Royal treasury office, and in case it be conveyed, as so far done, from Mexico along with the subsidy of those Islands, the Missionaries should not run the risk in question, but should receive their full dues in that City.

This petition having been read, and taking into consideration the holy and commendable purposes to which the Missionaries dedicate themselves, and the interest of the service of God and the propagation of our holy Catholic faith, in making sure that those Religious will not lack the necessaries for their outfits and sustenance, so that they will be able to dedicate themselves, without the need to solicit it, and to comply with their usual zeal with all the obligations related to their functions: I have decided to grant their request. Consequently, I order you to make regular payments to the individual authorized to receive the sums destined for those Missions, out of whatever fund, existing in and expected by my Royal treasury there, as belonging to it, in portions of what becomes due, at the most convenient frequencies, according to availabilities of said funds, and as convenient to the Missionaries, the intention being to attend to their needs promptly, in case of emergencies, without the need to wait for the respective release to come from Mexico with the subsidy. To this effect, I have ordered that the Viceroy of New Spain be so advised,¹ entrusting him to take care not to miss any of the occasions of the despatches of the galleons to remit the funds corresponding to this obligation, to prevent any delay in the payment thereof, as they can make up for any shortages from other funds. As such is my will.

Made at Buen Retiro, on 27 September 1747.

¹ Ed. note: A letter was effectively written two days later by the Marquis of Buenadel. It is found in the same AGN file, fol. 341-344.

I the King.

Cenon de Somo de Villa.

[Endorsement:] Y.M. orders the Governor and Royal officials of Manila to regularly assist the Missionary Fathers of the Mariana Islands with the subsidy that they have for those Missions, without waiting for funds to arrive from Mexico for this purpose.

Document 1748A

Royal order appointing Captain Coronado Governor of the Marianas

Source: AGI Fil. 342, libro 11, fol. 301v-304v, pp. 652-658.

Letter of appointment, dated Buen Retiro 30 July 1748

Original text in Spanish.

Titulo de Gobernador y Capitan General de las Islas Marianas para el Capitan Don Manuel Coronado.—Fho con Duplicado y Triplicado y las Cedula ordinarias.

Don Fernando por la gracia de Dios, &a.

Por quanto en atencion à los meritos y circunstancias de vos el Capitan Don Manuel Coronado; he venido por mi Real Decreto de 26 de Septiembre de año proximo passado en conçederos, como por el presente mi Real Titulo os concedo, el Gobierno, y Capitanía General de las Islas Marianas; para suceder al ultimo provisto en el: Por tanto, mando à mi Governador, y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas, y al Presidente, y Oidores de mi Real Audiencia de ellas, que reside en la Ciudad de Manila, que tomen, y recivan de vos el expresado Don Manuel Coronado, el Juramento acostumbrado, con la solemnidad, que en tal caso se requiere, y deben hacer, de que bien, y fielmente servireis el referido Gobierno, y Capitanía General, y que aviendole escuchado, y puestose testimonio de ello à espaldas a este Titulo, os pongan en posesion de el, luego que haya cumplido el tiempo por que se le confero à Don Henrique de Olivide, y Michelena, ultimo provisto, pues si el enunciado Presidente le huvieis concedido interinamente, es mi voluntad, que deve desde luego en su exercicio la persona que le estuviere sirviendo; y que os entreguen los Despachos; y Instrucciones que se huvieren dado à vuestros antecesores; para que con la que ahora se os entrega con este Titulo firmada de mi Real mano, y refrendada de mi infraescripto Secretario, sirviereis el mencionado Gobierno, y Capitanía General por tiempo de cinco años, mas, ó menos, el que fuere mi voluntad, segun, y en la conformidad, en que lo han hecho, y debido hacer vuestros antecesores, dando la Residencia en lo referida mi Real Audiencia de las Islas Philipinas;

Y assi mismo ordeno al enunciado Presidente y Oidores de ella, à los demas Jueces y Ministros de las Tribunaes de aquellas Islas, y à los vecinos, y moradores de la Juris-

diccion del expresado Gobierno, y Capitanía General de las Islas Marianas, que os hayan, y tengan, por tal Governador, y Capitan General de ellas; y aguarden, y hagan guardar todas las honrras, gracias, inmunidades, prerrogativas, esempciones, y preeminencias, que os tocan, sin limitacion alguna, y tambien mando, que se os asista con ciento y diez pesos de sueldo al mes, que es el que está asignado à este empleo, pagandoseos de los efectos de mi Real Hacienda, y à los tiempos, y plazos à que se satisficieren los sueldos de la gente de guerra del Presidio de las mencionadas Islas Marianas, desde el dia en que tomareis posesion en adelante, por todo el tiempo, que sirviereis el expresado Gobierno, y Capitania General; y que en virtud de este Titulo, ó su traslado signado de escrivano publico, y vuestras cartas de pago, será bien ðado todo lo que por esta razon seos satisficere, sin otro recado alguno; y declaro, que por esta merced, y por el sueldo que aveis de gozar no debeis cantidad alguna al derecho de la Media Anata, respecto de que tengo declarado, por de guerra viva los empleos militares de los Presidios de mis Reynos de las Indias; y no causarla los que me sirven en ellos.

Y del presente mi Real Titulo se tomará la razon en las Contadurias generales de Valores, y Distribucion de mi Real Hacienda, dentro de dos meses de su data, y no executandolo assi quedará nula esa gracia, y tambien la tomarán los Contadores de Cuentas, que residen en mi Consejo de las Indias, y los Oficiales Reales de las Caxas de Manila.

Dado en el Buen Retiro à 30 de Julio de 1748.

Yo el rey.

Yo Don Juan Antonio Valenciano Secretario del Rey nuestro Señor, le hice escribir por su mandado, y firmado de! Secretario, y de los Señores el Marques de la Regalia, y el de Matallana.

Translation.

Letter of appointment as Governor and Captain General of the Mariana Islands for Captain Manuel Coronado.—Made with duplicate and triplicate copies and the ordinary decrees.

Don Fernando by the grace of God, etc.

Captain Manuel Coronado: In view of thine merits and personal record, I have decided by my Royal decree of 26 September last to grant thee, as by the present my Royal warrant I do grant thee, the post of Governor and Captain General of the Mariana Islands, to succeed to the last one provided for such post. Consequently, I order my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and the President and Members of my Royal Audiencia there, which resides in the City of Manila, to take and receive from thee, the above-mentioned Manuel Coronado, the customary oath with the solemnity that is required in such a case, as they must do, thou swearing to serve well and faithfully in the above-said post of Governor and Captain General. Once this will have been done, and a testimony thereof placed on the reverse side of this letter of appointment, I place thee in possession of it, after the term for which Don Enrique de Olavide y Michelena, the last man provided for said post, has run out, because, if the above-

mentioned President should have granted it to him on an interim basis, it is my will that the person so assigned must, of course, continue to exercise it.¹ They must also deliver to thee the despatches and instructions that might have been given to your predecessors, so that, along with this letter of appointment signed by my Royal hand, and countersigned by the undersigned my Secretary, thou shall serve in the above-mentioned post of Governor and Captain General for a term of five years, more or less, according to my will, as have done, or should have done, your predecessors, subject to a management audit by the above-mentioned my Royal Audiencia of the Philippine Islands.

In addition, I order the above-mentioned President and Members of it, and the other Judges and Ministers of the Tribunals of those Islands, and the residents of the jurisdiction of the above-mentioned government and Captaincy General of the Mariana Islands, to observe and make others observe all of the honors, favors, immunities, prerogatives, exemptions, and pre-eminences belonging to thee, without any restriction whatever, and I also order them to assist thee with one hundred and ten pesos of salary per month, which is the one assigned to this position, paying it to you out of the moneys in my Royal treasury, and at the same times and frequencies as for the salaries of the military men of the garrison of the above-mentioned Mariana Islands, from the day in which thou shall take possession of it forward, for the whole time period in which thou shall serve in the above-mentioned post of Governor and Captain General; and by virtue of this letter of appointment, or a copy of it certified by a notary public, plus your pay record card, should be considered ample and sufficient authorization to collect same, without any other proof being required; and I declare that for this favor and for the salary that thou shall enjoy, thou shall not have to pay any sum in excise tax, or so-called *Media Annata*, because I have declared the military positions in the garrisons of my Kingdoms of the Indies as situated in war zones, and it does not apply to those who serve there.

And the Accountants General in the pay sections of my Royal treasuries are to take note of the present my Royal letter of appointment, within two months of its date, as otherwise that favor will become null and void, and also the Accountants in the accounting sections of my Council of the Indies and the Royal officials of the treasury of Manila.

Made at Buen Retiro, 30 July 1748.

I the King.

I, Don Juan Antonio Valenciano, Secretary of the King our Lord, had it written by his order, and signed by the Secretary [of the Council] and two of its Members, the Marquis of La Regalia, and the Marquis of Matallana.

¹ Ed. note: Navy Lieutenant Olavide served his first term as interim Governor from 1748 until 1756. In the meantime, Captain Coronado went after other opportunities, because he never served in Guam.

Documents 1748B

The shipwreck of the patache Santo Domingo in 1748

Introductory notes.

The letter from the Governor of the Philippines, dated Manila 9 July 1751, which gave rise to the King's letter (below), is supposed to be located in AGI Fil. 111 (formerly 68-2-25), but it was not found there. The reference must be incorrect.

What is found in Fil. 111 is an indirect reference to the purchase of this patache from its owner for 16,300 pesos.

B1. Letter from the King to the Governor of the Philippines, dated San Lorenzo 18 November 1753

Source: AGI Fil. 335, libro 16, fol. 317v-319, pp. 650-653.

Original text in Spanish.

*Al Gobernador de Philipinas, avisandole el recibo de su carta, y Autos sobre la causa criminal seguida contra los ofiziales del Patache **Santo Domingo**, por el naufragio, que padeció, y aprobando la pena que se les impuso, en la forma que se expresa.*

El Rey

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

*In carta de 9 de Junio del año de 1751, disteis cuenta de que el día 1 de Diziembre de el de 1748, yendo de arribada el Patache nombrado **Santo Domingo**, que llevaba el situado de las Islas Marianas, naufragó con un recio uracan, en la ensenada de la Isla de Tomojon, del distrito de la Provincia de Cadvalonga; expresando que aunque se ahogaron doze personas, se recogieron armas, peltrechos, y lo que se pudo de su carga, sobre cuyo acontecimiento, se sustanció causa criminal contra los oficiales de la referida embarcacion, imponiendo la pena, al Piloto mayor de suspension de su exercicio, por ocho años, al practico en privacion perpetua, al Piloto segundo por tres años, y à los demas por no resultar culpa, ni pertenecer à sus oficios el manejo, y disposicion del Navio, se les absolvió, condenandoles solo en las costas procesales, cuya sentencia con-*

sintieron las partes, como resultaba del Testimonio, que acompañasteis, para que enterado de ello, tomase la deliberacion que fuese mas de mi Real agrado.

Y aviendose visto la referida carta y Autos en mi Consejo de las INdias, con lo que en su inteligencia expuso mi Fiscal; ha parecido avisaros su recibo, y aprovar como lo executo todo lo practicado en este asunto, por ser assi mi voluntad.

Fecho en San Lorenzo à 18 de Noviembre de 1753.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Joseph Ignacio de Goyeneche.

Translation.

To the Governor of the Philippine Islands, advising him of the receipt of his letter, and the record of proceedings regarding the criminal case opened against the officers of the patache **Santo Domingo**, for the shipwreck that it suffered, and approving the penalty imposed upon them, in the manner expressed therein.

The King.

Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of my Royal Audiencia there, which resides in the City of Manila.

In a letter dated 9 June 1751, you reported that on 1 December 1748, while the patache named **Santo Domingo** that was taking the subsidy of the Mariana Islands but was returning in distress, it became shipwrecked in the bay of the Island of Tomojon [rather Homonhon?] in the district of the Province of Cadvalonga [rather Catbalongan, Samar]. You said that, although 12 persons were drowned, the weapons, equipment, and part of its cargo were salvaged, and that a criminal case was opened against the officers of the above-said vessel, which imposed the following penalties: suspending the chief pilot from his functions for 8 years, the coastal pilot forever, and the pilot's mate for 3 years. The other officers were found not guilty, because their jobs had nothing to do with the handling and management of the ship, but were fined only to pay the court costs. The parties concerned agreed with their sentences, as recorded in the testimony which you enclosed, so that, once advised of same, I might take note of it to decide whatever might be of my Royal pleasure.

Made at San Lorenzo, 18 November 1753.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don José Ignacio de Goyeneche.

B2. Names of the Filipino immigrants accompanying the new Governor of the Marianas

Source: AGI Ultramar 562, n° 5.

Consultation.—To comply with what the superior Government has decreed, herewith the names of the six families that are being sent to the Mariana Islands, with their wives and children, their age, and their qualifications, as follows:

—Juan de la Cruz Quiambao, 35 years old, married with Rosa Espinosa of 29 years of age and with 3 children, named Maria Quiambao of 10 years of age, Francisca Quiambao of 9, and Julian Quiambao of 1; and Santiago Mampad, a nephew of his, bachelor of 25 years of age.

—Juan Bautista, 30 years old, married with Ana Josefa of 19 years of age, with a daughter named Maria Josefa, 1 year old.

—Guillermo Gallardo, 45 years old, married with Maria Agustina, 28 years old, with 2 daughters named Maria Leocadia, 5 years old, and Ana Maria, 2 years old.

—Agustín de Mendoza, 46 years old, married with Maria Buenaventura, 31 years old, with 2 daughters named Dominga Agustina, 9 years old.

—Juan Pascual, 42 years old, married with Maria Catalina, 39 years old, without children.

—Agustín Tolentino, 32 years old, married with Nicolasa Clara, 19 years old, with a daughter named Matea Nicolasa, still breast-feeding.

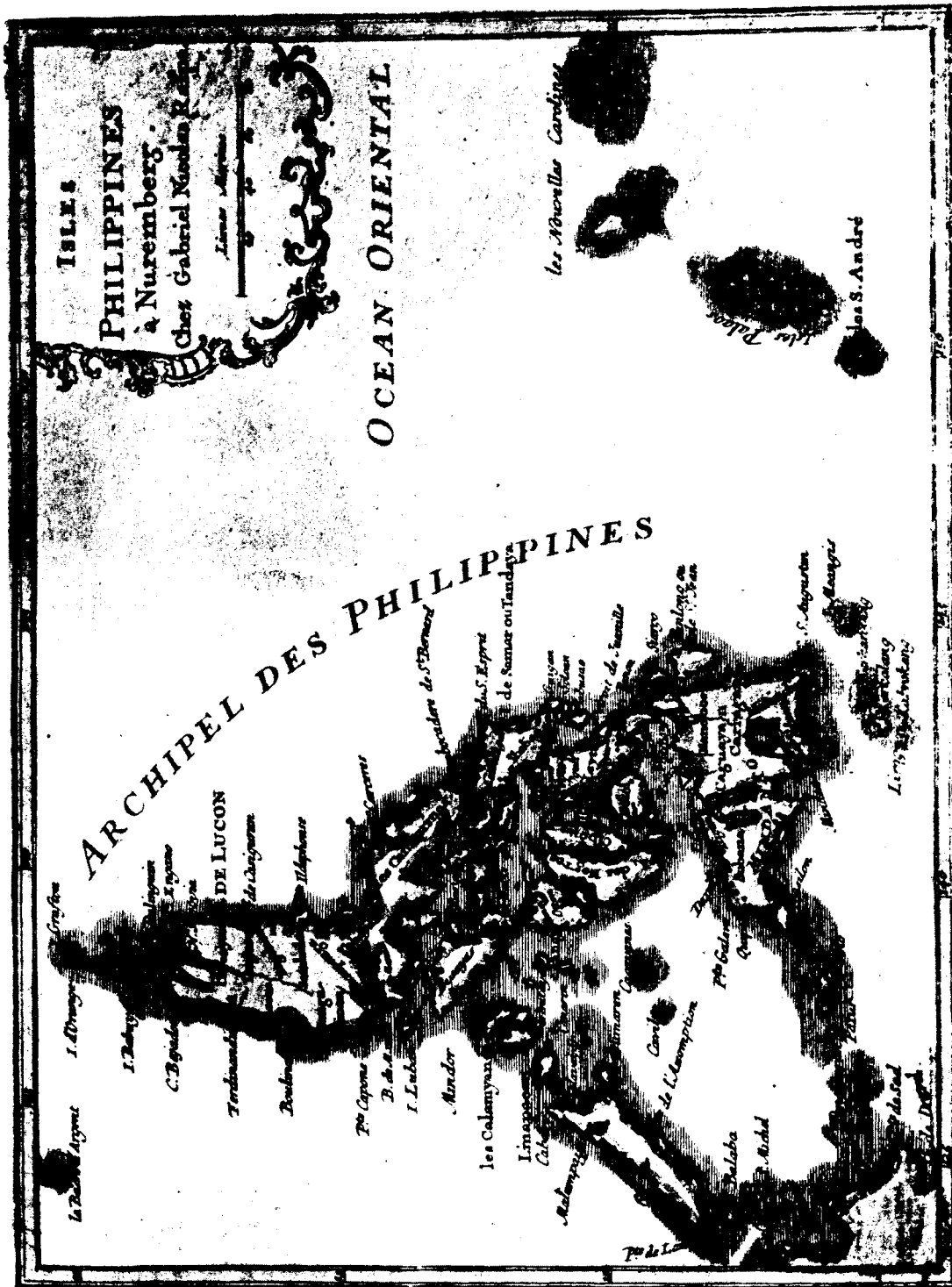
The said six families are going in the category of sailors aboard the Patache **Santo Domingo** which is about to sail for the said Mariana Islands and assisted financially at the rate of 50 pesos each, for the purpose of remaining there as settlers.

...

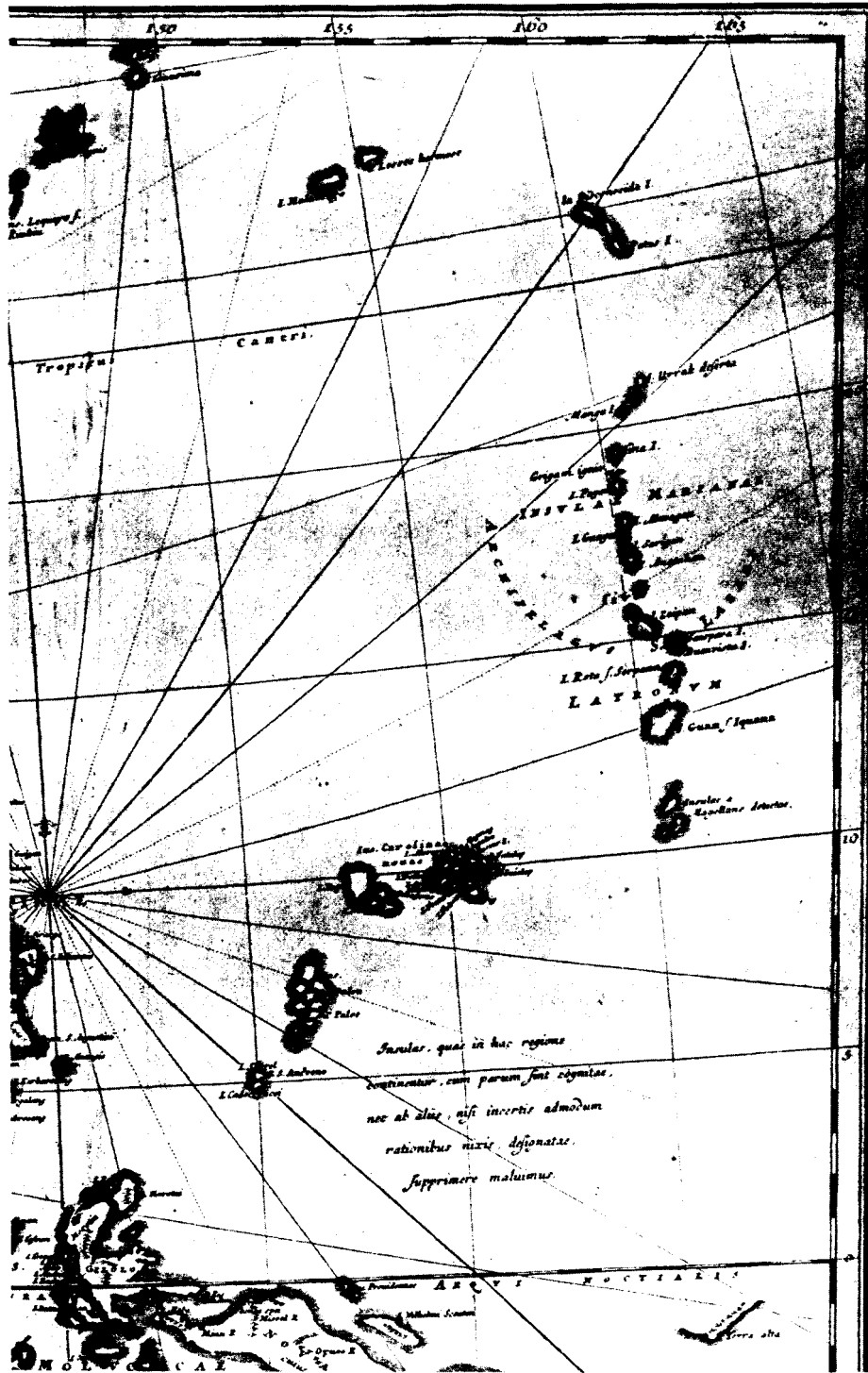
Manila 18 July 1748.

Juan Jacinto de Jugo.¹

1 Ed. note: The death of some of these passengers effectively put an end to the official project to send more Filipino families to Guam.



Map of the Philippines and W. Carolines, 1748. Map sold at Nuremberg by Gabriel Nicolas Raspe. It is an exact copy of a map published at Paris in 1748 by George Louis Le Rouge, as map 83 of "Atlas nouveau portatif." (Courtesy C. Quirino)

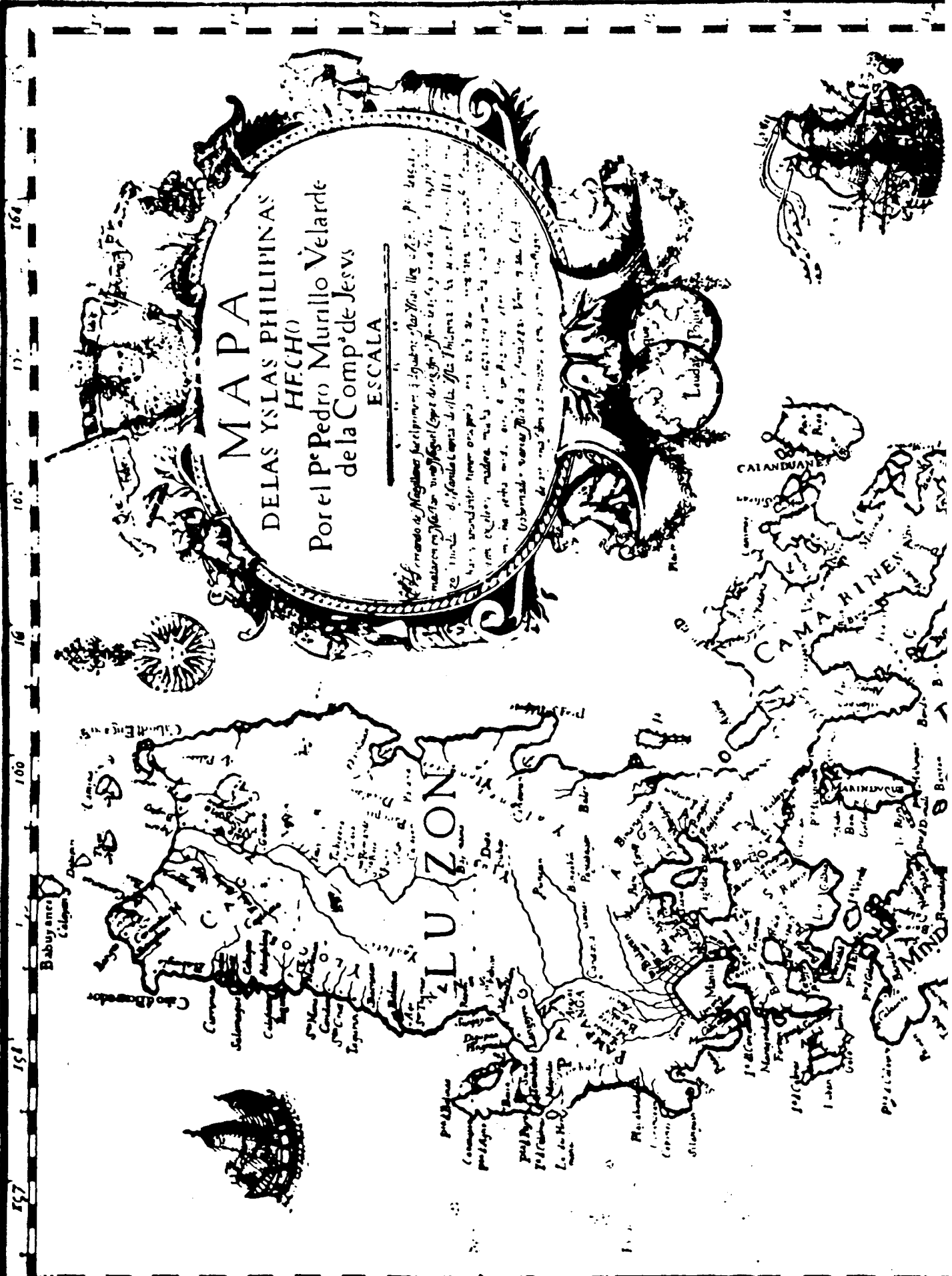


Map of the East Indies, by Tobie Mayer, 1748. Part of a map entitled: "Carte des Indes Orientales." The Latin inscription over the Central Carolines explains that they were not reproduced because, though known, their boundaries are not. (Courtesy Lopez Museum).



Western Micronesian Islands, by Mr. Robert, 1750. *Part of a chart of the East Indies published in the French nautical atlas entitled: "Neptune oriental," published in Paris in 1750. (Courtesy Lopez Museum).*

(Next 2 pages:) **Famous map of the Philippines by Fr. Murillo Velarde, 1749.** *It was engraved by a Filipino artist, Nicolas de la Cruz Bagay, and published in Fr. Velarde's History of the Philippines Islands at Manila in 1749 (see also Doc. 1734G).*



MAPA
DELAS YSLAS PHILIPPINAS
HECHO
Porel P^o Pedro Munillo Velarde
de la Comp^a de Jesus
ESCALA

Este es un mapa de las Islas Filipinas que se hizo en el año de 1764 por el Sr. Pedro Munillo Velarde de la Compañía de Jesús. En él se ven todas las islas que componen este Archipiélago, con sus nombres y divisiones. También se ven las costas, montañas, ríos, y otros accidentes de terreno. Este mapa es muy útil para el comercio y para el conocimiento de estas islas. Fue hecho en Manila, a 15 de Mayo de 1764.

157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164

17 18 19





Map of the Philippines, by Robert de Vaugondy, 1749. Published in Paris in 1749 by the son of the French King's Geographer. Too much area is still devoted to the New Philippines, or Carolines. The newer information from the Cantova maps of 1722 was disregarded. (Courtesy Lopez Museum).

Document 1749A

Report on the Marianas in 1749

Source: RAH 9/2678, part of doc. 13.

Jesuit report recommending the transfer of the garrison of the Marianas to Jolo in the Philippines**Report submitted to the Archbishop of Manila by the Procurator General of the Philippines, dated Manila 28 November 1749.**

Original text in Spanish.

Illmo. y Rmo. Señor

Por la obligacion que me incumbe, en razon de mi Oficio de Procurador General, de esta mi Provincia de Philipinas, y de la Vize Provincia de Marianas, me veo presiado à molestar à Vuestra Illustrisima con los apuntes siguientes, sobre el estado presente de Marianas.

El Governador de estas Islas Don Manuel de Leon, por Carta de 7 de Julio de 1669, informó à la Reina Gobernadora D^a Mariana de Austria, (à cuja devocion seles puso à esas Islas el nombre de Marianas) que al pasar à esas Islas dio allí fondo; y halló que los bautizados pasaban yà de trece mil, y los dispuestos à rezevir el bautismo de veinte mil; Pero que los Ministros Evangelicos necessitaban para vivir seguros de los mismos naturales, de Gente, y armas, que los defendiesen: Como todo consta por su Real Zedula, Fecha en Madrid à 12 de Agosto de 1673 años.

Consta tambien por Real Zedula de 23 de Septiembre de 1685 años en Madrid, despachada al Conde de Paredes, Marquez de la Laguna, y Virrey de la Nueva España, que havia hecho el Maestro de Campo Don Antonio Sarabia, Governador de Marianas, una Fortaleza en ellas con quatro baluartes, y capaz para quatro cientos hombres, en la que colocó quatro piezas de bronce, y sustentaba ciento y treinta plazas de soldados; Y en dha Real zedula se concede el aumento de noventa plazas, y aprobadas las ciento, y treinta, de que informó dicho Governador Sarabia, sobre lo que se despacho otra Real Zedula al Almirante Don Gabriel de Cruz Alegui [sic], y Arriola, Governador de estas Islas, fecha assi mismo en Madrid à 29 de Septiembre de 1685 años, en que haciendo Relacion de lo referido, sele manda emvie armas, municiones, y demas generos conducentes à dho Presidio y Fortaleza, y otra de la misma fecha al Governador de

Marianas Don Damian Esplana, sucesor de dho Sarabia, dandole parte de averse aprobado lo hecho por su Antecesor y del aumento de dhas plazas; con lo que quedó establecido hasta à ora dho Presidio en aquellas Islas.

Los muchos de los naturales, que murieron en los alzamientos: las Epidemias con que Dios visiblemente à castigado sus Reveliones y los insoportables servicios personales han disminuido de tal modo à estos Isleños Marianos, que al presente quantos habitan sus Islas, reducidos ya a la principal de Guahan, no componen el numero de tres mil Almas, y de estas los mas Philipinos, y todos Domesticados, y mansos, sin gentil ninguno en todas ellas; Y sin embargo de que de nuestra parte de años atras se han hecho repetidas instancias, para que los Gobernadores à quienes inmediatamente les toca, den parte à su Magestad, de que dho Presidio, atento el fin para que se erigio; es totalmente inutil, Pues ni existe ya rastro de la referida Fortaleza, ni han quedado naturales, de quienes puedan rezelarse sus Ministros sino que, antes bien, es actualmente sumamente pernicioso; Pues para mantenerlo, seles obliga à los pocos que han quedado, à que trabajen personalmente los mas dias de la semana, hombres, mugeres, y niños, que es la principal causa de su ruina y disminucion;

Con todo esso; no ha venido resulta ninguna de la Corte, siendo assi que senos certificó, que se avia hecho esta representacion por sus Gobernadores Arguelles, y Cardenas; Por lo que me vi presiado en la ocasion presente, en que pasan nuestros Procuradores à la Corte de Madrid, à presentarme à este superior Gobierno, suplicando, que los sugetos, que se hallan en esta Ciudad, y han gobernado aquellas Islas, y habiendo algunos años en ellas, declarasen ante Escrivano, y con la devida solemnidad; sobre lo util, ó inutil, y pernicioso de dho Presidio;

Y aviendose dado traslado al Abogado Fiscal, este me asegura, que no puede ir este informe en esta Ocasion, por ser necessario acumular esta diligencia à las otras, que sobre esta materia en otros tiempos se hizieron, y necessitar el expediente de mucho tiempo, lo que me hà movido à recurrir à V.S^a Illma., para que, coadyubando à un punto tan grave, y tan del servicio de ambas Magestades, se digne informar sobre el à Nuestro Rey y Señor, en su Real y supremo Consejo de Indias, y nunca se nos pueda imputar à negligencia nuestra, la falta de providencia en este negocio, maiormente quando consigue su Magd. sin gravar en nada su Real Erario, el fin de dho Presidio, que fue el propagarse libremente la Fee entre el gentilismo, y defende à los ya reducidos à ella, solo con transplantarlo y ponerlo en la Isla de Joló, que, dandose mano con el de Samboangan, sera el mas horrible freno, y mas necessario contra esta morisma, consiguiendose no solo la reduccion de tantos gentiles como ay que reducir; sino tambien la defenza total de estas Christiandades.

Para obviar la unica dificultad, en que pudieran tropezar los que no estan impuestos en el fin, y necesidad de pasar por las Marianas nuestros Navios, que bienen de buelta de Acapulco; sera bien notar, que nunca han sido escala necessaria dichas Islas, y solo tocan à ellas dhas Naos, obligadas à traerles, y dejar alli el Real situado; Pues es notorio, que no ay alli Puerto seguro ninguno, que al pasar se ven presiados à vezes, ya a traerse el situado sin poder desembarcarlo, y ya a cortar de repente el cable, aun

dejandose en tierra la lancha y el bote, con mucha parte de la gente; Y es tan notorio este riesgo y peligro de arrimarse à dha Isla nuestros Navios, que fue preciso obligar les à los Generales à ello con pena de dos mil ducados, y de pagar los daños, que de lo contrario se siguiesen à la Real Hazienda, por no dejar alli de buelta el Real Zituado, y demas generos para aquella Mission, como consta de Real Zedula, fecha en Aranjuez à 30 de Abril de 1666.

Menos se puede entender, que dho Presidio pueda servir alli, para defender de enemigos estraños aquellas Islas; Pues ni para ello tiene Fortaleza al mar, en los parages por donde pudieran desembarcar, ni quando los estraños quiciesen apoderarse de ellas, necessitaban de coger la de Guahan, en que està el Presidio, estando como estan, todas las demas del todo desiertas, y solo abundantes algunas de Ganados; y pudieran irse sin oposicion a qualquiera de ellas, como se fue el Almirante Jorge Anson à la de Tinian, en que no ay ni una Alma, è hizo carne, Aguada, y Leña, y despues prosiguió su viage; Ni tampoco queda rezelo de que en tiempo de guerras, se aprovechen de ellas los enemigos para esperar nuestras naos. Pues ni tienen Puerto seguro, como ya dixé, ni es paso necessario por donde vengan en tiempo de guerra, ni, aunque lo fuera, se pudiera esto evitar con un solo Presidio de tierra en Guahan; Y el parage en donde siempre las han esperado, ha sido el Emvocadero, que es paso mas precisso, y en donde tienen Puertos seguros y libres.

En fin espero de el gran zelo de V.S^a Illma, que se digne de tomar este trabajo por la Gloria de Dios nuestro Señor, fidelidad debida al Muy Catholico zelo de Nuestro Rey, y por el bien de las Almas redimidas con la sangre de Jesu Christo, à quien suplico conserve la importante vida de V.S^a Illma. por dilatados años.

Collegio Maximo de N.P. Ignacio y Noviembre 28 de 1749 años.

De V.S^a Illma. humilde siervo y menor Capellan.

[unsigned]

Illmo. y Rmo. Señor Dr. Don Fr. Pedro de la Santissima Trinidad, Martinez de Arizala, Arzbpo. Metropolitano de estas Islas, del Consejo de su Magd., y del Real y Supremo de las Indias. &^a

Translation.

Most Illustrious and Reverend Sir:

On account of the obligation that I have, as Procurator General of this my Province of the Philippines, and of the Vice Province of the Marianas, I see myself forced to bother Your Most Illustrious Lordship with the following notes regarding the present state of the Marianas.

The Governor of these Islands, Don Manuel de León, in a letter dated 7 July 1669, informed the Queen Regent, Doña Mariana de Austria (whose devotion was the reason why those Islands were renamed Marianas) that he had anchored at those Islands when he passed by them.¹ He found that the number of baptisms made already exceeded

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1669E2.

13,000 but that the Gospel Ministers needed, for their personal safety against the natives themselves, some military men with weapons to defend them, as shown in her Royal decree dated Madrid 12 August 1673.

It is also recorded in a Royal decree dated Madrid 23 September 1685, addressed to the Count of Paredes, Marquis of Laguna and Viceroy of New Spain, that Master-of-camp Antonio Saravia, Governor of the Marianas, had built a fort with four bulwarks, and large enough to hold 400 men, upon which he had installed 4 bronze guns and he maintained 130 positions of soldiers. And in said Royal decree, he was granted the increase of 90 positions, and got approval for the 130 [overall] positions, which said Governor Saravia had reported, and about which another Royal decree was despatched, also dated Madrid 29 September 1685, to Admiral Gabriel de Cruzeláegui y Arriola, Governor of these Islands, in which the story is told him, and he is ordered to send weapons, ammunitions and other goods to help said garrison and fort, plus another of same date sent to the Governor of the Marianas, Damian Esplana, successor of said Saravia, to tell him that what his predecessor had done regarding the increase in said positions had been approved. Thus was created the establishment of said garrison in those Islands, which has existed ever since.¹

The many natives who have died during the uprisings, plus the epidemics that were God's visible punishment for their rebellions, and unbearable personal services have caused such a decrease of the number of these Mariana Indians who at present inhabit those Islands, already reduced to the main Island of Guahan, does not reach 3,000 souls, including most of the Filipinos and all those who have been tamed and are peaceful, since there is not one heathen left in all of them. And, notwithstanding the fact that we have ourselves made repeated petitions in the past, to the Governors who are most directly concerned, for them to make reports to His Majesty, to the effect that said garrison, considering the purpose for which it was created, is totally useless. Indeed, there no longer remains any sign of the existence of the above-mentioned fort, and there no longer exist any natives whom their Ministers could possibly fear. In fact, the existence of the garrison is actually pernicious, because its maintenance obliges the few remaining [natives] to perform personal services on most days of the week, men, women, and children, and this is the main cause of their ruin and decrease.

In spite of it all, there has not been any reaction from Madrid, although we have been told that such a representation was made y their Governors Argüelles, and Cárdenas. That is why I considered it necessary for me, on this occasion of our Procurators's departure for the court of Madrid, to appear before this superior Government, begging that the individuals who have been governors of those Islands, or have lived there for a few years, and are at present to be found in this city, make declarations, before a notary and with due solemnity, about the usefulness, or uselessness, and perniciousness of said garrison.

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1685Y.

And, having given a copy to the Crown Attorney, he assured me that this report cannot go on this occasion, since it is necessary to join this measure to the others that have been made about this matter at other times, and the case file would require much time, I have therefore been motivated to appeal to Your Most Illustrious Lordship, so that you may cooperate in such a serious issue, that affects the service of both Majesties, and deign to send a report to our King and Lord, in his Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies, to make sure that no-one will ever be able to impute the lack of provisions about this affair to our negligence, specially when His Majesty achieves the purpose of said garrison, which was for the faith to be freely propagated among the heathen and for the protection of those already reduced to it, with no need to spend money from his Royal treasury, except that which would be necessary to transfer it and place it in the Island of Jolo, where it could give a hand to that of Zamboanga, and serve as a curb on the most horrible danger presented by the Moro threat, thus achieving not only the reduction of so many heathen, such as exist there to be reduced, but also for the total defence of these Christian communities.

To offset the single difficulty, that might occur if some people not connected with the purpose, should object by stating the need of our ships returning from Acapulco to make a stopover at the Marianas, it will be well to point out that a stopover has never been necessary at said Islands, and that said galleons stop there only because they are obliged to do so, to leave the Royal subsidy there; indeed, it is a well-known fact that there is no safe port there, that upon passing by there they are forced at times, either to continue with the subsidy because it cannot be unloaded, or to cut the [mooring] cable suddenly, even leaving behind the launch and the boat, with many of their men. And the risk or danger encountered by our ships at said Island is so notorious that it became necessary to force the Generals, if they did not leave there the subsidy and other goods for that Mission, to pay a fine of 2,000 ducats and to pay for damages, as can be seen in the Royal decree dated Aranjuez 30 April 1666.¹

It is even less possible to understand how said garrison can defend those Islands from foreign enemies. Indeed, it does not even have a fort facing the sea in the neighborhoods where they could effect a landing,² nor have such foreigners have to stop at Guam if they want to take possession of them, because all of the other islands are completed inhabited,³ although some of them are populated with cattle, and they might go there without any opposition being made to them, as was done by Admiral George Anson at Tinian, where there is not one soul, and where he took on meat, water and wood, and afterwards pursued his voyage. One cannot even claim that in wartime the enemies could make use of them to await our ships there; indeed, they do not have a safe port, as I have already said. Besides, it is not necessarily through there that they would come, in wartime, but even if it were, this could be prevented with a single land garrison in

1 Ed. note: This date must be in error, as the Mariana Mission was not established until 1668.

2 Ed. note: The author was not aware of the existence of Fort San Luis, Fort Santo Angel, and the battery of Merizo that were then in existence.

3 Ed. note: This was not true either, as Rota has never been depopulated.

Guahan. Besides, the neighborhood where they have waited for them has always been the Embocadero, which is a more necessary passage, and where there are some safe ports, free of danger.

Finally, I hope from the great zeal of Your Most Illustrious Lordship, that you will deign to undertake this project for the glory of God our Lord, a faithfulness due to the Most Catholic zeal of our King, and for the welfare of the souls redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ, of whom I beg the preservation of the important life of Your Most Illustrious Lordship for many long years.

From the High College of our Father Ignatius, 28 November 1749.

From the humble servant and least Chaplain of Your Most Illustrious Lordship,
[unsigned]¹

[To] the Most Illustrious and Reverend Doctor Fray Pedro de la Santísima Trinidad, Martinez de Arizala, Metropolitan Archbishop of these Islands, member of the Privy Council, and of the Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies, etc.

1 Ed. note: This unsigned draft was written by Fr. Juan Velarde (see next documents).

Documents 1749B

Population of the Marianas—3,000 inhabitants in 1749

Source: AGN Californias, vol. 26, fol. 189-195.

B1. Letter from Fr. Juan Velarde to the Mayor of Manila, presented in December 1749

Original text in Spanish.

El Padre Juan Velarde de la Compañía de Jesus, y su Procurador General de esta su Provincia en las Islas, ante Vmd en devida forma y como mas lugar aya de derecho comparece y dice:

*Que por quanto en las Islas Marianas se han desminuido el numero de familias y tributos de tal manera que **apenas llegan al presente al numero de tres mill almas, y estas en gran parte de Indios Philipinos**, y todos tan manzos y domesticados, que ni ha quedado gentil alguno, ni reselo de que dhos pocos naturales expongan a sus Ministros, como se pusieron, y sublevaron en otros tiempos tanto que se jusgo nesarario el erigir para su defensa y resguardo fortaleza, y Presidio de milicia como todo consta por los Reales Zedulas que sobre su ereccion que adjuntas presento, y pido se me devuelvan.*

Y por que de años atras hemos procurado se informe a su Magestad (Dios le guarde) de que dho Presidio atento el fin de su execusion no solo es inutil, sino tambien pernicioso; pues para estar tenerlo se obliga a que hombres, niños y menos cavo, y que seria muy suficiente un Cavo con solos veinte y cinco, treinta plazas, sin que se aya podido conseguir dho informe por tanto:

A Vuesa merced pido y suplico que haviendome por presentado se sirva proveer y mandar que las personas que se hallan en esta Ciudad y han governado dhas Islas y habitado por tiempo en ellas declaren de bajo de juramento, y con la solemnidad de derecho requisita sobre el tenor de este mi escripto y que de dha Declaracion se me den, uno dos o mas testimonios de modo que hagan fee, y ara lo que hubiere lugar de derecho por ser asi justicia y favor que espero de la notoria equidad de Vmd, &a.

Juan Velarde

Translation.

I, Father Juan Velarde of the Society of Jesus, and its Procurator General for the Province of the [Philippine] Islands, appear before Your Grace in due form and in the most convenient manner for his rights, and do declare:

That, whereas the number of families and tributes have been diminishing in the Mariana Islands to such an extent that **at present the number hardly reaches 3,000 souls, this number consisting mostly of Filipino Indians**, and all of them so docile and tame that not one heathen remains, nor is there fear that the few remaining natives might cause danger to their Ministers, as did happen in the past when they rose in rebellions so much that it was then judged necessary to build a fort to defend against them and establish a garrison of militiamen, as shown by the Royal decrees regarding its construction, that I offer as exhibits, enclosed,¹ which I beg to have returned.

And because we have tried over many years to have reports sent to His Majesty (whom may God save) about said garrison, given that its purpose is not only useless, but also pernicious; indeed, its maintenance requires the work of men, children and adverse effects, when all that would be necessary is one officer with only 25, perhaps 30, positions. However, not one report has been obtained. Consequently:

I beg and beseech Your Grace to accept this presentation and be pleased to arrange for the persons who live in this city and have governed said Islands or lived there for some time, to make declarations under oath and with the solemnity required by law, regarding the content of this my writ, and to provide me with one, two, or more authenticated copies of said declarations, to be used as potential evidence, since this is only justice and a favor that I hope to get from the well-known equity of Your Grace, etc.

Juan Velarde.²

B2. Declaration of General Miguel Fernandez Cárdenas

Original text in Spanish.

Antemi Manuel Silvestre Lopez de Loiz Escrivano publico.

En la Ciudad de Manila, en diez y siete de Diziembre de mill setezientos quarenta y nueve años, Yo el presente Escrivano usando de la Comision que se me comfiere en el auto de la foxa anterior al General Don Miguel Fernandez Cardenas vezino de esta Ciudad a quien rezivi juramento que hizo emforma y conforme a derecho so cuyo cargo prometio dezir verdad en lo que supiere y fuere preguntado y siendo al tenor del escripto de dha foxa anterior Dixo:

Que en el espacio de seis años años que gobierno las Islas Marianas, que fueron desde el de quarenta hasta el de quarenta y seis a lo que se quiere acordar contaria aquel Presi-

1 Ed. note: Attached were copies of the decrees of 30 March 1685 (Doc. 1685Y), and one sent to Esplana in 1686 (Doc. 1686B4).

2 Ed. note: On 16 December 1749, Sergeant-Major Thomas Gomez de Angulo, Mayor of Manila, received the above writ, and ordered that some witnesses be summoned to testify, as follows.

dio como de tres mill almas poco mas o menos, y que ya en dhas Islas no ay Indios gentiles, ni gentilebantisca por ser ya todos pazificos, y que no tiene razon de la fortaleza que se dice erigio el Governador que fue de dhas Islas llamado Sarabia, pues solo ay en un Peñon un Baluarte que mira al mar el qual no tiene arquitectura alguna; Y que gobernando dhas Islas el General Don Francisco de Cardenas Antezesor del Declarante erigio una Fortaleza de cal y canto en el Puerto que llaman de Apra, para resguardo de los Pataches que van de estas Islas de los Piratas del Mar, y no para defenderse de los naturales, por no haver en dichas Islas como lleva asentado ningunos Infieles, ni levantados; Y que es cierto que el menos cavo de los naturales de dhas Islas a nacido de que hombres y mugeres travajaban para la konzervazion y manutencion del dho Presidio, pero que esto a consistido en los sugetos que han gobernado dhas Islas; pues en el tiempo que el que declara las governo solo hacia que la Compañia de Indios Pampangos que ay salariados trabajazen para su manutencion, con lo que eran aliviados dhos naturales, y que segun el estado presente de dhas Islas, y considerando los motivos que tubo dho General Don Franzisco de Cardenas, Antezesor del Declarante p^a haver consultado a su Magestad, sobre que hallava ser conveniente para escusar los crezidos gastos que se le seguian el que para la konzervacion de dhas Islas se mantubiese un Cavo con cinquenta hombres en ellas de los Mestizos Españoles, y Pampangos, Caco llos [sic = naturales?] de ellas por ser gente al proposito al travajo y de valor, hace juicio el declarante ser suficiente para dha konzervazion dho Cavo con dho numero de soldados[.] Todo lo qual dixo ser la verdad so cargo del juramento que tiene fho en que se afirmo y ratifico declarando ser de hedad competente y firmo de que doy fee.

Miguel Fernandez Cardenas.

Manuel Silvestre Lopez de Loíz, escrivano publico.

Translation.

Before me Manuel Silvestre Lopez de Loíz, notary public.

In the city of Manila, on the 17th of December of 1749, I the present notary, making use of the commission conferred upon me in the decree of the previous folio, caused General Miguel Fernandez Cárdenas, a resident of this city, to appear, to whom I administered the oath provided by law, under whose obligation he promised to tell the truth of what he might know and will be asked. Having read the writ appearing on the previous folio, he Declared:

That, during the period of six years that he governed the Mariana Islands, that is, from 1740 to 1746, as far as he can recall, that garrison consisted of a population of about 3,000 souls, more or less, and that there are no more heathen Indians in said Islands, nor semi-gentile either, because they are all peaceful already, and that he has no knowledge of the fort that is said to have been built by a former Governor of said Islands, named Saravia, since there is only a bulwark of nondescript architecture sitting upon a hill overlooking the port.¹ And that while he was governing said Islands, General

¹ Ed. note: This was Fort San Luíz, built in 1737.

Francisco de Cárdenas [Pacheco], his predecessor, built a fort of stone and mortar at the port that is called Apra, for the protection of the pataches that go from these Islands from sea pirates, but not to defend against the natives, since there are no heathen left in said Islands, and no rebels, as said earlier. And that it is true that the detriment of the natives of said Islands has originated from the fact that the men and women work for the preservation and maintenance of said garrison, but that this depended upon the individuals governing said Islands; in fact, during the term of his governance, he only had the Company of Pampangos Indians, those receiving a salary, working for its maintenance, such that said natives were relieved, and that, according to the present state of said Islands, and considering the reasons that said General Francisco de Cárdenas, his predecessor, had for reporting to His Majesty that he found it appropriate, to cut the costs of maintaining said Islands, by maintaining just one officer and 50 men there, out of the Spanish half-breeds, and Pampangos, married locally, because they were people suitable for work and men of valor, this declarant asserts that said officer with said number of soldiers would be a sufficient number for said preservation. All of which he said was the truth, under the oath that he had taken, which he affirmed and ratified, declaring himself to be of a competent age, and he signed, of which I give faith.

Miguel Fernandez Cárdenas.

Manuel Silvestre Lopez de Loís, notary public.

B3. Declaration of General Juan Infante de Sotomayor

Original text in Spanish.

Incontinenti Yo dho Escribano usando de dha mi Comizion hice parecer ante Mi al General Don Juan Infante de Sottomayor Vezino de esta Ciudad, a quien rezivi juramento que hizo emforma y conforme a derecho so cuyo cargo prometio dezir verdad en lo que supiere y fuere preguntado, y siendo le al thenor de dho escripto Dixo:

Que lo que en el asumpto puede declarar es que el ultimo año de los quatro que se mantubo en las Islas Marianas, por los Padrones de los BB. PP. Misioneros de ellas constaban aquellas Islas como de tres mill Almas, entre Naturales, Mestizos, Pampangos, y Españoles, y que ya en ellas no ay Gentiles ni Levantados, que al Declarante no le consta qual sea la fortaleza fabricada por el Governador Sarabia que se refiere en el escripto, a cuyo tenor es examinado, pues el lo ha visto en el Puerto que llaman de la Aguada sobre tres montes que sirven de Baluartes Cavalgados cañones de distintos calibres con que se hacen salva, a los Pataches y Galeones que van de estas Islas, y que el Governador Don Franzisco de Cardenas con ocasion de haver descubierto un Puerto que llaman de Apra fabrico en el un fuerte para el resguardo de dhos Pattaches que van de estas Islas de enemigos Piratas o Cosarios, y no de los Naturales de dhas Islas por no haver en ellas como viene asentado gentiles, ni lebantados; que es cierto que de resien llegado a dhas Islas oyo de los Padres y Españoles antiguos que la causa de yrse acavando los naturales y de no parir las mugeres era por el rezio trabajo que tenian asien[do] las simenteras que hacian p^a la manutencion de la Infanteria Española, y Pam-

panga, como de que tenían las mugeres sacando un sacate, que se cría a la orilla del Mar que llaman Lo para con el hacer chinchorros con que pescan para dha manutención de dha Infantería Española y Pampanga, y que por este trabajo se dezía no parían las Indias lo que vio el que declara por experiencia, aunque dho Governador, Don Franzisco de Cardenas Pacheco, fixo a alibiar a las mugeres de dho trabajo y que lo mismo executo su sucessor, segun tiene el que declara noticia haciendo que los soldados Pampangos cargasen dho trabajo, y que con ocasion de haver ydo el que declara a dhas Islas con dho General Don Franzisco de Cardenas Pacheco le consta consulto a su Magestad al segundo año de su Gobierno¹ pidiendo que de estas Islas se embiasen familias p^a el aumento de los naturales de aquellas para que imbiese quien cultibase la tierras de dhas Islas por ser muy fértiles, y que por la experiencia que tenia en los dos años que havia Governado hallava, o, le parecia conveniente estableciera su Magestad aquel Presidio, no en el pie que estava de Gobierno sino que con un Cavo y cinquenta hombres se mantubiese, y el que declara asi por las razones que oyò de dho General Don Franzisco Cardenas Pacheco siendo tan soldado y militar, y por la experiencia que tiene de quatro años que se mantubo sirviendo en aquel Campo fuera del mismo sentir por que como se hallen ya dhas Islas un bastante numero de mestizos Españoles, y Pampangos y naturales, y estos sean abiles y valerosos de que a resultado el que los Governadores les den plazas asi de soldados como de ofiziales como el Cavo que se nombrare sea militar tendra con los cinquenta hombres que se le señalen, y dhos Mestizos Pampangos, y naturales diziplinandolos gente [siic] bastante para la defenza y conservación de dhas Islas tan nesarias para los Galeones que de estas se despachan como la unica escala que tienen a su torna buelta, todo lo qual dijo ser la verdad so cargo del juramento que tiene fho en que se afirmo y ratifico declarando ser de hedad competente y firmo de que doy fee.

Juan Infante Sottomayor.

Manuel Silvestre Lopez de Loís, escribano publico.

Translation.

Immediately following, I, said notary public, making use of my commission, caused General Juan Infante de Sotomayor, resident of this city, to appear before me, from whom I received an oath made according to law, under whose obligation he promised to tell the truth of what he might know or be asked, and having read said writ to him, he Declared:

That what he can declare about the matter is that during the last of the four years that he lived in the Mariana Islands, according to the census made by the Blessed

¹ Ed. note: See Doc. 1735C1.

Missionary Fathers there, those Islands had a population of about 3,000 souls, including natives, half-breeds, Pampangos, and Spaniards,¹ and that there are no more heathen or rebels there. That he does not recall any fort built by Governor Saravia, mentioned in the writ and the subject of his examination, but he only saw in the port that is referred to as the watering place [i.e. Umatac], on top of three hills that serve as bulwarks, some mounted guns of various calibers, that are used to fire salutes to the pataches and galleons that go from these Islands,² as well as that built by Governor Francisco de Cárdenas, on the occasion of having been explored a port called Apra, where it was meant for the protection of said pataches that go from these Islands from enemy pirates or corsairs, and not from the natives of said Islands, since there are no more heathen or rebels left there, as was said. That it is true that upon arriving at said Islands, he heard the old Fathers and Spaniards say that the cause of the decline of the natives and the lack of fertility of their women was because of the stiff work that they [i.e. the men] had to do in the plantations that existed for the maintenance of the Spanish and Pampango infantrymen, and their women who were collecting grass along the seashore, which they call **Lo** in order to make fish-nets out of them³ and to fish for said maintenance of said Spanish and Pampango infantrymen, and that on account of such work it was said that the Indian women were sterile, and this declarant saw this from experience, although said Governor Francisco de Cárdenas Pacheco arranged for the women to be relieved of such work, and that his successor did the same, according to the notices that this declarant has heard, and he made the Pampango soldiers take over said labor instead, and that on the occasion of this declarant having accompanied said General Francisco de Cárdenas Pacheco to said Islands, he knows for a fact that he did consult His Majesty during the second year of his term as Governor,⁴ requesting that families be sent from these Islands in order to augment the natives overthere, and have them cultivate the soil of said Islands which is very fertile, and that, by the experience that he gained during the two years that he had governed them,⁵ he found or thought it appropriate for His Majesty to [re-]establish that garrison, not on the previous basis as a government, but with only one officer and 50 men to maintain it. The declarant, not only because of the reasons that he heard from said General Francisco Cárdenas Pacheco, who was such a soldier and military man, but also because of the experience that he gained during the four years that he was serving in that Camp, is of the opinion, given that said Islands already have a sufficient number of half-breeds, Spanish and

- 1 Ed. note: It becomes clear that the census of 1737 only recorded the natives, then 2,106 in number (see Doc. 1737D). Therefore also, Juan Infante must have served in Guam from 1734 to 1737. I suppose that he was a General because of his service with Cárdenas against the Moros, since he followed him to Guam (as confirmed below). His services are not mentioned in B&R, except that he was a wealthy citizen of Manila when the English sacked that city in 1762.
- 2 Ed. note: A reference to the guns at Merizo and on both sides of the cove at Umatac.
- 3 Ed. note: Rather "Loo." See HM12:152 where it was first mentioned.
- 4 Ed. note: See Doc. 1735C1.
- 5 Ed. note: This is the only direct reference that I have found to this man having served as interim Governor of the Marianas, most probably in 1736 and 1737.

Pampangos, and natives, and they are able and valorous, as proven by the fact that the Governors have given them positions not only as soldiers but also as officers, the military officer who would be appointed and have 50 men assigned to him, could avail himself of said Pampango half-breeds and natives, who, once trained, are enough for the defence and preservation of said Islands, so necessary for the galleons that are despatched from here, as they are their only stopover on the return voyages. All of which he said was the truth, under the oath he has taken, which was affirmed and ratified, declaring himself as being of a competent age, and he signed, of which I give faith.

Juan Infante Sotomayor.

Manuel Silvestre Lopez de Loís, notary public.

B4. Declaration of Captain Juan Farfán de los Godos

Original text in Spanish.

En la Ciudad de Manila en dho dia mes y año, Yo dho escrivano usando de dha mi Comision hice parecer antemi al Capitan Don Juan Farfan de los Godos vezino de dha Ciudad a quien rezivi juramento que hizo emforma y conforme a derecho so cuio cargo prometio dezir verdad en lo que supiere y fuere preguntado y siendole al tenor de dho escriptto Dixo:

Que en cinco años que se mantubo en las Islas Marianas le parece habra en ellas como tres mill y mas Almas y que ya en dhas Islas no ay Gentiles ni Indios lebandados que el tiempo que se hallava el Declarante en dhas Islas solo vio algunos rexquizzios [rather vestigios] del baluarte, o fortaleza que se dice eregio un Governador que fue de dhas Islas llamado Sarabia, y que al presente se halla una fortaleza eregida por el Governador Don Franzisco de Cardenas Pacheco llamada San Luis situada en la boca del Puerto de Apra, y esta al presente sirve de defender el Puerto de los Piratas del Mar, por no haver ya en dhas Islas como lleva asentado Indios Gentiles ni Levantados de quien poderse reselar, y que solo de los antiguos en dhas Islas, a oydo dezir que trabajan hombres y mugeres para la manutencion de los Prezidiarios, pero en el tiempo que el decla-rante estubo en dhas Islas vio lo contrario, pues trabajavan soldados Pampangos, y Españoles, con que era causa de aumento, y no de disminucion, como se dezia que antes acontecia quando travajaban los naturales hombres y mugeres, y que dho trabajo en dhos naturales, y en expezial en las mugeres, se suspendio en virtud de una Real Zedula y que es cierto que estando en paz y quietud dhas Islas fuera muy suficiente un Cavo, con veinte y cinco o treinta soldados de Guarnizion, pero como sean dhas Islas muy prezisas para los Navios que se despachan de estas Islas por ser la unica escala la que tienen a su tornabuella, y que aprezada por los enemigos pudieran servir de grave daño a dhos Navios y al Comercio de estas dhas Islas, en este caso no solo no considera suficiente dho Cavo, y los veinte y cinco, o treinta soldados, pero ni aun en la Conformidad que esta al presente con toda la Infanteria, que mantiene su Magestad (que Dios guarde) todo lo qual dijo ser la verdad so cargo del juramento que tiene

fecho, en que se afirmo y ratifico declarando ser de edad competente y firmo de que doy fee.

Juan Farfan de los Godos.

Manuel Silvestre Lopez de Loís, escribano publico.

Translation.

In the city of Manila on same day, month and year, I, said notary, making use of my commission, caused Captain Juan Farfán de los Godos, a resident of said city, to appear before me, from whom I took an oath according to law, under whose obligation he promised to tell the truth of what he might know or would be asked, and having read said writ, he Declared:

That, during the five years that he lived in the Mariana Islands, it seems to him that there were over 3,000 souls living there and that there are no longer any heathen or rebel Indians in said Islands, and that during the time that the declarant was in said Islands he only saw some ruins of the bulwark, or fort, that is said to have been built by a Governor of said Islands named Saravia, and that there is at present a fort built by Governor Francisco de Cárdenas Pacheco named San Luís situated in the mouth of the port of Apra, which is meant to serve as a defence of the port against sea pirates, since there are no longer any Indian heathen in said Islands, as already said, nor any rebels who might cause some fear, and that he has only heard it said by old people in said Islands that [native] men and women had worked to maintain the men of the garrison, but during the time that the declarant lived in said Islands, he saw the opposite; indeed, the Pampango and Spanish soldiers were working, and this would have been a cause for the increase, and not for the decrease, as was said to have occurred before, when the native men and women worked, and that said work by said natives, specially in the women, was stopped by virtue of a Royal decree. And that it is true that, since said Islands enjoy peace and tranquility, one officer with 25 or 30 soldiers would be a sufficient garrison, but since said Islands are very necessary for the ships that are despatched from these Islands, being their only stopover during the return voyage, and that once in the possession of enemies they could serve to inflict serious damage on said ships and on the trade of these Islands, in this case, not only does he not consider said officer and 25-30 soldiers as sufficient, but not even the full complement of infantrymen now being maintained by His Majesty (whom may God serve). All of which he said was the truth under the oath that he had taken, which was affirmed and ratified, declaring his age to be competent, and he signed, of which I give faith.

Juan Farfán de los Godos.

Manuel Silvestre Lopez de Loís, notary public.

Document 1750A

Brief description of the Mariana Islands, by F. X. de Villanueva y Chavarri

Source: Extracted from NLA ms. 1459, fol. 34v-37; cited in B&R 53: 337. Note: The original title of the full report can be translated as: "Brief summary and notices of the discovery of New Spain, with the geographical description of those provinces..." The author is said to have been a government official in New Spain.

Original text in Spanish.

Descripcion de las islas Marianas.

Las Islas Marianas o de los Ladrones que pertececen a este Obispado del Zebu estan situadas en el Oceano Oriental al Oriente de las Philipinas de donde distan por lineas Netas 297. leguas y media Castellanas; y se tienden las Islas Norte Sur tomando por gobierno la del [H]ierro por la longitud de 165. grados. Descubriolas el famoso Nautico Fernando Magallanes, pero tomó el primero posesion de ellas Don Miguel Lopez de Legaspi en nombre del Sr. Don Felipe segundo en el año de 1561 [sic] quando iba á la Conquista de las Philipinas, y como sus havitadores huian al ver a nuestras gentes, y se internaban en los bosques, no dejó tropa, ni hizo construir fuerte alguno, ni tampoco se quedaron Misioneros para su reduccion. Mucho tiempo despues los Padres Jesuitas, con el motivo de haver abordado muchas veces á aquellas Islas quando iban ó venian de las Philipinas, propusieron a la Reyna Doña Mariana de Austria (por quien se nombran Marianas) Viuda del Sr. Don Felipe quarto, gobernando el Reyno en la menor edad del Sr. Don Carlos Segundo, el que se embiasen Misioneros, como con efecto se ejecutó, haviendose dado orden al Gobierno de Filipinas para que subministrare los correspondientes socorros, con los quales se consiguió conquistar estas Islas que aunque se hallan situadas debajo de la torrida Zona, es su temperamento mui templado y su tierra bastantemente fertil y abundante.

En el tiempo que escrivia sus Decadas nuestro Chronista Antonio de Herrera solo se conocian 16 Islas unidas desde 12 hasta 17 grados su altura pero haora son mas las descubiertas hasta tocar en los 33 grados y 20 minutos con las Islas de Santa Tecla, y otras circunvecinas que descubrió el Almirante Leandro Cuello, y otros Pilotos de la Carrera por cuios reconocimientos se encuentra que forman como una Cadena que se tiende Norte Sur como queda dicho desde la parte en donde empiezan en frente de la Nueva Guinea hasta cerca del Japon.

De todas las Islas Marianas, que unas estan pobladas, y otras desiertas, las mas conocidas haora son la de Ieguan [sic] ó San Juan Bautista, Sarpana ó Santa Ana, Agui-gan ó Santo Angel, Tinian ó Buenavista Marriana, Saipan ó San Joseph, Anatajan ó San Joaquin, Sarigan ó San Carlos, Pugan ó San Felipe, Almagan, ó la Concepcion, Pagon ó San Ignacio, Agrigan ó San Francisco Xavier, Asonson, ó Asuncion, Maug ó San Lazaro, Urac, Volcan de San Agustin; de todas estas islas la mas conocida y havi-tada es la de Ieguan, ó Guajan que es en donde reside el Governador de estas Islas que tiene el Grado de Capitan General y el sueldo de 110 pesos al mes sugeto al Gobierno y Audiencia de Filipinas. Está esta Isla tendida de Norte Sur como 12 leguas siendo su ancho de 4 à 8; y está la Cabeza del Norte en 13 grados y 55 minutos. Al Nordeste de esta Isla, se halla la de Sarpana en 14 grados, y entre una y otra hay 6 leguas de havra [sic] por donde entran los Galeones que ban de Nueva España, à dar fondo y {la} hacer Escalaf.] A distancia de 14 leguas de Sarpana tiene su asiento la Isla de Tinian que se halla casi en la propia altura, y tendrá 15 leguas de circuito de la qual dista 3 la de Sai-pan que está en la latitud de 15 grados y 20 minutos y en la propia se encuentra a la Isla de Anatajan. tiene su asiento la Ysla de Sarigan en los 17 grados y 35 Minutos de lati-tud, y en la de 45 minutos mas está la de Gugan que tiene 3 leguas su circunferencia, disteando 4 de la antecedente. La Isla de Almagan se halla situada en los 18 grados y 20 Minutos, su latitud en distancia de 3 leguas y media de Gugan y tiene 6 de circun-ferencia, y 14 la de Pagon, en que hay tres bolcanes de fuego y está en la latitud de 13 grados y Minutos, y en la de 20 mas se halla la Isla de Agrigan que dista 10 leguas de la antecedente y 6 de esta. la de Asonso que tiene 6 leguas de circunferencia [sic] se en-cuentra en la latitud de 20 grados y 15 Minutos[.] la de Maug que está en la propia al-tura tendrá de 9 à 10 leguas su contorno y a 5 de ella, y en la misma medida de ella se halla la Isla de Urac que está desierta.

*Ademas de estas Islas hay las 3 de Santa Tecla que se descubrieron en 23 de Diciem-bre del año de 1664 por el Galeon de Filipinas nombrado **San Joseph** y se estienden desde los 34 hasta los 36 grados de latitud, y en todas las referidas, hay diferentes Puer-tos mui buenos y varias ensenadas y Caletas y la Poblacion principal de las Marianas, es la Ciudad de Agaña que es donde reside el Governador.*

...

Translation.

Description of the Mariana Islands.

The Mariana or Ladrones Islands belonging to this bishopric of Cebu are situated in the Eastern Ocean east of the Philippines, the shortest distance separating them being 297-1/2 Castilian leagues. The islands lie north-south along a longitude of 165 degrees with respect to the meridian of [the island of] Hierro [Canary Is.]. They were discovered by the famous navigator Ferdinand Magellan, but the first to take possession of them in the name of King Philip II in the year 1561 [rather 1565] was Miguel Lopez de Le-gaspi when he was going to the conquest of the Philippines. As their inhabitants fled upon seeing our people and hid themselves in the bush, he did not leave any troop nor

had any fort built, nor even left any missionaries for their reduction. A long time afterwards the Jesuit Fathers, having had opportunities to touch many times at those islands on their way to the Philippines or coming from them, proposed to Queen Mariana of Austria (after whom the islands are named), the widow of Philip IV, governing the kingdom in the name of the infant Charles II, to send some missionaries. This was in effect executed, an order having been given to the government of the Philippines to supply the corresponding assistance. With this assistance, the conquest of these islands was achieved. Although they are found located within the torrid zone, their temperature is very temperate and their land sufficiently fertile and abundant.

At the time our historian Antonio de Herrera was writing his *Decades*,¹ only 16 islands were known to run from 12 to 17 degrees in latitude but more have been discovered since, as far as 33 degrees 20 minutes with the Islands of Santa Tecla,² and other neighboring ones discovered [in 1671] by Admiral Leandro Coello³ and other pilots of the [Manila-Acapulco] run, according to whose reckonings it was found that they form a chain extending north-south, as was said, from the place where they begin off New Guinea as far as near Japan.

Among the Mariana Islands, some of which are populated, and others not, the better-known ones now are: the Island of Ieguan [sic] or San Juan Bauista [i.e. Guam], Sarpana or Santa Ana [i.e. Rota], Aguigan or Santo Angel, Tinian or Buenavista Mariana, Saipan or San José, Anatajan or San Joaquin, Sarigan or San Carlos, Gugan or San Felipe, Almagan or Concepción, Pagon or San Ignacio, Agrigan or San Francisco Xavier, Asonson or Asunción, Maug or San Lázaro, Urac, Volcano of San Agustín [i.e. Iwo I.]. The best known of all these islands is the inhabited Island of Ieguan or Guajan where the Governor of these islands resides, who holds the rank of Captain General and the salary of 110 pesos per month, subordinated to the Government and Audiencia of the Philippines. This island stretches north-south about 12 leagues, and is from 4 to 8 in width. The northern point is 13 and 1/2 degrees in latitude and the southern point 12°55'. To the northeast of this island is found that of Sarpana in 14° and between the two there is an opening of 6 leagues through which pass the galleons that go from New Spain to anchor and make a stopover. At a distance of 14 leagues from Sarpana is the Island of Tinian which is located almost on its own parallel [i.e. that of 15°] and would have about 15 leagues in circumference. Three leagues away is Saipan which is in latitude 15°20' and on its own parallel is to be found the Island of Anatajan. Sarigan is situated in 17°35' latitude, and at 45' beyond is Gugan that is 3 leagues in circumference and distant 4 from the previous one. The island of Alamagan is found situated in 18°20' in latitude, 3-1/2 leagues from Gugan, and is 6 in circumference, and 14 from

1 Ed. note: The first edition of this book was in 1601.

2 Ed. note: The islands found in this latitude are the Hachijo Islands, but some Spanish maps (e.g. those of 1793) place them above 34° (see also below); so, the islands that were seen by the Spanish may have been the Mikura, or Miyake, Islands, or Izu Islands.

3 Ed. note: Recorded as admiral in charge of the galleon **San Diego** that returned to the Philippines in 1672.

Pagon on which there are three active volcanos and is in latitude 19 degrees and [blank] minutes, and 20 [minutes] beyond there is the Island of Agrigan distant 10 leagues from the previous one and 6 from that of Asonso [sic] which is 6 leagues in circumference and is found in latitude 20°15'. That of Maug which has its own parallel [i.e. 21°] would be from 9 to 10 leagues in circumference, and at 5 [leagues] from it and with the same size is found the Island of Urac which is uninhabited.

In addition to these islands, there are the three Islands of Santa Tecla that were discovered on 23 December 1664 by the Philippine galleon named **San José** and stretch from 34 to 36 degrees of latitude. In all the above islands, there are various very good ports and various bays and coves. The main settlement of the Marianas is the city of Agaña which is where the Governor resides.

Document 1750B

Letter from Fr. Velarde to Fr. Castañeda, dated Manila 6 September 1750

Source: BNM mss. 18672 (P.V. Fol. C35, n° 11); copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 3, pp. 109-110.

Two missionaries left at Guam by Fr. Juan Calvo

Original text in Spanish.

Mi Padre Procurador General Francisco de Castañeda.

P. C. etc^a

Es inescusable el molestar à V.R^a en esta ocasion con este pliego de ese cajoncito; Porque el Señor Arzobispo Metropolitano de estas Islas, a quien devemos tanto que es imposible sin nota de ingratitud, el negarselo; Me suplicò que por esta via del Oriente le encaminase à V.R^a por estar persuadido, a que solo de este modo van seguros, y mas promptamente los despachos que contiene para la Corte de muchissima importancia. Los demas pliegos contienen cartas, que las mas son de los nuestros para donde ellas dicen, y algunas otras del Señor Governador, sus familiares, y de los señores Oydores las que no dudo irà V.R^a distribuyendo segun se ofreciere la ocasion. Otro pliego và para V.R^a del Sargento Mayor Don Juan de Monterroso, que es segunda ó tercera via de los despachos que ya remitiò por la via de Mexico, y espero que V.R^a le ayude en su pretencion; Pues es persona digna de nuestro agradecimiento y lo que pretende no es cosa de mucho empeño.

En este presente año por el mes de Julio llegò à estas Islas el Governador de ellas Señor Marques de Ovando, quien cassò en la Puebla de los Angeles, con una señorita de la misma Casa y apellido, con la que llegó acá, y un niño que les nacio en el mar y en compañía del Maestre de Campo, dos Oydores y el Fiscal de esta Audiencia: Dicho Señor Marques en el poco tiempo que hà que gobernar, à mostrado especial talento: Nos professa especialissimo afecto, y gusta mucho de dirigirse por nuestros dictámenes; Y assi apenas entrò, y viò estas Islas en el miserable estado en que las han puesto los moros, diò providencia para la fabrica de galeras, que es el unico freno, que los contiene segun lo ha mostrado la experiencia, y por falta de ellas se [h]a visto esta cristianidad en estos ultimos años, a punto ya de perderse.

*En el mismo Navio llegó la Mission del Padre Procurador Joseph Calvo, de que, **haviendo quedado dos sugetos en Marianas**, llegaron aca veinte y quatro, socorro bien necesario por la suma necesidad de sugetos, en que ya nos veíamos.*

*Antes de ayer de la fecha entrò en el Puerto de Cavite la Nave nombrada la **Favorita**, que es la misma que llevó de aqui à Pondicheri à nuestros Padres Procuradores Pedro Murillo Velarde y Bernardo Pazuengos; y me escribe el Padre Gasto[n] Laurencio Coeurdour, Superior de aquellas Misiones que sin embargo de que el navio nombrado el **Principe** havia salido de las Mascareñas à 4 de Maio, tenían ya la noticia de que avia montado con felicidad el Cavo de Buena Esperanza: Con que à la hora de esta pueden estar allà: Siendo assi que, si huvieran de ir por la via ordinaria de la America, no huvieran aun salido de estas Islas: Conveniencia bien notable de lo seguro, breve, y ligero del viage junto con el ahorro de gastos, Pues puedo asegurar con verdad que solos sus muchachos por la via de Nueva España costaban à esta Provincia mas que quanto han costado en esta ocasion, unos y otros puestos allà.*

No ay novedades mas especiales, que poder comunicar, y solo suplico otra vez el que V.R.^a perdone mis muchas molestias, no olvidandose de mi delante de Dios, a quien suplico me Guarde à V.R.^a como desseo.

Manila y Septiembre 6 de 1750.

Muy siervo de V.R.^a

Jhs

Juan de Velarde.

Translation.

My Father Procurator General, Francisco de Castañeda.

Peace of Christ, etc.

It is unavoidable for me to bother Your Reverence on this occasion with that small crate full of documents, because some are from His Lordship the Metropolitan Archbishop of these Islands, to whom we owe so much that it is impossible to deny him without showing ingratitude; he begged me to send them to Y.R. by this eastern route, because he is persuaded that this is the only secure means of transport, and that the very important despatches for the Court [i.e. Madrid] that have been included will get there faster. The other documents are mostly letters from our people and they bear individual addresses. Some others are from His Lordship the Governor, his family members, and from the Members of the Audiencia, and I have no doubt that Y.R. will be distributing them as occasion might offer. Another file is for Y.R. from Sergeant-Major Juan de Monteroso, and this is the second or third set of despatches that he has already sent by way of Mexico, and I hope that Y.R. will help him with his claim; indeed, he is a person worthy of our gratitude and what he claims is not something that requires much work.

In July of the present year, there arrived at these Islands their Governor, the Marquis of Obando, who got married in Puebla de los Angeles to a young lady from his own House and same last name, whom he brought along and who bore him a child

while at sea. Accompanying him were the Master-of-camp, two Members and the Fiscal of this Audiencia. In the little time that he has been here, said Marquis has shown a special talent for governing. He professes a very special affection toward us, and he enjoys seeking our opinions on various matters. So, he had hardly begun his term and seen the miserable state into which the Moros have placed these Islands, when he issued orders for the construction of galleys; that is the only curb that can refrain them, as experience has shown, and for lack of them this Christian community has been on the brink of disaster these past few years.

Aboard the same ship arrived the mission band led by Father Procurator José Calvo. **After he left two individuals in the Marianas**, the total number of those who arrived here was 24, a succor that is very necessary, given the extreme need of subjects, that we felt already.¹ The day before yesterday there came into the port of Cavite the ship named **Favorita** which is the same ship that took our Fathers Procurators Pedro Murillo Velarde and Bernardo Pazuengos from here to Pondichéry [last year]. Father Gaston Laurent Coeurdour, Superior of those Missions writes to me that, notwithstanding the news that the ship named **Prince** had left the Mascareigne Islands on 4 May, they have already learned that it succeeded in rounding the Cape of Good Hope. So, on the date of this letter, it has probably arrived overthere. The fact is, if they would have gone by the ordinary way, via America, they might not even have left these Islands: a very noticeable convenience resulting from a safer, faster, and more comfortable voyage, in addition to cost savings. In fact, I can assure you truthfully that the expenses to send only their servants by way of New Spain would have cost this Province more than all of them have cost on this occasion to go all the way there.

There are no other special news worth communicating. I only beg Y.R. once more to forgive my many bothers, and please do not forget me before God, whom I pray to save Y.R. as I wish.

Manila, 6 September 1750.

Y.R.'s humble servant,

JHS

Juan de Velarde.

¹ Ed. note: The names of the two new Mariana missionaries are not given. Fr. Blesa was one of them, as shown in Doc. 1746E, where it is said that there were only 23 who left Spain with Fr. Calvo. I make the hypothesis that there were 2-3 volunteer brothers ("donados") added to this mission band in Mexico, one of which must have been the mysterious Brother Loraque, who remained in Guam after the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1769.

Documents 1750C

Three missionaries left Spain in 1750 to go to the Marianas

Sources: AGI Contratación 5550/5 (ex-45-2-7/10); copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 16, folios 200-210v.

Note: The application for the support of 44 new Jesuit missionaries (40 priests and 4 coadjutors) was made by Fr. San Cristobal on 12 January 1748, and first approved by the King on 3 February 1748; the complete petition is in AGI Fil. 97.

C1. File cover

1750.—Mission band of the Society of Jesus for the missions of the Province of San Ignacio of the Philippines.—Main Accounting Office of the House of Trade.

It consists of 38 Religious, 34 of whom are priests and the other 4 Coadjutors, granted by His Majesty by Royal decree of 20 February 1748, issued at the request of Fr. Pedro de San Cristobal, Procurator General of said Province of San Ignacio.

...

C2. List of the individuals who are part of the mission band,

giving their names, places of origin, distances to Cadiz, number of days of travel, up to and including 8 July of the present year, date of their embarkation, and what they are entitled to as travel expenses granted by H.M. in his Royal decree dated Buen Retiro 20 February 1748, countersigned by his Secretary, Don Fernando Triviño, as a result of the petition of Father Pedro de San Cristobal who is going as their Superior, as follows:

1. Fr. Pedro de San Cristobal, Superior.
2. Fr. Juan Silverio, came from Palencia, left there on 11 February 1750;
3. Fr. Esteban Vilar, came from Taragona, 13 February 1750;
4. Fr. Joseph Maurer, came from Prague, 13 February 1749;
5. Fr. Ignacio Sata, came from Caller, 8 July 1749;
6. Fr. Mateo Stiler, came from Prague, 28 January 1749;
7. Fr. Ignacio Gesner, came from Crast, 13 January 1749;
8. Fr. Luis Knapp, came from Ingolstadt [Bavaria], 18 January 1749;

- 9. Fr. Francisco Estengel, came from Prague, 28 February 1749;**
10. Fr. Ignacio Tirsch, came from Prague, 28 February 1749;
11. Fr. Ignacio Descullar, came from Zaragoza, 17 February 1750;
12. Fr. Fernando Xavier Ibañez, came from Valladolid, 21 February 1750;
13. Fr. Manuel Elizalde, came from Pamplona, 20 February 1748;
14. Fr. Francisco Hidalgo, came from Pamplona, 20 February 1748;
15. Fr. Francisco Mesola, came from Prague, 21 January 1749;
16. Fr. José Paber, came from Prague, 21 January 1749;
17. Br. Gerónimo Serrano, came from Valencia, 21 February 1750;
18. Br. Agustín Ruiz, came from Murcia, 2 April 1750;
19. Br. Joachin Ramos, came from Salamanca, 23 February 1750;
20. Br. Bernabe Limia, came from Salamanca, 23 February 1750;
21. Br. Salvador de Guerci, came from Caller, 6 July 1749;
- 22. Br. Miguel Roldán, came from Valladolid, 20 February 1748;**
23. Br. Francisco de Ortiz, came from Murcia, 2 April 1750;
24. Br. Francisco Barreyro, came from Salamanca, 28 May 1749;
25. Br. José Anda, came from Logroño, 12 February 1749;
26. Br. Francisco Badiola, came from Pamplona, 27 June 1749;
27. Br. Fernando de Arroyo, came from Ecija, 5 November 1748;
28. Br. Andres Rodriguez, came from Seville, 12 December 1748;
29. Br. Juan Fernandez Valderrama, came from Madrid, 12 February 1749;
30. Br. Carlos Oduyer, came from Cordoba, 25 March 1749;
31. Br. Bartolomé Abellón, came from Murcia, 12 April 1750;
32. Br. Andrés Borrego, came from Ecija, 11 January 1750;
33. Br. Francisco de la Rosa, came from Salamanca, 23 February 1750;
34. Br. José Cariguela, came from Gandia, 20 April 1750;
35. Br. Juan Plaza, came from Murcia, 24 April 1750;
36. Br. Antonio de Torres, came from Murcia, 20 February 1748;
37. Br. Pedro de Arostegui, came from Bilbao, 12 May 1748;
38. Br. José Domosain, came from Pamplona, 2 August 1748;
39. Br. Matías Fortic, came from Zaragoza, 21 February 1750.

C3. Physical inspection of the missionaries before boarding

1. Fr. Pedro de San Cristobal, Superior, 54 years old;
2. Fr. Juan Silverio, born in Alcantara, Priory of Alcantara, in Extremadura, 36 years old, M.C. [= average-size body, or medium build], white complexion, very light beard, and a spot of white hair over his forehead;
3. Fr. Esteban Vilar, born in the Town of Olot, Diocese of Cataluña, 40 years old, average body, long face, dark complexion, beginning baldness, blue eyes;
4. Fr. Joseph Maurer, born in Vienna, Austria, Diocese of Vienna, 29 years old, average body, white complexion, slim, long nose, and light brown hair;

5. Fr. Ignacio Sata, born in Mamoyada, Diocese of Oristan in Sardinia, 32 years old, tall, light brown complexion, wide face, and beginning baldness;

6. Fr. Matheo Stiler, born in Brno, Diocese of Olmutz, in Moravia, 30 years old, average body, white complexion, big, thin beard, wide forehead, and blue eyes;

7. Fr. Ignacio Gesner, born in Vallemarcia, Diocese of Mileglad, in Styria [i.e. Austria], 34 years old, average body, wide face, thick lips, light brown hair;

8. Fr. Luis Knapp, born in Rheinfelden, Diocese of Basel, in Suevia,¹ 30 years old, average body, white complexion, slim, thin beard, wide forehead, light blue eyes, and brown hair;

9. Fr. Francisco Estengel, born in Bresni,² Archdiocese of Prague, in Bohemia, 38 years old, corpulent, white complexion, slim, blue eyes, wide forehead, long nose, and light brown hair.³

10. Fr. Ignacio Tirsch, born in Oppavia, Diocese of Olmutz, 38 years old, average body, white complexion, wide face, light brown hair, and small mole on the left side of his face;

11. Fr. Ignacio Dezcallar, born in Palma, Diocese of Mayorca, 24 years old, average body, white complexion, slim, thin beard, and brown hair;

12. Fr. Francisco Xavier Ibañez, born in Torre Mormojon, Diocese of Palencia, 24 years old, tall, white complexion, thin beard, deep-set eyes, dark brown hair, and a mole on the left side of his face;

13. Fr. Manuel Elizalde, born in Barasoain, Diocese of Pamplona, 27 years old, average body, slim, white complexion, thin beard, black hair and eyebrows;

14. Fr. Francisco Hidalgo, born in Pamplona, Diocese of Pamplona, 27 years old, average body, light-brown ruddy complexion, black hair and beard, and long nose;

15. Fr. Francisco Mesola, born in Nicolsburg, Diocese of Olmutz, 26 years old, tall, white complexion, white face, thin beard, blond beard and hair;

16. Fr. Joseph Paber, born in Brno, Diocese of Olmutz, 27 years old, corpulent, white complexion, fat, light brown hair, and blue-green eyes;

17. Br. Geronimo Serrano, born in Calzens, Diocese of Taragona, 24 years old, small build, light brown complexion, black hair and beard, and long nose;

18. Br. Augustin Ruiz, born in Zierar, Diocese of Cartagena, Kingdom of Murcia, 24 years old, slim, dark complexion, round face, bushy beard, and black hair;

19. Br. Joaquin Ramos, born in Rubi de Bracamonte, Diocese of Avila and Valladolid, 25 years old, corpulent, white complexion but patchy in color, wide face, thin beard, and some marks of smallpox;

20. Br. Bernabe Limia, born in Villamayor de la Girona, Diocese of Orense, 22 years old, small build, light brown complexion, slim, very light beard, and black hair;

1 Ed. note: Now part of Switzerland. Rheinfelden is about 20 km east of Basel.

2 Ed. note: Rather Bredznitz.

3 Ed. note: Fr. Stengel had departed from Prague on 28 February 1749 and arrived at the Hospice of the Port of Santa Maria (i.e. Cadiz) on 6 July 1749, where he waited one year to embark. He did not reach the Marianas until 1752.

21. Br. Salvador de Guerci, born in Gavoy, Diocese of Oristan, in Sardinia, 24 years old, average body, light brown complexion, thin beard, black hair and eyebrows, and blue eyes;

22. Br. Miguel Roldan, born in the Town of Arevalo, Diocese of Avila, 23 years old, average body, white complexion, wide face, very light beard and dark brown hair;

23. Br. Francisco de Ortiz, born in Zervera, Diocese of Calahorra, in Rioja, 23 years old, tall, light-brown ruddy complexion, thin beard, thick lips, and nose bent to the left;

24. Br. Francisco Barreyro, born in Dos Iglesias, Archdiocese of Santiago, 22 years old, average body, white complexion, thin beard, black hair and eyebrows;

25. Br. Joseph Anda, born in Arenzana, Diocese of Calahorra, 21 years old, corpulent, white complexion, slim, thin beard, long nose, and light sign of a wound, or the small pox, on the right eyebrow;

26. Br. Francisco Badiola, born in Azcoutia, in Vizcaya, Diocese of Pamplona, 23 years old, P.C. [sic], white complexion, slim, black eyes and hair, and thin beard;

27. Br. Fernando de Arroyo, born in Ecija, Archdiocese of Seville, 17 years old, small build, white complexion, slim, thin beard and light brown hair;

28. Br. Andres Rodriguez, born in Ecija, 16 years old, Archdiocese of Seville, 16 years old, small build, white complexion, beardless, and black hair;

29. Br. Juan Fernandez Valderrama, born in Ameyugo, in the Archdiocese of Burgos, 21 years old, average body, white complexion, but patchy in color, thin beard, and black hair;

30. Br. Carlos Oduyer, born in the Town of Borja, Archdiocese of Zaragoza, 20 years old, tall, white complexion, slim, very light beard, small mouth, and light brown hair;

31. Br. Bartolome Abellan, born in the Town of Jumilla, Diocese of Cartagena, 17 years old, small build, light brown complexion, beardless, black hair and eyebrows;

32. Br. Andres Borrego, born in Ecija, Archdiocese of Seville, 16 years old, small build, light brown complexion, beardless, black hair and eyebrows;

33. Br. Francisco de la Rosa, born in Salamanca, Diocese of Salamanca, 21 years old, average body, light brown complexion, thin beard, and black hair;

34. Br. Joseph de Cariguela, born in Segorbe, Diocese of Segorbe, 27 years old, average body, dark complexion, beard close to face, a few signs of smallpox, black hair and eyebrows;

35. Br. Antonio de Torres, born in Albacete, Diocese of Cartagena, 21 years old, average body, light brown complexion, thin beard, black hair and eyebrows;

36. Br. Pedro de Arostegui, born in the Town of Lans, Diocese of Pamplona, 24 years old, above average body, white complexion, slim, thin beard, and sign of a large wound on the left side, under the jawbone;

37. Br. Joseph Domesain, born in Añorbe, in same Diocese, 26 years old, corpulent, above average body, slim, light brown complexion, wide face, thin beard, and face marked by smallpox, one mole on the face and another on the neck, left side;

38. Br. Mathias Fortic, born in Huesca, of same Diocese, 25 years old, average body, white complexion, wide forehead, thin beard, wide nose, and dark brown hair.

They are the 38 Religious who are priests and 8 more who are students, plus the coadjutor brothers, all part of the band approved by H.M.

Cadiz, 25 June 1750.

José Ruiz de Zenzano

After the above had been inspected, another Religious, a student, appeared, with the following hometown, age, and signs:

—Br. Juan Plaza, born in Molina, Diocese of Cartagena, 17 years old, average size, slim, dark complexion, thick bottom lip, and beardless, black hair.

Cadiz, 4 July 1750.

Zenzano.

Documents 1750D

Some Spanish documents now located in England

D1. Journal of a voyage from Acapulco to Manila, by Pilot Bartholome Alcorrea

Source: BL Add. Mss. 17,583, fol. 308; cited in B&R 53:337.

Note: This ms. book (Tome IX) was also purchased from Michelena y Roxas.

Original text in Spanish.

Derrotero de las Philipinas desde el Puerto de Acapulco hasta Manila.

Del Puerto de Acapulco, que està en 17 grados, y 15 minutos septentrionales, y en 177 grados de longitud occidental, contando el primer grado en el meridiano fixo, que pasa por el Cuervo Ysla de los Azores ha de ser la derrota para la Ysla de Guano [sic], que es la mas al Sur de la de los Ladrones 60 leguas poco mas ó menos hasta bajar à 14 grados al Sudueste, y al oes sudueste hasta dar en las brizas generales, y por los dhos 14 grados 14 grados navegan 1200 leguas porque por este Paralelo continuan los Vientos Norte hasta el Nordeste, y frescos que demos de portarle à la Nao todas las velas da a toda la gente mucha salud, y andadas las dhas 1200 leguas ha se de bajar al Oeste quarta al sudueste hasta 13 grados 1/2 y por ellos à buscar la dha Ysla de Guana [sic] que habiendo andado con todo el camino hecho 1800 leguas poco mas, ó menos daras en medio de aquesta, cituada como dicho tengo en 13 grados y 1/2 septentrionales, y en 180 occidentales que es en el mismo meridiano, oposito al de los Azores.

De la Ysla de Guano [sic] para el Cavo del Espiritu Santo, que es el angulo mas al Norte, y mas al oriente de la Ysla de Tandaya se ha de gobernar al Oeste quarta al Sudueste hasta bajar à 12 grados 2/3 septentrionales, y andadas pues los dhos 12 grados 2/3 y por el demas camino 280 leguas pocas mas, ó menos, daras à la Isla de Cantanduanes, y en la boca de Ybalon, y hacer algun mal recaudo. Està situado el dho Cavo del Espiritu Santo en 160 grados orientales, contando como dho tengo del dho Meridiano de los Azores al Oriente.

...

Translation.

Sailing directions for the Philippines, from the port of Acapulco to Manila.

From the port of Acapulco, which is in 17°15' latitude north, and in 177° longitude west of the first meridian that passes by the Cuervo in the Azores, one has to make his route for the Island of Guano [sic = Guam], which is the southernmost of the Ladrones, by going SW for 60 leagues, more or less, until one has reached 14°, and SSW until encountering the tradewinds, and by following the parallel of 14°14' for 1,200 leagues, because along this parallel the winds from N to NE blow continuously fresh, so that the galleon is given full sails and the people remains in full health. After said 1,200 leagues have been covered, one must go down W1/4SW until reaching 13°30' and it is at this latitude that one must look for said Island of Guana [sic]. After covering a total distance of 1,800 leagues more or less, you will hit the middle of this island, situated as I have said in 13°30' lat. north, and in 180° west of the basic meridian, opposite to that of the Azores.¹

From the Island of Guano [sic] for the Cape of Espiritu Santo, which is the northernmost and easternmost corner of the Island of Tandaya [i.e. Samar], one must steer W1/4SW until reaching 12°45' lat. north, and then run along said 12°45' for 280 leagues more or less. You will hit the Island of Catanduanes, and in the channel of Ibalon,² and meet with some bad landmark. Said Cape of Espiritu Santo is situated in 160° E, with respect, as I have said, to said meridian of the Azores.

...

D2. An account of the Philippines, translated by Admiral Hyde Parker in 1762

Source: BL Add. Mss. 19,295; cited in B&R 53:367.

Introduction.

As the author says in his preface, that he wrote this history basing on Spanish works which he says he "collected" at Manila during his service there, in 1762. It is based on the printed *Cronicas* of Fray de San Gregorio, and Jesuit works by Colin, Combés, and Murillo, as well as the works of Antonio Perez Gil, Admiral Cabrera Bueno, and printed ordinances for navigation. Therefore, it is all second-hand information, the relevant parts of which I have already published in this series.

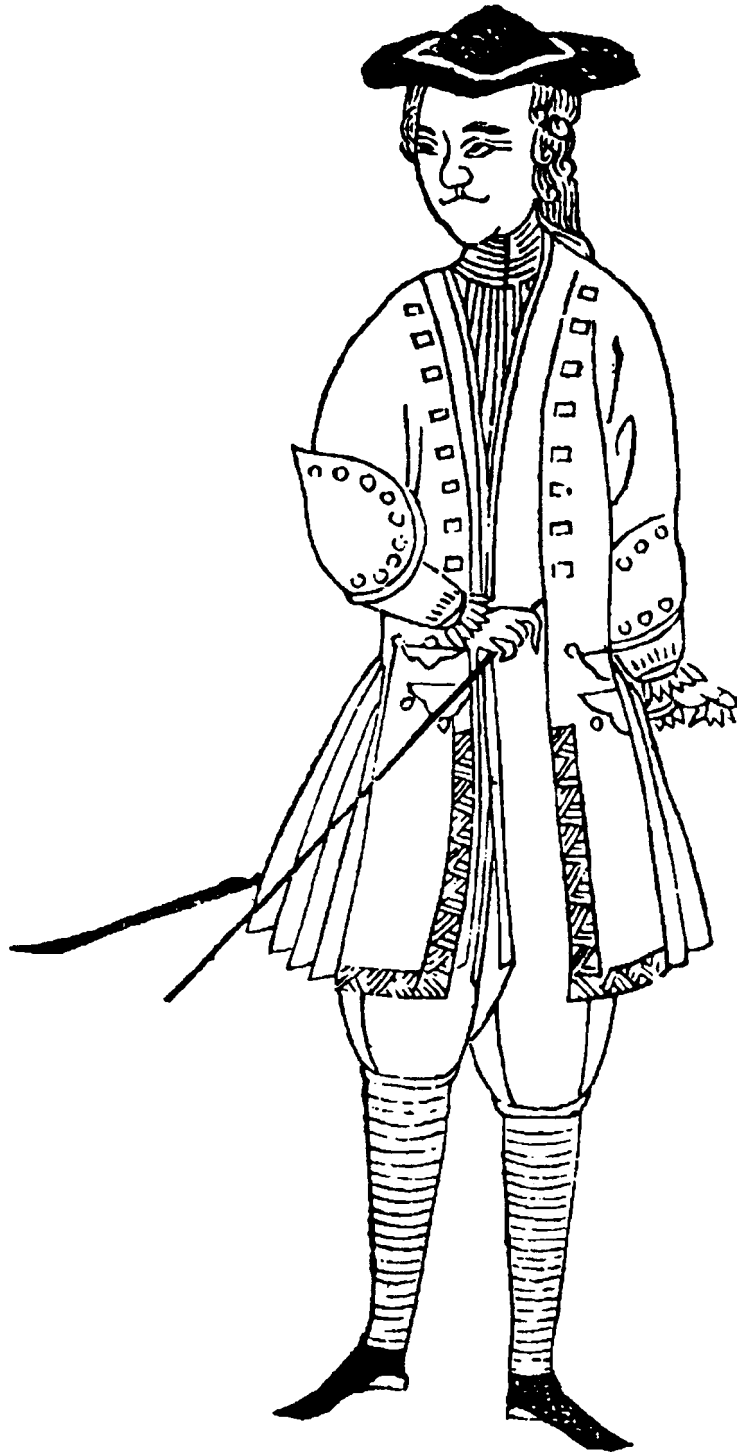
-
- 1 Ed. note: Since the Island of Corvo in the Azores is situated 21° W of Greenwich, according to him, Guam would then be at 151° W of Greenwich (an error of over 6 degrees.).
 - 2 Ed. note: Since Ibalon was then an old name for Sorsogon Bay, this document must have been written perhaps in the 17th century. The author's name is not listed in B&R.

Excerpts from this manuscript book.

...
The principal object of my design was from these materials to form a directory for the Navigation of the [Philippine] Archipelago but it is with great concern that I find them wanting much of the precision and exactness necessary for this purpose...

Had the Geography and strength of these Islands been better understood before our late expedition I am persuaded the success of it might have been more complete. The seizing the treasure landed on the Island Samar and reduction of the fort of Samboangan on the Island Mindanao were objects of great importance both to the public and ourselves. Had our Commanders been acquainted with the strength and situation of the Island Samar they must have known that with an inconsiderable force they might infallibly have possessed themselves both of the Island and treasure. It cannot be thought that in that case they would have been killed asleep by a capitulation and by such a Capitulation as I believe cannot be easily matched it bears the marks of an original in more respect than one for in the first place it was made after Manila had been taken by storm; in the second the Articles of it were kept a profound secret...

...
[This ms. is divided into the following headings: Names of the islands; Temperature (meaning climate); Soil; Fertility; Natural riches; Food of the Indians; Fruit, Timber trees, Medicinal plants; Birds and Bees; Fish and animals; Luconia (i.e. Luzon); Province of Albay; Province of Camarines; Province of Tayabas; Province of Cagayan; Province of Ilocos; Province of Pangasinan; Province of Mariveles; Province of Bulacan; Province of Tondo; Province of Laguna de Bay; Province of Balayan; Province of Cavite; Province of the Islands Samar and Leyte; Island Negros; Province of Cebu; Island Bohol; Province and Island of Panay; Island of Mindoro; Province and Islands of Calamianes; Paragua; Description of the City of Manilla and its Fortifications; Province of Pampanga, fort of Mamalos; Province of Pangasinan, fort of Playa Honda; Province of Cagayan, fort San Francisco; Cavicunga Fort; Capinatan Fort; Ticao Fort; Ilagud Fort; Fortifications of the province and Island Panay; Iloilo Fort; Fort on the Island Romblon; Fortifications belonging to the Province of Calamianes; Fort on the Island Cayo; Fort on the Island Sutaya; Fort on the Island Sinacapan; Fort of Culion; Fort in the City Cebu.]



European gentleman, by a Chinese artist ca. 1750.

Document 1751A

Letter of Fray Arriaga concerning the voyage of the galleon **Santísima Trinidad** in 1751

Source: AGN Reales Cédulas, vol. 75, exp 63, pp. 1795-1796.

*Summary note: Fr. Julian de Arriaga reports to the Marquis of Amarillas on the arrival of the galleon **Santísima Trinidad** that took two subsidies to the Marianas.*

Letter from Fray Julian Arriaga to the Viceroy, dated Madrid 23 September 1755

Original text in Spanish.

*El Concejo de Indias ha hecho presente al Rey en consulta de 24 de Julio de este año su dictamen con motivo de lo ocurrido en Acapulco con la llegada del galeon de Philipinas nombrado la **Santísima Trinidad**, y de las providencias que avisó el antecesor de V.E., Conde de Revilla Gigedo, en carta de 30 de Julio de 1751, habia dado enviado en él dos situados para las citadas islas, y dos para las Marianas como también dos compañías de a 50 hombres con el fin de acudir a su defensa, disponiendo que la paga de sueldo de la tripulación se executase según se había practicado en otras ocasiones, y habiendo sido de la aprobación de S.E. todo lo executado por el antecesor de V.E. en el arribo del citado galeon la **Santísima Trinidad**, lo participe a V.E. para que se halle en esta intelegencia.*

Dios guarde a V.E. muchos años.

Madrid 23 de Septiembre de 1755.

El B° F. Julio de Arriaga

[Al] Sr. Marqués de las Amarillas.

Translation.

The Council of the Indies has let the King know, in a consultation dated 24 June of this year, its opinion concerning what happened at Acapulco upon the arrival of the Philippine galleon named **Santísima Trinidad**, and the measures taken by the predecessor of Y.E., the Count of Revilla Gigedo, in a letter dated 30 July 1751, in which he said that he had sent aboard it two subsidies for the above-mentioned Islands, and two for the Marianas, as well as two companies of 50 men each for the purpose of attend-

ing to their defence, and arranging for the pay of the salary of the crew to be made in accordance with what had been practiced on other occasions. Since such measures taken by the predecessor of Y.E. upon the arrival of said galleon **Santísima Trinidad** had met with the approbation of His Excellency, I let it be known to Y.E. for your information.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Madrid, 23 September 1755.

Bailiff Fray Julian de Arriaga.

[To] the Marquis of Amarillas.¹

¹ Ed. note: The Marquis of Amarrillas became Viceroy of New Spain in 1755. His name was Agustín de Ahumada y Villaflor.

Documents 1751B

Further on immigration to the Marianas, etc.

B1. Royal decree of 30 December 1751

Sources: AGI Fil. 478; also in Ultramar 562, n° 5.

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

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

*En dos cartas de veinte y uno de Agosto del año de mil setecientos cuarenta y ocho, y de veinte de Junio de mil setecientos cuarenta y nueve, dió cuenta el Obispo de la Nueva Segovia, vuestro antecesor, en la primera acompañando un testimonio de las diligencias practicadas para el cumplimiento de la Real Cédula en que se mandó. que para el establecimiento de las Islas Marianas, se fuese remitiendo cierto número de familias voluntarias con las calidades y en la conformidad, que en ella se señala, cuyas providencias dice quedaron sin efecto desde el año de mil setecientos cuarenta y tres, pero que con motivo de hallarse en esa Ciudad de Manila Don Enrique de Olavide y Michelena proximo á hacer viage para ir á servir el Gobierno de las mismas Islas Marianas, le instruyó de lo que deberia ejecutar y que con el se remitian seis familias, y que se iria continuando en embiar otras tantas en cada ocasion y en la segunda carta participó la arribada y perdida del Patache nombrado **Santo Domingo** que el año antecedente habia salido del Puerto de Cavite para las Islas Marianas, á conducir el situado espresando al propio tiempo que se quedaba entendiendo en su averiguacion, ofreciendo dar cuenta de sus resultas, y añadiendo que las familias que iban destinadas no querian proseguir su viage, ni se habian ofrecido otras temerosas de algun acaecimiento, pero que sin embargo quedaba con el cuidado de que en las ocasiones siguientes se fuesen remitiendo las que se pudiesen.*

Y habiendo visto en mi Consejo de las Indias las citadas cartas, y autos con lo espuesto por mi fiscal ha parecido ordenaros y mandaros como lo egecuto, que con el mayor celo y aplicacion evaquen las diligencias que previene la Real Cédula de veinte y ocho de Mayo de mil setecientos cuarenta y uno por ser muy combeniente á mi Real servicio la subsistencia y fomento de las referidas Islas Marianas.

Fecha en el Buen Retiro á treinta de Diciembre de mil setecientos cincuenta y uno.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, José Ignacio de Goyeneche

Translation.

The King.

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

In two letters, dated 21 August 1748 and 20 June 1749, the Bishop of New Segovia, your predecessor, reported in the first letter in question, enclosing the record of the proceedings carried out to comply with the Royal decree ordering a certain number of volunteer families to be sent to the Mariana Islands for their [re-] establishment. those meeting the qualifications mentioned therein. Said measures, he said, had remained ineffective since the year 1743, but, on the occasion of Don Enrique de Olavidé y Michelena being in that city of Manila, and about to make his voyage to the same Mariana Islands and take over their government, he instructed him on what to do, telling him that six families were being sent with him, and that as many families would continue to be sent on every occasion.

In the second letter, he reported the return in distress and loss of the patache named **Santo Domingo** that had left the port of Cavite the previous year to go to the Mariana Islands to convey the subsidy, expressing at the same time that he was having an inquiry held, promising to send the results thereof, and adding that the families that were destined to the Marianas no longer wished to pursue the voyage, nor had any other volunteered, fearful of meeting the same fate, but that nevertheless he would continue to try and send some families on the following occasions.

And said letters, and records, having been seen in my Council of the Indies, along with what my Fiscal said about them, I have decided to order you (as I do now) to apply greater care and diligence in transacting the provisions contained in my Royal decree dated 28 May 1741,¹ since the subsistence and development of said Mariana Islands are very convenient to my Royal service.

Made at Buen Retiro, 30 December 1751.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord, José Ignacio de Goyeneche.

B2. The opinion of the Jesuits, dated 20 May 1754

Source: AGI Ultramar 562, n° 5.

Original text in Spanish.

Juan Moreno de la Compañía de Jesus y su Provincial en estas Islas respondiendo al ruego y encargo de V. Señoría, digo: Que prevendré y apretadamente ordenaré á mis

1 Ed. note: Doc. 1741A1.

subditos de las Islas Marianas que cuanto es de su parte cooperen y hagan todo lo imposible [sic] en orden á que se de cumplimiento á la voluntad del Rey Nuestro Señor (que Dios guarde) que manda la subsistencia y fomento de las Islas Marianas.

Mas para responder al ruego y encargo de V. Señoría segun su extension hago reflexa sobre dos medios que se proponen, el primero que el Cabo que fuere en el Patache que hace viage á las Marianas, distribuya á la infanteria los efectos que fueren empleados para sus alimentos y vestuarios, y esta distribucion la haga en consorcio de los Padres.

El segundo, en el caso que el situado que trae el Navio de la Carrera se deje en Marianas determinada cantidad, esta se destribuya por el Sargento mayor que ha de ser como Teniente de oficial Real con intervencion de los Padres; estas dos precauciones se ofrecen al discurso por los mejores medios para el fin que se intenta, y como tales debieron asi proponerse: Asi es la verdad que parece no pudieron escogitarse precauciones mejores ni mas eficazes.

Mas en la practica me parece que las puede hacer inútiles la malicia supongamos al Gobernador codicioso, y que tambien lo sean el Cabo del Patache y el Sargento mayor, ó la codicia une á los tres? ó los desune? Si los une haran la distribucion conforme á sus intereses, sin hacer caso de los Padres no tendran efecto las precauciones dadas se seguirán sesazones entre ellos y los Padres[.] si la codicia los desune de razon natural, ha de prevalecer el que mas puede y siendo este el Gobernador se baldrá de la violencia hará la distribucion á su antojo sin hacer caso de los Padres que tendran mucho que tolerar. Voy adelante con mi discurso y digo: Un árbol que por muchos años ha crecido tuerto es imposible enderezarlo; más fácil es cortarle. Este es el proyecto propuesto á Su Magestad (que Dios guarde) de la reforma del Gobernador de Marianas, dejando alli un Cabo sugeto á los Padres, quienes habian de distribuir todo lo que se embiase para el Presidio: la reforma del Gobernador seria el medio mas eficaz para la buena subsistencia de las Marianas.

A la buena estabilidad de Marianas me parece ayudaria tambien la reforma de parte de la milicia de aquel Presidio propuesta tambien á Su Magestad por la mayor facilidad con que se manejaria. Y tambien por que el fin de Su Magestad en mantener en Marianas toda aquella milicia es el sostener á los Misioneros contra el peligro de los Alzamientos de los Marianos, este peligro ya no lo hay, por estar reducida á corto numero la gente de Marianas, ni tener disposicion para alzamiento alguno[.] de la reforma de parte de milicia se pudiera seguir otro bien, y es que aquellas cantidades se podian aplicar para defender á las Cristiandades de Filipinas, de las invasiones de los Moros.

Este es mi parecer, salvo el mejor de V. Señoría, quedo con el cuidado de ordenar á mis subditos de Marianas que cooperen á que se de entero cumplimiento á quanto V. Señoría ordenare para el fin sobre dicho.

Santa Cruz y Mayo veinte de mil setecientos cincuenta y cuatro.

Juan Moreno

Translation.

I, Juan Moreno of the Society of Jesus and its Provincial in these Islands,¹ in response to the request and entreaty of Your Lordship, do declare: That I will advise and give tight orders to my subjects in the Mariana Islands for them to do their utmost to cooperate and do the impossible [sic] in order to comply with the will of the King our Lord (whom may God save) who orders the maintenance and progress of the Mariana Islands.

But, to answer the request and entreaty of Your Lordship in full, I will make a suggestion regarding two means that are recommended. The first one is for the commander of any patache that makes the voyage to the Marianas to distribute to the infantry the effects that might be employed for their food and clothing, and this distribution would be made with the participation of the Fathers.

The second one, in case a certain quantity of the subsidy that is brought by the galleon of the run should be left in the Marianas, it should be distributed by the Sergeant-Major, who would do so as a representative of the Royal officials, again with the intervention of the Fathers. These two precautions are offered as suggestions to be discussed, in the search for better means to achieve the purpose intended, and as such they had to be so recommended. It is true that they seem to offer the best precautions possible and the most efficient ones that I can think of.

However, it seems to me that in practice, malice might render them useless; for instance, let us suppose that the Governor be greedy, and so too the Commander of the patache and the Sergeant-Major, i.e. greed uniting all three. What if it disunites them? If they gang up, the distribution will be done according to their whims; if the Fathers are not involved, the precautions given would not have any effect, and there would follow dissensions between them and the Fathers. If greed disunites them for natural reasons, the most powerful among them has to win, and that is the Governor; he would use force to make sure that the distribution be done according to his fancy, without paying attention to the Fathers who would have to tolerate much. I pursue my line of thought, and declare: A tree that has grown crooked for many years cannot be straightened, and it is better to cut it down. This is the plan that I recommend to His Majesty (whom God may save), that is the withdrawal of the Governor of the Marianas, leaving there an officer subordinated to the Fathers, who would then distribute everything that might be sent for the garrison; the withdrawal of the Governor would be the most efficient means for the good maintenance of the Marianas.

For the good stability of the Marianas, it seems to me that the withdrawal of part of the militia of that garrison, recommended also to His Majesty, would be helpful, because of the greater ease in managing it. Another reason comes from the fact that the purpose for which His Majesty maintains that whole militia in the Marianas is to support the Missionaries against the danger of uprisings by the Marianos, but there is no longer any such danger, since the population of the Marianas has been reduced to a

¹ Ed. note: He served in that post from 1750 to 1754.

small number, and they have no means with which to do any uprising. The withdrawal of part of the militia would have yet another advantage: the savings involved could then be applied to the defence of the Christian communities in the Philippines against invasions by Moros.

This is my opinion, except for the better one of Your Lordship. I remain ready to order my subjects in the Marianas to cooperate in the full compliance of whatever orders Your Lordship may give for the above-mentioned purpose.

Santa Cruz, 20 May 1754.

Juan Moreno.

B3. Letter from the Governor of the Philippines, dated Manila 13 July 1754

Sources: AGI Fil. 470 (or 410); also in AGI Ultramar 562, n° 5, and in AHN Ultramar 5853.

Original text in Spanish.

*El Marqués de Obando Presidente Gobernador y Capitan General de las Islas Filipinas: Participe á V.M. recivio su real rescripto, en que se le manda promueva con la mayor eficacia las órdenes antecedentes, para que se remitan familias que pueblen á las Islas Marianas. Haze constar con el Testimonio que incluye, que hizo publicar bandos para que se presentasen las que quisiesen ir voluntarias, sin que hasta la fecha se halla ofrecido ni un solo hombre, por el horror que han tomado despues del naufragio del Patache **Santo Domingo** que conducia algunas. Y representa á Vuestra Magestad seria mas util, mas accesible y mas combeniente reducir á las Islas [sic] de Agaña y Umata las Problaciones que refiere en ellas con el Presidio de treinta hombres, y Cabo Superior sugeto al Padre Superior de aquellas Misiones, aplicando los sueldos de Gobernador y Sargento Mayor, y Oficiales con el de un colegio de niños que alli hay, para la conquista, poblacion y fomento de la grande y rica Isla de Mindanao por los motivos que espresa.*

Señor.

Por cédula de Vuestra Magestad fecha en el Buen Retiro á 30 de Diciembre de mil setecientos cincuenta y uno año relativa á las cartas y Autos, con que dió á Vuestra Magestad cuenta mi antecesor el Obispo de la Nueva Segovia, y al despacho de veinte [y ocho] de Mayo del de mil setecientos cuarenta y uno, se sirve Vuestra Magested ordenarme se fuesen remitiendo de estas Islas á las Marianas las familias que prescriben para su fomento, y subsistencia.

Teniendo presente no solo dicho Vuestro Real citado rescripto, sino todo lo diligenciado en su conformidad y de la Real Cédula del Pardo á veinte de Enero de mil setecientos treinta y siete, en su cumplimiento, y observanzia hize publicar bando á fin de que se presentasen las familias Pampangas que quisiesen ir voluntariamente á aquella poblacion, y espedi orden al Cabo del Patache que se está aprestando para conducir sus situados á fin de que distribuya á aquella Infanteria con intervencion de los Rev-

erendos Padres Misioneros los efectos que fueren empleados, para sus alimentos y vestuarios, precabiendo el que entrando en poder del Gobernador se los revenda (como sucede) á esccebios precios, de cuya particular cuenta si fuesen algunas mercaderias, se abaluasen y pagasen la Real Alcabala, y los fletes del barco, y que para lo venidero se tomase el medio de que el situado de aquellas Islas venga en derecho á estas Caxas, para que con instruccion de los reverendos Padres Gesuitas, se compren los que sean útiles á nutrir el Presidio, respecto á que mas necesitan de estos, que el dinero, y quando alguno lo necesiten, se les puede remitir en el Patache, ó ordenarse que del situado que conduce el Navio de esta carrera, en Acapulco, y se deje determinada cantidad para que se reparta con la misma intervencion, por el Sargento mayor, que haga las funciones de Teniente de Oficiales Reales en aquellas Islas, para que no absorba dicho Gobernador este situado, en la tienda que tiene para sus grangerias.

Y rogué y encargué al reverendo Padre Provincial de la misma Compañia de Jesus preceptuase á los religiosos sus subditos cuando creyese importar á Vuestro Real servicio y bien espiritual de aquellas gentes.

*Y aunque todo se evaquo regulandosele por razon de dicha Alcavala ó indulto doscientos pesos en cada un año, conforme al mayor número de dictámenes de los Ministros de que se compone esta Junta en esta Capital como le será á Vuestra Magestad constante por el Testimonio que adjunto de todo lo diligenciado, no se dió el caso de que hasta ahora despues de siete meses de su publicacion se presentase ni un solo hombre voluntario, para ir á poblar en las citadas Islas de lo que se infiere la dificultad que abrá en reducirlos á ella, y lo temerosos que han quedado del acaecido naufragio del Patache **Santo Domingo** que participó á Vuestra Católica Real Magestad dicho mi antecesor.*

Por lo que instruido muy particularmente, de lo que son dichas Islas, la ninguna utilidad que prometen y lo mucho que importa la sugesion, poblacion, y fomento, de la de Mindanao de estas inmediaciones discurria yo seria mas adcesible y mas importante á Vuestros Reales intereses que la poca gente que habita la Isla de Rota, distante treinta leguas de la de Guahan, se haga reducir á esta última, como tambien otras varias poblacioncillas, que hay en la misma Guahan, poblando las dos Islas connominadas Agaña que es la Cabezera, y Umata donde dan fondo los Navios que vienen de la Nueva España, pues en este caso bastarian solos tres Padres Misioneros, dos en la Cabezera y el tercero en Umata.

Para que se conserven en paz estas dos poblaciones es necesario en tal evento se erija un Cabo con treinta soldados de presidio, y que para que el Cabo no se levante á mayores esté con alguna dependencia, sugeto al Padre Superior de aquella Mision, atendiendo á que se logre el mayor bien de los Isleños, libres de opresiones y de otras tiranias que por lo regular acarrear las distancias y la despotiguez donde no hay quien se la dispute.

Con esto quedaba libre el sueldo de Gobernador, Sargento mayor, Capitanes y tropa, y tambien la limosna que Vuestra Magestad espense en la manutencion de un Colegio de Niños que todo se puede aplicar (si es del agrado de Vuestra Magestad) para

engrosar y fomentar las fuerzas contra moros de que tanto necesitan estas vastas y ricas Islas, como tengo significado á Vuestra Magestad en otras cartas en que trato con mas particularidad este importante asunto, por que si se lograra la total sugesion de las que se hallan en este archipiélago de Luzon y Mindanao, tendria Vuestra Magestad dilatado imperio sobre estos mares y Islas, pudiendose tirar con el tiempo otras líneas que exaltasen el nombre de Dios todopoderoso, y el dilatado imperio de V.M. libre ó menos sugeto á las desgracias que cada dia se experimentan por las pocas fuerzas de este Gobierno para resguardar, y defender tantos Pueblos abiertos y indefensos á los insultos Mahometanos que destruyen en un solo dia sin remedio lo que ha costado muchos años de desvelos y de fatigas, sugetando como sugeto siempre mis discursos, (llevado del buen celo que tengo á Vuestra Real servicio) á lo que fuere mas del Real agrado de Vuestra Magestad.

Cuya Católica Real Persona guarde Dios los muchos años que la Cristiandad ha menester.

Manila y Julio trece de mil setecientos cincuenta y cuatro.

El Marques de Ovando

Translation.

The Marquis of Obando, President, Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands: Reports to Y.M. that he received your royal rescript in which he was ordered to promote with greater efficiency the orders previously given for the remittal of families to settle in the Mariana Islands. He points out, with testimony enclosed, that he has had proclamations made to the public, inviting all those who wished to go as volunteers, but until the date in question not one man has come forward, on account of the horror caused in the people by the shipwreck of the patache **Santo Domingo** that transported some families. And he represents to Your Majesty that it would be more useful, more feasible, and more convenient to reduce the Islands to the two settlements of Agaña and Umatac, with a garrison of 30 men, and one senior officer, subordinated to the Father Superior of those Missions, applying the [money saved in the] salaries of the Governor, Sergeant-Major, and officers, as well as that of a college for boys that exists there, to the conquest, colonization and development of the great and rich Island of Mindanao, for the reasons that he expresses.

Sire:

By decree of Your Majesty dated Buen Retiro 30 December 1751, regarding the letters and records sent to Your Majesty by my predecessor, the Bishop of New Segovia, and by the despatch dated 28 May 1741, Your Majesty orders me to keep sending from these Islands to the Marianas the families prescribed for their development, and maintenance.

Taking into account, not only said rescript from Your Majesty, but all the measures taken as a result of it and of the Royal decree dated Pardo 20 January 1737, in compliance and observance thereof, I ordered the publication of a proclamation inviting

Pampango families to present themselves to go voluntarily to that colonization, and I issued an order to the commander of the patache that is being made ready to convey their subsidies, for him to distribute to those infantrymen, with the intervention of the Reverend Missionary Fathers, the effects that were to be used as their food supplies and clothing, to prevent their falling into the hands of the Governor, for him to resell them (as happens) at excessive prices, and should there be any merchandises on private accounts, they were to be valuated and assessed the Royal excise, plus the shipping costs. In future, the means were to be taken to have the subsidy of those Islands come directly to this treasury, so that the Reverend Jesuit Fathers could direct the purchase of whatever might be useful to sustain said garrison, based on the premise that they need such things more than money, and whenever they need some, such can be sent aboard the patache, or can be ordered, from Acapulco, as part of the subsidy conveyed by the ship of this run, and a specific quantity could be left, for local distribution by the Sergeant-Major, acting as Lieutenant of the Royal officials in those Islands, with the same intervention [of the missionaries], to prevent said Governor from absorbing this subsidy, in the store that he operates there, for his own profit.

And I begged and entrusted the Reverend Father Provincial of said Society of Jesus to convince his religious subjects overthere, if he thought it important for the service of Your Majesty and the spiritual welfare of those peoples.

And although everything was transacted that way, the amount fixed as excise or exemption was 200 pesos per year, in accordance with the majority of the opinions of the Ministers who are members of the [financial] government in this Capital, as Your Majesty will see by the record of proceedings, attached. However, even seven months after the publication of the proclamation, not one single person has volunteered to go and settle in said Islands, by which one can infer the difficulty that will be met in trying to convince them, and how fearful they have become, since the shipwreck of the patache **Santo Domingo** which my predecessor reported to Your Catholic Majesty.

From the very detailed notices that I have gathered about said Islands, and their potential uselessness, as compared with the importance of the conquest, colonization and development of the Island of Mindanao, a part of these Islands, I would argue that it is more accessible and more important for your Royal interests than the few people who inhabit the Island of Rota, distant 30 leagues from that of Guahan, who could be reduced to Guahan, with the population of both settling in Agaña, which is the capital, and Umatac where the ships that come from New Spain anchor; indeed, in this case only three Missionary Fathers would be necessary, two in the capital and the third one in Umatac.

To keep the peace in these two settlements, it would be necessary in such a case to establish a garrison of one officer with 30 soldiers, and to prevent the officer from getting ideas of power, he would be subordinated to the Father Superior of that Mission, given that in order to achieve the welfare of the islanders, they must be free of the oppressions and other tyrannies that distance usually gives rise to and of the despotism that might arise when there is no-one to dispute it.

In this way, there would be saved the salary of the Governor, Sergeant-Major, Captains and troop, and also the alms that Your Majesty spends for the maintenance of one College for Boys, and all of this could be applied (if it be of the pleasure of Your Majesty) to the augmentation and development of the forces against the Moros, forces that these vast and rich Islands need, as I have already informed Your Majesty in other letters in which I dealt more specifically of this important matter, because if the total subjection of the archipelago of Luzon and Mindanao were to be achieved, Your Majesty would have a vast empire over these seas and Islands, and in time some other lines of expansion could be drawn, the better to exalt the name of Almighty God, and the vast empire of Y.M. would be free of, or at least less subject to, the deprivations that every day are experienced, on account of the small forces of this Government to protect and defend so many towns, open and defenceless against the Moslem insults that destroy in a single day what has cost many years of cares and fatigues, but I submit, as always, my deliberations (made in the interest of your Royal service) to the Royal pleasure of Your Majesty.

Whose Catholic and Royal person may God save for as many years as Christendom needs.

Manila, 13 July 1754.

The Marquis of Obando.¹

B4. Opinion of the Fiscal of the Council of the Indies, dated 24 January 1756

Original text in Spanish.

*El Fiscal: Habito una carta del Governador de Philipinas Marques de Obando en la que da cuenta con testimonio de las diligencias que mando praticar en conformidad de lo dispuesto por Real Cedula de 30 de Diciembre de 1751 sobre remision de Familias a las Yslas Marianas, y que habiendo mandado publicar bando, para que se presentasen las que quisiesen yr voluntarias ninguno se havia ofrecido por el orror que havian tomado después de el Naufragio que padecio el Patache **Santo Domingo** que conducía algunas Familias.*

Y propone que ynstruido mui particularmente de lo que son dichas Yslas la ninguna utilidad que prometen, y lo mucho que ymporta la sujecion, poblacion, y fomento de las de Mindanao discurrio por mas ymportancia a los Reales yntereses que la poca gente que havita la Ysla de Rota, distance 30 leguas de la de Guajan se haga reducir à esta ultima como tambien otras varias poblacioncillas que ay en la misma Guahan poblado las dos Yslas connominadas Agaña que es la cabecera, y Umata donde dan fondo los Navios que ban de la Nueva España, y que en este caso bastaran solo tres Padres de la Compañia misioneros los dos que asistan en la cabezera, y el otro en Umata.

¹ Ed. note: This letter arrived at the Council of the Indies on 6 September 1755.

Añadiendo, que para que se conserben en paz estas dos Poblaciones tiene por necesario se erija un Cabo con treinta soldados de Presidio, y que para que el Cabo no se lebante à mayores haia de estar con dependencia sugeto al Padre Superior de aquella Mision a quienes tambien se les ha de dar la ynterbencion de la compra, y repartimien-to de todas las cosas utiles para dho Presidio respecto a que el dinero que debe dejar por razon de situado el Navio de la Carrera lo ha de conducir à Manila por no necesi-tarse tanto esta especie en el Presidio como los generos y hecha esta planta nueva se puede quitar el Governador, el Sargento Mayor, Capitanes, y tropa y la Limosna que S.M. expende en la manutencion de un Colegio de Niños, y este fondo aplicarlo para engrosar, y fomentar las fuerzas contra Moros, y sugetar las Yslas de Luzon, y Minda-nao.

Tambien en esta carta, y en el testimonio se yncluye, haverse determinado pagase el Governador de Marianas 200 pesos de alcabala por las mercaderias que conducia el Patache para la Tienda que tiene en Marianas, y su flete.

El Fiscal: Hecho cargo de los antecedentes y Reales Cédulas espedidas para la sub-sistencia de las Islas Marianas, dice:

Que el Governador Marques de Obando hubiera procedido con mas reflexa, y con-siderado la importancia de las Islas Marianas, y lo necesaria que es la manutencion de aquellos puntos para el libre Comercio de la Carrera de Indias con aquellas Islas; no hubiera pensado en tan irregular posicion, dejandose llevar de los influxos, que no aten-diendo mas que á su propia combeniencia se hallan mal con la esterilidad, y menos apacible terreno de las Marianas, buscando medios para que Su Magestad consuma sus caudales en la conquista de Mindanao, abundante de Oro, canela y otras drogas; pero sin pararse en que sus habitantes son Mahometanos, tienen su Reyezuelo pro-tegido de otros muchos de su misma Secta, y cuya conquista, afrustrado siempre la es-peranza, no solo la temporal, sino la espiritual, habiendola tenido esta última por imposible un espiritu tan grande como el de San Francisco Xavier.

El origen de todos estos proyectos a dimanado de dos principios; el primero desear Su Magestad y el Consejo saber el motibo de la desolacion de la Problacion de Maria-nas, y que se informasen los medios de restaurarlas; y el segundo las instancias de los Padres de la Compañia de las Islas Filipinas, sobre la conservacion de el Presidio de Sanboangan, y conquista de Mindanao, pero habiendose visto uno, y otro, y tenidose atencion á ambos puntos, se han dado para cada uno las providencias correspondien-tes, que aplicadas con celo, y por sugetos espertos y de integridad se hubiera logrado contener los Moros, y mantener á Marianas, en el estado respetable que se debe, sin hacer novedades en la llave principal de aquel Archipelago, cuando no puede dudarse la atencion que merecen estas Islas, cuando en la Real Cédula espedida á los Goberna-dores de Filipinas, en vista de lo que informaron el año de mil setecientos cincuenta y uno; fué S.M. servido de mandarles practicasen todas las diligencias prevenidas en otra Real Cédula de mil setecientos cuarenta y uno, reduciendose á proporcionar la mejor existencia y conservacion de la Poblacion, haciendo que en el todo aliviassen á las mugeres en aquellos trabajos y ejercicios que las esterilizaban, y en alguna parte el tra-

bajo de los hombres, obligandoles á estos á que cultibasen las tierras que se les debian repartir, para que las sembrasen de maiz, algodon, tabaco, y demas frutos; y asi mismo que en cada ocasion que pasase Patache de Manila á Marianas, se remitiesen cinco ó seis familias voluntarias de Indios ó mestizos, á quienes se les concediese las exempciones de pobladores, y en ninguna de estas providencias se halla haberse pensado en extinguir el Gobierno, la guarnicion, ni desamparar un Islote; antes bien ver el modo de poblar lo que se ha quedado sin gente, por reconocer que qualquiera nacion estrangera que tomase aquella situacion y la fortificase, nos quitaba el Comercio de Filipinas, y aun por necesidad se haria dueño de ellas; por lo que le parece al Fiscal que aun en el caso de que quedadase un indio en las Islas Marianas era necesario mantener en ellas un Gobernador, Oficiales y Tropa respetable, para la defensa y manutencion de aquellos puestos, y que no se debe hacer novedad en los situados que se conducen desde Nueva España, y se han dejado siempre en Marianas, haciendose el repartimiento en especie de dinero, á cada uno de los individuos, como S.M. se lo paga pues estos y el Gobernador pedirán á Manila lo que necesiten; pues no es justo, ni bien parecido interbengan los Padres de la Compañia en esta mecánica, y atribuyan luego la tropa, y gente poco considerada, á que las utilidades que dicen tienen los Gobernadores, las tienen los religiosos y mas cuando su instituto y obligacion está contenida á los precisos términos de lo espiritual.

Y en estos términos el Consejo, se ha de servir mandar se espida real cédula al Gobernador actual de Filipinas, manifestandole el desagrado que ha causado la noticia de estas providencias dadas por su antecesor el Marques de Obando, en quanto á haber mudado la cantidad destinada para las Marianas, haciendose conduzca á aquellas caxas, destituyendo á la tropa de el sueldo que S.M. le tiene consignado, á cada uno en dinero, y poniendolas en la precision de que hayan de mendigar con intervencion de los Padres de la Compañia, de lo que es suyo; y al mismo tiempo se le dará á entender haberse desaprovado todo quanto ha propuesto de estincion de Gobernador, Oficiales y Colegio de Niños, antes bien esté muy á la mira y aplique todo su celo en cuidar la manutencion y subsistencia de todas las descubiertas y esten bien proveidos de pólvora, municiones y demas necesario, para qualquier acontecimiento.

Y por lo que mira al derecho de Alcavala, que se le impuso á el Gobernador de Marianas, por los efectos que habia pedido para la tienda que dicen que tiene, y preciso tengan como lo há permitido S.M. á todos los Alcaldes mayores; no hay que hacer[.] sobre todo el Consejo, resolverá lo que tenga por mas combeniente.

Madrid y Enero 24 de 1756.

Translation.

The Fiscal: Having read a letter from the Governor of the Philippines, the Marquis of Obando, in which he reports, along with a record of the proceedings that he ordered carried out in line with the orders contained in the Royal decree of 30 December 1751 concerning the remittal of families to the Mariana Islands, and that, after he had ordered the publication of a proclamation to invite volunteers, no-one has come forward,

on account of the horror that had been caused by the shipwreck of the patache **Santo Domingo** that was carrying some families.

And he proposes that, after a very detailed study of what said Islands really are about, their complete lack of usefulness, as compared to the importance of the conquest, colonization, and development of the Island of Mindanao, militates in favor of the latter, as being more important to the Royal interests than the few people living in the Island of Rota, distant 30 leagues from that of Guajan, that should be reduced to the latter, as well as the very many small villages that exist in said Guahan, to join the population of the two above-named Islands together in Agaña which is the capital, and Umatac where the ship that go from New Spain anchor, and that in such a case, three missionary Fathers of the Society would suffice to assist them, two in the capital, and the other in Umatac.

He adds that, in order to keep the peace in these two settlements, it would be necessary to establish a garrison of one officer with 30 soldiers, and to prevent the officer from getting any idea of power, he should be subordinated to the Father Superior of that Mission. The Jesuits should also be given the power to intervene in the purchase and distribution of all the things useful to said garrison, since the money that the ship of the run must leave, by way of subsidy, must be taken to Manila, as cash is not as needed in the garrison as goods. And once this reorganization is accepted, the Governor, the Sergeant-Major, the Captain and troop, plus the alms that H.M. spends in the support of one College for Boys, could be removed and this fund applied to augment and develop the forces against the Moros, and to subject the Islands of Luzon and Mindanao.

This letter, and the attached record, also state that it was determined to tax the Governor of the Marianas 200 pesos for the merchandises that the patache carried for the store that he had in the Marianas, and their shipping costs.

The Fiscal: Having taken cognizance of the above documents and Royal decrees issued for the maintenance of the Mariana Islands, declares:

That the Governor, Marquis of Obando, should have proceeded with more reflection, and considered the importance of the Mariana Islands, and the necessity of maintaining those points for the free trade of the run of the Indies with those Islands. He might not then have taken such an irregular position, letting himself be influenced by his own convenience, by disparaging the sterility and less gentle land of the Marianas, and looking for means to spend His Majesty's funds in the conquest of Mindanao, abounding in gold, cinnamon and other drugs. However, he did not stop to consider that its inhabitants are Moslems, they have their own kinglet protected by many others of the same sect, and its conquest has always been frustrated, not just the temporal one, but also the spiritual one. A great mind such as that of St. Francis Xavier thought that its spiritual conquest was impossible.

The origin of all of these projects has been based on two ideas: the first one was from the desire of His Majesty and the Council to know the reason for the desolation of the population of the Marianas, and to be informed of the means to restore them; and the second one was the petitions of the Fathers of the Society in the Philippine Islands about

the garrison of Zamboanga and the conquest of Mindanao. However, after both points were seen with attention, the corresponding provisions were given, and if they had been applied with zeal, and by individuals who had expertise and probity, the containment of the Moros would have been achieved, and the maintenance of the Marianas as well, in the respectable state that they must be maintained, without making changes to the principal key of that Archipelago, when one cannot doubt the attention that these Islands deserve, when in the Royal decree issued to the Governors of the Philippines, in view of the report of the year 1751, H.M. was pleased to order them to put into practice all the measures foreseen in another Royal decree of 1741, which can be summarized by saying that it was aimed at maintaining and preserving the population, by making sure that the women were relieved of the labors and occupations that made them sterile,¹ and in some way the work of the men as well, by forcing them to cultivate the land plots that were to be distributed to them, for raising crops of corn, cotton, tobacco, and other products. It was also foreseen that on every occasion of the visit of the patache from Manila to the Marianas, five or six families of Indian or half-breed volunteers would be remitted, and they were to have been granted tax exemptions as settlers. In none of these provisions was it planned to extinguish the Government, the garrison, or abandon a single islet; rather, the idea was to re-settle what had been abandoned, because it was recognized that any foreign nation that might take that place and fortify it would kill the commerce of the Philippines, and it may even take them over out of necessity. Consequently, **the Fiscal if of the opinion that, as long as there remains one Indian in the Mariana Islands, it is necessary to maintain there a Governor, officers and a respectable troop, for the defence and maintenance of those posts,** and that no change be made in the subsidies conveyed from New Spain, that have always been left in the Marianas, by distributing it in the form of cash, to each individual, as H.M. pays them. Well then, they and the Governor might order what they need from Manila, because it is not fair to have the Fathers of the Society become involved in this procedure, and then have the troop, and people with little consideration, accuse the Religious of making as much profit as the Governors are said to be doing; besides, their institute and duty restrict them to matters of a spiritual nature.

And in these terms the Council should be pleased to order the despatch of a Royal decree to the present Governor of the Philippines, to tell him of the displeasure caused by the news of the measures taken by his predecessor, the Marquis of Obando, when he changed the sum destined for the Marianas and had it conveyed to that treasury, thus depriving the troop of the salary that H.M. has assigned to it, every one of them in cash, and placing them in the necessity of having to beg for what is theirs, with the intervention of the Fathers of the Society. And at the same time, he is to be told that everything that was proposed, such as the extinction of the Governor, officers and Col-

1 Ed. note: In the light of modern medical knowledge, one could perhaps put forward another explanation for the sterility of Chamorro women (other than their having worked in salt-water tending fishing-nets): the consequences of untreated sexually-transmitted diseases, such as syphilis, could have been a another cause.

lege for Boys, has been disapproved; rather, he should pay good attention and apply his whole zeal to take care of the maintenance and subsistence of all the islands that have been discovered and let them be well supplied with powder, ammunitions, and other necessaries, for any contingency.

And as far as the excise duty is concerned, which was imposed upon the Governor of the Marianas, for the effects that he had ordered for his store, which they say he has, and can have, because H.M. has given this permission to all of the provincial mayors, there is nothing to do. About everything, the Council will decide as it sees fit.

Madrid, 24 January 1756.¹

[Note 1751C]

Missing document:

Letter from Fr. Bonani to Fr. Provincial, dated Marianas 22 April 1751.

Notes: Present location unknown. It was listed as one of the documents seized from the Jesuits at Manila in 1769 by Judge Galvan (ref. AHN Clero Jesuitas, Legajo 891, doc. N° 1, fol. 167. As Rector of the college, the author is said to have reported the lack of progress in said college, and the harm done to it by the Vice-Provincial.

¹ Ed. note: The Council agreed with the Fiscal on 7 February 1756. For follow-up, see Doc. 1756A.

Documents 1753A

Brother Lampurlanes left Spain in 1753 to go to the Marianas

Sources: AGI Contratación 5550/7 (ex-45-2-7/10); copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 16, fol. 211-223.

A1. File cover

1753 & 1754.—Mission band of the Society of Jesus for the missions of the Province of San Ignacio in the Philippines.—Main Accounting Office of the House of Trade.

It consists of 23 Religious, 20 of whom are priests and students, and 3 are Coadjutors, and they belong to the band of 40 missionaries, including 5 coadjutors, whom H.M. granted by Royal decree issued on 30 September 1752 at the request of Fr. Pedro Murillo Velarde, Procurator General of the said Province of San Ignacio.

...

A2. List of the missionaries about to board the warship named Asia, commanded by Commander Juan de Langara, bound to Veracruz

—Fr. Pedro Murillo Velarde, Procurator General of the said Province.

...

14. Brother Juan Antonio Tornos, born in Lembrancon, Diocese of Sigüenza, student, 26 years old, departed from Madrid on 27 March 1753.¹

...

24. Brother Plácido Lampurlanes, born in Aren, in the Diocese of Urgel, Coadjutor novice of 21 years of age, departed from Madrid on 27 March 1753, and arrived on 9 April.²

1 Ed. note: He was to write a letter when passing by Guam, and also a diary of his voyage back from the Philippines after the Jesuit expulsion.

2 Ed. note: On the list presented by Fr. Superior Murillo Velarde at the Port of Santa Maria on 23 July 1753, he is said to be a surgeon.

...

A3. Physical inspection before boarding

Note: Father Murillo Velarde having fallen sick, he did not board the ship, and subsequently died. He was 59 years old.

...

8. Fr. Juan Antonio Tornos, student, born in the town of Lebrancon, Diocese of Si-guenza, 25 years old, small build. white complexion, scar below the mouth on left side, black eyes and hair.

...

24. Brother Plácido Lampurlanes, Coadjutor, born in the town of Aren, Diocese of Urgel, 21 years old, average size, slim, thin beard, black eyes and hair.

...

Cadiz 26 September 1753.

Don Joseph Ruiz de Zenzano.¹

1753 Census of the Mariana Islands.

The number of inhabitants in the Islands of Guam and Rota in 1753, according to a note at the end of the 1758 census (Doc. 1758D), was **2,714**, i.e. 920 Spanish and Filipinos, plus 1,794 native Indians.

¹ Ed. note: The names of Canicia and Loraque do not appear in the above list; they were possible transfers from Mexico.

Document 1754A

Governor Arandía arrived aboard the galleon Santísima Trinidad

Source: AGI Fil. 97.

Letter from Governor Pedro Manuel de Arandía to the Marquis of Ensenada, dated Manila 19 July 1754

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Sor.

Mui Señor mío

*Participo a V.E. como habiendo desembochado el Embocadero de este Archipiélago llamado de San Bernardino, la noche del día tres del corriente mes, siguiendo la Navegacion con lento viento, hallandose el seis al frente de la Isla de Tibaló, y ensenada de Bagatao tierra firme del brazo de esta de la Provincia de Alvey; segun el estilo aqui havido, de adelantar los Pliegos Reales à este Gobierno, por dicha via, dispuso el Comandante General del Navio la **Santisima Trinidad**, que los conducía, Marques de Villamediana, se desembarcaran a cargo del Capitan Don Juan Galdon, embarcandose en una enbarcacion de Remos de aquella costa, con quatro hombres de Armas, e ygal numero de tripulacion, el que al abecinarse à la tierra, fue atacado de dos Joangas de Moros de que se defendia hasta saltar a la Playa, que lo executaron unos, y otros; y aunque salvó hasta ella dho Capitan los Reales Pliegos, fue atacado de hasta cien Infieles, de cuya violencia sacrificandose venturosamente en la defensa de su encargo, fue muerto, con otros dos de los que le acompañavan, y escapado de los mismos Ysidro Martinez, Artillero del expresado Navio acava de llegar con esta noticia, y Carta de Don Manuel Magno de Valenzuela, Alcalde de la Provincia de Alvey, que hace la relacion referida como lo reconocera V.E. por el adjunto Testimonio de la declaracion del Artillero, para la que corresponde de mi obligacion a V.E. y que enterado se dupliquen los Pliegos a este Gobierno, conforme convenga y sea del Real servicio.*

Nuestro Señor guarde à V.E. los felices años que deceo [sic], y he menester.

Manila y Julio 19 de 1754.

Exmo. Señor

B.L.M a V.E. su mas atento y obligado,

Don Pedro Manuel de Arandía
[Al] Exmo. Sor. Marques de la Ensenada.

Translation.

Your Excellency,
My dear Sir:

I let Y.E. know of my having gone through the Embocadero of this archipelago called San Bernardino during the night of the 3rd of the present month, and I was following my voyage with little wind, when we found ourselves on the 6th before the Island of Tibaló, and bay of Bagatao, the mainland which is an arm of this Island belonging to the Province of Albay. According to the usual custom here, to send ahead the Royal despatches to this Government, by said route, the General commanding the ship **Santísima Trinidad** that carried them, the Marquis of Villamediana, arranged for them to be disembarked, under the care of Captain Juan Galdon,¹ who boarded an oared vessel of that coast, along with four soldiers, and an equal number of sailors, but when they were nearing the shore, they were attacked by two Moro junks against which they defended themselves until they were able to step ashore. And although until that time, the Captain had managed to save the Royal despatches, he was attacked by up to 100 heathen Indians and he fought back valiently, sacrificing himself to protect what he had under his care, but he was killed violently, along with two others in his company. One of those who escaped death were Isidro Martinez, a gunner from the above-mentioned ship, and he has just brought this news to us, and a letter from Don Manuel Magno de Valenzuela, Mayor of the Province of Albay, which narrates the above story, as Y.E. will see in the enclosed record, in the declaration of the gunner. Thus I hope to satisfy my obligation toward Y.E. and for you to have the despatches duplicated to this Government, as convenient to the Royal service.

May Our Lord save Y.E. for the happy years that I wish and need.

Manila, 19 July 1754.

Your Excellency.

Your most sincere and obliged servant, who kisses the hand of Y.E.,

Don Pedro Manuel de Arandía.

[To] His Excellency the Marquis of Ensenada.

Some historical notes.

Governor Arandía replaced Governor Obando. Both were to make significant changes to the management of the Manila galleon. Obando, says Le Gentil,² "made great improvements in the Acapulco galleon; for before his time the Manilans shipped their supply of water [for the voyage] in leather bottles and in jars which they suspended in the rigging; the water often gave out, and they were compelled to have recourse to

1 Ed. note: This job was referred to as the gentleman, or courier.

2 In vol. ii, p. 164, of his *Voyage dans les mers de l'Inde* (Paris, 1781), as translated in B&R 28:203.

that supplied by the rain. The Marquis of Obando had **water-casks** made, and ordered that enough of these be placed aboard to supply water for the entire voyage; he framed muster-rolls, and placed all the men on allowance. In short, the Acapulco navigation was placed on the same footing as that of Europe.”

The full name of the Marquis of Villamediana is not given by B&R, but he became Master-of-camp at Manila. In 1762, his specific ranks were Brigadier-General and Colonel of the King's regiment when he had to face the English invaders which he succeeded in repulsing for a while, but he soon became a prisoner of war. Le Gentil who had known him says that he had died by the time his book was published.

Document 1754B

Murder of a Mexican surgeon in Guam

Source: Ms. no longer extant whose translation was published in the Guam Recorder, October 1937.

Note: This document from the archives of the Court House in Agaña in 1937 was then exhibited at the Guam Museum. It is assumed that such archives were destroyed in 1941, or 1944, during the War in the Pacific.

Sentence of Governor Olavide, acting as Judge

I, Don Enrique de Olavide y Michelena, Governor and Captain General of His Majesty for these Mariana Islands, SENTENCE, after hearing the proceedings and the merits of the case of the King's Justice against Fernando Antonio Izquierdo, GUILTY by the declarations of witnesses and furthermore by the death of Cayetano Méxica, soldier and the only surgeon of this town of Anigua, which death was caused in an unknown place (presumably in the hill in the immediate vicinity of Anigua) where he (Méxica) was thrown into the river to make people believe he was drowned. I ought to condemn and I do condemn the said Fernando Antonio Izquierdo to serve in the Royal Galleon¹ in the Port of Cavite in the Philippine Islands, with rations but without pay, for the term of ten years, notwithstanding that he did not plead guilty but because nothing favorable on his behalf was proved by his counsel which might justify his innocence. On the contrary, all the indications give evidence that he was the aggressor. And I hereby decree that this sentence be executed without any appeal. This my sentence I, judging according to military rules, do pronounce, order and sign in this City of San Ignacio of Agaña this twenty-seventh day of September, one thousand seven hundred fifty four.

1 Ed. note: This word should have been translated as "hulk", or even "galley," I think.

Documents 1754C

The search for a new galleon route (continued)

Source: AGI Fil. 156 (formerly 68-4-5).

Note: The file on this subject came from Manila under a covering letter from the Governor of the Philippines dated 12 July 1754. It is a continuation of the inquiry that started in 1730 (see Doc. 1730B). This new investigation was prompted by a new royal order dated Buen Retiro 18 January 1752.

General meeting dated Manila 22 April 1754

Introductory notes.

This meeting had been preceded by individual opinions given by some of the pilots. For instance, Manuel Galvez had declared that the new route was “accessible but more dangerous than the old one.” Other pilots who had given their individual opinions were: Thomas Gaspar de León; Manuel Dominguez Zamudio; Captain Pedro Laborde Tausias; and Antonio Pignon.

At the meeting, besides the above pilots still present in the capital, there were: André de Sarrate; Marcos Linches; and Monsieur Pierre Fralin [rather Fraslin], another Frenchman.

After examining the opinions of pilots recorded in the 1730s, they expressed their own opinions as follows.

Opinions of the pilots.

—Captain and Pilot Pedro Laborde Tausias gave as his opinion that, given the dangers to be met with (God forbid) along the route proposed by said Hermán, on the forward and return voyages, with more rapidity, he was on the side of the previous opinions that he shared with the most famous pilots of this run, those to be found in folios 121-124 of the proceedings.¹

—Captain and Pilot Manuel de Galvez declared: That, although he believed that the proposed route was now easy and a good one, and that it will always be so, based on his own experience of it, finding as he did in his conscience that nothing could be gained

¹ Ed. note: The copy does not have the same folio numbers, so that one cannot tell whose testimony he refers to.

by it, he therefore held on to the opinions that he had expressed earlier, those in Folio 112-116.¹

—Manuel Dominguez Zamudio also declared that he repeated what he said earlier in folios 117-120.

—Antonio Pignon repeated his opinion and indifference, as in folios 121.

—Pedro Fraslín declared: That, according to what he recognized from the charts, he found that said voyage by way of Cape Boxeador and Cape Engaño was shorter, easy and less dangerous, and his feeling had been corroborated by what he heard from Captain Boisloré, and was based on the declarations of Captain Pedro Laborde Tausias, in spite of the fact that he himself had no experience either with this route or that of the Strait.

—Captain Andrés de Zarrate was of the same opinion as those expressed by José Gonzalez Bueno, Gerónimo Montero, Pedro [Laborde] Tausias, José Zacharias Villareal, and other pilots, who were of the same opinion, and those were: Balthazar de Ampuero, Luis Duplessis, Diego Guechi, Simon Boutet, Basilio Dushenne [= Duchesne?], Antonio Rodriguez, Manuel Correa, José Macías, Pedro Roman, Francisco Moley, Ricardo Buche, Francisco Briton, Gaspar Thomas de Leon, Manuel Estacio, and Lorenzo de Zelaya, who had attended various Meetings held by this Superior Government, as recorded in this file, to the effect that the said new route made the voyage shorter and convenient, and was less taxing for the seamen, as compared with the continuous labors involved when going out by the Strait of San Bernardino through the many islands that are found there and the great risk, as mentioned in detail by said Enrique Herman, and the above-mentioned José Bueno, Gerónimo Montero, Pedro Tausias, and José Zacharias Villareal, men who are all knowledgeable pilots, with experience with this run from here to Acapulco, as well as with the route by Boxeador, since they have made voyages to the Kingdom of China, reasons for which he agreed with the opinions of said individuals, in spite of his own lack of experience with said route by way of Cape Boxeador, as he had not gone by it. Such was his opinion, according to his own conscience, after he had examined the points regarding navigation and what he must say, based on his loyal knowledge, and understanding.

...

[This was followed by the opinion of Marcos Linches, who was in favor of maintaining the old route. On 11 May, the Governor decided that he also needed the opinions of the Manila traders and those of the heads of the religious orders. The leading men of Manila at that time were:

- Blas José Sarmiento de Casariego;
- Captain José Antonio de Memije y Quirós;
- Manuel Fernandez Toribio;
- Licentiate Tomás de Quesada;
- Juan Gonzalez de la Sierra;

1 Ed. note: Rather, fol. 288v- 301 of this copy.

- General Juan Ignacio de Monterosso;
- Juan de Araneta;
- General Pedro Zacharias Villareal;
- Doctor Santiago de Orendáin.]

[A meeting of interested parties was convened on 27 May 1754. Besides the above persons, there were also invited Captain Manuel de Cespedes, and the following **merchants of Manila**:

- General Juan Domingo de Nebra;
- General Antonio Gonzalez Quijano;
- General Juan Infante Sotomayor;
- Captain Pedro del Villar Gutierrez;
- Marquis of Montecastro y Llana Hermosa;
- José de Acevedo;
- General Carlos Manuel Velarde.]

[On behalf of the Jesuits, there were present Fr. Juan Moreno, Provincial (see below), and Fr. José de Torres, his secretary. The Fiscal summarized the arguments presented earlier by the pilots. Captain Memije added his own opinion that the stretch between Cape Engaño and the meridian of the Marianas was a tough one. Fourteen attendees immediately voted in favor of retaining the old route. The private opinions of the following persons were recorded individually: General Monterosso; Audiencia member Calderon; Captain Acevedo; the Jesuit Superior, as follows (fol. 385):]

Opinion of the Jesuit Superior.

The Reverend Father Provincial of the Society of Jesus, being in agreement with the previous opinion, that he was swayed by the opinions of so many good men, and thus supported as better the route by way of Cape Bojeador and Cape Engaño, and that His Reverence could not help follow them, since it seemed to him that their arguments were more solid and better, than those of Galvez.

[The meeting ended without a clear consensus, and the Governor decided to send the whole file, as is, to Madrid.]

 Documents 1755A

The galleon Santísima Trinidad—Plans for manning, supplying, and modifying her

A1. Plan of Pedro Antonio de Cosio y Rabago for the standardization of crews and supplies, for the galleon Santísima Trinidad, 1755

Sources: AGI Mapas y Planos, Filipinas #74; taken from AGI Fil. 679.

Original text in Spanish.

[At top center:]

*El desseo de formar un plan que sirva de pauta para arreglar los Navios de esta carrera en puntto a plazas de mar me precisa a valerme de la idea que llevaron los M.I.S. Don Fray Joan de Archedera y Marques de Obando en equipar los dos Navios el **Ro-sario** y el **Santissima Trinidad** los años pasados de 49 y 54 en que vencieron viage a Nueva España y poner aqui ese methodo y aunque la diferencia que se observa de mas plazas en el segundo pudiera servir de reparo no debe ofrecerse ninguno respecto a que la diferencia que ay de porte à porte es la de 60 à 70 cañones en que se estimaban estos Navios y assi las 350 plazas para el primero son aun mas que las 384 para el segundo por ser de mas porte este y por consiguiente mas pesadas sus maniobras, razones que vistas con reflexion precisa el dejarle al Navio la **Santissima Trinidad** con 380, pero reparadas para soportar el gasto de oficiales.*

Plazas con que se tripulaban los Navios de esta carrera hasta el Gobierno del Sr. Marques de Obando, executado por le Capitan D. Pedro Antonio de Cossio y Rabago deseoso de el acierto del M.I.S. Don Pedro Manuel de Arandia en le empeño de arreglar los Navios.

| Sueldos en | Manila y | Acapulco |
|-----------------------|-----------------|------------------------------|
| <i>General</i> | <i>4,125 p.</i> | <i>1,378p. 5 [t.] 8 [g.]</i> |
| <i>Sargento Mayor</i> | <i>1,000</i> | <i>1,000</i> |
| <i>Teniente</i> | <i>150</i> | <i>500p. 5.6</i> |
| <i>Piloto mayor</i> | <i>300</i> | <i>1,003</i> |
| <i>Piloto 2º</i> | <i>150</i> | <i>505</i> |
| <i>Piloto 3º</i> | <i>100</i> | <i>333</i> |

| | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------|-----------|
| <i>Capitan de mar y guerra</i> | <i>P.A. 1,000</i> | |
| <i>Alferes</i> | <i>P.A. 1,000</i> | |
| <i>Ayudante</i> | <i>P.A. 1,000</i> | |
| <i>Capellan</i> | 75 | 250 |
| <i>Qirujano</i> | 100 | 333 p.6.4 |
| <i>Escrivano</i> | 100 | 333 p.6.4 |
| <i>Dispensero</i> | 150 | 505 p.6 |
| <i>Contramaestre</i> | 150 | 505 p.6 |
| <i>Guardian</i> | 100 | 333 |
| <i>Condestable</i> | 150 | 333 |
| <i>Carpintero</i> | 150 | 505 p.6 |
| <i>Galafate</i> | 150 | 505 p.6 |
| <i>Buso</i> | 150 | 505 p.6 |
| <i>Alguazil de agua</i> | 75 | 333 |

Año de 740 [rather 749]

Navio N. S. del Rosario se equipo con las plazas siguientes:

| <i>Plazas</i> | <i>Socorridos in Cavite</i> | <i>Socorridos in Acapulco</i> |
|---|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>Artilleros 61 x 100 = 6,100</i> | 383,6.4 | 20,343 |
| <i>Marineros 110 x 75 = 8,250</i> | 250,2.9 | 27,525 |
| <i>G.E.¹ 96 x 50 = 5,000</i> | 166,7.2 | 16,700 |
| <i>G.S. 100 x 25 = 1,600</i> | 35 | 2,800 |
| ---- | ----- | ----- |
| 367 | 20,950 | 67,368 |

Año de 754

Navio la Santissima Trinidad se equipo con las plazas siguientes:

| <i>Plazas</i> | <i>Socorridos in Cavite</i> | <i>Socorridos in Acapulco</i> |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>Artilleros 50 x 100 = 5,000</i> | 348,7.8 | 17,452.2 |
| <i>Marineros 129 x 75 = 9,675</i> | 261,3.9 | 33,772.4 |
| <i>G.E. 93 x 50 = 4,750</i> | 174,3.10 | 16,565.6 |
| <i>G.S. 110 x 25 = 2,750</i> | 35 | 3,800 |
| --- | ----- | ----- |
| 384 | 23,175 | 71,589.6 |

Oficiales mayores

| | |
|---|----------|
| <i>General</i> | 5,000 p. |
| <i>Capitan del Navio</i> | 1200 p. |
| <i>Capitan de Infanteria 1º Theniente</i> | 600 p. |

1 Ed. note: G.E. = Grumetes Españoles; G.S. = Grumetes sencillos.

Theniente 2º 460 p.
Alferezes y 2º 360 p.
Maestre de plata 650 p.

Oficiales menores

Capellan 325 p.
Escrivano o Contador 433 p.
Zirujano mayor y 2º 433 p.

Oficiales marineros

Piloto mayor, 2º y 3º 1300 p/ 650/ 403
Maestro de jarcia, y raciones 360 p/ 650 p.
Condestable y 2º 650 p.
Contramaestre y 2º 650 p.
Maestro Carpintero 650 p.
Maestro Barrenador ---
Maestro Galafate 650 p.
Buso 550 p.
Alguacil de agua 420 p.

Año de 755 Navio la Santissima Trinidad

| <i>Plazas</i> | <i>Socorridos en Cavite</i> | <i>Socorridos en Acapulco</i> |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>Artilleros 40 x 100p = 4,000p</i> | 340p | 13,000p |
| <i>Marineros 100 x 75 = 7,500</i> | 255 | 25,500 |
| <i>G.E. 100 x 50 = 5,000</i> | 170 | 17,000 |
| <i>G.S. 100 x 25 = 2,500</i> | 85 | 3,800 |
| <i>Soldados 44 x 25 = 1,000</i> | 35 | 1,540 |
| =---- | ----- | ----- |
| 384 | 20,000 | 61,140 |

Demostracion de las Raziones que le deberan alinear diariamente a los equipages de esta Navio y demas que se vigiaren à Nueva Spaña esclusas las de dieta que esta provision se deja a la prudente estima del Proveedor General.

| | | | | | |
|--------------------|----------------|--------------|--------------------|-----------------------|-------------|
| <i>Viscocho</i> | <i>Tasajo</i> | <i>Agua</i> | <i>Risco frito</i> | <i>Manteca</i> | <i>Vino</i> |
| 5 qs. 6-1/2 al dia | 2qs.2@18-1/2 | 18 qs | 2@6-1/2 | 2@6-1/2 | 2qs 1@ |
| 910 qs3@5-1/2 | 302qs3@15 | 3,240qs | 100qs.3@5-1/2 | 100qs.3@ | 5405 qs |
| <i>Miniestras</i> | <i>Vinagre</i> | <i>Sal</i> | <i>Pollo</i> | <i>Sebolla y ajos</i> | |
| 2@ | 1@ | 1@3 ox. | 2qs 1@ | -- | |
| 90 quintales | 45 quintales | 50 qs 1@15oz | 205 qs | 50 quintales. | |

Por la demostracion que haze este Mapa de los dos Navios N.S. del Rosario y la SSma. Trinidad sus equipajes y socorros y particularmente por la del ultimo se ve que arreglando al Navio la SSma. Trinidad este año en la conformidad que se demuestra arriva sin disminuirle de la tripulacion que llevo el año passado de 54 ninguna plaza se le ahorran à S.M. 2,125 p en el pagamiento de Cavite y 10,589p.6.6 en el de la buelta de Acapulco sin que en lo substancial la permuta de los quarenta y quatro que demuestra el tercer Mapa le pueda servir del mas leve embarazo para el mas prompto desempeño en las maniobras y para que en la diminucion de Artilleros y Marineros y aumento de Grumetes sencilles no deje a los equipajes motivo de resentimiento por la parte de Buque que se les quita en las Caxas Artilleros Marineros y Grumetes Espanoles respecto a no tener los Grumetes sencillos caxa se tomara la providencia de completar las 10 plazas Artilleras con otras tantas Marineras y las Marineras con Grumetes Españoles y estos con sencillos pero este reemplazo solo se ha de entender para el trabajo y utilidad de las caxas pero no para el sueldo por que estes 10 que de la Clase de Marineros se aumentaran y escogieran para Artilleros han de ser socorridos aqui como tales Marineros y pagados en la misma conformidad a la buelta y para que en la practica no se ofresca el mas leve motivo de confusion se esecutara en les terminos siguientes: Socorridos los 40 Artilleros los 100 Marineros los 100 Grumetes Españoles y los 140 sencillos como demuestra el 3º Mapa se tomaran para completar los 50 Artilleros que demuestra el 2º de la Clase de Marineros 10 de los demas merito y se agregaran a los Artilleros en la conformidad arriva expressada al tiempo de repartirles sus papeletas de Caxas y formar las listas para las revistas en Acapulco que estas deveran ser distintas que las que se formaren para el pagamiento y respecto a que segun el arreglamiento ultimo del Sr. Marques de Obando las plazas de Marineros deben ser 129 y en este defalcadas 10 para Artilleros no quedan de los 100: socorridos como Marineros mas que 90: se tomaran se tomaran [sic] del cuerpo de Grumetes Españoles de Buque que tendran los 39 que deberan pasar a la Clase de Grumetes Españoles con lo que quedan veneficiados; Y porque asi a las 380 de Marineros, oficiales de mar y Guerra y a los soldados que puede llevar de Guarnicion este navio le precisa à S.M. mantenerlos simples daran diariamente los Raciones arriva designado.

Translation.

[At top center:]

The desire to form a plan that would serve as a guide to arrange the galleons of this run with respect to sea positions has led me to make use of the idea that motivated their Most Illustrious Lordships Don Fray Juan de Archedera and the Marquis of Obando to equip both the galleons **Rosario** and **Santísima Trinidad** in the past years 1749 and 1754 [respectively] in which they managed to reach New Spain and to record here that method. Although the difference that is shown, of more positions in the second ship could cause some objection, there should not be any, since the difference in the two capacities is that of 60 versus 70 guns, which were then the estimated values for both galleons. So, the 350 positions for the first-named ship are [proportionally] even

more than the 384 for the second, on account of the larger capacity of the latter and consequently heavier her maneuvers, reasons that, when examined at some length, necessitates the leaving of the galleon **Santísima Trinidad** with 380; however, they are amended to support the cost of the officers.

Crew positions of the galleons of this run until the government of the Marquis of Obando, recorded by Captain Pedro Antonio de Cossio y Rabago, desirous of implementing the plan proposed by his Most Illustrious Lordship Don Pedro Manuel de Arandia for the reform of the galleons.

Salaries paid in Manila and in Acapulco:

| | | |
|------------------|------------|--------------|
| General | 4,125 p. | 1,378p 5t 8g |
| Sergeant Major | 1,000 | 1,000 |
| Lieutenant | 150 | 500p 5.6 |
| Chief pilot | 300 | 1,000 |
| Second pilot | 150 | 505 |
| Third pilot | 100 | 333 |
| Capt. Marines | 1,000 p.a. | |
| Lieut. Marines | 1,000 p.a. | |
| Adjutant | 1,000 p.a. | |
| Chaplain | 75 | 250 |
| Surgeon | 100 | 333p 6.4 |
| Notary | 100 | 333p 6.4 |
| Steward | 150 | 505p 6 |
| Boatswain | 150 | 505p 6 |
| Boatswain's mate | 100 | 333 |
| Master gunner | 150 | 333 |
| Carpenter | 150 | 505p 6 |
| Caulker | 150 | 505p 6 |
| Diver | 150 | 505p 6 |
| Water constable | 75 | 333 |

Year of 1740 [rather 1749, as stated above]:

The galleon **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** was equipped with the following positions:

| Positions | Paid in Cavite | Paid in Acapulco |
|---|----------------|------------------|
| Gunners 61 x 100 = 6,100 | 383,6.4 | 20,343 |
| Seamen 110 x 75 = 8,250 | 250,2.9 | 27,525 |
| Spanish S.B. ¹ 96 x 50 = 5,000 | 166,7.2 | 16,700 |
| Ordinary S.B. 100 x 25 = 1,600 | 35 | 2,800 |
| ---- | ----- | ----- |
| 384 | 20,950 | 67,368 |

1 Ed. note: S.B. = Ship's Boys.

Year of 1754:

The galleon **Santísima Trinidad** was equipped with the following positions:

| Positions | Paid in Cavite | Paid in Acapulco |
|--------------------------------|----------------|------------------|
| Gunners 50 x 100 = 5,000 | 348,7.8 | 17,452,2 |
| Seamen 129 x 75 = 9,675 | 261,3.9 | 33,772.4 |
| Spanish S.B. 93 x 50 = 4,750 | 174,3.10 | 16,565.6 |
| Ordinary S.B. 110 x 25 = 2,750 | 35 | 3,800 |
| ----- | ----- | ----- |
| 384 | 23,175 | 71,589.6 |

Senior officers:

| | |
|------------------------------------|----------|
| General | 5,000 p. |
| Captain of the galleon | 1200 p. |
| Captain of Infantry 1st Lieutenant | 600 p. |
| Second Lieutenant | 460 p. |
| Ensigns & 2nd Lieutenants | 360 p. |
| Master of the silver | 650 p. |

Junior officers:

| | |
|----------------------|--------|
| Chaplain | 325 p. |
| Notary or Accountant | 433 p. |
| Chief surgeon & mate | 433 p. |

Ship officers:

| | |
|-------------------------------|------------------|
| Chief pilot, 2nd & 3rd pilots | 1300 p/ 650/ 403 |
| Master of rigging & rations | 360 p/ 650 p. |
| Master gunner & mate | 650 p. |
| Boatswain & mate | 650 p. |
| Master carpenter | 650 p. |
| Master driller | --- |
| Master caulker | 650 p. |
| Diver | 550 p. |
| Water constable | 420 p. |

Year of 1755 Galleon Santísima Trinidad

| Positions | Paid in Cavite | Paid in Acapulco |
|--------------------------------|----------------|------------------|
| Gunners 40 x 100p = 4,000p | 340p | 13,000p |
| Seamen 100 x 75 = 7,500 | 255 | 25,500 |
| Spanish S.B. 100 x 50 = 5,000 | 170 | 17,000 |
| Ordinary S.B. 100 x 25 = 2,500 | 85 | 3,800 |
| Soldiers 44 x 25 = 1,000 | 35 | 1,540 |
| ----- | ----- | ----- |
| 384 | 20,000 | 61,140 |

Calculation of the **rations** that would have to be arranged for the crews of this galleon and others travelling to New Spain, excluding those daily rations that are left to the prudent estimation of the Purveyor General.

| | | | | | |
|--------------------|--------------|-------------|----------------|----------------|---------|
| Biscuit | Jerked beef | Water | Honey fritters | Lard | Wine |
| 5 qs. 6-1/2 al dia | 2qs.2@18-1/2 | 18 qs | 2@6-1/2 | 2@6-1/2 | 2qs 1@ |
| 910 qs3@5-1/2 | 302qs3@15 | 3,240qs | 100qs.3@5-1/2 | 100qs.3@ | 5405 qs |
| Dried peas | Vinager | Salt | Chicken | Onion & garlic | |
| 2@ | 1@ | 1@3 ox. | 2qs 1@ | --- | |
| 90 quintals | 45 quintals | 50 qs1@15oz | 205 qs | 50 quintals. | |

By the calculations shown in this chart for the two galleons **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** and **Santísima Trinidad**, their crews and succors and specially for the latter, one can see that by arranging the galleon **Santísima Trinidad** this year in accordance with the above calculations, without decreasing at all the crew she had in 1754, a saving to H.M. of 2,125 pesos is possible in the payment to be made at Cavite and of 10,589 pesos 6 tomins and 6 grains in that to be made at Acapulco for the return voyage, without any substantial effect (from the change in 44 [men] shown in the third table) resulting in the slightest hindrance for the most timely implementation of the maneuvers. And in order for the decrease in gunners and seamen and increase in ordinary ship's boys not give to the crews a reason for resentment on account of the lading space that is taken away from the gunners, seamen and Spanish ship's boys in the crates, inasmuch as the ordinary ship's boys do not have a crate, the measure that should be taken is to complete the 10 positions of gunners with as many seamen, and the positions of seamen with as many Spanish ship's boys, and the latter's positions with as many ordinary ones; however, this replacement should be understood to apply only for the work and profit from the crates, but not for the salary, because the latter 10 from the category of seamen who would be selected and added to that of gunners must be paid here as seamen, and the same way upon the return voyage. To prevent any possible confusion in practice, the procedure to be followed is: Once the 40 gunners, the 100 seamen, the 100 Spanish ship's boys and the 140 ordinary ones have been paid, as shown in the third table, then in order to complete the number of 50 gunners that appears in the second table, 10 men belonging to the category of seamen would be taken, according to merit, and would be added to the gunners, in accordance with the above-mentioned arrangement at the time of distributing the tickets for the crates and making up the lists for the reviews at Acapulco which should be distinct from those that will be made for the payment. And regarding the last arrangement by the Marquis of Obando, the positions for seamen must be 129 but in this plan 10 have been converted to gunner positions, thus leaving only 90 positions to be paid as seamen; the difference of lading space is to be taken from the category of Spanish ship's boys, the 39 positions that should pass to the category of Spanish ship's boys, whose rate of pay they will enjoy. And because the total number of seamen, ship and marine officers and the soldiers whom this galleon can take along

as a garrison makes a total of 380, it is necessary for H.M. to maintain them and provide each one with a daily ration, as shown above.

A2. Modifications done to the galleon Santísima Trinidad

Source: AGI M. y P. Fil. 41.

Original text in Spanish.

Notta.—*Las tres portas prietas por banda de el Alcázar, son inutiles por la obencadura que tapa las bocas de los Cañones; y lo mismo las dos por banda del Castillo, assi por ser este, corto, como por los fogones; y aunque se pusieron estos al centro, con la consideracion de no secar las maderas de la murada y por el pesso que ayudado del de las Anclas, à tormentaria mucho la Proa con todo no tienen retirada.*

Las tres ultimas por banda de los Camarotes pudieran servir {de} con bastante trabajo en caso de novedad, respecto à haver de desbaretarlos para usar de ellos, y que no es practica en Navios de guerra tener estos Cañones en semejante paraje, à menos que no fuese à corsso, ô cosa yà sabida debatirse precisamente, y en el casso, no hay Camarotes, sinò la Cubierta Corrida.

A. El Navio [Santísima] Trinidad desde el Astillero.

B. dho. Navio despues de la rebaja.

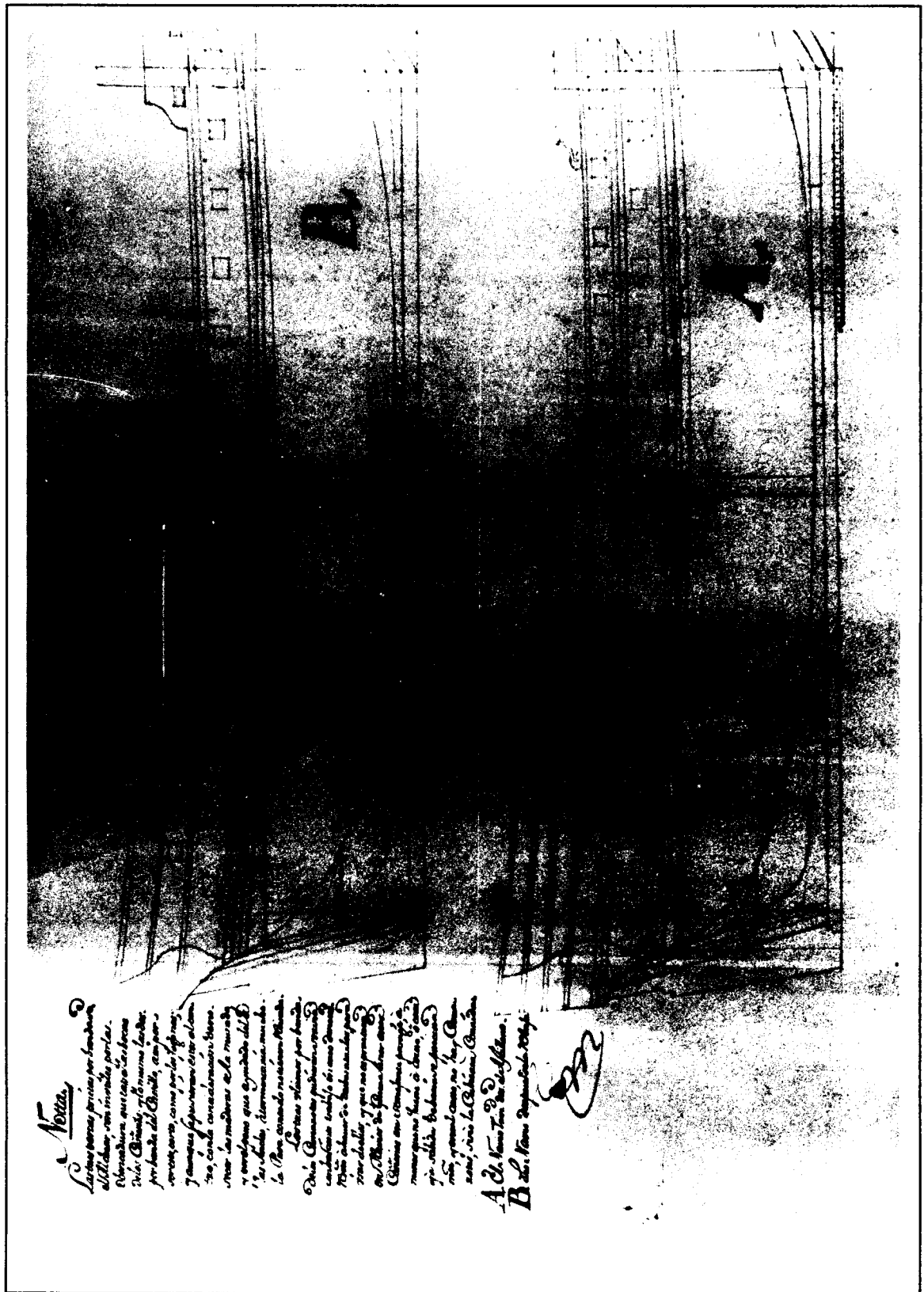
Translation.

Note.—The three ports, blackened, on the side of the quarterdeck, are useless on account of the shrouds that block the mouths of the guns. The same thing can be said of the two on the side of the forecastle, not only because it is so short, but also because of fireplaces, even though they were placed in the center, so as not to cause dryness of the interiors of the sides, and on account of their weight which, added to that of the anchors, would torment the bow very much, In any case, they do not have any space for maneuver.

The last three on the side of the bunks could be used, though with difficulty, in case of necessity, inasmuch as they would have to be dismantled to be of some use, and that it is not the practice for warships to have these guns in such a place, unless it be for use as corsairs, or something already known when fighting in close quarters, but in such a case, there are no bunks, only a continuous deck.

A. The ship [Santísima] Trinidad [seen] from the drydock.

B. Same ship after being cut down.



Documents 1755B

Logbook of Chief pilot Boucourt aboard the galleon Santísima Trinidad, 1755-56

Sources: AGI Fil. 679 (formerly 107-1-13).

Summary: According to an article by William Schurz published in the Hispanic American Historical Review for 1919 (p. 634), this galleon departed from Acapulco on 29 April 1752 [rather 1756], and sighted the Marianas on 16 July. While there, the ship was visited by the Governor and some Jesuits. Water and some provisions were taken on board, before the ship pursued its voyage on the 17th. However, the galleon did not reach the port of Cavite until 5 October. There were about 800 persons on board!

B1. Letter from the Governor of the Philippines, dated Manila 24 July 1757

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Sor

*Mui Señor muio: Participo á V.E. como el dia 5 de Octubre del año proximo pasado de 1756 dio fondo en este Puerto de Cavite el Navio de estas Islas la **Santisima Trinidad** que regreso con el Real Situado, y el remanente del premiso de su carga de este Comercio por el año anterior, haviendose levado del Puerto de Acapulco, y emprendio su viaje de retorno el dia 30 de Abril del propio año.*

No dudo que el Virrey de Mexico aya participado á S.M. lo que esta Nave padecio en la altura de su Viage para aquel Reyno, experimentando segun los diarios, sobre una Crueldad de tiempos contrarios, la epidemia en su Tripulacion de la experimentada constelacion en estas Islas, aviendosela muerto ochenta, y dos hombres en el viaje de Ida para aquel Reyno, y verse precisados á dejar Ciento y cinquenta y cinco enfermos en la Visita de San Joseph Puerto de la California por estar todos en riesgo de la Vida, por lo que desde aquella Costa al Puerto de Acapulco, por una falta tal del numero de su Tripulacion se deja considerar que a no haver ido este Vagel en el pie del nuevo dispuesto, Marinero con Aguada suficiente, y lugar para el desago a la enfermeria, que les oblige la estacion el que alcanzaran el venzer el viaje acreditando los ancianos, que en el anotan en esta carrera en la que por lo antiguo era causa qualquiera no Igual a las arrivadas que se han padecido.

Incluío a V.E. el diario del Piloto maior para su puntual noticia suplicandole la eleve a la Real mente de S.M. por lo que del feliz regreso de esta Navio se Interesa su Real servicio.

Dios Guarde â V.E. los felices años que deseo.

Manila y Julio 24 de 1757.

Exmo. Señor.

B.l.m. de V.E. su mas seguro atento servidor,

Juan Pedro Manuel de Arandia.

[A] Excmo. Sor. Baylio Fr. Don Julian de Arriaga.

Translation.

Your Excellency.

My dear Sir: I let Y.E. know how, on the 5th of October of last year 1756, there anchored in this port of Cavite the galleon of these Islands named **Santisima Trinidad** which returned with the Royal subsidy, and the remainder of her cargo from this commerce for the previous year. She had sailed from the port of Acapulco, and begun her return voyage, on the 30 April of that year.

I do not doubt that the Viceroy of Mexico had already informed H.M. about what happened to this ship during her voyage over to that Kingdom, when she suffered cruelly from contrary winds at the high latitudes, according to the logbooks, with an epidemic striking the crew made up of a mixture of people from these Islands; in fact, 82 men died during the passage to that Kingdom, and they were obliged to leave 155 sick men at the Mission station of San José [del Cabo], a port in California, because they were all seriously ill. That is why, from that coast to the port of Acapulco, on account of such a huge lack of crewmen, one can easily surmise that, had not this vessel been managed under the new plan, with sailors and water in sufficient quantities, and a place reserved for an infirmary on board, in addition to the advanced season to make the voyage, the old people who keep track of what happens to those voyages say that in the past such mishaps would have certainly caused a return in distress.

In enclose to Y.E. the logbook of the chief Pilot for your timely information, begging you to bring the matter to the attention of H.M., given that the successful return of this galleon is of interest to the Royal service.

May God save Y.E. for as many happy years as I wish.

Manila, 24 July 1757.

Your Excellency.

Your Excellency's true servant who kisses your hand,

Juan Pedro Manuel de Arandia.

[To] His Excellency Bailiff Fray Julian de Arriaga.¹

¹ Ed. note: Arriaga was not only Secretary of the Council of the Indies, but also the leader of the Order of St. John in Spain.

B2. The logbook of the French pilot, Antoine Limarie Boucourt aboard the Santísima Trinidad y Nuestra Señora del Buen Fín

Original text in Spanish.

Año de 1757.

*Testimonio del Diario del Viage que hizo para la Nueva España el Piloto maior Don Antonio Limarie Bocur [sic] el año de 1755 y retorno a estas Islas el de 1756 en el Navio la **Santissima Trinidad y N.S. del Buen Fin**—1ª Via.*

Año de 1755.

*En el Nombre de Dios y debajo del Patrocinio de Nuestra Señora de la Soledad se empieza el presente Diario del Viaje de la Nueva España en el Galeon la **Santisima Trinidad, y Nuestra Señora del Buen Fin** al mando del General el Señor Don Phelipe Maria Rodriguez de la Madrid, Marques de Villamediana, por Piloto mayor Don Antonio Limarie de Baucourt, de quien es el presente Diario que la Divina Magestad le concede un feliz viage, Amen.*

Dia Lunes Veinte y uno de Julio de mil setecientos cinquenta y cinco años oy a las ocho de la mañana se Rezivio la Santísima Virgen à Bordo le hizimos la salva de siete cañonazos y no hubo otra novedad.

Martes Veinte y dos todo este dia se emplearon en Rezivir los viveres del Rey, y cada qual se fue llegando à Bordo à sus empleos esta mañana a las nueve llegaron los Pliegos à Bordo.

*Miercoles Veinte y tres ayer à las cinco de la tarde me levè de Cavite en el nombre de Dios con los vientos sur y sursudueste, y con la Proa à Ueste y Oesnorueste, navegue toda la noche el viento floxo y la mayor parte de la noche calma. Al amanecer nos encontramos con el Navio el **Phelipino** que venia de [Nueva] España el qual nos saludò con siete tiros que correspondimos. El Señor Don Carlos Manuel Velarde, General de dicho Galeon vino à nuestro Bordo à visitar al Señor Marques de Ovando, que se yba con nosotros a España, haviendo acabado su Gobierno...*

...

Lunes ocho [Setiembre]; ayer a la tarde se fue cargando el tiempo... Esta mañana a las seis, se nos murió un Marinero de Nacion Andaluz, llamado Juan Pabon, de edad de quarenta años soltero, la enfermedad empieza a meterse en la tripulazion[,] todos los dias bajan algunos en la emfermeria[,] ya tenemos quinze o diez y seis fuera de los que no van en la emfermeria[.]

El rumbo navegado ha sido el N. quarta N.E. dos grados leste Camino 11 leguas 1/2

Latitud de fantasia 17 grados 49 minutos

Longitud llegada 12 grados 26 minutos

...

Miercoles diez y siete; Prosiguieron à reynar las Brisas de N.E. y E.N.E. ...

Esta mañana a las nueve se nos murio un muchacho Indio criado del Maestro Carpintero de San Roque llamado Basilio Bassa de hedad de diez y seis años...

...

Sabado Veinte... Ayer a la tarde un eclipse de Luna empezó a las seis y seis minutos de la tarde teniendo la Luna nueve grados tres minutos de elevacion sobre el orizonte, se obscureció algo mas de la mitad de su circunferencia en la parte del N. acabò a las nueve y veinte y cinco minutos estando la Luna en quarenta y seis grados de elevacion sobre el orisontef.] durò el todo tres oras diez y nueve minutos. La ultima obscurana fue a la parte del O.

Estime en estas veinte y quatro horas haver ydo al N. camino ... 3 leguas 2/3

Latitud observada 17 grados 9 minutos

Longitud llegada 14 grados 1 minuto

...

Octubre.

Miercoles primero. La calma muerta prosigue y se mantubo el Navio sin gobierno en estas veinte y quatro horas tiempo claro, mar vonancible, Ayer a las quatro y media de la tarde murio un Marinero Indio de San Roque llamado Pablo Sanchez de hedad de diez y nueve años soltero, a las cinco y media murio otro de Plaza Gurumete Español [un] Indio Cagayan llamado Francisco Mandata, de hedad de veinte y tres años[.] esta mañana à las cinco murio un artillero Indio de San Roque y casado en dicho Pueblo llamado Manuel Ramon de hedad de cinquenta y tres años[.] las enfermedades se aumentan todos los dias y tenemos actualmente veinte enfermos[.] observè la latitud N. veinte grados quarenta y tres minutos.

...

Sabado veinte, y quatro. Ayer al media dia con el viento L. algo fresco proseguí con todo trapo en busca del fondo de San Joseph y a las quatro, y media de la tarde dí fondo en dicho lugar en veinte y siete brazas arena mezclada de un polvo que parece oro, me demora de la Yglesia al NO, cinco grados O. distancia de tres quartas de Legua[.] la punta de Loreto al NE, cinco grados L.

...

Salida del Puerto de Acapulco en el Nombre de Dios en prosecucion de Nuestro Viage, y llevamos una Mision de 49 Recoletos, y 400 hombres de Ynfanteria.

Abril de 1756.

Dia Jueves veinte, y nueve. Ayer a las quatro de la tarde tubimos la visita de Oficiales Reales. A las dos de la mañana empese a desamarrarme, y esta mañana à las onze me mantube sobre el ancla apique esperando el viento.

Viernes treinta. Ayer à las doze, y media en el nombre de Dios nos levamos de este Puerto con el viento OSO, saludamos el Castillo de quince cañonasos, y con todo mar-

cado salí de este Puerto el viento bastantemente escaso del O, quarto SO, al O, al poner del sol demarquè el Puerto de Acapulco en el NNE, distancia de cinco a seis leguas...

...
Viernes Diez, y seis. Prosiguieron los vientos ESE, con turbonadas, y Aguazeros. Lleve toda la tarde vigias en los topes, y a las tres, y media de la tarde en una clara gritaron tierra que no pude luego conocer por haberse otra vez tapado, pero a las quatro, y media habiendose buelto [a] aclarar, tobimos claro, y la reconocí por la Ysla Mariana, y al poner el sol me demorava la Punta del S. al O, quatro grados norte distancia de nueve a Diez leguas[.] proseguí sobre ella hasta a las ocho de la noche con un viento fresco del SE, y a dicha hora me puse à barloventear, por esperar el Día. Al amanecer demarquè la Punta del S. de dicha Ysla al O, quarta SO, distancia de cinco a seis leguas, mareè sobre ella, con intencion de tomar el fondo quanto antes, pero la providencia divina dispuso de otra suerte, A las ocho de la mañana se puso el viento mui malo cargado de todos lados con turbonadas, y Aguazeros continuos. Al media dia demarquè la punta del S. de dicha Ysla al O, quarta NO, distancia de tres a quatro Leguas.

Sabado Diez, y siete. Ayer despues de medio dia, se cargò, y se obscurecio el tiempo de tal manera con turbonadas, y Aguazeros que no halle por conveniente con semejante tiempo ensima tr [sic = arriesgar?] a dar fondo, me mantuve toda la tarde, y toda la noche con bordos afuera[.] un tiempo detestable[.] la mar gruesa, los orisontes serrados[.] entre seis y siete de la mañana en una clara demarquè la punta del S de dicha Ysla al NNO, quatro grados O, distancia de quatro à cinco leguas. Lleve la Proa al NNE, y me fué poco a poco acerdandome de ella con esperanza que se aclararía el tiempo, y me diera lugar de dar fondo. A las diez, y media divisè la Ysleta de Coco, y al medio dia la demarque al N. quarta NO, distancia de dos a tres leguas.

Domingo Diez, y ochof[.] se fue aclarando el tiempo de mas a mas, y con todo trapo mareado, proseguí en busca del fondo, el viento mui floxo del SE, A las quatro de la tarde nos llegó una embarcazion de tierra con algunos refrescos, y la triste noticia que no havia llegado a esta Ysla el Patache que salio el año pasado por este fin llevando en el el nuevo Governador, Don Andres del Varrio con toda su familia. quiera Dios que no sea mas que una arrivada de dicho Patachef[.] a dicha hora divisamos la vanderá de Umatac, despachamos la embarcazion para que nos hizieran fuegos[.] como a las sinco acalmò el viento, y no nos quedo del viento que una ventolina mui floxa, con la qual proseguí siempre sobre Umatac guiandome por los fuegos pero, ybamos poco nada. A las onze de la noche como estabamos segun me parecia mui serca a dar fondo me entro una turbonada de viento tan fiero, y con aguazeros que viendo que no atinava, ni atendia a la maniobra, y que el andar tan biolento el Navio me impidio el sondar que no hallo otro medio por no exponerme a hazerme pedazos con la tierra que cambiar la Proa, y tirarme afuera, esta turbonada durò ora, y media, y no dexo el tiempo oscuro cargado, y con aguazero[.] toda la noche me mantuve con bordo, y al amanecer metí la Proa sobre Umatac[.] toda la mañana tubimos quasi calma[.] al medio dia la fuerza de Umatac al SE, cinco grados L como una, y media Legua.

Lunes Diez, y nueve. Ayer al medio dia me entrò un vientocito del O, con el qual a las dos, y media dí fondo en treinta, y seis brazas arena gorda, piedresita, y conchita[.] me demorava Umatac al SE, quarta L. dos grados L. El Chiquero al NE, dos grados L. algun menos que un quarto de Legua, luego echamos la Barca al agua. A las quatro el Governador, y algunos Padres Jesuitas llegaron à Bordo con algunos refrescos[.] en la noche llegaron tambien con Aguadas. A las quatro de la mañana me abisaron que haviamos perdido el fondo[.] luego mandè echar mano a meter la Ancla, è interin esta maniobra heche las Gavias afuera, y me mantuve a la Capa. A las siete de la mañana, tubimos la Ancla arriva mareè mis velas, y con el biento NE, a fuerza de bordos como a las tres de la tarde bolbí a dar fondo en quarenta, y tres brazas, un fondo mui malo, sin embargo me mantuve sobre ella[.] descargamos nuestras embarcaciones, y volvimos a despacharles por agua.

Martes Veinte, Ayer a las cinco y media de la tarde, refresco el viento de tal manera que bolvimos agarrar, y a perder el fondo y por no tener viento, me mantuve toda la noche en especie de Capa con la poca ventolina que havia del NE, llegaron nuestras embarcaciones con Aguada en la noche abordo, y lo bolbimos a despachar en tierra. Al amanecer con un vientesito del O, que me entrò a las seis, y media de la mañana bolbí a dar fondo, en treinta, y cinco brazas arena gorda[.] piedresita, y conchas quebradas teniendo la fuerza de Umatac al SE, quarta L. el Chiquero al NE, quarta N. distancia de un tiro de Cañonas[.] toda la mañana trabajamos à todas manos en hazer nuestra Aguada, despachar en tierra lo que teníamos que despachar, el tiempo con turbonadas del N. y NO, con aguazeros, lo que no me quadra mucho.

Miercoles veinte, y uno. Ayer toda la tarde prosiguieron las turbonadas del NO, al NE, con aguazero[.] fuimos de mano con nuestra agua, y viveres sin cesar toda la noche, y esta mañana a la madrugada con el viento L. y ENE, me llevè en prosecucion del viage con todo trapo, metí bote, y barca adentro. Y al medio dia la mediania de la Ysla Mariana a LNE, cinco grados N. distancia de cinco a seis leguas.

Jueves veinte, y dos. Prosiguieron los vientos algo fresco del L. al SE, tiempo bastante bueno, ayer a las cinco, y media murio un soldado de los de Manila Yndio llamado Alexandro de Leon de hedad de veinte años. Al poner el sol demarque la mediania de la Ysla Mariana à L. quarta NE, distancia de quinze a diez, y seis leguas de esta demarcacion tome mi punto de partida con la Proa al O, toda la vela mareada, y estimè el rumbo navegado desde ayer à la orazion hasta oy al medio dia, [O] quarta NO, quatro grados treinta minutos ò este Camino ... 23 leguas.

Latitud observada 13 grados 30 minutos.

Longitud llegada 15 grados 40 minutos.

Variacion observada occidua 6 grados 25 minutos

...

Martes Cinco [de Octubre]. Con el viento NO, y O algo floxo proseguí en busca de Cavite, y a las ocho de la noche nos vimos en calma muerta, y viendo que las aguas me tiraba àfuera dí fondo en quinze brazas lodo[.] toda la noche hizo calma[.] esta mañana por lo consiguiente como a las onze la Mission de los Padres Recoletos se largaron

*de a Bordo, y a las onze, y media con el viento SE, me lleve poco a poco [,] se fue el viento dando buelta al S. y SO, y como a las cinco, y media de la tarde dí fondo en este Dezeado Puerto de Cavite alabando la misericordia de Dios, y dando gracia al Patrocinio de María Santísima Señora de la Soledad de havernos livertado de tantos peligros, y nos ha hecho vencer uno de los viajes crudos de esta Carrera que sea **ad maiorem Dey, Gloriam Amen.***

Antonio Limarie de Vaucourt.

Translation.

Year of 1757.

Record of the Logbook of the Voyage made to New Spain kept by Chief Pilot Antonio Limarie Bocur [sic] in 1755 and return to these Islands in 1756 aboard the galleon **Santísima Trinidad y N.S del Buen Fin.**¹

Year of 1755.

In the name of God and under the protection of Our Lady of Soledad, I, Chief Pilot Antonio Limarie de Baucourt, begin to write this Logbook of the Voyage to New Spain aboard the galleon **Santísima Trinidad y Nuestra Señora del Buen Fin** under the command of General Felipe María Rodríguez de la Madrid, Marquis of Villamediana. May the Divine Majesty console us by giving us a successful voyage, Amen.

Monday 21 July 1755.

On this day at 8 in the morning, the [statue of the] Most Holy Virgin was received on board; we fired 7 guns in her honor, and there was no other news.

Tuesday 22.

The whole of this day was employed receiving the Royal food supplies, and the men kept on coming on board to begin their jobs. This morning at 9 the Royal mail came on board.

Wednesday 23.

Yesterday at 5 p.m., I sailed from Cavite in the name of God with winds from S and SSW, and the bow pointed to W and WNW. I sailed all night with a slack wind but most of the night it was calm. In the morning we met with the galleon **Philipino** that came from [New] Spain, which saluted us with 7 guns which we returned.² Don Carlos Manuel Velarde, General of said galleon came aboard us to visit with the Marquis of Obando who is going back to Spain with us, having finished his term as Governor...

...

Monday 8 [September].

Yesterday in the afternoon the weather became threatening... This morning at 6, there died a sailor from Andalusia, named Juan Pabon, 40 years old and a bachelor. Sickness is beginning to affect the crew. Every day a few more go down to the infir-

1 Ed. note: Which means Most Holy Trinity and Our Lady of the Good Death.

2 Ed. note: Her official name was the **Rosario**.

mary. We now have 15 to 16 there, excluding those who do not go down to the infirmary.

| | |
|---|------------------|
| Course followed N1/4NE 2° E, distance covered | 11- 1/2 leagues. |
| Latitude estimated | 17°49' |
| Longitude calculated | 12°26' |

...

Wednesday 17.

The trades from NE and ENE continue to prevail...

This morning at 9 we lost an Indian boy from San Roque, the servant of the Master Carpenter, named Basilio Baza, 16 years old.

...

Saturday 20.

... Yesterday in the afternoon, we had an **eclipse of the Moon** that began at 6:06 p.m. when the Moon was at an elevation of 9°3' above the horizon. It progressed until more than half of its circumference on the north side was obscured. It ended at 9:25 p.m. The full eclipse lasted three hours and 19 minutes. The last part to be obscured was its west side.

Course taken these 24 hours N, distance covered ... 3-2/3 leagues approx.

Latitude observed 17°9'

Longitude calculated 14°1'

...

October.

Wednesday 1st.

The dead calm continues. I tried but the ship remained without governance these 24 hours, sky clear and the sea calm. Yesterday at 4:30 p.m. died an Indian sailor from San Roque named Pablo Sanchez, 19 years old and a bachelor. At 5:30 died another Indian from Cagayan, filling the post of a Spanish ship's boy, named Francisco Mandata, 23 years old. At 5 this morning there died an Indian gunner from San Roque, married in said town, named Manuel Ramon, 53 years old. More people fall sick every day and we now have 20 sick. I observed the latitude in 23°43' north.

...

[On Tuesday 20 January 1756 they sighted Cape San Lucas and hugged the coast, intending to stop at the mission station of Cabo San José, firing a gun now and then as a signal for the people ashore to send a boat. Soon Lieutenant Felipe Iriarte came from Cape San Lucas to offer help. Men on board were dying every day by this time, mostly young Filipinos. The ship did not anchor in sight of the mission until the 24th.]

...

Saturday 24.

Yesterday at noon, the wind was E somewhat fresh. I sailed with full sails in search of the anchorage of San José and at 4:30 p.m. anchored in said place in 27 fathoms, bottom of sand mixed with a powder that resembled gold dust. The church bore NW5°W distance 3/4 league, the point of Loreto NES°E.

...
 [He then had to change his anchorage place, before the boats could be sent ashore for water and refreshments. Only the sickest among the sick were landed here. Two more Filipinos died that day. The next day a Spaniard named Benito Hernan died and the chaplain fell sick. The men kept on dying on board, until February 1st when all the sick were taken ashore, but that did not stop them from dying. Pilot Boucourt has recorded all of their names for posterity, one by one. On the 9th, most of the sick, over 100 convalescing men, were taken on board, and the galleon left for Acapulco on the 11th. Eleven very sick men were left behind in the care of the Jesuit Father, whose name is not given.¹ The deaths continued until they reached Acapulco. On Saturday 21 February, they fired three guns to warn the people ashore of their arrival under difficult conditions. Finally, on Saturday 28th, they anchored in Acapulco Bay.]

[The logbook of the return voyage begins on folio 93, as follows:]

Departure from the port of Acapulco to pursue our voyage in the name of God, and transporting a mission band of 49 Recollects, and 400 infantrymen.

April 1756.

Thursday 29.

Yesterday at 4 in the afternoon we were visited by the Royal officials. At 2 in the morning I began to weigh the anchors, and this morning at 11 remained with only one anchor and short cable, waiting for the wind.

Friday 30.

Yesterday at 12:30 in the name of God we set sail from this port with a WSW wind. We saluted the Fort with 15 guns and, with our bearings taken down, we left this port, the wind being rather weak from W1/4SW. At sunset, the port of Acapulco bore NNE distant 6 leagues.

...
 [Nothing extraordinary occurred until they came in sight of the Marianas on July 16th (folio 111).]

...
 Friday 16.

The winds continued to blow from ESE with squalls and showers. I had all the tops full of men on the lookout, and at 3:30 p.m. during a break in the weather they shouted Land! but I had no time to see it for myself because the weather closed in again. However, at 4:30, it cleared once more and I recognized the Island Mariana [i.e. Guam]. At sunset the south point bore W4°N distant 9-10 leagues. I headed for it until 8 p.m. with a fresh wind from SE, and at that time I began to tack, to wait for the next day. At day-break, the south point of said Island bore W1/4SW distant 5-6 leagues. I headed for it

1 However, from the records of the California missions, we know from other sources that he was Fr. Francisco María Badillo, the curate of the nearby mission of Santiago, responsible to visit San José, which had no resident priest after Fr. Neumayer, as of 1751.

with the intention of reaching the anchorage as soon as possible, but divine Providence decided otherwise. At 8 in the morning, the wind became very bad, with heavy squalls from all quarters, and continuous rain showers. At noon, the south point of said Island bore W1/4NW distant 3-4 leagues.

Saturday 17.

Yesterday, after midday, the weather being heavy and overcast, with squalls and rain showers, in such a way that I found it appropriate under such circumstances not to try and seek the anchorage. The whole afternoon and all night I tacked back and forth in the offing, the weather being disagreeable, the sea heavy, the horizons closed. Between 6 and 7 a.m., during a break in the weather, the south point of said island bore NNW4°W distant 4-5 leagues. I steered to NNE and little by little got closer to it, hoping that the weather would clear and give me an opportunity to anchor. At 10:30 I distinguished the Islet of Cocos, and at noon it bore N1/4NW distant 2-3 leagues.

Sunday 18.

The weather cleared gradually, and under full sails I headed towards the anchorage, with a very weak wind from SE. At 4 p.m. a boat came from shore with a few refreshments, and the sad news that the patache that had left last year to come to this Island did not make it here; it carried Don Andrés del Barrio, the new Governor, along with his whole family. May it please God that it was not anything other than a return in distress for said patache. At that time, we could see the flag of Umatac. We despatched our boat so that they men could light some fires. At about 5 p.m., the wind abated, and we were left with only very light airs, with which I always kept steering towards Umatac, guiding myself by the fires, but it was useless. At 11 at night, as we were, I thought, very close to the anchorage, a wind squall, accompanied with showers, hit us so furiously that it hindered our maneuver; the galleon pitched and rolled so violently that it was impossible to sound. In order not to crash upon the coast, I could find no way other than turn around, away from the land. This squall lasted for one and a half hours, as the weather continued closed in, and with showers. All night I tacked in the offing, and at daybreak headed back towards Umatac. During the forenoon we were almost becalmed. At noon, the fort of Umatac bore SE5°E about 1-1/2 leagues.

Monday 19.

Yesterday at noon I got a light wind from W; making use of it, by 2:30 I anchored in 36 fathoms bottom of thick sand, small stones and small shells. Umatac bore SE1/4E 2° E, the pigpen bore NE2°E at somewhat less than 1/4 league. We then put out the launch. At 4 p.m., the Governor and a few Jesuit Fathers came aboard with a few refreshments. During the night, they also came with water. At 4 in the morning, I was told that we had lost our bottom. I then ordered the men to weigh the anchor, and while this maneuver was being carried out, I unfurled the topsails and lyed to. At 7 a.m. we had the anchor up, I set sail and with a NE wind I tacked many times in order to get back to the anchorage, which we managed to do at about 3 p.m., in 43 fathoms, over a very bad ground. Nevertheless, I stayed there. We unloaded our boats, and resumed our watering.

Tuesday 20.

Yesterday at 5:30 in the afternoon, the wind became fresh in such a way that we began to drag again, and lose our hold. Since there was no wind, I remained all night trying to lye to with very light airs from NE. Our boats came back during the night with water, and we sent them back ashore for more. At daybreak with a light wind from W, that came up at 6:30 in the morning, I returned to anchor in 35 fathoms, coarse sand, small stones and broken shells, from where the fort of Umatac bore SE1/4E, the pig-pen NE1/4 N at a distance of one cannon shot. During the whole morning all hands were employed in completing our watering, in sending ashore what had to be unloaded, the weather was squally, with winds from N and NW and with rain showers. I do not care much for this type of weather.

Wednesday, 21.

Yesterday during the whole afternoon, we had squalls from NW, and NE, with showers. We kept on taking in water and food all night, and this morning after sunrise, with a wind from E and ENE, I set full sails to pursue my voyage, I took in the boat and launch. And at noon the middle of the Island Mariana bore ENE5°N distant 5-6 leagues.

Thursday 22.

The winds kept blowing somewhat fresh from E to SE, the weather rather good. Yesterday at 5:30 a soldier among those from Manila died; he was an Indian named Alejandro de León, 20 years old. At sunset, the middle of the Island Mariana bore E1/4NE distant 15-16 leagues, from where I took my departure with the bow pointing W, all sails out, and I estimate the distance covered since yesterday at the time of the prayers until today noon, heading W1/4NW 4°30' as ... 23 leagues.

| | |
|------------------------------------|--------|
| Latitude observed | 13°30' |
| Longitude calculated | 15°40' |
| Variation observed at sunset | 6°25' |

...

Tuesday 5 [October].

With the wind from NW, and W, somewhat slack, I pursued in search of Cavite, but at 8 p.m. we had a dead calm. Seeing that the current was making us drift outward, I let go the anchor in 15 fathoms, muddy bottom. The calm persisted during the whole night. Consequently, this morning at about 11 a.m., the mission band of the Recollect Fathers left the ship. At about 11:30, with the wind SE, I made some progress, as the wind was shifting from S to SW, and as about 5:30 p.m. I anchored in the desired port of Cavite, praising the mercy of God, and giving thanks to Our Lady of Soledad for having freed us from so many dangers, and letting us achieve one of the roughest voyages of this Run. Let it be for the greater glory of God, Amen.

Antonio Limarie de Baucourt.

B3. The King acknowledges having read the above logbook

Original text in Spanish.

*Por la carta de V.S. de 24 de Julio del año proximo pasado y testimonio que incluye queda el Rey enterado del diario del viage que hizo a Nueva España en el de 1755 el Piloto mayor Don Antonio Limarie de Baucourt en el Navio la **Santísima Trinidad**.*

Dios guarde &c. 31 de Julio de 1758

[A] Sr. Don Pedro Manuel de Arandia

Translation.

By the letter of Y.L. dated 24 July of last year and the enclosed records the King has been informed of the logbook of the voyage made to New Spain in 1755, kept by Chief Pilot Antonio Limarie de Baucourt aboard the galleon **Santísima Trinidad**.

May God save, etc. 31 July 1758.

[To] Don Pedro Manuel de Arandia.

B4. The King also acknowledges the receipt of the claim of Captain Cosio

Sources: AGI Fil. 679; copy in Fil. 681.

Original text in Spanish.

*Don Pedro Antonio de Cosio Capitan del Navio nombrado **Nuestrs Señora del Buen Fin** ha dado cuenta al Rey de que en el viage que hizo a Nueva España en el año de 1755, se hallaron faltos de viveres y otras cosas por lo que resolvieron arribar de San Joseph para proveerse de lo necesario cuyo importe suplio el citado Don Pedro[.] Que haviendo a su arribo a Acapulco pedido esta cantidad al Castellano y oficiales Reales se le respondió carecian de orden del Virrey que acudiese à esas Islas, y que por haver V.S. decretado en virtud de informe de oficiales Reales hiciese esta instancia en Nueva España: ha pedido a S.M. se digne mandar se le atienda en Justicia y que de tenerla se le satisfaga la expresada cantidad.*

Enterado S.M. de esta Instancia me manda decir a V.S. que siendo justo se reintegre a Don Pedro Cosio del suplemento que refiere siendo cierto, y no habiendo vicio en la arribada que hizo a la Mision de San Joseph quiere S.M. que V.S. examine estas circunstancias, y no sea motivo para dejar de mandar satisfacerle la falta de orden que aya en este asunto y lo participo à V.S. de orden de S.M. para su cumplimiento.

Dios guarde a V.S. muchos años.

Madrid 30 de Septiembre de 1758.

El Baylio Fr. Don Julian de Arriaga.

[A] Sr. Don Pedro Manuel de Arandia.

Translation.

Don Pedro Antonio de Cosio, Captain of the galleon named **Nuestra Señora del Buen Fin**, has reported to the King that during the voyage that he made to New Spain in 1755, there occurred a lack of food supplies and other things, which made them decide to visit San José to get necessaries, which said Don Pedro paid for, then upon his arrival at Acapulco he asked the Warden and the Royal officials to reimburse him but they answered that they lacked an order from the Viceroy to do so and should present his claim in those Islands, but that Y.L. had decreed, on the basis of a report from the Royal officials, that he should present his claim in New Spain. He solicited H.M. to be pleased to order that justice be made to him and let him be reimbursed for the above-mentioned expenditure.

Upon learning of this petition, H.M. has ordered me to tell Y.L. that it would be just to reimburse Don Pedro Cosio for the supplement that he spent, if true, and if there was no malice in the stopover that he made at the Mission of San José. H.M. wishes to have Y.L. examine these circumstances, and but let it not be an excuse for not ordering that he be compensated, whether a specific order or not. I pass this to Y.L. by order of H.M. for compliance.

May God save Y.L. for many years.

Madrid, 3 September 1758.

The Bailiff Fray Julian de Arriaga.

[To] Don Pedro Manuel de Arandia.

Editor's notes.

In the same file, AGI Fil. 679, there is a letter from Gov. Arandia, dated Manila 24 July 1757, advising the King that he had carried out the management audit of General Felipe María Rodríguez, Marquis of Villamediana, for the above voyage, and retained no charge against him. Also, there is a summary table of the major occurrences during the 1755-56 eastward crossing, which appeared to have written by Captain Cosio, giving the total number of dead as 153, until they reached Acapulco.¹

“On the 29th [July], the Marchioness of Ovando gave birth to a boy, between 11 and 12 at night. On the 31st, it was baptized and given the name of Ignacio José Camilo.

“On the 9th [August], they came into the port of San Jacinto (Phil.) two galleys and two Champans. The next day, we anchored ourselves, and **on the 11th the ship from the Marianas arrived**, and on the 14th it departed to pursue its voyage.² On the 19th, we warped our way in, from 4 p.m. and the whole night, and on the next day one gun was fired to signal our departure, the fore-topsail was unfurled, and the crew was mustered. Some of the stowaways were sent to the galley, and others ashore. On the 23rd a Council was held in order to let go the Boat, which was carried out that same day.”

1 By the way, the date at the beginning of this document, July 1756, is wrong and should read 1755. Here are two extracts for July and August 1755:

2 See Doc. 1755C.

Document 1755C

The Mariana patache N.S. de la Porteria did not make it in 1755

Source: AGI Fil. 679.

Letter from Governor Arandia to the King, dated Manila 8 July 1756

Original text in Spanish.

Don Pedro Manuel de Arandia como Governador de Manila.

*Da cuenta á V.M. de la llegada del Patache nombrado **Nuestra Señora de la Porteria** del cargo de su Cavo General Don Andres del Barrio y Ravago que se despachó de socorro a las Yslas Marianas el año de mil setecientos cinquenta y cinco, y de no haver intervenido culpa ni omision en sus ofiziales por lo que se declaró casual y fortuita con exemplar a dicha Causa.*

Señor

*Con ocasion de haver llegado á la Bahía de esta Capital el Patache nombrado **Nuestra Señora de la Porteria** del cargo del General Don Andres del Barrio, y Ravago que fue despachado del socorro el año pasado de mil setecientos cinquenta y cinco á las Islas Marianas; previne se prosediese a la averiguacion de dicha llegada contra el dicho Cavo, Pilotos, y Ofiziales de su tripulacion, cometiendo esta diligencia, á el Oydor Auditor General de la Guerra, y que fecha me diese cuenta para la determinacion que tubiese por bien tomar con su acuerdo, y haviendo prevenido en la forma ordinaria esta pesquisa por los terminos regulares reconociendo los diarios con dictamen de perita resultò no haver intervenido, culpa, omision ni otro defecto alguno en la obligacion de sus cargos, y haverse ocasionado la dicha llegada por vientos contrarios los inutilizaron las eficazes diligencias que pusieron en la consecucion de su viaje hasta que la falta de Aguada les contriño á deliverar dicha llegada para no perecer en la Mar.*

En vista de todos los quales documentos determine el dicho Juicio con dictamen de dicho Oydor Auditor General de la Guerra [que] Andres del Barrio Ravago Cavo del dicho Patache, los Pilotos y Ofiziales de él cumplieron con la obligacion de sus cargos sin que resultase contra ninguno de ellos culpa ni omision alguna, y en su consecuencia por casual, y fortuita la dicha llegada, y les mandè relaxar la prision en que havian

estado, y que de todo se diese cuenta â V.M. con exemplar de los dichos autos, en cuió cumplimiento paso a la Real Soverana de V.M. esta noticia para que sobre el todo de ella se sirva dispensarme los preceptos que deva executar de su Real aceptacion.

La Divina Guarde por dilatados años la Real, y Catholica Persona de V.M. como la Christiandad necesita y apetesen todos sus Reales Dominios.

Manila y Julio 8 de 1756.

Señor

Juan Pedro Manuel de Arandia.

Translation.

Don Pedro Manuel de Arandia, as Governor of Manila.

He reports to H.M. about the return in distress of the patache named **Nuestra Señora de la Portería** under the command of General Andrés del Barrio y Rabago that was despatched with succor for the Mariana Islands in 1755, but that the cause that was made them discovered no fault or omission in her officers, that is why it was declared casual and fortuitous.

Sire:

On the occasion of the patache named **Nuestra Señora de la Portería** under the command of General Andrés del Barrio y Rabago having turned back to the Bay of this Capital, the same that had been despatched to the Mariana Islands with their succor in 1755, I arranged for an inquiry to be held into said return against said Commander, the Pilots, and Officers of her crew, assigning this task to the Auditor General for War. He was to give me a report when he had finished, so that I could made a decision with his agreement. Having carried out this investigation in the ordinary manner in accordance with the regular procedures, to wit the inspection of the logbooks by an expert witness, there resulted a conclusion that there had not been any fault, omission, or any other defect in the duties imposed by their jobs, and that said return in distress had been caused by contrary winds that nullified the efficient efforts that they made to pursue the voyage, that they had run out of water, and had been forced to turn back, so as not to die at sea.

In view of all of said documents, I decided said Judgment, with the opinion of said Auditor General for War: Andrés del Barrio y Rabago, Commander of said patache, her Pilots and Officers, had complied with the duties of their jobs, without the least fault or omission on the part of any of them, and consequently said return was casual and fortuitous. I ordered them to be released from prison where they had been kept, and that H.M. be informed with a copy of said record of proceedings. To this effect, I forward to Your Royal self this notice, so that with this intelligenence you may be pleased to order whatever precept that must follow your Royal acceptance.

May the Divine Majesty sage the Royal and Catholic Person of Y.M. for many long years as Christianity needs and all of your Royal Dominions crave for.

Manila, 8 July 1756.

Sire:

Juan Pedro Manuel de Arandia.

Editor's notes.

The King acknowledged the receipt of the above letter, and his approbation, on 17 October 1757 (document in same file, AGI Fil. 679).

For the benefit of the court case, the logbook of the voyage, kept by the two pilots aboard the *Porteria* (the Frenchmen Pedro Laborde, and Santiago Botinon), was reviewed by an expert pilot, another Frenchman, Pedro Frasin. The partial logbook is reproduced in folios 40-116 of the case file in question; it begins with the patache leaving the port of San Jacinto on 14 August 1755, and ends with the arrival back at Cape Espiritu Santo on 13 November.

Documents 1756A

The proposal to abolish the government of the Mariana Islands is not accepted

General sources: Partly in AGI Fil. 470; printed in Juan de la Concepción's Historia general de Philipinas, vol. XIII (Sampaloc, 1792), pp. 245-250.

Note: See Doc. 1727F and 1751B for earlier attempts at reducing the subsidy of the Marianas.

A1. Letter from the King to the Governor of the Philippines, dated Aranjuez 3 June 1756

Sources: AGI Fil. 335, libro 16, fol. 397v-401, pp. 810-816; copy in AGI Ultramar 561, bundle 20, fol. 189-200 (but fol. 191-199 do not exist); partial copy also in Colección Pastells, Fil. 14, fol. 234v-235.

Original text in Spanish.

Al Gobernador de Philipinas, participandole averse desestimado la proposicion que hizo su antecesor sobre la extinzion de el Gobierno, oficiales, y tropa de las Islas Marianas, y ordenandole execute lo que se expresa.

El Rey:

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

El Marques de Obando vuestro antecesor en ese Gobierno dio cuenta con Testimonio en carta de 13 de Julio de el año de 1754, de que en conformidad de lo dispuesto por mi Real Cedula de 30 de Diziembre de el de 1751 expedida sobre remision de familias à las Islas Marianas, mandó que el Cabo del Patache, que estava aprestandose para conducir à ellas su situado, distribusiese à aquella Infanteria con intervencion de los Padres Ministros de la Compañia de Jesus los efectos, y generos, que fuesen empleados para sus alimentos, y vestuarios, precaviendo el que entrando en poder de el Governador se les rebendiese à excesivos precios, y que para lo venidero se tomase el medio de que el situado de aquellas Islas se llevase en derecho à esas Caxas Reales para que comprandose los generos, que fuesen utiles se les pudiese remitir al Sargento Mayor, que hiciese las funciones de Theniente de Oficiales Reales y que este los repartiase con la propria interbencion de los mismos Padres Ministros: añadiendo que sin embargo de haver hecho publicar Bando para que se presentasen las familias, que quisiesen ir boluntariamente, no se havia ofrecido ninguna por el horror que havian tomado des-

pues de el naufragio que padeció el Patache nombrado **Santo Domingo**, que conducia algunas [en 1748], por lo qual, è instruido muy particularmente de lo que son las referidas Islas, la ninguna utilidad que prometen, y lo mucho que importa la sugesion[,] poblacion, y fomento de las de Mindanao, discurria por mas importante à mis Reales intereses, que la poca gente que habia en la Isla de Rota, distante 30 leguas de la de Guahan, se hiciese reducir à esta ultima, como tambien la de otras varias poblacioncillas que hay en la misma de Guahan, poblando las dos Islas [sic] nominadas Agaña que es la Cavecera, y Umata, donde dan fondo los Navios, que van de la Nueva España; en cuyo caso, bastarian solos tres Padres de la Compañia Misioneros, los dos para que asistan en la Cavecera, y el otro en Umata, y que para que se conserven en paz estas dos poblaciones, tenia por necesario se erigiese un Cabo con treinta soldados de Presidio, y à fin de que este Gefè no se excediese en su comando, avia de estar con dependencia sugeto al Padre superior de aquella Mision, à quienes tambien se les havia de dar la intervencion de la compra y repartimiento de todas las cosas utiles para el Presidio, respecto de que el dinero que debe dexar por razon de situado el Navio de la Carrera lo ha de conducir a esa Capital por no necesitarse tanto esta especie en el Presidio, como los generos, con cuya nueva planta, se podia quitar el Governador[,] el Sargento mayor, Capitanes, y tropa y la Limosna, que expende mi Real Hazienda en la manutencion de un Collegio de Niños, y aplicar este fondo para engrosar y fomentar las fuerzas contra los Moros, y sugetar todas las Islas, que llaman de Luzon, y de Mindanao:

Y aviendose visto en mi Consejo de las Indias la citada carta, y testimonio con los antecedentes de el asunto y lo que en inteligencia de todo espuso mi Fiscal, atendiendo à lo importante, que es la manutencion de las Islas Marianas para el libre comercio de la Nueva España con esas Islas, y que para su mejor asistencia, y conservacion de la Poblacion, y su fomento, estan dadas las mas saludables providencias por diferentes Reales Cédulas, que se han expedido, y señaladamente por una de 28 de Mayo de el año 1741 por diferentes Reales Cédulas, que se han expedido, y señaladamente por una de 28 de Mayo de el año de 1741 [y la citada de treinta de Diciembre del de mil setecientos cincuenta y uno]: Ha parecido desestimar enteramente la proposicion de vuestro antecesor dirigida à la extinction de el Gobierno, oficiales, tropa, y Collegio de Niños de las Islas Marianas, y ordenaros, y mandaros (como lo executo) esteis muy à la mira, y apliqueis todo vuestro cuidado en la manutencion, y subsistencia de todas las que se hallan descubiertas de forma que esten bien proveidas de polbora, municiones, y demas necesario para qualquier acontecimiento; y asimismo os manifiesto el desagrado con que hè mirado la noticia de las providencias dadas por el expresado vuestro antecesor, en quanto à aver mudado la cantidad destinada para las Islas Marianas, haciendo que se conduzca à esas Caxas Reales, destituyendo à la tropa de el sueldo, que por mi Real Erario le està consignado à cada uno en dinero, y poniendoles en la precision, de que hayan de mendigar, con intervencion de los Padres de la Compañia de Jesus, de lo que es suyo, por lo qual os mando deis las ordenes convenientes para que se practique todo lo que anteriormente se executava con los situados que se conducen de la Nueva España, y se han dejado siempre en las Islas Marianas, disponiendo se haga el repartimien-

to en especie de dinero à cada uno de los individuos, como se les satisface por mi Real Hazienda, y de lo que en virtud de esta mi Real determinacion, fuere resultando, me dareis cuenta en todas las ocasiones, que se ofrezcan, en intelengia de que fio de vuestro celo à mi servicio, porporcionareis los medios, que sean mas utiles para que se logre el restablecimiento de las enunciadas Islas su conservacion, y aumento, y el alivio de los naturales de ellas, en la conformidad que esta resuelto por las citadas Cedula de 28 de Mayo del año de 1741 y de 30 de Diziembre de el de 1751; por ser asi mi voluntad.

Fha en Aranjuez à tres de Junio de 1756.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado de el Rey nuestro Señor,

José Ygnacio de Goyeneche.

Translation.

To the Governor of the Philippines, telling him that the proposal made by his predecessor, regarding the abolition of the governorship, officers, and troop of the Mariana Islands, was not appreciated, and ordering him to carry out what is ordered herein.

The King.

Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, and President of my Royal Audiencia there, which resides in the City of Manila.

The Marquis of Obando, your predecessor in that Government, reported, along with a record of proceedings, in a letter dated 13 July 1754, that in accordance with the contents of my Royal decree of 30 December 1751 issued about the remittal of families to the Mariana Islands, he ordered the commander of the patache that was being made ready to carry their subsidy overthere, to distribute to those infantrymen with the intervention of the Missionary Fathers of the Society of Jesus the effects and goods that were to be used as their food supplies and clothing, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the Governor who might resell them at excessive prices, and that in the future action was to be taken to have the subsidy of those Islands carried directly to that Royal treasury in order to have the goods found useful be bought and remitted to the Sergeant-Major, who would be acting as Lieutenant of the Royal officials and have him distribute same with the intervention of the same Father Ministers, adding that notwithstanding his having made public a proclamation to invite the families who wished to go voluntarily, no-one had come forward, on account of the horror that the shipwreck suffered by the patache **Santo Domingo** had created, that which was carrying a few of them [in 1748]; hence, he sought very detailed information about the above-mentioned Islands, and found them wanting, as compared to the importance of the conquest, colonization and development of the Island of Mindanao to my Royal interests, that the few people living in the Island of Rota, distant 30 leagues from that of Guahan, might be reduced to the latter, and various other small villages in the Island of Guahan itself should also be reduced to the two settlements of Agaña, which is the capital, and Umatac, where the ships that go from New Spain anchor; in which case, only three Fathers of the Society would suffice, two to assist in the capital and the other

in Umatac, and, in order to keep the peace in these two towns, he thought it necessary to establish one officer with 30 soldiers as a garrison, and, in order to prevent this officer from exceeding his prerogatives, he had to be subordinated to the Father Superior of that Mission, while said Fathers were to intervene also in the purchasing and distribution of all the things useful to the garrison, given that the money that the ship of the run must leave there as a subsidy was to be carried off to that capital, as the garrison did not need cash as much as goods. And, this re-organization would mean the withdrawal of the Governor, the Sergeant-Major, Captains, and troop, plus the alms that my Royal treasury spends in the maintenance of a College for Boys, and this fund was to be applied to augment and develop the forces against the Moros, and to subjugate the Islands called Luzon and Mindanao.

This letter having been seen in my Council of the Indies, along with the record of proceedings and background material on this subject matter, plus everything that my Fiscal said about it, in view of the importance of the maintenance of the Mariana Islands for the free trade of New Spain with those Islands, and that for their better existence and preservation of the population, and its development, the most healthy measures have already been taken in different Royal decrees that have been issued, specially that of 28 May 1741¹ [and the above-mentioned decree of 30 December 1751]: I have decided to disallow the proposal of your predecessor aimed at the abolition of the Governorship, officer, troop, and College for Boys in the Mariana Islands, and to order you (as I do now) to keep very much in mind and apply all your care toward the maintenance and subsistence of all the islands that have been discovered, to ensure that they will be provided with powder, ammunition, and other necessaries for whatever contingency; and in addition, I let you know of the displeasure that I have felt at receiving the news of the measures taken by your predecessor with regards to the change he made in the money destined to the Mariana Islands, by arranging for it to be taken to that Royal treasury, thus depriving the troop of the salary that is assigned each one of them in cash by my Royal treasury, and placing them in the necessity of having to beg for what is theirs, with the intervention of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus. Therefore, I order you to issue the appropriate orders to restore the practice of everything that was formerly done with the subsidies that are carried from New Spain, and have always been left in the Mariana Islands, arranging for the distribution of cash to be made to every one of the individuals, in accordance with what is paid out by my Royal treasury, and you are to report on all occasions that might offer on the actions taken as a result of this my Royal decision, and I trust that in your zeal for my service you will apply the most suitable means to achieve the restoration of the above-mentioned Islands, their preservation and development, and the relief of their natives, in accordance with the above-mentioned decrees of 28 May 1741 and 30 December 1751, as such is my will.

Made at Aranjuez, 3 June 1756.

I the King.

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1741A.

By order of the King our Lord,
Don José Ignacio de Goyeneche.

A2. Letter from Governor Arandía to the King, dated Manila 20 July 1758

Source: AGI Ultramar 561, leg. 20, year of 1758, fol. 186-188.

Note: He acknowledges receipt of the above-mentioned decree disapproving the proposal that the Marquis of Obando had made to abolish the government of the Mariana Islands.

Original text in Spanish.

Señor.

*Por Real Cédula su fecha en Aranjuez á tres de Junio de mil setecientos cincuenta y seis, informado V.M. por el Marques de Ovando mi antecesor en este Gobierno en punto del cumplimiento de la Real Cédula de treinta de Diciembre de mil setecientos cincuenta y uno que dispone la remision de familias á las Yslas Marianas; que habia prevenido que el Cabo de el Patache que se estaba aprontando para conducir á ellas su situado lo distribuyese á la Ynfanteria con intervencion de los Padres Ministros de la Compañía de Jesus, los efectos y generos que fuesen empleados para sus alimentos, y vestuarios, precabiendo el que entrando en poder del Gobernador se los revendiese á escesivos precios y que para lo venidero se tomase el medio de que el Situado de aquellas Islas se tragese en derecho á estas caxas para que comprandose los géneros que fuesen utiles se les pudiesen remitir al Sargento Mayor que hiciese las funciones de Teniente de Oficiales Reales, y los repartiase con la propia intervencion de los mismos Padres Ministros, añadiendo que sin embargo de haber hecho publicar bando para que se presentasen las familias que voluntariamente quisiesen ir á dhas islas no se habia presentado ninguna, por el horror que habian tomado despues del naufragio que padeció el patache nombrado **Santo Domingo** que conducia algunas por lo cual é instruido de lo que son dichas Islas, la ninguna utilidad que prometen, y lo mucho que importa la sugesion y poblacion y fomento de la de Mindanao, discurria por mas combeniente á los Reales intereses, que la poca gente que habitaba en la Ysla de Rota distante treinta leguas de la de Guaham, se hiciese reducir á esta última, como tambien la de otras varias poblaciones que hay en la de Guahan, poblando con ella la Ciudad de Agaña y Puerto de Umata donde dan fondo los navios del trafico de estas Yslas con la Nueva España, en cuyo caso bastarian solos tres Padres de la Compañía Misioneros los dos en la Cabezera de Agaña y el uno en Umata, y que para conservarlas en paz seria necesario erigir un Cabo con treinta soldados de Presidio, y á fin de que este Oficial no se escediese en su Comando habia de estar con dependencia sugeto á el Padre Superior de aquella Mision, á quienes tambien se les habia de dar la intervencion de la compra y repartimiento de todas las cosas útiles para el Presidio, respecto de que el dinero que debe dexar la Nao de esta Carrera por razon de Situado lo ha de conducir á esta Capital, por no necesitarse tanto esta especie en el presidio como los géneros, con cuya nueva planta se podia quitar el Gobernador[.] el Sargento Mayor, Capitanes, y tropa, y la li-*

mosna que se espense en la manutencion de un Colegio de Niños, y aplicar este fondo para engrosar y fomentar las fuerzas contra los Moros y sugetar todas las Islas que llaman de Luzon, y Mindanao, cuya dibujada idea por opuesta á el importante fin de la manutencion de las Islas Marianas para el libre Comercio de la Nueva España con estas Islas, y estar dadas para su existencia, y mejor conservacion las mas saludables providencias por diferentes Reales Cédulas y especialmente por la de veinte y ocho de Mayo de mil setecientos cuarenta y uno, y la citada de treinta de Diciembre de mil setecientos cincuenta y uno, fué destinada enteramente por V.M. y se sirvió preceptuar me este á la mira y aplique un entero cuidado para la manutencion y subsistencia de todas las islas que estan descubiertas, de forma que esten bien proveidas, de polvora, municiones y lo demas necesario para cualesquiera acontecimiento; manifestando el desagrado con que á visto V.M. la noticia de las providencias que dió dicho Marques de Ovando mi antecesor, en quanto á haber mudado la Cantidad destinada para las dichas Yslas Marianas, haciendola conducir á estas Caxas, destituyendo á su tropa del sueldo que por el Real herario de V.M. le este asignado á cada uno en dinero y poniendoles en la precision de que hayan de mendigar con intervencion de los Padres de la Compañia de Jesus lo que es suyo por lo que me ordena V.M. de las órdenes convenientes para que se practique todo lo que anteriormente se ha ejecutado con los Situados que se conducen de la Nueva España, y se han dexado siempre en las Yslas Marianas, disponiendo se haga el repartimiento en especie de dinero á cada uno de los individuos como se les satisface por la Real hacienda, y que de cuenta á V.M. de las resultas:

la cual Real Cédula vista y obedecida conforme á la ley se mandó guardar cumplir y ejecutar y dar cuenta á Vuestra Magestad de su recibo con su respectiva exemplar en cuyo cumplimiento lo ejecuto. Quedando encargado en que á la tropa Presidaria de Marianas se pasen sus Situados en la misma especie que se conducen de la Nueva España, y de cuidar de la subsistencia y restablecimiento de dichas Yslas, segun está preceptuado por las Reales Cédulas de veinte y ocho de Mayo de mil setecientos cuarenta y uno, y treinta de Diciembre de mil setecientos cincuenta y uno.

Dios guarde la Catolica y Real Persona de Vuestra Magestad los muchos años que toda la Cristiandad necesita.

Manila y Julio veinte de mil setecientos cincuenta y ocho.

Señor.

Don Manuel de Arandia.

Translation.

Sire:

By Royal decree dated Aranjuez 3 June 1756, informed as Y.M. were by the Marquis of Obando, my predecessor in this Government, referring to compliance to the Royal decree of 30 December 1751, which orders the remittal of families to the Mariana Islands, telling you that he had arranged for the commander of the patache that was being made ready to carry their subsidy overthere to distribute it to the Infantry with the intervention of the Father Ministers of the Society of Jesus, in the form of effects

and goods that might be used for their food supplies and clothing, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the Governor who might resell them at excessive prices, and that in future the means were to be taken to have the subsidy of those Islands be carried directly to this treasury so that the goods that might be useful could be purchased, to have them remitted to the Sergeant-Major who would act as Lieutenant of the Royal officials, and to distribute same with the intervention of the same Father Ministers...

[etc. the same words as in the royal decree above, until:]

After said Royal decree was seen, and obeyed according to law, it was ordered complied with and carried out, and a report sent to Your Majesty to acknowledge its receipt, along with its respective copy, and I by the present comply. I remain aware of my responsibility to have the subsidies destined to the troop of the garrison of the Marianas paid to them with the same currency that is conveyed from New Spain, and to watch over the subsistence and restoration of said Islands, in accordance with the mandates of the Royal decrees of 28 May 1741 and 30 December 1751.

May God save the Catholic and Royal person of Your Majesty for as many years as Christendom needs.

Manila, 20 July 1758.

Document 1757A

Request for more Jesuits

Source: AGI Fil. 98 and Contratación 5550.

Royal consultation, dated Madrid 25 August 1757

Original text in Spanish.

Consejo de las Indias à 25 de Agosto de 1757.

Don Joseph Cornejo

Don Francisco Fernandez Molinillo

Don Geronimo de Sola

Don Antonio Jacinto Romay

Don Juan Vazquez de Agüero

Don Phelipe de Arco

Don Joseph Moreno

Don Joseph de Ezpeleta

Don Joseph de Roxas

Don Pedro de Leon y Escandon.

Señor

*El Padre Joseph de Torres, de la Compañía de Jesus, y Procurador General de su Provincia de San Ignacio de Philipinas, hà presentado diferentes Informes del Governador actual de aquellas Islas, del Cabildo Ecclesiastico de la Iglesia Metropolitana de Manila, y de su Provincial, en que hace constar la urgente necesidad, y falta de religiosos con que se halla la misma Provincia para la asistencia de las Misiones que tiene à su cuidado, asi en las de Pintados, Zamboanga, Marianas, jurisdicciones de Tondo, Cavite, Maribeles, Mindoro, como otros parages, que componen noventa Pueblos, y Ministerios de Indios, y las almas que administran ascienden à 212,753 y que los sacerdotes que quedaban quando salió el referido Procurador de su citada Provincia, solo eran 130, los 17 por su vejez no estaban en estado de administrar à los Indios: **5 que se hallaban en las Misiones de las Islas Marianas:** 8 que por sus enfermedades estaban del todo inútiles: otros 5 que son todavia estudiantes: los dos Procuradores remitidos à Europa; y otro que reside siempre en Mexico en el Hospicio que allí tiene la mencionada Provincia, y rebaxados de los expresados 130 quedan en 92 cuyo numero no es*

posible pueda cumplir con la administracion espiritual que tiene à su cargo; y siendo preciso existan siempre 150 sacerdotes para el total desempeño. Suplica à V.M. se sirva de concederle su Real permiso, y licencia para poder conducir 58 Misioneros, remitiendo de ellos luego que los tenga juntos, 15 ó à lo menos 12 sacerdotes por la gran falta que hay de estos sugetos, aviados todos, y socorridos de cuenta de la Real Hacienda.

El Consejo en vista de lo referido, y de lo que en su inteligencia, y de los antecedentes del asunto hà expuesto el Fiscal; pasa su respuesta original à las Reales manos de V.M. y conformandose con las razones en que la funda; es de parecer de que V.M. se sirva de condecender à esta instancia, y que el avio, y transporte de los referidos 58 Misioneros se pague de cuenta de la Real Hacienda, satisfaciendose su importe en Cadiz, y si alli no hubiere efectos, en las Caxas Reales de la Vera Cruz, ó en las de Mexico, y de los mismos ramos que constan de la Certificacion que se acompaña à esta Consulta, dada por la Contaduria, afin de que V.M. se digne de mandar expedir la Libranza correspondiente por la Secretaria del Despacho de las Indias, como està resuelto por Real orden de 27 de Abril del año de 1748.

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

Madrid 25 de Agosto de 1757.

Translation.

The Council of the Indies, 25 August 1757.

Don José Cornejo

Don Francisco Fernandez Molinillo

Don Gerónimo de Sola

Don Antonio Jacinto Romay

Don Juan Vasquez de Agüero

Don Felipe de Arco

Don José Moreno

Don José de Ezpeleta

Don José de Roxas

Don Pedro de León y Escandón.

Sire:

Father José de Torres, of the Society of Jesus, and Procurator General for his Province of San Ignacio of the Philippines, has presented different reports from the present Governor of those Islands, from the Municipal Council of the Metropolitan Church of Manila, and from his Provincial, by which he makes known the urgent need, and the lack of religious with which his Province finds itself for manning the Missions that are in its care, not only in the Visayas, Zamboanga, Marianas, the jurisdiction of Tondo, Cavite, Mariveles, Mindoro, as well as other neighborhoods, that consist of 90 towns, and Ministries among Indians, and the number of souls administered reaches 212,753 and that the remaining priests, when the above-mentioned Procurator left said Province, were only 130, of whom 17 were too old to administer the Indians: **5 of those are**

found in the missions of the Mariana Islands; 8 are so sick as to be useless; 5 others are still only students; 2 are the Procurators sent to Europe; and another one permanently resides at Mexico City in the Hospice that said Province owns there. When these subjects are subtracted from the above-mentioned 130, there remain 92 whose number cannot possibly comply with the spiritual administration entrusted to it, since a minimum of 50 priests are necessary to fulfil that commitment. He begs Y.M. to be pleased to grant him your Royal permission and license to be able to lead 58 Missionaries, sending them off as soon as he can gather 15 or at least 12 priests at a time, on account of the great lack of such subjects, all being outfitted and succored at the expense of the Royal treasury.

The Council, in view of the above, and what the Fiscal said about it after consulting the background of the matter, forwards its answer to the Royal hands of Y.M. and, in line with the reasons upon which it is based, is of the opinion that Y.M. should be pleased to grant this petition, and that the outfitings and transport of the above-mentioned 58 Missionaries be indeed paid by the Royal treasury, but paid out in Cadiz, and if there be no funds there, in the Royal treasury at Veracruz, or that at Mexico City, and from the sources as shown in the Certification attached to this Consultation, and prepared by the Accounting Department, so that Y.M. may deign to order the issuance of the corresponding Warrant by the Secretariat of the Office of the Indies, as laid out in the Royal order of 27 April 1748.

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

Madrid, 25 August 1757.¹

¹ Ed. note: Don José Ignacio de Goyeneche noted that the King agreed, and that the moneys were in fact paid out. This mission band was led by Fr. Canicia (see Doc. 1759A).

ORDENANZAS DE MARINA,

PARA LOS NAVIOS DEL REY, DE LAS ISLAS PHILIPINAS,
que en Guerra, y con Reales Permisos hacen Viages al Reyno
de la Nueva España, ù otro destino del Real servicio.

✻ TOMO PRIMERO ✻



Año de

1757.

DE ORDEN DE SV Magestad

POR D. PEDRO MANVEL DE ARANDIA, Y SANTESTEVAN,
Señor de la Casa de Arandia, Cavallero professo del Orden de
Calatrava, Gentil-hombre de Camara de entrada del Rey de las
dos Sicilias, Mariscal de Campo de los Exercitos de su Magestad,
Governador, y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas, y
Presidente de su Real Audiencia.

Document 1757B

Revised regulations for the galleons, by Governor Arandía

Source: Governor Pedro Manuel de Arandía y Santisteban's Ordenanzas de Marina para los navios del Rey... (Manila, 1757; plus later additions. Available at BM #804.h.21.

Notes: The additions were also printed in 1757; the two books contain 164 and 57 pages respectively, and two charts, engraved by the Filipino Laureano Atlas, one showing the port of Sisiran in Camarines (see B&R 52: 354), and the other the area around the port of Palapag, Samar Island (see below). Book 1 gives the job descriptions and duties of each position aboard the royal ships in Philippine waters and aboard the Manila galleon. Book 2, Additions, deals more specifically with galleons.

B1. Extracts from Governor Arandía's Naval Ordinances

...

Original text in Spanish.

Queriendo S.M. por lo resuelto en decreto del año passado de mil setecientos quarenta y ocho, para las Reales Ordenanzas de Marina, que el servicio, y observancia de ellas, sea uniforme, y que assi se afianze la practica de unas mismas Reglas, en la Navegacion, en todos los Reynos de su Real Dominio. En virtud de la facultad, que me tiene concedida à este fin, para los Navios de las Islas Philipinas, de darles las correspondientes para su Navegacion, Policia, Servicio, y Disciplina, de que enteramente han carecido por lo passado, para un establecimiento fijo, en lo subcesivo, que unido lo que por las Reales deliberaciones, les tiene concedido en este Reyno, y sus Mares, como en las de el de la Nueva España, y las demas ocasiones del Real servicio, en que deban emplearse, fin que se pongan en caso, con la mensuracion de algunos Articulos, por las experiencias de los viages, lo municipal del continente, y los naturales, que se hân de exercitar empleados en ellos.

LIBRO PRIMERO

MANDO, Y PREFERENCIA ENTRE LOS OFICIALES.

Articulo I.

Al General electo para el viage, y encargo de èl, le obedeceràn todos los Oficiales, y Tripulacion del Navio, como Gefè principal, segun sus titulos, y lo que su Magestad le concede por las Reales Cédulas de su eleccion, en las facultades de General de estos mares, y qualquiera que contraviniere en no obedecerle lo que por escrito, ò de pala-

bra se le mandare del Real servicio, serà tenido por reo desobediente, le mandará formar causa, y será castigado, con la pena que señalan las Reales Ordenanzas, para los Consejos militares de Guerra con el mayor rigor.

II.

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...

e.g.

Libro Segundo. De las banderas, e insignias.—Artículo I.

El pabellon será blanco con el escudo de las Armas del Rey, en medio, hasta que su Magestad disponga otra cosa, y no se arbolarà otra Bandera, sino en las ocasiones en que es permitido, segun estilo del Mar.

Artículo II.

De esta Bandera, que es distintivo de los Navios de la Armada, y por los privilegios de los de Guerra, de estas Islas, para la correspondencia con los Reynos de la Nueva España; no podrán usar los de particulares, sino de la blanca, con Cruz de Borgoña, y los Navios que fueren armados de Guerra, y Mercancia, ò solamente en Guerra, podrán añadir en medio de la Cruz, el Escudo de las Armas de su Magestad.

...

Libro Quarto. De los alojamientos a bordo.—Artículo I.

El General nombrado para el viage, ò encargo de Guerra, alojarà con preferencia à todos los que se embarcaren en el Navio, ocupando el primer Camarote, que regularmente, será à la banda de estribor, y la Camara correspondiente al de su alojamiento, quedará enteramente à su disposicion.

...

Artículo III.

El Capitan del Navio, alojarà en el segundo Camarote principal, despues del General, à este, seguirá el primer Theniente, Capitan de Infanteria, à èl, el segundo Theniente de Navio, si le huviere, y assi, los demas Oficiales.

...

Artículo VII.

En Santa Barbara, ocupará el Capellan el primer lugar, en Catre firme, en el lado de estribor, y en el de babor correspondiente, alogará el primer Condestable, à el que seguirá el Sirujano, que eligirá el lado, fuera de los dos primeros, al que seguirán los Maestres, prefiriendo el de Jarcias, à el de viveres, y el ultimo lugar, le ocupará el segundo Condestable.

...

Artículo X.

El Piloto mayor, alojarà en el Camarote de estribor de la Toldilla, arrimado al espejo de Popa, el segundo el de babor, y assi el tercero: Y si en los Camarotes de Popa huviere hueco por falta de Oficiales, podráse alojar el Piloto mayor, seguidamente entre los mismos atento à su principal cargo en el manejo del Navio.

...

Artículo XIV.

Dos Chazas enfrente de la Escotilla mayor de una, y otra banda del Navio, en una, alojarà el Ayudante, Sirujano, Boticario, Barbero, y en otra el Despensero, Tonelero, Alguacil de Agua, y dependientes de provission.

...

Articulo XIX.

En la Lancha, y Bote, se podrá acomodar parte de la Tripulacion, si fuere crecida, y de no, para descanso del entrante quarto de Guardia, para estar mas à mano en qualquier suceso de tiempo.

...

Libro Sexto. Policia, y disciplina que debe observarse.—Articulo I.

Todas las operaciones regulares del Navio durante la Navegacion, y en Puerto, dependeràn del Capitan conformado con el General que mandare para su observancia, y establecimiento, assi en el toque de la caxa de Guerra, y Campaña, como de las señales, que estas dependeràn siempre del General que mande si fuere en esquadra acompañado de Bagel, ú otras embarcaciones que vayan en su conserva, procurando que no tenga movilidad, ni innovacion lo que se establezca, y que sea à unas mismas horas los rezos, comida de los Ranchos, distribucion de racion, y demas ejercicios.

...

Articulo XXIV.

La Tripulacion podrá fumar tabaco sobre el combes, y Castillo de Proa, à zotavento de dia, y de noche, como sea en pipa bien tapada con capillo, ò bien puro sigarro con su cañuto, ò bonbon, y si fuere en tiempos de vientos recios, solo se permitirá debajo del Castillo, donde se tendràn tinas de agua para qualquier efecto, prohiviendose absolutamente fumar en sigarro de papel, y los Capitanes cuydaràn con particular atencion, que no aya desorden en fumar en las Camaras, y Camarotes, y especialmente en los jardines en que estàn combustible, dando sobre ello las ordenes convenientes à los Oficiales que lo deben zelar, y castigando sin excusa à el que contraviniere.

Articulo XXV.

El que se encontrará fumando fuera de los parages permitidos, será puesto en prission por quinze días à Pan, y Agua, y si fuere sin la precaucion prevenida, sea de pipa, ò sigarro, se le condenará à servir por un año sin sueldo en el proprio Navio, ò bien al retorno en la Galera de Cavite, y la misma pena se le dará al que se encontrare, ò tuviere instrumentos para encender fuego, ò que llevare à Bordo generos de facil combustion, sin orden, ò necessidad porque se le permita.

Articulo XXVI.

No se consentirá luz fuera de farol en ningun parage del Navio...

...

Articulo XXIX.

El Oficial de Mar, ò Sargento que tuviere en su Rancho luz, fuera del farol, será privado de su empleo, y obligado à servir el de Mar, la plaza de Gurumete, y el Sargento de Soldado...

....

Artículo XXXIII.

Siendo el principal movil de la salud, el desahogo del aseo, y limpieza, como la conservacion del Navio, en bien del Real servicio, se hará barrer, bañar sus costados, y valdear sus cubiertas, con frecuencia siempre que lo permita el tiempo, escusando quanto sea possible las rasquetas. Para lo qual se safarán todos los Ranchos una vez à la Semana, no experimentando gran calor, y de hacerlo con mas frecuencia, y diariamente se limpiaràn las Chazas, à satisfacion de los Oficiales, que entraren de guardia, las que se regaràn por tiempos con agua, y vinagre, si se reconociere algun toque epidemico.

...

Artículo XXXV.

Se prohiven absolutamente todos los juegos de dados, albures, y otros qualesquiera de azar, y embite, y el que en los juegos permitidos hiciere trampa, ò fulleria, será puesto sobre un Cañon, y azotado à consideracion de lo cometido, si fuere hombre de Mar, si Soldado se le passará por las baquetas.

...

Artículo XLI.

Al que blasfemare, se pondrà una mordaza, ú otra señal infamante, y se le dejarà à Pan, y Agua por quinze dias, y si reinsidiere, será condenado à tener la lengua atravessada con un hierro ardiendo.

...

Artículo XLIII.

Al que se embriagare, se le pondrà, y tendrá en el cepo por quatro dias à Pan, y Agua, y si reinsidiere, se duplicará como en la pena arbitraria que hallare el Capitan à bien para que se corrija.

...

Libro Siete. Obligacion de los pilotos.

...

Artículo VIII.

Cada Piloto formará diario exacto de la Navegacion, en que explicará por extenso las circunstancias de su derrota, las particularidades en cada singladura, la variedad de vientos, maniobras executadas, y generalmente todos los acontecimientos de la Navegacion, con la claridad possible, el qual diario, deberá à su retorno entregarlo à este Superior Gobierno, para los fines que convengan.

...

Libro Quince. Pertenciente al goze de raciones de marina, y distribucion de estas a bordo del bagel,—Artículo I.

Todo el que tuviere plaza à bordo del Navio, ò Navios de esta carrera, gozará diariamente mientras està embarcado, una racion ordinaria, que se compondrà de los generos siguientes.

EN DIA DE CARNE.

| | |
|--|-------------------|
| <i>Viscocho, diez y ocho onzas.</i> | <i>18. onzas.</i> |
| <i>Carne tasajo, seis onzas.</i> | <i>6. onzas.</i> |
| <i>Puerco frito, tres onzas.</i> | <i>3. onzas.</i> |
| <i>Sal, media onza.</i> | <i>1/2 onza.</i> |
| <i>Vinagre, para diez personas, un cuarto de onza.</i> | <i>1/4 onza.</i> |
| <i>Leña, dos libras.</i> | <i>2. libras.</i> |

EN DIA DE PESCADO.

| | |
|---|-------------------|
| <i>Viscocho, diez y ocho onzas.</i> | <i>18. onzas.</i> |
| <i>Miniestras, tres onzas.</i> | <i>3. onzas.</i> |
| <i>Manteca, una onza.</i> | <i>1. onza.</i> |
| <i>Pescado Tollo, seis onzas.</i> | <i>6. onzas.</i> |

La sal, vinagre, y leña, como los demas dias.

Por cada racion, se considera la de quatro quartillos de agua, incluso uno al rancho, para cocerle, y tres para beber.

...

Articulo XXIV.

Las dietas, ò raciones para los enfermos, se administrarán en lugar de la ordinaria, con regulacion à lo possible en esta carrera, que se compondrà cada una de los siguientes generos:

Viscocho blanco.

| |
|-------------------|
| <i>12. onzas.</i> |
|-------------------|

Gallina, una, para quatro raciones.

Carne fresca durando.

| |
|------------------|
| <i>8. onzas.</i> |
|------------------|

Dos viscochos, ò un marquezote, y en su lugar conserva de dulce.

Vino, segun se recete.

La sal, como las raciones.

Carbon media libra por cada una.

Cuyos generos se entregaràn à la orden del Sirujano, al segundo Barbero, ò Sangrador assistente que eligiere para su cuydado, y distribucion.

...

ADICCION [sic]
A LA ORDENANZA DE MARINA...
TOMO SEGUNDO

Por quanto se digno la piedad del Rey Nuestro Señor acompañarme al Gobierno de estas Islas con la facultad de formar Ordenanzas, que arregle la Navegacion de los Navios, que pasan al Reyno de la Nueva España en el mejor estado por Marineros, y Provistos de lo necessario à que no acontezcan los experimentados malos sucessos de lo passado, privando los abusos de su Carga, regulandola à la Ley, y lo permitido, y que se observe una exacta disciplina en los Bajeles, segun las Reales Ordenanzas de Marina en la conservacion de los Buques, cuenta, y razon de sus aderentes, y pertenencias, escusando menoscavos de la Real Hazienda; y para que en adelante queden à su observancia los establecimientos de esta adiccion à las Ordenanzas para la Carga de los Navios en el Puerto de Cavite, su mansion, descarga, y regreso del de Acapulco, como hechos practicos à la experiencia en bien del Real servicio, de los Navegantes, y este Comercio.

Articulo I.

Constituyendose este Reglamento à la nominacion de un positivo Capitan de Navio honorado, y electo por titulo de Màr, y Guerra para la atencion, gobierno, y cumplimiento de las Ordenanzas en èl, durante el viage, cargo, y descargo, con el cuydado de parte principal por los intereses de su Magestad desde el Buque hasta lo demàs que le corresponda, à que por lo passado hà sido imaginario por proprio interes, y sin sueldo, el qual se le arregla para el mejor, en cumplimiento de su obligacion, y desempeño de su honorifico encargo en el Real servicio à que por las Comisiones de su destino el General annualmente electo en esta Carrera, no hà podido atender por ser à otro fin sus encargos, y de quien recibidas las ordenes en disposicion del viage, el Capitan deberá dar cumplimiento, fiscalizando que le tenga en todo, conforme al Real deliverado animo de su Magestad, en la pureza del Comercio, su bien, y el de los naturales de este continente sus Vasallos, y felicidad del Viage: Y por lo que à esto se oponga para emprenderlo, lo representará al General en las debidas formas, y quando no se arregle segun su conocimiento, y honor de su destino, para el desempeño, podrá para las providencias recurrir à este Superior Gobierno.

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...

e.g.

Oficiales de Guerra, etc.***GUARNICION, Y TRIPULACION DE LOS NAVIOS.***

| <i>Buque de los Navios:</i> | <i>Del porte de 60. Cañones.</i> | <i>Del porte de 50. Cañones.</i> | <i>Del porte de 40. Cañones.</i> |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <i>Artilleros.</i> | 40. | 30. | 25. |
| <i>Marineros.</i> | 120. | 90. | 60. |
| <i>Gurum. Españoles.</i> | 100. | 70. | 50. |
| <i>Sencillos en lugar de Pajes.</i> | 80. | 40. | 30. |
| <i>Sargentos.</i> | 2. | 2. | 2. |
| <i>Tambor.</i> | 1. | 1. | 1. |
| <i>Cavos.</i> | 6. | 4. | 4. |
| <i>Soldados.</i> | 54. | 46. | 36. |
| <i>Totales.</i> | 403. (*) | 283. (*) | 208. |

...

*Real Palacio de Manila, y Mayo primero de mil setecientos cincuenta y siete años.**D. Pedro Manuel de Arandía.**Por mandado de su Señoría.**Francisco Xavier de Pison.*

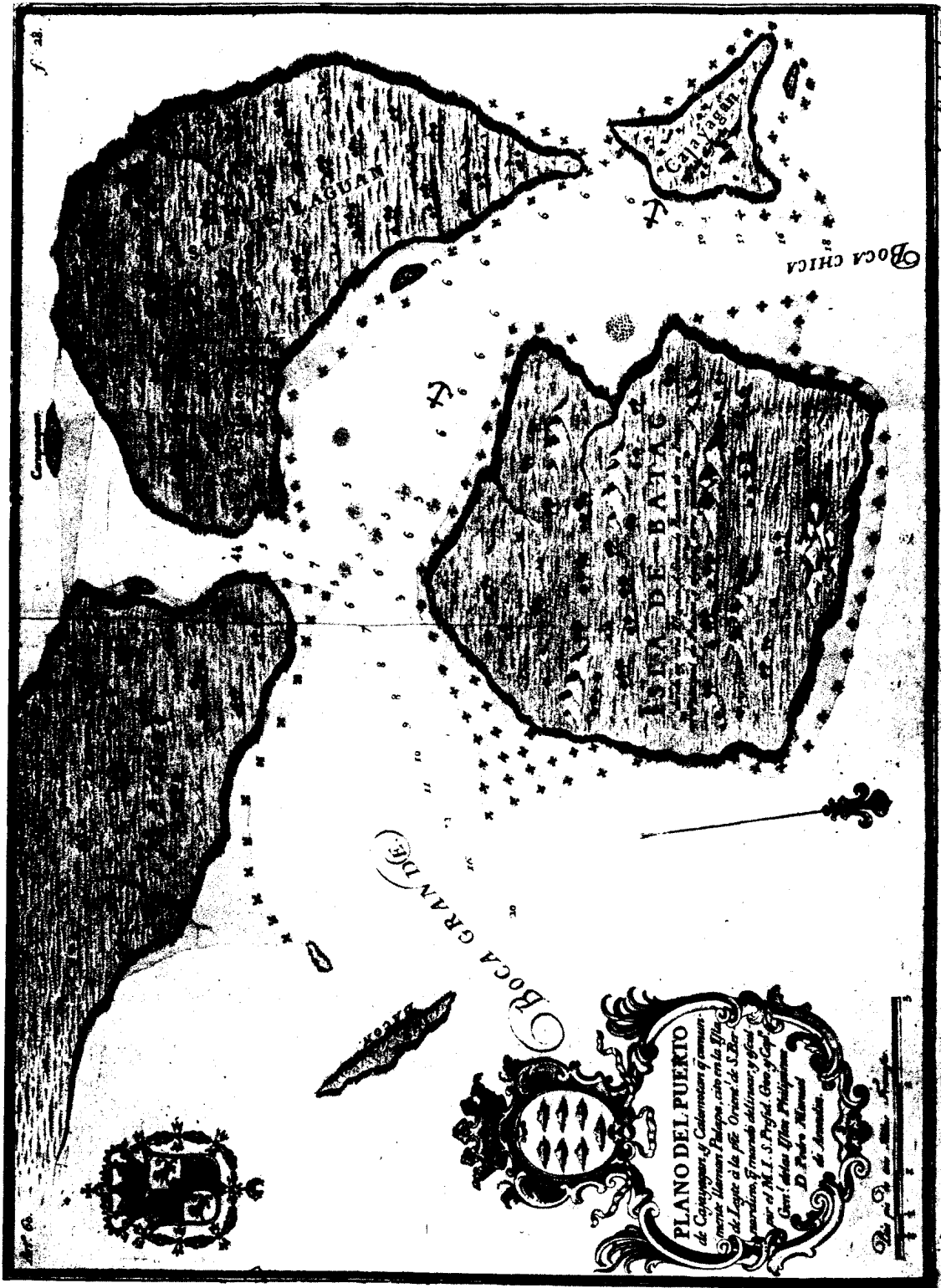


Chart of the port of Palapag and vicinity. The labels Batac and Laguan should be interchanged.

INSTRUCCION

que se observará para el apresto del annual navio, que se despacha de estas Islas Philipinas, para el Reyno de la Nueva España, segun la Real permission de su Magestad con la carga concedida.

Articulo I.

Deberán recibir la carga à bordo del Navio, el Fiscal de su Magestad, el Oficial Real de turno, el Regidor de la Ciudad, un Compromissario del Comercio, y el Escrivano de Minas, y registros. Los quales tendrán la obligacion, de que con el mas exacto reconocimiento de si las piezas que le conducen para ella, con la Libranza de la Real Contaduria, segun la manifestacion de las partes, para su embarco, està conformes à la medida, y pesso, que su Magestad concede por sus Reales Cedula, siendo responsables de qualquiera contravencion, que en ello se disimule, à los interessados, y de lo que adviertan, ò duden, se detendrá el embarco, las piezas, y el Conductor, dando parte à el Superior Gobierno, para las justificaciones de la causa que lo motivare, para seguirse las providencias en merito.

II.

Los Oficiales Reales, luego que recivan la orden del Superior Gobierno, señalando el Navio que debe hacer viage, y que esta regularmente será despachada en cada año à primero del mes de Marzo, à fin tengan tiempo, para los aprestos. Hechos cargo del Buque, y señalada la Tripulacion, segun la Ordenanza. Atendiendo à los que tengan en los Reales Almacenes, pedirán noticia al Maestro mayor del Arcenal, y Capitan de Maestranza de lo que le faltare, para havilitarlo para el viage, en virtud de que, despacharán las correspondientes ordenes à las Provincias, como ès, à Ilocos, para las mantas de velas, à la de Balayan, por los cavos, y cordoneria que se necessitare, para las Jarcias, anclage, y repuestos, con lo demas que consideren, y se advierta preciso, à que no acontezca falta à su tiempo, de que serán responsables.

III.

Al tenor del anterior Articulo, darán las providencias, para la obra del viscocho. El Arrendamiento, ò contrata, segun se acostumbra, para la obligacion del pescado, tapa de la carne. La conduccion de las legumbres de Provincia, con lo demas de que se compone las raciones de Marina, segun la Ordenanza de esta, à fin que para la ocasion, se halle todo aprestado, y condicionado en las formas, para la Navegacion.

IV.

Si para el apresto del Navio recurriere el Maestro mayor à Oficiales Reales por lo que necessitare, para darle alguna recorrida, encebo, ú otro preparatorio (pues por lo tocante à carena serán las providencias en tiempo mas anticipado) seguirán la prompta disposicion, à mandar al Arcenal, el bonote, azeite de palo, y lo demas que relacionen necesitar para el apresto.

V.

Cumplida la Junta de repartimiento, que se hará à primeros del mes de Mayo, harán el preparatorio, segun la orden que tengan por aviso, para el numero de piezas de que se debe componer la carga, y formar el asiento de la presentacion de estas, por las con-

cedidas à los Vecinos, para el cobro del derecho de Real Hacienda, que con asistencia del Fiscal de su Magestad, y de los Compromissarios de Ciudad, y Comercio, les daràn el correspondiente Boletin, para el libre embarco de las piezas que cada uno manifieste, conducidas à bordo.

VI.

*Del dia primero de Junio, en adelante, se señalarà el, en que deberá passar al Arce-
nal de Cavite el Capitan del Navio, para entregarse de su Buque, con el Oficial Real de
turno, el Escrivano Contador que debe hacer viage, passará à la revista de los elegidos
Artilleros de Mar, Marineros, Gurumetes españoles, y sencillos, por classes, de los que
ayan de servir de su Tripulacion, de que se le formará assiento en las formas, y segun
las Ordenanzas en los Articulos 3. hasta 6. del Libro 5. y Artículo 2. de la Adiccion.*

VII.

*Cumplidas las diligencias del anterior Artículo, y prefixada la Tripulacion del Navio,
para el viage, se señalarà assi mesmo el dia para el pagamento de la buena cuenta, con-
forme se dispone en el Artículo 9. de la Adiccion a las Ordenanzas de Marina.*

VIII.

*Executada la entrega del Navio en el Puerto de Cavite al Capitan, y lo prevenido en
los anteriores Articulos, se embarcarà la aguada, los repuestos de velas, cables, y mas
aderentes, colocandolos en sus correspondientes Paños; estos condicionados con-
forme à las reglas de la Ordenanza del Arce-
nal, à fin de libertarlos de averias por goter-
as, ú otros descuydos. Seguidamente las providencias de raciones, excepto la polvora,
que esta se llevará al pozo despues de estivada la carga.*

IX.

*Para el dia veinte de Junio, sin passar de este, ò anticiparle segun convenga, saldrà
el Galeon à ponerse en el pozo,¹ con los Oficiales, y Tripulacion, segun, y conforme se
ordena en el Artículo 8 del Libro 5. de las Ordenanzas de Marina, y de estar ancorado
en el referido sitio, darà el Capitan el correspondiente aviso à este Superior Gobierno.*

X.

*Desde el dia que el Navio se ponga ancorado en el pozo, para recibir la carga, Ofi-
ciales Reales socorreràn la Tripulacion de èl, con racion diaria, sin que sean las riguro-
sas de Marina, consideradas para el viage, bien si, de arroz, tapa, ò pescado, que
continuaràn, durante la carga, à dicha Tripulacion de guardia, en los quinze dias mas,
ò menos que se detendrá en hacerse à la vela, para que con esta asistencia, no tengan
la excusa de saltar à tierra, para buscar que comer, y desamparar el Navio en parage,
que de un instante, à otro pueden necessitarlos. Y providenciaràn, se tengan reciones
en el Almacen de Cavite, para esta asistencia, y se podrá la releva de unos, à otros del
todo de la Tripulacion.*

XI.

*Las manifestaciones, empezará à hacerse en la Real Contaduria (de no mediar espe-
cial circunstancia que lo impida) y desde el dia quinze de Junio, hasta el treinta inclu-*

1 Ed. note: That was the basin, or deeper part of the port of Cavite.

sive del mismo mes, y la carga al Navio, empezará desde el día primero de Julio de las piezas de numero, y marca, segun fuessen llegando, procurando que no desdegan en cosa de las Reglas, y medida que su Magestad concede, y de propassar, ó que tuvieren defecto en ello, se tendrá presente lo prevenido en el primer Artículo de esta.

XII.

Desde que el Navio en el Puerto de Cavite, se entregue el Capitan de él, se estive del lastre, embergue, y aderece para salir al pozo, se le pondrá una guardia de un Oficial subalterno, un Sargento, y veinte hombres de Infanteria de aquella guarnicion, de la que se relevará diariamente, hasta que salga al pozo, que irá à ocupar su custodia de la guarnicion propia, y que debe hacer viage en él.

XIII.

El arrumage, ó carga que hasta el presente há estado vario su destino, correrá en adelante por cuenta del Capitan de la Maestranza, ó Maestro mayor, como à quien corresponde el acomodo, y propiedad à la disposicion, y acierto para la Navegacion, y como constructor, que se hace responsable à enterar à el Contra-Maestre que há de hacer viage, y de emplear la Marineria de Guerra, les servirá de alcalá.

XIV.

Mientras esté el Navio en el pozo, para recibir la carga, antes, y despues de esta, y hasta que se haga la vela, no se consentirá, que ningun vecino, sea de la Ciudad de Manila, ó de Cavite, ni otra qualquiera persona demore à Bordo, mas tiempo del que sea preciso, para la entrega de la carga que llevare, ó de la respuesta de la comission que le conduce. Lo que zelará, se cumpla assi, el Oficial, y Sargento de guardia, sin permitir atraque à el vagel mas embarcacion, que la que executare la descarga en él, y que esta sea sin confussion, una embarcacion despues de otra, y para su cumplimiento, si el Fiscal de su Magestad, Oficial Real, ó Compromissarios que se hallan con este cargo en él le pidieren algun auxilio, les dará el correspondiente à la ocasion que convenga en todas.

XV.

Los referidos empleados para la carga en el anterior Artículo, como los demas de la guardia del Navio, y su Tripulacion, durante en el pozo, no saltarán à tierra por pretexto alguno, pues son responsables de quanto puede acontecer en resultas de su recivo, y estivazon, y por los dias de fiesta, el Capellan, que debe hacer viage, passará à decir la Missa à Bordo, para lo qual Oficiales Reales le tendrán la Falua de su Oficio prevenida, para que passe à él, y à dicho efecto.

XVI.

Del modo de recibir la carga, se observarán los Articulos 17. y 18. de la Adiccion à las Ordenanza de Marina, que executada, debiendose concluir el día catorce de Julio, en que se cerrará la bodega de su conducta, con las demas diligencias ordinarias, el Escrivano de Minas, y registros, executará un duplicado Libro de sobordo de ella, y el uno certificado en las formas; lo entregará à el Maestre para su gobierno, y descarga en Acapulco, y conclusos los comissionados à la carga, darán parte à el Superior Govierno, para con estas seguridades, obtener la orden para retirarse de abordo.

XVII.

En el Artículo 5. de esta Instruccion se previene, que por la manifestacion de piezas, que los vecinos hagan en la Real Contaduria para satisfacer los reales derechos de Almojarigazos [sic], se le dará por ello carta de pago, y libranza porque conste, y en cuya virtud se haga su libre embarco en el Navio. Y atento que dichas libranzas se acumulan à los Autos de la carga, llegada esta à Bordo, y satisfechos los encargados de estar conforme por el Escrivano de minas, y registros, en virtud de que, forma el correspondiente al sobordo, para el Maestre. Retirado de su Comission, hará la confrontacion de las expressadas libranzas en la Real Contaduria, con el asiento de manifestacion, y de no resultar alta, ò baja por ello en el Libro, y à pie de lo manifestado, pondrà la constancia de esta diligencia por lo que pueda convenir, à causa de quedàr los originales en su Oficio. Y de resultar qualquiera sobrançia, ò falta, se dará parte para que se sigan las diligencias que corresponden à su justificacion, assi para castigar la contravencion, como para lo que pueda resultar para la descarga.

XVIII.

Dandose igualmente por la misma Contaduria principal, los boletines à los Artilleros, Marineros, y Gurumetes, como à los Oficiales de Mar, è Infanteria, à quienes se les concede Arca, segun su classe para su embarco; el Escrivano de Minas, y registros, en la ocasion de executarse à Bordo, recogerà assi mesmo los expressados boletines; y como en el anterior Artículo se previene, hará igual confrontacion, con el asiento en la expressada Contaduria por los que huviere librado; y estando conformes, los romperà, certificando al pie del asiento, dicha diligencia, y de haver dispariedad, observara lo ordenado en el anterior Artículo.

XIX.

El quince de Julio se embarcarà el General, y en èl y el siguiente, seguirà el resto que pudiere faltar de su provision, y havió, como el de el Capitan, y demas Oficiales del Navio. El diez y siete, se embarcarà el todo de la polvora que debe llevar, tomando las precauciones que se previenen en los Artículos 7. y 8. del Libro 19. de la Ordenanza de Marina, que executado se dará parte al Superior Gobierno.

XX

En el proprio plazo, se embarcarà el arca de medicinas, la qual condicionada, y dispuesta, con los remedios que la experiencia hà dado à conocer son mas necesarios à esta Navegacion, puesta en estado, con asistencia de un Oficial Real, la reconocerà el Medico del Real Hospital de esta Ciudad, de todos los xaraves, simples, purgantes, y mas aderentes, de que con anticipacion aya dado nota al Boticario del mismo, para su apresto; y de si esta conforme à la calidad de cada cosa, el viage; y quedando aprobada, se hará por los dos, la entrega al Sirujano del Navio, el qual al pie de la nota de su compuesto, dará recivo, como de ir enterado, la que se guardará en la Contaduria principal para la ocasion del retorno, que la deberá retirar, dando su descargo con nota de los consumos, porque debe dirigirse de la igual que le daràn firmada por el Oficial Real, y del Medico para su gobierno.

XXI.

El dia diez y ocho, se embarcarà el Maestre con los Pliegos. Y del diez y nueve al veinte de Julio, de no urgir motivo del Real servicio, y permitirlo el tiempo, se levarà el Navio para su viage, y desembocar de Mariveles.

XXII.

Los señalados plazos à la carga, y estancia del Navio detenido en el lugar de la canal, gola del Puerto de Cavite, llamado bulgarmente el pozo, es arreglando el de su salida para la Navegacion mas ventajosa por los tiempos, que la experiencia hà dado à conocer, en los quatro continuados años, en que marineros, y en las formas, segun el Real animo de su Magestad se despachen; se hà experimentado el coresponder su salida à la oportunidad de las monzones en este Archipiélago, con felicidad del viage; pues partiendo de este Puerto, de veinte al treinta y uno de Julio, provisto de todo su necessario, consigue (no empeñados los Bendabales) la continuacion de los vientos Sur, y del Sur-sueste, que aunque sean lentos, bastantes para llegar al Puerto de San Jazinto de la Isla de Ticao, proxima à el Embocadero de San Bernardino (donde siempre hàn hecho, y hacen mansion) en quince à veinte dias sin que por evento mayor ayan tardado mas tiempo, quedandole el poder mansionar de ocho, à doce dias para refrescar la aguada que aya consumido, y tomar la leña, de que se provee en aquella Isla, para seguir su viage, el que emprehendido del treinta de Agosto, à los primeros dias de Septiembre, y [si] desembocando de San Bernardino consigue favorables, los Bendabales, que segun informes de los mas experimentados, y pilotos, hàn asegurado, ser el tiempo en que se radican con duracion, para con su collada alcanzar el montar las Islas Marianas, de cuyo conseguimiento, se assegura el viage, acreditado, assi en todas ocasiones que se hà guardado esta regla.

XXIII.

Durante la carga del Navio en la mansion del pozo, se armaràn las lanchas de resguardo del Capitan del Puerto en la Estacada de esta Ciudad, y la de el Puerto de Cavite de aquel gobierno, las que en sus correspondientes districtos, continuaràn el resguardo à que no se llegue al Navio, embarcacion, que pueda llevar alguna carga, ò generos prohibidos à su embarco, pudiendo registrar quantas sospechen pueden hacerlo, y certificarse si las que llevan carga es con el boletin de manifestacion de la Real Contaduria para su embarco à bordo, y de la que no fuere con este despacho, la retendrán, y serà decomisso, cuyo valor justificado el fraude de no haver parte del descubrimiento, y declararse de legitima pressa, salvada la de la Real Hacienda, lo restante serà para el Cavo, y Tripulacion de la lancha de guardia, por la de el Capitan del Puerto de esta Barra, y por la de Cavite, se haràn las partes de la Real Hacienda, la Tripulacion, y aquel gobierno, previniendo que en esto {no} se comprehenden todas las embarcaciones, que lleven meros viveres, equipages, provissions, para la Navegacion del General, Capitan, y mas Oficiales, siendo libre el registrarlas, y certificarse aun del mesmo Navio de que sea assi, sin que les valga ningun fuero.

Todo lo prevenido en esta Instruccion, se observará por una orden estable, è inviolable à radicar la regla del despacho de los Navios de estas Islas para el Reyno de la Nueva España, que hà sido tan vario quantas hân sido las ocasiones, sin que este establecimiento lo sea, à no mediar preciso motivo del mayor servicio del Rey Nuestro Señor, à que se sigue la conservacion, y aumento de este Comercio, y bien publico, y que la disposicion no sea movable como por lo passado: y para que sea notorio este dispuesto, à mas de que se estampe, y añada à la adiccion de la Ordenanza de Marina, se tomará la razon en la Contaduria principal, y se notificará à la N. C. y Comercio, para su inteligencia.

Dado en el Palacio Real de Manila, à doze de Febrero de mil setecientos cinquenta y ocho años.

D. Pedro Manuel de Arandia.

Tomòse razon de la Instruccion escrita en nueve foxas con esta en los Libros de su Magestad que paran en la Oficina principal de Hazienda, Real Contaduria, y Febrero veinte y uno de mil setecientos cinquenta y ocho años.

Fernando Caraveo Bolaño.

En la Ciudad de Manila, y Casa del Cavildo de Ayuntamiento, en veinte y dos de Febrero de mil setecientos cinquenta y ocho años. Yo el presente Escrivano de la Superior Governacion, y Guerra, notifiqué el Superior Decreto de la buelta, para el efecto que en èl se previene à la muy N. Ciudad, y Comercio, quienes enterados dixeron:

Que lo oyen, y para su debido cumplimiento se tome razon del Superior mandato en el Libro de Acuerdos, lo qual respondieron, y firmaron de que doy feè.

D. Juan Ygnacio de Monterroso.

D. Joseph Passarin.

D. Juan de Araneta.

D. Bentura de Bonasategui.

D. Fernando Calderon.

D. Juan Antonio Panelo.

D. Juan Gonzalez de Sierra.

D. Alberto Jacinto de Reyes.

Joseph Gomez de Servantes.



Translation.

H.M. having decided by his decree of the past year 1748 that Royal Ordinances for the Navy be written and observed in a uniform fashion, and that the navigation practices be enforced with the same Regulations throughout the Kingdoms of his Royal Dominion. By virtue of the authority vested upon me for this purpose, as far as the ships of the Philippine Islands are concerned, to give them their respective regulations for navigation, cleanliness, services, and discipline, which have been completely lacking in the past, for permanence in the future, and which, along with the Royal decisions, will apply to this Kingdom and its seas, as well as those of New Spain, and the other occasions of the Royal service in which they must be used. This purpose might be achieved by laying down a few Articles, to apply to the voyages, visits to the continent, and to the natives who must be employed in them.

BOOK ONE

COMMAND, AND PRECEDENCE AMONG THE OFFICERS.

Article I.

All of the officers and crew of the ship shall obey the General elected for the Voyage, as commander-in-chief, in accordance with his letters of appointment, and what His Majesty has granted him by the Royal decrees about his election, giving him authority as General of these seas, and any person who contravenes this by not obeying a written or verbal order in the name of the Royal service shall be considered criminally rebellious, and shall be charged, and punished with the penalty earmarked by the Royal Ordinances, in courts martial with great severity.

II.

[List of contents:]

Book 2. Regarding the Flags, and Banners.

Book 3. Regarding the Salutes that must be made.

Book 4. Regarding the Lodgings on board.

Book 5. Regarding the duties and command of the Captain of the ship in the cleanliness, discipline, and other things under his control.

Regarding the duties of inferior Officers.

Regarding the duties of the gentlemen Cadets.

Book 6. Cleanliness, and discipline, that must be observed aboard ships.

Book 7. Duties of the Pilots.

Book 8. Duties of the Boatswains, and their Mates.

Book 9. Duties of the Master of the rigging.

Book 10. Duties of the Carpenters, and Caulkers.

Book 11. Duties of the Gunsmith.

Book 12. Duties of the Lamplighter.

Book 13. Duties of the Diver.

Book 14. Duties of the Masters of the Launch, and Boat.

Book 15. Food rations of the Navy, and their distribution.

Book 16. Ordinance of the Master of rations.

Book 17. Grant to the General for his table.

Book 18. Regarding the service of the Troop aboard the ship.

Book 19. Ordinance for the Master Gunner.

Book 20. Service of the brigade of gunners on board.

Book 21. Ordinance for the ship Chaplain.

Book 22. Ordinance for the Hospital, and the Surgeon.

Book 23. Court of justice that applies to the seamen serving on board H.M.'s ships and arsenals.

Book 24. Regarding the War Council of the Officers in crimes committed by the Militia, sea officers, and seamen aboard the ships, arsenals, and ports.

Book 25. Ordinance for the prizes, and battles.

Book 26. Ordinance for the Testaments.

Ordinance for the Salutes between galleys and ships.

Gun exercises on board.

...

e.g. Book 2. Regarding the flags, and banners.—Article I.

The flag shall be white with the coat-of-arms of the King, in the center, until such time as His Majesty should decide otherwise, and no other flag is to be raised, except on occasions when it is permitted, according to nautical usage.

Article II.

Regarding this flag, which is different from the flags of the Navy, and based on the privileges of the warships of these Islands, for the visits to the Kingdoms of New Spain, they shall not use the flags of individuals, rather the white one, with the Burgundy cross,¹ while the ships sent out for war and with merchandise, or just for war, may add the royal coat-of-arms in the center of the cross.

...

Book 4. Regarding the lodgings on board.—Article I.

The General appointed for the voyage, or for war, shall lodge with precedence over all other persons aboard the ship, by occupying the first Berth, which normally will be on the starboard side, and the Cabin corresponding to his lodging shall be entirely at his disposal.

...

Article III.

The Captain of the ship shall lodge in the second main Berth, after the General, followed in precedence by the First Lieutenant, the Captain of the Infantry, then the Second Lieutenant of the ship, if there be, and so on for the other officers.

¹ Ed. note: It was in the shape of the letter X (see illustration above).

...

Article VII.

In the Gun Room, the Chaplain shall occupy the first place, with with a bed frame, on the starboard side, and on the corresponding larboard side, the Master Gunner, then after the Surgeon will select the next spot on either side, after the first two, then the Masters will be next, firstly that of the rigging, then that of the food rations, and finally in the last place the Master Gunner's Mate.

...

Article X.

The Chief Pilot shall lodge in a berth on the starboard side of the Coach [i.e. poop castle] right next to the escutcheon. The Second Pilot will take the corresponding berth on the larboard side, and so on for the Third Pilot. And if there be in the poop berths some space left, for lack of officers, the Chief Pilot may then move up to take that space, since his main duty is concerned with the management of the ship.

...

Article XIV.

Two cabins, on both sides of the main hatchway of the ship, are reserved, one to lodge the Adjutant, Surgeon, Pharmacist, Barber, and the other to lodge the Steward, Cooper, the Water Steward and to store some food supplies.

...

Article XIX.

Inside the Launch and Boat, part of the crew could be accommodated, if need be; otherwise, to provide a rest area for the next watch, so that these men can be at hand in any excessive weather.

...

Book 6. Cleanliness, and discipline that must be observed.—Article I.

All of the regular operations of the ship during the navigation, and in port, shall depend on the Captain, in obedience to the orders of the General, for their observance and establishment, for instance the beating of the war drum, and bell, as well as the signals, except that the latter shall always depend on the General if there be a squadron, with another vessel, or vessels, in company. It would be desirable if these be fixed in time, and remain so after they have been established, for instance, the prayers, meals, distributions of rations, and other exercises should take place at the same times.

...

Article XXIV.

The crew may smoke tobacco on deck, and on top of the forecastle, on the windward side by day, and by night only if with a pipe fitted with a lid, or else a cigar with its bamboo, or cane, tube. However, when the winds are brisk, smoking will only be permitted inside the forecastle, where there shall be kept jars full of water, in case of need. It shall be absolutely forbidden to smoke a paper cigarette, and the Captains shall take care with special attention that there be no disorder in smoking in the cabins, and berths, and specially on the quarter galleries where there are combustible materials, by

giving the appropriate orders to the Officers about it, which they must watch for, and punish without excuses anyone contravening same.

Article XXV.

Anyone found smoking anywhere other than in the permitted places shall be imprisoned for 15 days with only bread and water, and if they did so without said precautions, that is, without a pipe, or cigar, then they shall be condemned to serve for one year without pay on the ship itself, or else at the end of the voyage in the galley of Cavite, and the same penalty shall be given anyone found to be in possession of instruments to light fires, or who might bring on board materials of easy combustion, without a specific order, or need that would warrant such an order.

Article XXVI.

No light shall be burning, except inside a lamp or lantern, anywhere aboard the ship...

...

Article XXIX.

Any naval officer, or Sergeant, who might use a fire, other than inside of a lamp or lantern, inside his cabin, shall be stripped of his job, and forced to serve as a seaman, in the post of a ship's boy, or the Sergeant in that of a soldier...

...

Article XXXIII.

Since the principal way to promote health is by respecting hygiene, and cleanliness, in benefit of the preservation of the ship and of the Royal service, it shall be swept, have its sides and decks washed, frequently, weather permitting, avoiding the scrapers whenever possible.¹ Likewise, all of the cabins and berths shall be cleaned up once a week, when the temperature is not very warm, but when it is, more frequently. As for the shared berths [by the main hatchway] they are to be cleaned daily, to the satisfaction of the officers at the beginning of their watch. Water is to be used, but if any sign of an epidemic appears, vinager is to be used.

...

Article XXXV.

All forms of gambling is strictly prohibited, be they dice, cards, or any other type whatever of games of chance. The man who uses any kind of trickery, or cheating, during those games that are permitted, shall be put over a gun and whipped in proportion with his crime, in the case of a seaman, and shall run the gauntlet, if a soldier.

...

Article XLI.

Anyone who blasphemes shall be gagged, or similarly discredited, and he shall be on bread and water for 15 days. If the offence be repeated, he shall be condemned to having his tongue run through with a hot iron.

¹ Ed. note: Because they were made of iron and salt water would make them rust, I suppose.

...

Article XLIII.

Anyone who might get drunk shall be put in irons for four days with bread and water, and if the offence be repeated, he shall be punished again, with a punishment to be chosen by the Captain, to correct the vice in question.

...

Book 7. Duties of the Pilots.

...

Article VIII.

Every pilot shall keep an exact logbook of the navigation, in which he shall explain in details the circumstances of his track, the particularities of each daily run, the variety of the winds, the maneuvers carried out, and generally all of the incidents of the navigation, with as much clarity as possible. Said logbook shall be turned over to the Superior Government at the end of the voyage, for the appropriate purposes.

...

Book 5. Book 15. Food rations of the Navy, and their distribution on board ship.— Article I.

Every person serving aboard the ship, or ships of this run, shall enjoy an ordinary ration daily from the time of embarkation, consisting of the following items:

ON MEAT DAYS.

| | |
|-------------------------|------------|
| Biscuit | 18 ounces. |
| Dried meat | 6 oz. |
| Fried pork | 3 oz. |
| Salt | 1/2 oz. |
| Vinager, for 10 persons | 1/4 oz. |
| Wood | 2 pounds. |

ON FISH DAYS.

| | |
|--|--------|
| Biscuit | 18 oz. |
| Dry peas or beans | 3 oz. |
| Lard | 1 oz. |
| Dogfish | 6 oz. |
| Salt, vinegar, and wood, as on other days. | |

For each food ration, one must count one water ration consisting of 4 pints of water, that is one for the mess, for cooking purposes, and 3 to drink.

...

Article XXIV.

The regimes, or rations for the sick, shall be administered in place of the ordinary rations, on this run, with moderation if possible, each one consisting of the following items:

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--------|
| White biscuit | 12 oz. |
| Chicken, one for every four rations. | |
| Fresh meat, when available | 8 oz. |

Two biscuits, or one roll(?), or some fruit preserves instead.

Wine, as per prescription.

Salt, as for rations.

Charcoal, half a pound to each man.

The above items shall be made available by order of the Surgeon, to the second Barber, or assistant phlebotomist, whom he is to elect, for the care, and distribution, of same.

...

ADDITION
TO THE NAVAL ORDINANCES
BOOK TWO

Inasmuch as the King our Lord has deigned to grant to the Government of these islands the authority to make Ordinances for the regulation of the navigation of the ships that travel to the Kingdom of New Spain in the best form possible for Seamen, with provisions made ahead of time, to prevent the bad outcomes of the past, by forbidding abuses in their post, regulating it according to Law, and what is permitted, and to maintain a strict discipline aboard the vessels, in accordance with the Royal Navy Ordinances the better to preserve the ships, the lives and belongings of those on board them, and belongings of their adherents, avoiding any waste to the Royal treasury. And for the future observance of the articles of this addition to the Ordinances for the lading of the galleons in the port of Cavite, their layover, unloading, and return from Acapulco, as good practices that experience has shown to be for the good of the Royal service, of seamen, and of this Commerce.

Article I.

This regulation refers to the appointment of an honorable person for the position of Ship Captain. He is selected through a Letter of appointment for naval and war service, to take take of the management and compliance during the voyage with the Ordinances aboard the ship, the loading and unloading of same, taking care that the interests of His Majesty come first, and of anything else that concerns him. In the past his concerns have been imaginary, based on self-interest, and without a salary; however, for the better accomplishment of his duties, and performance in his honorary post for the Royal service, he received commissions at the end of the voyage from the General yearly elected for this run, who could not commit himself personally, since his duties served other purposes. Having received the orders of the General for the arrangement of the voyage, the Captain shall comply, monitoring everything, in accordance with the Royal desire of His Majesty, to keep the purity of the Commerce, its welfare, and that of the natives of this continent his vassals, and the success of the voyage. However, should he object to this appointment, he is to make representation to the General in due form, and when the situation is not corrected according to his knowledge, and dignity, for a proper discharge of the duties of the position, he shall refer to this Superior Government for decision.

II.

[List of contents:]

Articles:

1. Regarding the Ship Captain, and his responsibilities.
2. Regarding the ship capacity for lading.
3. Regarding what to do with illicit goods that might be introduced with the freight.
4. Regarding the number of passengers, and their ranks.
5. Regarding the persons whom the General can take on his own account.

6. Clerk, and Master of rations—Procedure for getting the release of funds for the voyage.
7. Regarding the number of rations and their calculations.
8. Regarding the rations for the sick.
9. Regarding the book-keeping for the advances paid to the crew before the voyage.
10. No gunner, seaman, or other, can exchange his place, once the muster has been passed, and penalty for same.
11. What is to be done if the cannot go on the voyage, on account of sickness, or of another reason.
12. Accounting Clerk, account books to be kept by him, for reasons mentioned above.
13. Replacements to be made by the General during the voyage, for employments and posts left vacant.
14. What to do in case of the death of the General.
15. Clerk, books to be kept by him, to record the food and water Rations, and their consumption.
16. The same for recording the ship's equipment and sail inventories.
17. Duty of the Boatswain's Mate in the general lading at Cavite, and of the [permitted] crates.
18. Specifications for the chests, coffers, or trunks allowed to the officers, and passengers.
19. Prohibition of stowaways, and of servants to those to whom they are refused.
20. Prohibition to build the shack that used to be built on the quarter-deck in former times.
21. Specific ordinance for abandoning the Launch.
22. The unfinished launch carried on board as a precautionary measure.
23. The mail that is not to be unloaded until the port of Acapulco.
24. What is to be done upon arriving on the coast of that Kingdom to give advice to the Viceroy of Mexico.
25. Procedure for unloading the mail in Acapulco.
26. The despatch that the General may do from there.
27. The Commissioners may go [ashore] only for unloading the mail.
28. Visit of the ship by the Ministry of Acapulco, and duty of the Master in it.
29. Authorities of said Ministry during the Visit.
30. Prohibition to the Mulatto longshoremen to come aboard the ship at Acapulco.
31. Duty of the crew in the lading, and unloading of the ship at Acapulco.
32. Unloading the permitted crates.
33. After the inspection, tonnage determination to the satisfaction of the Ministry of Finance.
34. To assure the presence on board ship of one-third of the officers, garrison, and crew, while in port, and for Mass to be said therein on holidays.
35. Boats for the unloading of the ship.

36. Survey of the ship after unloading, to make her ready and for repairs.
 37. Agreement between the General and the Warden of Acapulco before the men step ashore.
 38. Guards to prevent desertion.
 39. Proclamation to be made before the crew steps ashore.
 40. Penalties that His Majesty reserves for those who encourage the desertion of soldiers and seamen from the ship, and hide them.
 41. Assistance given by the Ship Accountant in the muster, or review, by the Royal officials.
 42. Mail that those from these Islands must remit to the Royal officials of Acapulco.
 43. Consideration regarding the salaries of those who might die during the voyage.
 44. Release to the Master of the moneys for salaries, due and in advance.
 45. Food supplies to be arranged while in port.
 46. File of the correspondence between the Royal officials regarding charges against the ship officers for the delivery of goods, and their discharges.
 47. Delivery of the food supplies for the return voyage.
 48. Survey, and repair of the boats for the return voyage.
 49. Ballast, on the account of the Commerce.
 50. Alms for the Royal Hospital of Acapulco, and its daily inspection.
 51. Evaluation of the sea rations left over, upon arrival at Acapulco, and the destination that may be given them, to the credit of the Royal treasury.
 52. Making ready the galleon for her return voyage.
 53. Visit by the Ministry of Acapulco for the departure.
 54. Once the galleon reaches the Islands, the mail is not to be unloaded.
 55. To seek a port outside of the Strait, when unable to pass through it.
 56. In such a case, prohibition against anyone writing, not even when leaving the Strait.
 57. The port of Sisiran is to be sought.
 58. Sailing directions for the port of Sisiran.
 59. Advantages of said port.
 60. Regarding the port of Calomotan, or Palapag.
 0. [sic] Ordinance for the Master in the reception, and delivery, of the mail.
 0. Ordinance for the Generals in the appreciation, and transport, of the passengers.
 0. Army and Navy Officers, as well as garrisons and crews for the galleons, in accordance with their tonnage.
 0. Table of the salaries to be enjoyed by the Officers, and Crews of the galleons.
- ...
- e.g.

Army and Navy Officers, etc.

GARRISON, AND CREW OF THE GALLEONS

| Ship size | 60 guns | 50 guns | 40 guns |
|--|---------|---------|---------|
| Gunners | 40 | 30 | 25 |
| Seamen | 120 | 90 | 60 |
| Spanish ship's boys | 100 | 70 | 50 |
| Ordinary ship's boys, in lieu of Pages | 80 | 40 | 30 |
| Sergeants | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Drummer | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Corporals | 6 | 4 | 4 |
| Soldiers | 54 | 46 | 36 |
| | --- | --- | --- |
| Totals | 403* | 283* | 208 |
| | ---- | ---- | ---- |

...

Royal Palace of Manila, 1 May 1757.

Pedro Manuel de Arandia.

By order of His Lordship,

Francisco Xavier de Pison.

INSTRUCTION

to be observed for making ready the galleon that is despatched from these Philippine Islands to the Kingdom of New Spain, according to the permission of His Majesty with the permitted freight.

Article I.

The Fiscal of the Majesty, the Royal officer on duty, the alderman from the City, a Commissioner from the Commerce, and the Registrar of Mines must receive the freight on board the galleon. Said individuals have the obligation to check most closely to find out if the bundles being brought alongside come with the Release from the Royal Accounting Office, according to the manifest, for their lading, are in fact in agreement with the dimension and weight that His Majesty grants by his Royal decrees. For any contravention, they are to make responsible the interested parties and, when one happens, or is suspected to happen, they are to stop the loading, seize the bundles, and arrest the Bearer, reporting same to the Superior Government, for the justifications of a cause that this would create, in order for justice to proceed according to merit.

II.

The Royal officials, as soon as they receive the order of the Superior Government assigning the galleon that must make the voyage, regularly despatched every year, by the first of the month of March, so that they might have time to make her ready. After taking charge of the ship, and the crew has been selected, in accordance with the Ordinance, in view of what they have in the Royal warehouses, they shall ask the Chief Master of the Arsenal, and Captain of the Works, for what might be lacking the ship, to put her in the condition to make the voyage, in virtue of which, they shall despatch the corresponding orders to the Provinces, for instance, to Ilocos, for the canvas for the sails, to Balayan for the cables and ropes necessary for the rigging, for moorage, and the spares, as for the other supplies. Be they warned that they shall be responsible for any future shortage thereof.

III.

In line with the previous Article, they shall give the provisions for the manufacture of the biscuit, for the collection, or contract, according to custom, of the duty paid with dry fish, and meat, for the transport of the vegetables from the Province, with the other supplies that make up the sea rations, in accordance with the Ordinance on this subject, so that they be all ready in time, and packed for the voyage.

IV.

Sould the Chief Master present a request to the Royal officials for materials to make the ship ready, for instance, to give her some paint, or waxing, or some other preparation (indeed, anything that has to do with careening has to be done with much anticipation) they shall follow up without delay, ordering the oakum, grease for the masts, and anything else needed for this, from the Arsenal.

V.

Once the Distribution Meeting has been held, which is to take place at the beginning of May, they are to prepare the preliminary list, according to the order that they have

received, of the number of bundles that will make up the freight, and a list of the quantity permitted to various residents, for the collection of the duties of the Royal treasury which, with the assistance of the Fiscal of His Majesty, and of the Commissioners representing the City and the Commerce, they shall give them in the form of a Bulletin, for the free lading of the bundles, after they have recorded each of them on the manifest, when they take them alongside.

VI.

A date shall be scheduled, as of the 1st of June, for the ship Captain to present himself at the Arsenal to take possession of his ship, along with the Royal official on duty, the Accounting Clerk who must make the voyage. Said Captain shall pass the muster of all of the elected Gunners, Seamen, Spanish and ordinary ship's boys, by categories, all those who must serve as crewmen, whose names are to be recorded in due form, and in accordance with the Ordinances, Articles 3 to 6, Book 5, and Article 2 of the Addition.

VII.

Once the measures in the previous Article have been complied with, and the crew of the ship determined for the voyage, there shall be scheduled also the date for the payment of the advance in salary, in accordance with Article 9 of the Addition to the Navy Ordinances.

VIII.

Once the galleon has been delivered to the Captain in the port of Cavite, and the preparations mentioned in the previous Articles made, there shall be taken on board the water supplies, the spare sails, cables, and accessories, by placing them in their respective storage rooms. Said supplies must be packaged in accordance with the Ordinance of the Arsenal, in order to protect them from damage from water leaks, or other neglects. They shall be followed immediately by the rations, except for the powder which shall not be loaded until after the freight has been stowed.

IX.

On, or before, the 20th of June, but not later, the galleon shall be taken to the Basin, with her officers and crew, in accordance with Article 8, Book 5, of the Navy Ordinance, and once she is anchored in the above-mentioned site, the Captain shall advise this Superior Government of same.

X.

As of the date that the galleon has anchored in the Basin, to receive the freight, the Royal officials shall provide a daily ration to the crew, not as strict as that considered for the voyage, that is, rice, dried meat or fish. These rations shall continue to be given to the crew on duty during the loading, for the 15 days or so that it will last, before she will sail; therefore, they will have no excuse to step ashore, to look for food, and thus abandon the galleon at the very time when their services might be needed. And they shall provide rations to be held in the Warehouse at Cavite, for this assistance, as the duty crews are being rotated.

XI.

The recording on the manifest shall begin in the Royal Accounting Office (unless a special circumstance does impede it) on the 15th of June, and lasts until, and including, the 30th of said month, and the lading of the galleon shall begin on the 1st day of July, beginning with bundles bearing numbers and shipping marks, in the order of their reception, as long as they do not detract in any way from the Rules, and size granted by His Majesty, but if they do exceed it, or have any other defect, the provisions of Article I above shall be obeyed.

XII.

From the time that the galleon is turned over to her Captain in the port of Cavite, while the ballast is taken on board, and the ship rigged, and made ready to go to the Basin, a guard of one junior officer, one Sergeant, and 20 infantrymen from that garrison is to be placed on board as a garrison, to be replaced on a daily basis, until she goes out to the Basin, where her own garrison will take over, the one that will make the voyage aboard her.

XIII.

The actual stowage of the freight, which until now has been done by various persons, shall from now on be the responsibility of the Captain of the Works, or Chief Master, since he is the best person to decide the most commodious and proper disposition thereof for the navigation, being the builder of said ship. He is in turn to pass on to the Boatwain's Mate, who will make the voyage and supervise the seamen, the pattern that will serve them as a reference.

XIV.

While the galleon is in the Basin, before, during and after receiving freight, until she sails, none of the residents shall be admitted on board, be they from the City of Manila, or from Cavite, and no-one shall remain on board longer than is necessary to deliver the freight he brings, or to receive the answer to the commission he came with. The Official, and Sergeant, on duty shall take care that no vessel ties alongside, other than a boat bringing freight, and that the process be orderly, one boat at a time. To comply with the above, if he should ask the Fiscal of His Majesty, Royal official, or Commissioners who might on board at the time, they are to give him the corresponding help, on any occasions the same.

XV.

The persons employed in loading the freight, as mentioned in the previous Article, as well as the other persons on guard duty and the crew of the ship, while she is in the Basin, shall not step ashore under any pretext whatever; indeed, they are responsible for anything that might happen on board during the reception and stowage of the freight. On holidays, the Chaplain who is to make the voyage shall say mass on board; to this effect, the Royal officials shall make their launch available for him, for said purpose.

XVI.

Regarding the manner of receiving the freight, Articles 12 and 18 of the Addition to the Navy Ordinances shall be observed. If carried out properly, the loading ought to be completed on the 14th of July, date on which the hatch is to be sealed, with the other ordinary measures. The Registrar of Mines shall issue two copies of the manifest, one of them being a certified copy that is to be delivered to the Master for his use, and discharge in Acapulco. Once the freight commissioners have finished their work, they shall advise the Superior Government, which in turn, after checking the above security measures, will issue an order for them to leave the ship.

XVII.

In Article 5 of this Instruction, it is provided that the residents are to register their bundles in the Royal Accounting Office and pay the royal customs duties for same. They are to be given a certified receipt for same, which they may use same to freely load their bundles on board. Inasmuch as said receipts will be noted in the record of proceedings, as the freight is being loaded, if acceptable in every way, the receipts are to be marked as acceptable by the Registrar of Mines, and then passed to the Master for recording same on the manifest. Once he has concluded this commission, he is to check said receipts against the record books in the Royal Accounting Office, and the manifest and, if there are no difference between the totals appearing in the record book, and at the bottom of the manifest, he shall record this fact in both for whom it may concern, because the receipts themselves shall remain in his own office. Should there be any difference, up or down, this fact should be reported so that measures can be taken to investigate the matter, not only because a contravention must be punished, but also because it may lead to the unloading of some freight.

XVIII.

Since the same Accounting Office must issue bulletins to the Gunners, Seamen, and Ship's boys, as well as to the Navy and Army Officers, to whom are granted the privilege of taking a sea chest on board, each according to his category, the Registrar of Mines shall collect said bulletins as the men come on board. As for the previous Article, he shall check these against those appearing in the record book in the Accounting Office. Should they be in agreement, he shall tear them, and record the facts in said record book, but if there is a disparity, he shall observe what is ordered in the previous Article.

XIX.

On the 15th of July, the General shall embark. On this date, and the next day, the rest of the food provisions and kits, if any, shall follow, for instance, those of the Captain, and other ship officers. On the 17th shall be loaded the whole of the powder that they must take along, taking the precautions mentioned in Articles 7 and 8, Book 19 of the Navy Ordinance, which, once done, shall be reported to the Superior Government.

XX.

The medicine chest shall be taken on board within the appropriate deadline. It shall be prepared, and arranged, to provide the remedies that experience has shown are more

necessary for this Voyage, and put in order under the supervision of a Royal official, then it shall be reviewed by the Physician of the Royal Hospital of this City, as consisting of all of the syrups, simples, purgatives, and other necessaries, according to the list that he might have given beforehand to the Pharmacist of the same hospital, for their preparation, to check the quality of every thing. If everything be acceptable for the voyage, and approved, the delivery of the chest is to be made by both of them to the ship Surgeon, who in turn shall affix his signature at the bottom of the list of contents, to acknowledge receipt and contents thereof. Said document shall be kept in the main Accounting Office until the return, when he [i.e. the ship surgeon] shall withdraw it, giving his discharge with a note stating the quantities consumed, because another copy shall be signed by the Royal official and by the Physician, to signify that they have been informed.

XXI.

On the 18th, the Master shall embark with the mail. And on the 19th and 20th July, unless the Royal service might require otherwise, and weather permitting, the galleon shall undertake her voyage, and leave by the channel of Mariveles.

XXII.

The loading schedule, while the galleon is detained in the entrance channel to the port of Cavite, commonly called the Basin, has been so chosen as to correspond to the best weather for her departure that experience has shown over many years, and despatched with the seamen and formalities, according to the Royal mind of His Majesty. Experience shows that the best time for her departure correspond to the season of the monsoons in this Archipelago, for the success of the voyage; indeed, by leaving this port between the 20th and 31st of July, provided with all necessaries, she finds (the tradewinds being not yet begun) some continuous winds from S, and SSW, which, though light, are enough to make her reach the port of San Jacinto at the island of Ticao, near the Strait of San Bernardino (where she has always stopped for a while) within 15 to 20 days, but seldom longer. There she can stay from 8 to 12 days to refresh the water supplies that might have been consumed, to take on the wood normally taken at that Island, to pursue her voyage, which is undertaken on the 30th of August, or on the first days of September and, if upon leaving the Strait she should get favorable tradewinds [sic], which the more experienced persons, and pilots, have assured to be the time when they become to blow continuously, she might be able to get enough of a blast from them to make it beyond the Mariana Islands. If this be so, the voyage is assured, if one may judge from all of the occasions when this rule has been kept.

XXIII.

During the loading of the freight during the stay in the Basin, the patrol launch of the Captain of the port in the stockade of this City, and that of the port captain of Cavite, shall be armed, and make continuous patrols, each in their respective district, to make sure that no vessel approaches the galleon with any freight that is prohibited from loading. They may check any suspicious vessels, and check to see if they carry the bulletin issued from the manifest by the Royal Accounting Office to permit the loading,

and those without said despatch are to be arrested, and seized; should it be later declared a legitimate prize because of a discovered, and proven, fraud. Once the prize has been sold, the Royal treasury will first pay itself, the rest will be for the Commander and the crew of the patrol launch, for that of the Captain of the port of this bar, and for that of Cavite; the interested parties shall be the Royal treasury, the crew, and that government. Let it be known that {not} all the vessels are included in this measure: those that merely carry the food supplies, the baggages, water supplies and other provisions for the navigation, belonging to the General, the Captain, and other officers, whether they are exempt from having to record same on the manifest, and from requiring a certificate from the galleon herself, without possible recourse to any court of justice.

All of the provisions of this Instruction shall be observed for a stable order, inviolably, to install the rule of the despatch of the galleons of these island for the Kingdom of New Spain. In the past, the rules varied with the occasions, and were not established, since there was no measures to enforce, for the greater service of the King our Lord, the better for the preservation and benefit of this Commerce, and public good, and to prevent changes being made to decisions, in the past. And in order for the present dispositions to become notorious, as soon as it is sealed, and added to the Addition to the Navy Ordinance by the main Accounting Office, it is to be published throughout the Noble City and Commerce, for their information.

Given at the Royal Palace of Manila, on the 12th day of February of 1758.

Don Pedro Manuel de Arandia.

The present Instruction, written upon nine folios, has been recorded in the record books of His Majesty that rest in the main Accounting Office of the Royal treasury, on the 21st of February 1758.

Fernando Caraveo Bolaño.

In the City of Manila, and House of the Municipal Council, on the 22nd of February 1758, I, the present Clerk for Administration and War of the Superior Government, did notify the Superior Decree on reverse to the very Noble City, and Commerce, for the purposes included therein, and once informed, they declared:

That they heard it, and for due compliance therewith, said Superior Decree was recorded in the Book of Agreements, and the undersigned affixed their signatures, for which I vouch.

Don Juan Ignacio de Monteroso.

Don José Pasarin.

Don Juan de Araneta.

Don Ventura de Bonasategui.

Don Fernando Calderón.

Don Juan Antonio Panelo.

Don Juan Gonzalez de Sierra.

Don Alberto Jacinto de Reyes.
José Gomez de Cervantes.

Editor's notes.

In AGI Fil. 679 can be found two documents signed by Governor Arandia and having to do with the management of galleons.

The first one is a cost study, dated 15 July 1757, comparing the costs of positions aboard the galleon **Santísima Trinidad** in her voyages to New Spain in 1751, and in 1753, with the voyage of 1755 which was done under the new regulations, and also as compared with the voyages of the galleon **N.S. del Rosario** in 1747, and in 1750.

The second document is a supporting cost study done by the Royal Officials at Acapulco for the benefit of Gov. Arandia, upon orders of the Viceroy, detailing the partial advances in wages paid to the personnel of various galleons.

In the same source, is a letter from the King to Gov. Arandia, dated Madrid 12 September 1758, approving entirely the new Regulations proposed by him for reducing the positions aboard the galleons, and the savings thus effected.

See Note 1770A for the handling of the Manila galleons at Acapulco, by two Royal officials, Carrera and Portugués.

B2. The King approves another decree by Arandia in a letter dated Aranjuez 3 May 1757

Source: AGI Fil. 480 (2 copies).

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Governador y Capitan General de las Yslas Philipinas y Presidente de mi Real Audiencia de ellas, que reside en la Ciudad de Manila.

En carta de catorce de Julio del año de mil setecientos y cinquenta y cinco disteis quenta con Testimonio de que para el remedio de los graves inconvenientes que espresais se sequían de no embarcarse los generos en los Galeones que salen de esas Yslas para la Nueva España, con la legalidad, que corresponde, hisisteis publicar Bando, para que todos los Mercaderes asi Españoles como los Chinos, y Estrangeros que conducen a esas Yslas las Mercaderías que se trafican en aquel Reyno, procedan en lo sucesivo, a arreglar las, y selebren su venta por Clases, y distincion de calidades, con toda pureza de suerte que la buena fee de sus Facturas proporcione su expendio, sin la prolija inquisicion de su registro, y separacion en el Puerto de Acapulco pena a los Mercaderes Chinos, y demas Estrangeros de perdimiento de los efectos que se hallen adulterados, o que se apelliden de superior Calidad no siendolo, y de Quatro mil pesos de multa, aplicados, la mitad a gastos de Guerra, y la otra para el Juez y denunciador, por iguales partes, y a los Mercaderes Españoles que incurrieren en el fraude, por las Mercaderías que enfactuaren para el Puerto de Acapulco, por si, o por interposita persona, de otros

quatro mil pesos, con la misma aplicacion, y de ser borrados de la matricula de este vecindario y las demas penas reservadas al arvitrio del Governador; estendiendo la condenacion a los factores, y consignatarios que viajan al citado Reyno de Nueva España, por las que se advirtieren en el Puerto de Acapulco, y no huvieren denunciado a aquel Superior Gobierno; cuia providenzia se publicò en siete de Agosto del año de mil setecientos y cinquenta y quatro y se reysterò en siete de Junio de lo siguiente.

Y habiendo visto en mi Consejo de las Yndias la zitada Carta, y Testimonio, con lo que en su inteligencia expuso mi Fiscal, y Consultadome sobre ello hè resuelto aprovaros el Bando que mandasteis publicar, y las penas que impusisteis a los que introdugeren generos de calidad destinta a lo que señalen sus facturas, por ser uno de los casos propios en que un Governador deve atender al beneficio comun, y a que se guarde inviolablemente la buena fee de los Comercios: En cuia concequencia os ordeno, y mando cuideis de que se observe y cumple exacta y puntualmente esta mi Real resolucion por ser assi mi voluntad.

Fecha en Aranjuez a tres de Mayo de mil setecientos y cinquenta y siete.

Yo el Rey.

*Por mandado del Rey Nuestro Señor,
Joseph Ygnacio de Goyeneche*

Translation.

The King.

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

In a letter dated 14 July of 1755, you reported, along with a record of proceedings, that, in order to remedy the serious disadvantages that you said were the result of not loading the goods aboard the galleons that depart from those Island for New Spain, with the legality that is due, you published a Proclamation, so that all the traders, not only Spanish but also Chinese and Foreign who carry merchandises to those Islands to trade in that Kingdom, proceed in future to arrange them, and hold their sale, by Classes, and distinction as to quality, with complete purity, such that the good faith of their invoices would facilitate their retail distribution without the prolonged investigation of their manifest, and the sorting in the port of Acapulco, under penalty applied to the Chinese and other foreign traders of losing the effects that have been adulterated, or been classified by a quality superior than the real one, and of 4,000 pesos in fine, half of which to be applied to military expenditures, and the other half to the Judge and denunciator in equal parts; and concerning the Spanish traders who might figure in the fraud, they are to lose the merchandises that they might have shipped to the port of Acapulco, by themselves or through an intermediary, to pay an additional 4,000 pesos, with the same application, plus be struck from the list of residents of this city and the other penalties reserved for the judgment of the Governor. This condemnation extends to the factors, and consignatories who travel to the said Kingdom of New Spain; therefore, those in the port of Acapulco are to be forewarned, in case they might not have

denounced to that Superior Government. Said provision was published on 7 August 1754 and was repeated on 7 June of the following year.

And sail letter, and record of proceedings, having been seen in my Council of the Indies, along with the opinion of my Fiscal about them, and having consulted regarding it, I have decided to approve the Proclamation that you ordered published, and the penalties that you would impose on those who might introduce goods of a quality different from that declared on their invoices, since such cases are within the purview of Governors when they take care of the public good, and are necessary to maintain invariably the good faith in trading activities. Consequently, I order you to have this my Royal decision observed and complied with exactly and in a timely fashion, as this is my will.

Made in Aranjuez on 3 May 1757.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord,
José Ignacio de Goyeneche.

Document 1758A

Diary of notable events in Mexico during the 1752-1758 period, by José Manuel de Castro Santa-Anna

Source: Orozco y Berra, Manuel (ed.). Documentos para la historia de Méjico (Méjico, Juan R. Navarro, 1854). Available in the Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico, under number 334 of the Lafragua Collection: Contains Tome IV, Diario de sucesos notables, escrito por D. José Manuel de Castro Santa-Anna, y comprende los años de 1752 a 1754; Tome V, covering the 1754-56 period; and Tome VI, covering 1756-58.

Extracts from Castro's Diary—Original in Spanish

Año de 1752.

[Nothing relevant to Micronesia]

Año de 1753.

Enero.

La tarde del 23...

Al anochecer de este dia, con el motivo de haber entrado dos correos de los puertos de Banderas y la Navidad, dando los alcaldes mayores de ellos cuenta á S.E. de que sus vigías habian avistado el galeon de Filipinas, ordenó se principiase á hacer rogativa en esta santa iglesia y las demas de esta ciudad, como es costumbre, para su feliz llegada al puerto de Acapulco.

Febrero.

*El 1º de febrero, se repicó generalmente por la noticia que tuvo S.E. del coronel D. Juan Eusebio Gallo, caballero del orden de Santiago, castellano del puerto de San Diego de Acapulco, quien le participa que el 28 del Próximo pasado se amarró en aquel puerto el galeon nombrado **Nuestra Señora del Rosario alias el Filipino**, que viene al cargo del general D. Tomas de Arrieta, no trayendo la carga entera que permite el permiso, por ocasion de estar aquellas islas con algun deterioro, por la pérdida del galeon de ahora dos años: que su actual gobernador gefe de escuadra, marques de Obando, queda bueno con su esposa y familia y su secretario marques de Villamediana; que en*

su navegacion no encontraron al galeon la **Santissima Trinidad**, que salió de Acapulco el 2 de abril del año próximo pasado.

El 3 entró en esta ciudad el capitan D. Miguel José Roncal, gentil-hombre del pliego del navío **Nuestra Señora del Rosario**, surto en Acapulco, que saltó en tierra en Motoñes; condujo los cajones de cartas de Filipinas, y da noticia de haber muerto en aquellas islas el Illmo. y Rmo. Sr. doctor y maestro D. Juan de Erecheguerra, natural de Caracas, del sagrado orden de nuestro padre Santo Domingo...

Abril.

Este mismo dia [1º de abril] entró correo del puerto de Acapulco, participando la noticia de haberse efectuado la feria de los comerciantes de la islas Filipinas con los de estos reinos, y que se hallaba próximo el galeon á hacer su tornaviaje.

Septiembre.

La mañana del 6, entró en esta ciudad el muy reverendo padre maestro Ignacio Calderon, provincial de la sagrada Compañía de Jesus...

Diciembre.

El dia de ayer [i.e. 17] tuvo en su casa en obsequio de los años de la reina nuestra señora, el señor mariscal de campo D. Pedro Arandia, electo gobernador de Manila, un opulentísimo y espléndido banquete, al que asistieron los señoritos hijos de S.E., su secretario, capitanes de sus guardias, muchos señores prebendados, caballeros y sujetos de distincion...

Año de 1754.

Enero.

La mañana del 16, se repicó generalmente por la noticia que S.E. tuvo del coronel D. Eusebio Gallo, catellano del puerto de San Diego de Acapulco, quien lo participó que el dia 12 del que corre se amarraron en él el galeon de Manila, nombrado la **Santísima Trinidad**; que su general da la noticia de quedar su gobernador, marques de Obando, gozando de perfecta salud, y que hallándose molestados los de aquellas islas de los vecinos moros, determinó á principios de enero próximo pasado despachar una armada de doce embarcaciones para formar un presidio en la isla de Paragua; y habiéndose hecho á la vela, á pocos dias se separaron cuatro de dichas embarcaciones que arribaron á una isla, y encontráronse con los moros, degollaron cuatrocientos españoles, y les tomaron una galera y otras dos embarcaciones...

El 19 de orden de S.E. se echó bando, previniendo que la feria de la ropa que ha traído el galeon de Filipinas se ha de hacer en todo el mes de febrero en el puerto de Acapulco, a donde puedan acudir los comerciantes y demas personas que quisieren á emplear; la carga que trae dicha embarcacion no pasa de dos mil piezas, con fardos, cajones, churlas de canela; y se cree que en el presente año no tendran ningunos adelantamientos los cargadores de esta nao, por la abundancia que hay en este reino, así de sus géneros como de los de Europa.

Septiembre.

De Acapulco escriben que desde 24 del próximo pasado fueron muy frecuentes los temblores en aquel puerto, pero que el de la mañana del 1º del que corre fué tan horroso que hizo retroceder el mar, dejando un navío que en él habia barado, el castilo y las murallas sumamente maltratadas, y arruinadas las mas de las casas.

Año de 1755.

[Nothing relevant to Micronesia]

Año de 1756.

[Nothing relevant to Micronesia]

Año de 1757.**Enero.**

Por cartas de Filipinas se ha tenido noticia que llegaron de [rather à] aquellas islas con felicidad, los Illmos. Sres. D. Fr. Mateo de la Concepcion, de los descalzos de Señor San Diego, obispo de la Nueva Segovia, en donde se aposionó, y D. Fr. Francisco Pallar, del orden de predicadores, obispo de Sinópoli... Asimismo dicen que el comercio de Manila se halla muy atrasado por las providencias dadas del nuevo gobernador, mariscal de campo D. Pedro Arandia, quien ha extinguido á los sangleyes; motivo porque el presente navío trae la corta carga de novecientas setenta y cinco piezas, sin los guacales y cajones...

Año de 1758.**Enero.**

El navío que ha llegado de Filipinas, es muy pequeño, y solo trae la carga de trescientas piezas, por el motivo de haberse experimentado en aquellas islas el gran quebranto de haberse quemado la mayor parte del Parian, y no haber quedado efectos para poder cargar el galeon que anualmente despachan; lo que ha ocasionado un sumo deterioro en aquel comercio, mayormente con los continuados perjuicios que les ocasionan los moros: viene de general D. Manuel Vasco de Vergas, y la cargazon consignada a tres sugetos de este comercio.

Translation

Year of 1752.

[Nothing relevant to Micronesia]

Year of 1753.

January.

In the evening of the 23rd...

At sunset of this day, on the occasion of two couriers having come in from the ports of Banderas and Navidad, carrying the reports from the district mayors thereof to H.E., to the effect that their watchtowers had spotted the galleon from the Philippines, he ordered the beginning of the customary series of prayers to be said in this holy church and the other churches of this city, for her successful arrival of the port of Acapulco.

February.

On the 1st of February, the bells were rung all over upon the news received by H.E. from Colonel Juan Eusebio Gallo, Knight of the Order of St. James, warden of Fort San Diego in Acapulco, who let him know that on the 28th of last month the galleon named **Nuestra Señora del Rosario alias El Filipino** had moored in that port. She comes under the command of General Tomás de Arrieta, and does not carry the full cargo allowed by the permit, because those Islands are suffering from some deterioration, caused by the loss of the galleon two years ago.¹ Their present Governor, Squadron Leader Marquis of Obando, is doing fine, as well as his wife and family, also his Secretary, the Marquis of Villamediana. During their voyage, they did not meet with the galleon **Santísima Trinidad** that had left Acapulco on 2 April last year.

On the 3rd, there came in Captain Miguel José Roncal, gentleman courier from the ship **Nuestra Señora del Rosario**, anchored at Acapulco, who stepped ashore at Motones.² He brought the crates of letters from the Philippines, and gives as news from those Islands that the Most Illustrious and Reverend Doctor and Master, Don Juan de Erecheguerra [rather Arrecherra], a native of Caracas, of the sacred Order of our Father St. Dominic, had died in those Islands.

April.

On this 1st day, the mail arrived from the port of Acapulco, with the news that the fair had been held between the traders from the Philippine Islands and those of these kingdoms, and that the galleon was ready to begin her return voyage.

September.

On the morning of the 6th came into this city the Most Reverend Father Master [rather Juan] Ignacio Calderón, Provincial of the sacred Society of Jesus...³

1 Ed. note: The Pilar disappeared during her eastward crossing in 1750.

2 Ed. note: Rather Motines, the coast NW of oldr Zacatula, now Playa Azul.

3 Ed. note: Born in Durango, Mexico, he served as Provincial of New Spain from August 1753 to January 1755.

December.

Yesterday [i.e. the 17th], Field Marshall [rather Master-of-camp] Don Pedro Arandía, the Governor-elect of Manila, held a very rich and splendid banquet at his house, in honor of the birthday of the Queen Mother. The small sons of H.E., his Secretary, the Captains of their Guards, many retired officers and pensioned gentlemen and individuals of mark were in attendance...

Year of 1754.**January.**

On the morning of the 16th the bells were rung all over, for the news received by H.E. from Colonel Eusebio Gallo, warden of Fort San Diego in Acapulco, who reported to him that on the 12th of this month, the Manila galleon named **Santisima Trinidad** was moored in that port. Her general brings the news that their Governor, the Marquis of Obando enjoys a perfect health, and that, finding that those Islands were bothered by their Moro neighbors, he decided at the beginning of January of last year to despatch a fleet of 12 vessels to set up a garrison in the Island of Paragua; a few days after they had set sail, four of said vessels became separated and arrived at an island, where they met with Moros. They cut the throats of 400 Spanish, and took from them one galley and two other vessels...

On the 19th, by order of H.E. a proclamation was published, to say that the fair of textiles brought in by the Philippine galleon must be held during the whole month of February at the port of Acapulco, where the traders and the other persons whom they might wish to employ may attend. The cargo that said vessel brought does not exceed 2,000 items, including the bundles, crates, sacks of cinnamon; and it is believed that those who loaded this galleon will not make much profit this year, because of the abundance of goods existing in this country, not only from local production but also from Europe.

September.

They write from Acapulco that, beginning on the 24th of last month, there have been very frequent earthquakes in that port, but that on the morning of the 1st of this month, it was so horrific that it made the sea recede, leaving one ship grounded in it and doing much damage to the walls of the fort and destroying most of the houses.

Year of 1755.

[Nothing relevant to Micronesia]

Year of 1756.

[Nothing relevant to Micronesia]

Year of 1757.**January.**

Through letters from the Philippines, news has been received of the successful arrival at those Islands of their Most Illustrious Lordships, Don Fray Mateo de la Concepción, of the discalced Order of St. James, Bishop of New Segovia, whose see he took possession of, and Don Fray Francisco Pallar [rather Palu], of the Order of Preachers, Bishop of Sinopoli... In addition, they say that the trade of Manila has suffered a setback on account of the measures taken by the new Governor, Field Marshall [sic] Pedro Arandía, who has abolished the Sangleys [i.e. Chinese merchants], reason for which the present ship carries only 975 items, excluding the big and small crates...

Year of 1758.

The ship that has arrived from the Philippines is very small, and only carries a cargo of 300 items,¹ because of the heavy loss suffered by those Islands and that resulted from the fire that burned the larger part of the Parian, leaving few effects to place on board the galleon that is despatched yearly; there followed an extreme deterioration of that trade, specially with the continuous damages occasioned by the Moros. The General on board is Don Manuel Vasco de Vergas, and the whole cargo is consigned to three merchants of this city...

1 Ed. note: This was the patache Nuestra Señora de la Portería.

Documents 1758B

**Full population census of the Mariana Islands
in 1758**

Source: AGI Fil. 480 (formerly 105-4-24).

B1. Petition by the officers of the garrison of the Marianas**Original text in Spanish.**

Muy Ilustre Señor

El pie de Exercito, que milita en el Real Presidio de las Islas Marianas, que se compone de tres Compañías[,] las dos de Infantería Española, y la otra de Pampanga. Como mejor halla lugar, por nuestros Apoderados Ante V.S. nos Presentamos, y rendimos una y mil veces las gracias de havernos embiado â un Governador en quien concurren todas las condiciones juntas que conponen un buen Gobierno. Lo Primero su mucha humanidad, y extremada charidad para con los pobres, vistiendo desnudos, y alimentando hambrientos, socorriendo â Viudas y huérfanos desbalidos, y principalmente; Como lo testifican los pobres Naturales â Quienes Pagò los sudores, que yâ juzgaban perdidos pues sus trabajos personales de tres Gobiernos, que seles debía, compadecido de su summa desdicha y desnudez, sin embargo de hayar [sic] todo este Real Presidio exauto [sic] aun de lo mas necesario les satisfizo â dichos naturales; Y â procurado en todo, y por todo, el bien estar, y defencia possible de Armas, Municiones, y Viberes, donde solo el animo generoso de Nuestro Actual Governador Don Andres del Barrio y Rabago, en cuya Ilustre Persona, tenemos Padre, Generalmente todos los Presidians [sic], que nos asista en nuestras nececidades, y enfermedades, y esto de propias expensas, cuyo desinteres generoso, tiene espantandos, â todo Genero de Clase, y Principalmente a los pobres Indios, sobre quien tantas Vexaciones como yebamos dichas, sudores, fatigas, y malos Tratamientos han executado sus Antecesores, como parte mas flaca; Lo Segundo su Justicia, tan Caval y Cumplida dando â cado uno lo que le Pertenece, â los Buenos premio, â los Malos Castigo, obligando â los Deudores, que pagen lo que Deven, â los Bagamundos, que travajen, poniendoles quien cuide de ellos, desterrando vicios, y engendrando viritudes, engendrando decimos, porque estaban quando dicho Señor yegò â estas Islas muy lexos de poderse introducir al parecer, pues se hallaban todos los mas Capitales dichos vicios tan arraigados de tal manera,

que parecia imposible desterarlos, pues Baco, Luxuria, y hurto, estaban Reinando con Exceso, y sin horcas, ni Deguello, solo sí, con algunos bien concertados extremos se hà Reducido todo, á una quieta apacible y sosiable Republica, con que Clara, Cuerdo, y Prudentemente hasta los mas Ignorantes hàn conocido, el Beneficio que (la Divina Magestad de Dios Nuestro Señor) hizo á estos pobres remotas y desamparadas Islas, en Mover el Corazon de V.S. para que nos despachase un tan buen Gobernador, pero escarmentados de las estrocciones [sic = extorsiones] menos cavos y daños recevidos de sus Antecesores, como lo testifican los cargos de sus Recidencias en los papeles Presentados á los Tribunales, solo sentimos el poco tiempo, que le queda, por lo que, suplicamos a la Superioridad de V.S. se sirva de prolongarnoslo, y al mismo tiempo en quantos despachos se ofrecieren informar a su Magestad (Dios le guarde) de un tan buen Ministro y Suplicando se sirva de consedernoslo para nuestro alivio; Pues aunque su mucha Prudencia ès digna de los mayores ascensos, Nosotros la solicitamos para nosotros, y a la Grandeza de V.S. Pedimos en Nombre de Nuestro Catholico Rey y Señor Don Fernando Sexto: Que Dios guarde; de quien somos Soldados y Leales Vasallos, se sirva de consedernoslo, interponiendo su Autoridad apadrinandonos para con dicha Sacra Real Magestad, ô su Real Consejo de Indias, una, dos, tres, y mas vezes hasta conseguir lo que pedimos, y asi mismo Suplicamos se ponga tanto literal testimoniado de este Nuestro Escrito en todos los Archivos de los Tribunales de la Novillissima Ciudad de Manila, para Credito y Aplauso de dicho Señor, como para poder en todo tiempo Reclamar a los Sucesores de V.S. Reproduciendo y Suplicando nuestro mismo pedimento,

Por todo lo que llevamos expressado. A V.S. pedimos se sirva de prover y mandar segun pedimos que de ello recibiremos merced con Justicia de la Generosidad de V.S. Juramos en forma de derecho no ser de Malicia, pedimos Justicia Ut Supra.

Otro sí á V.S. Rendidamente Suplicamos se sirva de suplir nuestras molestias, pues aunque hizimos el año pasado de mil septicientos cinquenta y ocho este mismo pedimento, temerosos de los Muchos Accidentes que pueden aconteser, este Presente lo Reiteramos y Suplicamos con mayores Veras, pues nos hallamos con mas pleno conocimiento de las incomparables Prendas Prudencia, Justicia, Charidad, que como llevamos dicho concurren en el Referido Señor. Suplicamos Ut Supra.

A ruego del Capitan Don Francisco del Carmen Baletto, Juan Joseph de Quiñones.

Juan Antonio de Aguero

Manuel Garrido

Malaver

A ruego del Sargento Diego de Zepeda. Juan Joseph de Quiñones.

Gaspar de los Reyes

A ruego del Capitan Reformado, y Ayudante del Sueldo Don Antonio Ortiz, y de los Ayudantes Don Juan de Villagomez, y de Don Domingo de Salas. Juan Joseph de Quiñones.

Lucas de la Rosa y Cervantes

Juan Luis Sanchez

Luis Fernandez de Ubiarco

Pedro Cayetano Astudillo
Jorge Eduardo del Castillo
Juan Antonio Rota
Santiago Solis
Joseph Granados
Joseph Miguel de Torres
Fernando de Aguero
Dionisio del Castro
Diego de la Cruz
Manuel Joseph Pereda y Franco
Antonio de los Rios
A ruego del Capitan Don Miguel Balthasar de Ojeda. Juan Joseph de Quiñones.
Salvador de la Cruz
Bernardo Ignacio Palomo
A ruego de los Ayudantes Don Joseph Guerrero y de Don Valerio Antonio Leguizamo, y Don Phelipe de la Cruz. Juan Joseph de Quiñones.
Francisco de Tobes
Francisco Xabier de Villaseñor
Roque de la Assumpcion Camacho
Felix de Arceo
A ruego de los Alférez, Don Miguel de Espinoza, Don Antonio de Leon Guerrero, Don Fernando Lazaro Dueñas, Don Ventura Franquez, Don Francisco de Villagomes; y Don German Ygnacio Barquilla. Juan Joseph de Quiñones.
Francisco Gutierrez
Domingo Manuel Garrido
Thomas de la Cruz
Eleuterio de Guzman
Domingo Sarmiento de Torres
Juan de Espinosa
Mathias de Benavente
Thomas Thenorio
A ruego del Sargento Domingo Roman Montufar. Juan Joseph de Quiñones.
A ruego del Cabo de Esquadra Phelipe de Acosta. Juan Joseph de Quiñones.
Miguel de los Rios
Pablo de los Rios
Ygnacio Grijalba
Jorge Zepeda
Manuel Joseph de Acosta
Feliciano Garcia
Joseph de Acosta
Manuel de Toves
Andres Candido Montufar

Joseph Roman Dueñas

Pedro Dueñas

Joseph Afán de Ribera

Ygnacio Claudio de Torres

Miguel de Toves

A ruego de Joseph de Benavente, Antonio de Zepeda, Manuel Gonzalo de Meza, Manuel Fernando Thenorio, Nicolas Ortiz, Leonardo Guerrero, Antonio Garcia, Joseph Marchena, Julio Christoval de Leon, Miguel de Zepeda, Ygnacio Martin de Espinoza, Ygnacio Juan de Leon Guerrero, Luciano Guerrero, Francisco Xavier de Trillo, Ygnacio Laffña, Juan de Benavente, Ygnacio María de Soto, Pedro Nolasco Alvarez, Juan Manuel Carabajal, Antonio de Leon Guerrero, Antonio de Tovez, Pablo Garcia, Joseph Ygnacio Montufar, Ygnacio de Agüero, Cayetano Carlos Montufar, Carlos de Zepeda, y Francisco de Borja Pangilinan. Juan Joseph de Quiñones.

A ruego de los Tambores Alexandro Pereyra, y de Francisco Palacios. Juan Joseph de Quiñones.

Andres de Mendiola

Pedro Robles

Salvador Malavitan

A ruego del Sargento Juan de Esquerria. Juan Joseph de Quiñones.

Andres de Reyes

Lucas del Castillo

Bartolome de los Reyes

Antonio Pablo

Luis de la Cruz

Andres Casimiro Quintano Llanez

Manuel Raphael

A ruego de los Capitanes Miguel de Carpio, Augustin de la Cruz, Joseph de Castro, Nicolas de la Cruz, Juan de Cabrera, y Juan Martin de Castro. Juan Joseph de Quiñones.

A ruego de los Alferes Domingo Hernandez, Felix Velasquez, Miguel Valdes, Augustin Diego, y Luis Tayfipi. Juan Joseph de Quiñones.

A ruego del Sargento Pedro de Herrera. Juan Joseph de Quiñones.

Miguel Cabagis

Ygnacio Coeto de Leiba

A ruego de Vizente Garcia, de Joseph Diego Banton, Salvador Albay, Nicolas Inocencio, Marcos Hernandez, Mathias de la Cruz, Pedro de la Cruz Charguima, Narciso de los Reyes, Estevan Manabusan, Alonso de los Santos, Manuel Pangilinan, Justo de los Reyes, Mariano de Lizama, Miguel Domingo de los Santos, Juan Francisco Regis Pablo, Alberto de Torres, Andres Adriano, Mariano Calixto; Inocencio Thomas Montezuma, Miguel de los Santos; y Pablo Albay; y Juan Crisostomo Flores. Juan Joseph de Quiñones.

Phelipe de los Reyes

*Agustin Domingo de Campos***Translation.**

Most Illustrious Sir:

We, the men of the Army Militia of the Royal Garrison of the Mariana Islands, which consists of three Companies, two of Spanish Infantry and the other Pampango, in the best manner they can think of, through our Powers-of-Attorneys, Before Y.L. do present ourselves, and give thanks one thousand and one times for having sent us a Governor in whom are found all of the conditions for a good government. Firstly, his great humanity, and extreme charity toward the poor, by giving clothes to the naked, and food to the hungry, succoring the widows and orphans, invalids, but principally toward the poor Natives, who can testify that he has paid them for their labors that they had already given up hope of getting; indeed, their personal services under three previous Governors had not been paid. He, feeling sorry for they extreme bad luck and nakedness, in spite of finding this Royal garrison completely devoid even of necessaries, did satisfy said natives. And he has procured in everything, and for everyone, the welfare and possible defence by way of weapons, ammunitions, and food supplies, whereby it was only through the generous nature of our present Governor, Don Andrés del Barrio y Rabago, in whose Illustrious person, we, all the men of the Garrison, have found a Father who assists us in our needs, and illnesses, and this out of this own pockets. His generous disinterestedness has left marvelled all social classes, but mainly the poor Indians, upon whom his predecessors had inflicted, as we have said, hardships, and bad treatments, and this is the least argument. Secondly, his Justice is so correct and thorough that he gives to each one according to his worth, by rewarding the good, and punishing the bad, forcing those with debts to pay them, the vagabonds to work, by placing them under the supervision of others, uprooting vices and begetting virtues, and we do mean begetting them, because, before said gentleman arrived at these Islands, they were very far from ever being introduced, it seems; indeed, all of the most capital of vices were so entrenched that they looked impossible to uproot, for instance, drunkenness, greed, and thieving were reigning with excess. This he did without hanging ropes or choking collars, but only with some well considered measures he has reduced everything to a quiet, peaceful and sociable Republic, where even the most ignorant have recognized as clear, courageous, and prudent. It was a favor that the Divine Majesty of God our Lord has granted to these poor remote and forsaken Islands, by moving the heart of Y.L. to despatch to us such a good Governor, to extirpate the extorsions, detriments and harms done them by his predecessors, as can be judged from the charges made during the audits of their terms of office in the documents presented to the tribunals. We are sorry that he has so little time left, that is why we beg the superior authority of Y.L. to please prolong it for us, and at the same time to inform His Majesty (God save him) in all of your despatches about such a good Minister, and begging him to please consider the matter of our relief. Indeed, although his great prudence is worthy of greater posts, We beg to have him for ourselves, and we appeal to the high-

ness of Y.L. in the name of our Catholic King and Lord, Don Ferdinand the Sixth (God save him), we his soldiers and loyal vassals, to please reserve him for us, by intervening with your Authority and sponsoring him for us before said sacred Royal Majesty, or his Royal Council of the Indies, once, twice, and more times until getting what we beg, and thus we Beg that a literal copy of this Our Writ be placed in all of the archives of the tribunals of the Most Noble City of Manila, to vouch for the merits of said Gentleman, as well as to stand for all times as a petition before your successors, passively begging on our behalf.

For everything that we have expressed above, to Y.L. we beg that you be pleased to grant this our petition, and we would be most grateful if it be granted, knowing how just and generous Y.L. is. We swear upon oath in the legal manner that our petition is not made with malice, but ask for Justice, Ut Supra.

Besides, we humbly beg Y.L. to please cure our discomfort; indeed, although we made the same petition last year 1758, we are fearful that many accidents might have happened to it. By the present, we reiterate it and earnestly beg for it, as indeed we are very much aware of the matchless qualities of prudence, justice, and charity that reside within the above-mentioned Gentleman. We beg Ut Supra.

At the request of Captain Francisco del Carmen Baletos, Juan José de Quiñones.

Juan Antonio de Agüero

Manuel Garrido

Malaver

At the request of Sergeant Diego de Cepada, Juan José de Quiñones.

Gaspar de los Reyes

At the request of Captain (ret'd), and Adjutant Paymaster Antonio Ortiz, and Adjutants Juan de Villagomez, and Domingo de Salas. Juan José de Quiñones.

Lucas de la Rosa y Cervantes

Juan Luis Sanchez

Luis Fernandez de Ubiarco

Pedro Cayetano Astudillo

Jorge Antonio Rota

Santiago Solis

José Granados

José Miguel de Torres

Fernando de Agüero

Dionisio del Castro

Diego de la Cruz

Manuel José Pereda y Franco

Antonio de los Rios

At the request of Captain Miguel Balthasar de Ojeda. Juan José de Quiñones.

Salvador de la Cruz

Bernardo Ignacio Palomo

At the request of Adjutants José Guerrero, Valerio Antonio Leguizamo, and Felipe de la Cruz. Juan José Quiñones.

Francisco Xavier de Villaseñor
Roque de la Assumpcion Camacho
Felix de Arceo

At the request of Lieutenants Miguel de Espinosa, Antonio de Leon Guerrero, Fernando Lázaro Dueñas, Ventura Franquez, Francisco de Villagomes, and German Ignacio Barquilla. Juan José Quiñones.

Francisco Gutierrez
Domingo Manuel Garrido
Tomas de la Cruz
Eleuterio de Guzman
Domingo Sarmiento de Torres
Juan de Espinosa
Matias de Benavente
Tomas Tenorio

At the request of Sergeant Domingo Roman Montufar. Juan José de Quiñones.

At the request of Squad Corporal Felipe de Acosta. Juan José de Quiñones.

Miguel de los Rios
Pablo de los Rios
Ignacio Grijalva
Jorge Cepeda
Manuel José de Acosta
Feliciano Garcia
José de Acosta
Manuel de Toves
Andrés Candido Montufar
José Roman Dueñas
Pedro Dueñas
José Afan de Ribera
Ignacio Claudio de Torres
Miguel de Toves

At the request of José de Benavente, Antonio de Cepeda, Manuel Gonzalo de Mesa, Manuel Fernando Tenorio, Nicolas Ortiz, Leonardo Guerrero, Antonio Garcia, José Marchena, Julio Cristobal de Leon, Miguel de Cepeda, Ignacio Martin de Espinosa, Ignacio Juan de Leon Guerrero, Luciano Guerrero, Francisco Xavier de Trillo, Ignacio Lafña, Juan de Benavente, Ignacio María de Soto, Pedro Nolasco Alvarez, Juan Manuel Carabajal, Antonio de Leon Guerrero, Antonio de Toves, Pablo Garcia, José Ignacio Montufar, Ignacio de Agüero, Cayetano Carlos Montufar, Carlos de Cepeda, and Francisco de Borja Pangilinan. Juan José de Quiñones.

At the request of Drummers Alexandro Pereira, and Francisco Palacios. Juan José de Quiñones.

Andrés de Mendiola

Pedro Robles

Salvador Malavitan

At the request of Sergeant Juan de Esquerra. Juan José de Quiñones.

Andrés de Reyes

Lucas del Castillo

Bartolomé de los Reyes

Antonio Pablo

Luis de la Cruz

Andrés Casimiro Quintano Llanez

Manuel Raphael

At the request of Captain Miguel de Carpio, Augustin de la Cruz, José de Castro, Nicolas de la Cruz, Juan de Cabrera, and Juan Martin de Castro. Juan José de Quiñones.

At the request of Lieutenants Domingo Hernandez, Felix Velasquez, Miguel Valdes, Augustin Diego, and Luis Tayfipi. Juan José de Quiñones.

At the request of Sergeant Pedro de Herrera. Juan José de Quiñones.

Miguel Cabagis

Ignacio Coeto de la Cruz

At the request of Vicente Garcia, José Diego Banton, Salvador Albay, Nicolas Inocencio, Marcos Hernandez, Matias de la Cruz, Pedro de la Cruz Charguima, Narciso de los Reyes, Esteban Manabusan, Alonso de los Santos, Manuel Pangilinan, Justo de los Reyes, Mariano de Lizama, Miguel Domingo de los Santos, Juan Francisco Regis Pablo, Alberto de Torres, Andrés Adriano, Mariano Calixto, Inocencio Tomas Montezuma, Miguel de los Santos, Pablo Albay, and Juan Crisostomo Flores. Juan José de Quiñones.

Felipe de los Reyes

Augustin Domingo de Campos.

B2. Enumeration of the city, towns, villages, garrisons that exist in the Marianas, by General Andrés del Barrio y Rabago, Governor of the Marianas

Year of 1759.—Certification of the visit and enumeration of the whole district of the Mariana Islands, of the people living therein. Carried out by General Don Andrés del Barrio y Rabago, Governor and Lieutenant of Captain-General of the said Islands for H.M.

Agaña, 7 January 1758.—

Whereas I have to comply with my obligation and carry out what is laid out in the royal laws of these Kingdoms, concerning the required visit of the whole district under my Government and at the same time to enumerate its residents:

I am issuing an order to the administrators, the Master-of-camp, the Sergeant-Majors and Captains of the local districts and towns of these Islands, to warn them that, as of Monday the 16th of the present month, there shall commence the visit and enumeration of all the residents of this city of San Ignacio of Agaña and of all the local districts and towns of the said Islands, in order to learn the exact number of vassals H.M. (God save him) has in these Islands. And in order to achieve this purpose, the above-mentioned natives are to congregate, each one to the town corresponding to his own district, on the day scheduled for the visit through his jurisdiction or town, without any excuse or omission whatever, under the pain of severe punishment in accordance with law.

Barrio.

Jorge Eduardo del Castillo,
Secretary for administration and war.¹

General list of the Spanish and Pampango Infantry acting as the garrison of this royal camp of San Ignacio of Agaña in these Islands, to wit:

¹ Ed. note: The actual order signed by General Barrio was proclaimed and posted. In Agaña, the drummer Francisco Palacios went out and acted as town crier for the occasion. In Umatac, Merizo and Inarajan, the district mayor, Captain Santiago Solis, had native criers go out and publish the order in the Chamorro language. Captain Juan Antonio Botea, mayor of Agat, did the same in his district; idem for Captain Juan Luis Sanchez in Pago; idem for Adjutant Felix de Arceo in Apurguan.

First Company of Spanish Infantry:**(Staff) Officers**

Sergeant Major Don Pedro Fernandez Verdugo

Captain Don Santiago del Barrio y Rabago¹

Lieutenant Don Tomás de la Cruz

Sergeant Gaspar de los Reyes

Paymaster adjutant Don Juan de Villagomes

Minor position

Drummer Alexandro Pereira

Soldiers

Captain (retired) Don Juan Luis Sanchez

" " " Jorge Eduardo del Castillo

" " " Luis Fernandez de Ubiarco

" " " Pedro Cayetano de Astudillo

" " " Juan Antonio Rota [sic]

" " " Domingo de la Vega

" " " Antonio de los Rios

Adjutant (retired) Don Joseph Guerrero

" " " Don Francisco Xavier de Villaseñor

" " " Francisco Rodriguez de Toves

" " " Valerio Antonio Leguisamo

" " " Roque de la Asumpcion Camacho

" " " Don Felix de Arceo

Lieutenant Don Miguel de Espinosa

Lieutenant (retired) Don Francisco Gutierrez

" " " Antonio de León Guerrero

" " " Lázaro Dueñas

" " " Ventura Franquez

Sergeant (retired) Don Tomás Tenorio

" " " Mathias de Benevente

Squad corporal Domingo Roman Montufar

Manuel de Acosta

Juan de Benevente

Feliciano García

Ignacio Maria de Soto

Juan Antonio de Agüero

Francisco de Zepeda

Ignacio Guerrero

Pedro Nolasco Alvarez

Juan Manuel Carabajal

Antonio de Leon Guerrero

Miguel de los Rios

Antonio de Tovez

Pablo García

Joseph Ignacio Montufar

Joseph Roman Dueñas

Ignacio de Agüero

Pedro Dueñas

Cayetano Carlos Montufar

Domingo Sarmiento y Torres

José Afan de Rivera

Carlos de Zepeda

Ignacio Claudio de Torres

Don Manuel José Indelicio del Barrio y Rabago.

1 Ed. note: Apparently, he was the Governor's relative.

Second Company of Spanish Infantry:**(Staff) Officers**

Captain Don Francisco del Carmen Balettos [sic]
 Lieutenant Don Fernando de Aguero
 Sergeant Manuel Garrido
 Captain (retired) & Paymaster Adjutant Don Antonio Ortiz
 Adjutant paymaster Don Domingo de Salas

Minor position

Drummer Francisco Palacios

Soldiers

Captain (retired) Don Joseph Granados

" " " José Miguel de Torres

" " " Santiago de Solis

" " " Dionisio de Castro

" " " Manuel José Pereda

" " " Diego de la Cruz

Captain (retired) Don Balthasar de Ojeda

Adjutant (retired) Don Salvador de la Cruz

" " " Bernardo Ignacio Palomo

" " " Felipe de la Cruz

Lieutenant (retired) Don José Joachin Peredo

" " " Francisco de Villagomes

" " " Juan de Quiñones

" " " Domingo Manuel Garrido

Sergeant (retired) Eleuterio de Guzman

" " " Juan de Espinosa

Squad corporal Diego de Zepeda

Ignacio Grijalva

Joseph de Benavente

Manuel Gonzalez de Mesa

Manuel Fernando Tenorio

Manuel de Toves

Leonardo Guerrero

José Marchena

Miguel de Zepeda

Lucas de la Rosa y Cervantes

Ignacio Juan de León Guerrero

Francisco Xavier de Trillo

Mariano Pereda

Mathias Lorenzo

José de Espinosa

Pablo de los Rios

Antonio de Zepada

José de Acosta

Felipe de Acosta

Nicolás Ortiz

Antonio García

Julio Cristobal de León

José Gonzalez

Ignacio Martin de Espinosa

Luciano Guerrero

German Ignacio Barquilla

Ignacio Lafña

José Carabajal

**Third Company of Pampango Infantry:
(Staff) Officers**

Master-of-camp Antonio de los Santos
 Captain Manuel Antonio Pangilinan
 Lieutenant Salvador Malauitan
 Sergeant Pedro de Herrera

Soldiers

Master-of-camp (retired) Andrés de Arceo

" " " Lucas del Castillo

Captain (retired) Miguel Carpio

" " Augustin de la Cruz

" " José de Castro

" " Pedro de Robles

" " Andrés Casimiro de Quintanilla

" " Nicolas de la Cruz

Captain (retired) Andrés de Mendiola

" " Juan Martinez de Castro

" " Luís de la Cruz

" " Antonio Pablo

" " Juan de Cabrera

" " Manuel Raphael

" " Bartolomé de los Reyes

Lieutenant (retired) Domingo Hernandez

" " Felix Velazquez

" " Miguel Valdés

" " Augustin Diego

" " Luís Taysipi

" " Francisco Romero

Squad corporal Miguel Pascual Cabangis

Vicente García

Salvador Albay

Ignacio Coeto de Leiba

Nicolas Inocencio

Mathias de la Cruz

Francisco de Borja Pangilinan

Esteban Manubusan

Manuel Pangilinan

Augustin de Esquerra

Andrés Cabangis

Gaspar de Lisama

Pascual de los Santos

Felipe de los Reyes

Mariana de Lisama

Augustin Domingo de Campos

Alberto de Torres

Andrés Adriano

Mariano Calixto Inocencio

Juan Crisostomo Flores

Pedro de la Cruz Bacoco

José Diego Banton

Martin Laurente

Miguel de los Santos

Marcos Hernandez

Pedro de la Cruz Charguima

Narciso de los Reyes

Alonso de los Santos

Justo de los Reyes

Pedro de Torres

Ignacio Antonio Pablo

Crisostomo Viriel

Antonio de la Cruz Carcaman

Melchor de los Reyes

Miguel Domingo de los Santos

Juan Francisco Regis Pablo

Fulgencio Natal

Juan de Esquerra

Tomás Montesuma

Andrés de Esquerra

Antonio de la Cruz

Marcos de Campos
Roque de los Santos

Guillermo Aranzazu

All the above amount to 170 infantrymen who are now in active service, i.e. 101 Spanish and 69 Pampango, as appears in the List copied faithfully from the books recording strength and establishment that are in the Archive of this department of administration and war, and bearing the date of Añaña 14 January 1758.

Andrés del Barrio

By order of his Lordship, Jorge Eduardo del Castillo, secretary for administration and war.

Enumeration of the residents of Barrio Santa Cruz.

| Spanish and half-breed | Male | Female |
|---|------|--------|
| Soldier: Lieutenant Don Tomás de la Cruz, married to Doña Ignacia Lugardo Rota | | 1 |
| Soldier: Sergeant Gaspar de los Reyes, married to Rosa Achuga, with 5 children: | | 1 |
| Pedro de los Reyes | 1 | |
| Mariano de los Reyes | 1 | |
| Teresa de los Reyes | | 1 |
| Maria de los Reyes | | 1 |
| Maria Rosa de los Reyes | | 1 |
| Soldier: Adjutant Don Juan de Villagomes, married to Doña Dominga Manfaisin, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Francisco de Villagomes | 1 | |
| Catalina de Villagomes | | 1 |
| Francisca de Villagomes | | 1 |
| Drummer: Alexandro Pereira, married to Maria Teresa Moxica | | 1 |
| Soldier: Captain Juan Luis Sanchez, married to Isabel del Carmen Balete [sic], with 1 son: Andrés Sanchez | 1 | 1 |
| Soldier: Captain Jorge Eduardo del Castillo, married to María Rosa, with 5 children: | | 1 |
| Ignacio Xavier del Castillo | 1 | |
| Vicente Xavier del Castillo | 1 | |
| Gertrudis Lumen del Castillo | | 1 |
| Rosalia del Castillo | | 1 |
| Ignacia Xaviera del Castillo | | 1 |
| Mariano Rodriguez, orphan | 1 | |
| Tomás Rodriguez, orphan | 1 | |
| Bartolomé Rodriguez, orphan | 1 | |
| Soldier: Captain Luis Fernandez de Ubiarco, married to | | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| María Margarita Pedrosa, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| Dionisia Fernandez de Ubiarco | | 1 |
| Soldier: Captain Pedro Cayetano de Astudillo, married to Gertrudis de la Peña | | 1 |
| Soldier: Captain Juan Rotea [sic], married to María de Leon Guerrero, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Manuel Antonio Rotea | 1 | |
| Salvador Rotea | 1 | |
| María Matilde Rotea | | 1 |
| Manuela Zerezo, widow with 2 daughters: | | 1 |
| Josepha de la Vega | | 1 |
| Dionisia de la Vega | | 1 |
| Soldier: Captain Domingo de la Vega, married to Monica Antonia Leguisamo | | 1 |
| José Caravajal, married to | 1 | |
| María Zerezo, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Juan José Caravajal | 1 | |
| Beatriz Lugarda Carabajal | | 1 |
| María de Jesus Carabajal | | 1 |
| Soldier: Captain Anton de los Rios, married to María Francisca Montufar, with 1 daughter: Antonia de los Rios | | 1 |
| Soldier: Adjutant José Guerrero, married to Inés de Espinosa, with 5 boys: | | 1 |
| Juan de Dios Guerrero | 1 | |
| Antonio Guerrero | 1 | |
| Francisco de Borja Guerrero | 1 | |
| Gabriel Guerrero | 1 | |
| Miguel Guerrero | 1 | |
| Soldier: Adjutant Francisco Xavier de Villaseñor, married to Catalina de Tovez, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Manuel de Villaseñor | 1 | |
| Gregorio Tenorio | 1 | |
| María Tenorio | | 1 |
| Soldier: Adjutant Francisco Rodriguez de Tovez, married to Catalina Mangi, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Francisco de Tovez | 1 | |
| Ignacia de Tovez | | 1 |
| Marcela de Tovez | | 1 |
| Ana de Tovez | | 1 |
| Soldier: Adjutant Miguel Rodriguez de Tovez, married to Petrona Gutierrez, with 2 children: | | 1 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Miguel de Tovez | 1 | |
| Maria de Tovez | | 1 |
| Soldier: Adjutant Roque de la Asuncion Camacho, married to Susana Clara del Castillo, with 5 children: | | 1 |
| Pedro Anastasio Camacho | 1 | |
| Antonio Pablo Camacho | 1 | |
| Luis Bernardo Camacho | 1 | |
| Ana María Camacho | | 1 |
| María Marcela Camacho | | 1 |
| Soldier: Adjutant Felix de Arceo, married to Martina Albay, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Tomás Arceo | 1 | |
| Soldier: Lieutenant Miguel de Espinosa, married to Joachina Tenorio, with 8 children: | | 1 |
| Juan de Espinosa | 1 | |
| Justo de Espinosa | 1 | |
| Miguel de Espinosa | 1 | |
| Luciano de Espinosa | 1 | |
| Teresa de Espinosa | | 1 |
| María de Espinosa | | 1 |
| Agueda de Espinosa | | 1 |
| Rosalia de Espinosa | | 1 |
| Soldier: Lieutenant Francisco Gutierrez, married to Teresa de la Peña, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| Rosa Gutierrez | | 1 |
| Soldier: Lieutenant Antonio de Leon Guerrero, married to Petronila de los Rios, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Manuel Antonio Guerrero | 1 | |
| Francisca de Leon Guerrero | | 1 |
| Dominga de Leon Guerrero, widow with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Francisco de Zepeda | 1 | |
| José de Zepeda | 1 | |
| María de Zepeda | | 1 |
| Teresa de Zepeda | | 1 |
| Soldier: Lieutenant Fernando Lázaro Dueñas, married to Juana María de Salas, with 6 children: | | 1 |
| Lorenzo Dueñas | 1 | |
| Basilio Dueñas | 1 | |
| Vicente Dueñas | 1 | |
| Ignacio Dueñas | 1 | |
| Francisco Dueñas | 1 | |
| María Dueñas | | 1 |

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| Soldier: Lieutenant Ventura Franquez, married to Manuela Cabangis, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Juan Remigio Franquez | 1 | |
| María Josepha Franquez | | 1 |
| María Franquez | | 1 |
| Francisca Franquez | | 1 |
| Gertrudis Franquez, widow | | 1 |
| Soldier: Sergeant Tomás Tenorio, married to Juliana de Acosta, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Angel Gordiano Tenorio | 1 | |
| Salvador Ezequiel Tenorio | 1 | |
| María Tenorio | | 1 |
| Soldier: Sergeant Matias de Benavente, married to Julia Montufar, with 5 children: | | 1 |
| Estevan de Benavente | 1 | |
| Policarpio de Benavente | 1 | |
| Balthazar de Benavente | 1 | |
| Ursula de Benavente | | 1 |
| Anastasia de Benavente | | 1 |
| Soldier: Domingo Roman Montufar, married to Olaya Alvarez, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| María Montufar | | 1 |
| Soldier: Juan de Benavente, married to Josepha Blas, with 3 boys: | | 1 |
| Juan de Benavente | 1 | |
| José de Benavente | 1 | |
| Francisco de Benavente | 1 | |
| Soldier: Feliciano Garcia, married to Ignacia Taitiguan | | 1 |
| Soldier: Ignacio Guerrero, married to Rosa María de la Cruz, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Ignacio Angel Guerrero | 1 | |
| José Guerrero | 1 | |
| María Marta Guerrero | | 1 |
| Dominga Guerrero | | 1 |
| Soldier: Pedro Nolasco Alvarez, married to Manuela de la Cruz, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Justo Alvarez | 1 | |
| Ignacio Alvarez | 1 | |
| Soldier: Juan Manuel Carabajal, married to Tomasa de Tovez | | 1 |
| Soldier: Antonio de Leon Guerrero, married to | | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ignacia de Villaseñor | | 1 |
| Soldier: Miguel de los Rios, married to | | |
| Marcela de la Cruz | | 1 |
| Francisca de los Rios, widow with 3 children: | | 1 |
| José de la Cruz | 1 | |
| Rosa de la Cruz | | 1 |
| Ignacia de la Cruz | | 1 |
| Soldier: Cayetano Carlos Montufar, married to | | |
| Francisca Garcia, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Francisco Montufar | 1 | |
| Mariano Montufar | 1 | |
| Lucia Montufar | | 1 |
| Soldier: José Afan de Rivera, married to | | |
| Juana María Delgado, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| Beatriz Afan de Rivera | | 1 |
| Soldier: Captain Francisco del Carmen Baletto, married to | | |
| Maria de Agüero, with 5 children: | | 1 |
| Pedro Anastasio Baletto | 1 | |
| José Baletto | 1 | |
| Martin Baletto | 1 | |
| Antonio Baletto | 1 | |
| Ana Baletto | | 1 |
| Ana de Agüero, orphan | | 1 |
| Soldier: Lieutenant Fernando de Agüero, married to | | |
| Michaela de Acosta, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Angel de Agüero | 1 | |
| Juan Bautista de Agüero | 1 | |
| Antonio Santiago de Agüero | 1 | |
| María Serena de Agüero | | 1 |
| Soldier: Sergeant Manuel Garriso, married to | | |
| Monica Rotea | | 1 |
| Soldier: Capitan Antonio de Ortiz, married to | | |
| Josepha Itao, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Ignacio Ortiz | 1 | |
| Sebastian Flores | 1 | |
| José Flores | 1 | |
| María Ortiz | | 1 |
| Soldier: Adjutant Domingo Salas, married to | | |
| María Magdalena, with 6 children: | | 1 |
| Nicolas Gorraez | 1 | |
| Augustin Gorraez | 1 | |
| José Salvador de Salas | 1 | |

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|----------|--|---|
| | Francisca de Salas | 1 |
| | María Luz de Salas | 1 |
| | María Flora de Salas | 1 |
| Drummer: | Francisco Palacios, married to Ignacia Morales, with 1 son: | 1 |
| | Ambrosio Palacios | 1 |
| Soldier: | Captain José Granados, married to Pascuala Taytano | 1 |
| | Bonifacio Garcia, orphan | 1 |
| Soldier: | Captain José Miguel de Torres, married to Dominga Josepha de Espinosa, with 5 children: | 1 |
| | Francisco Xavier de Torres | 1 |
| | Juan Francisco Regis de Torres | 1 |
| | María Josepha de Torres | 1 |
| | Luisa Lugarda de Torres | 1 |
| | María Rosa de Torres | 1 |
| | Felipa de Espinosa, widow with 2 sons: | 1 |
| | Ignacio Eduardo de Ibarra | 1 |
| | José de Ibarra | 1 |
| | José de Espinosa, unmarried | 1 |
| Soldier: | Captain Santiago de Solis, married to Teresa de la Cruz | 1 |
| Soldier: | Capitan Dionisio de Castro, married to Andrea Ignacia Zerezo, with 3 children: | 1 |
| | Mariano Francisco de Castro | 1 |
| | María Suneona de Castro | 1 |
| | María Dionisia de Castro | 1 |
| Soldier: | Captain Manuel José Pereda, married to Tecla Garcia, with 5 children: | 1 |
| | Manuel Luciano Pereda | 1 |
| | Juan Manuel Pereda | 1 |
| | José Eduardo Pereda | 1 |
| | Ildefonso Pereda | 1 |
| | Rosa Lumen Pereda | 1 |
| Soldier: | Captain Diego de la Cruz, married to María de Guzman, with 5 children: | 1 |
| | Jorge de la Cruz | 1 |
| | Paulina de la Cruz | 1 |
| | Pascuala de la Cruz | 1 |
| | Magdalena de la Cruz | 1 |
| | Dorotea de la Cruz | 1 |
| | Teresa de la Cruz, widow | 1 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Soldier: Captain Miguel Balthasar de Ojeda, married to María de los Rios, with 3 sons: | | 1 |
| Juan de Ojeda | 1 | |
| Manuel de Ojeda | 1 | |
| Antonio de Ojeda | 1 | |
| Soldier: Adjutant Salvador de la Cruz, married to Susana Ramirez, with 6 children: | | 1 |
| José Fernandez | 1 | |
| Juan de la Cruz | 1 | |
| Francisca de la Cruz | 1 | |
| Rosa de la Cruz | | 1 |
| Monica de la Cruz | | 1 |
| Augustina de la Cruz | | 1 |
| Soldier: Adjutant Bernardo Ignacio Palomo, married to María Teresa Tenorio, with 7 children: | | 1 |
| Teodoro Estanislao Palomo | 1 | |
| Manuel Palomo | 1 | |
| Norberto Antonio Palomo | 1 | |
| Francisco Xavier Palomo | 1 | |
| Rosalia Victoria Palomo | | 1 |
| María Ildefonsa Palomo | | 1 |
| María Rosa Palomo | | 1 |
| Soldier: Adjutant Felipe de la Cruz, married to María Garcia, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Mariano de la Cruz | 1 | |
| Juana de Cárdenas, widow with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Santiago Garcia | 1 | |
| Josepha Morena de Juste, orphan | | 1 |
| Soldier: Lieutenant José Joachin Peredo, married to Clara de la Cruz, with 5 children: | | 1 |
| Marcos Peredo | 1 | |
| José Antonio Peredo | 1 | |
| Manuel Domingo Peredo | 1 | |
| Salvador Narciso Peredo | 1 | |
| Rosalia Peredo | | 1 |
| Soldier: Lieutenant Francisco de Villagomez, married to Dorotea Ramirez, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Estanislao Alvarez | 1 | |
| Sebastian de Villagomez | 1 | |
| Maria de Villagomez | | 1 |
| Quiteria de Villagomez | | 1 |
| Soldier: Lieutenant Domingo Manuel Garrido, married to | | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| María Antonia Cavallero, with 2 daughters: | | 1 |
| Ignacia Julia Garrido | | 1 |
| María Lumen Garrido | | 1 |
| Angela de Arceo, widow with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| Rosa Garrido | | 1 |
| Soldier: Sergeant Eleuterio de Guzman, married to | | |
| Francisca de Castro, with 5 children: | | 1 |
| José Longinos de Guzman | 1 | |
| Higino Inocencio de Guzman | 1 | |
| Juan Tomás de Guzman | 1 | |
| Manuela Pascuala de Guzman | | 1 |
| María Casilda de Guzman | | 1 |
| Soldier: Sergeant Juan de Espinosa, married to | | |
| María Dominga, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Manuel Eduardo de Espinosa | 1 | |
| Soldier: Diego de Zepeda, married to | | |
| María Antonia, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Francisco de Zepeda | 1 | |
| Soldier: Ignacio Grijalva, married to | | |
| Josepha de la Vega, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Juan de Dios Grijalva | 1 | |
| María Guadalupe Grijalva | | 1 |
| Ignacia Dominga Grijalva | | 1 |
| Soldier: Pablo de los Rios, married to | | |
| Rosa de Leon Guerrero, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Estevan Ambrosio de los Rios | 1 | |
| María de los Rios | | 1 |
| Josepha Anastasia de los Rios | | 1 |
| Soldier: José de Benavente, married to | | |
| Antonia Marchena, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Francisco de Benavente | 1 | |
| Antonio de Benavente | 1 | |
| Lugarda de Benavente | | 1 |
| Victoria de Benavente | | 1 |
| Soldier: Antonio de Zepeda, married to | | |
| Francisca Tenorio, with 5 children: | | 1 |
| Marcelo de Zepeda | 1 | |
| Andrés de Zepeda | 1 | |
| Juan de Zepeda | 1 | |
| Pio de Zepeda | 1 | |
| Agueda de Zepeda | | 1 |
| Soldier: Manuel Gonzalo de Meza, married to | | |

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| Margarita de la Vega, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Leonardo Francisco | 1 | |
| Nicolas Augustin de Meza | 1 | |
| Beatriz de Mesa | | 1 |
| Francisca Antonia de Meza | | 1 |
| Soldier: José de Acosta, married to | | |
| Tomas de la Cruz, with 2 daughters: | | 1 |
| Manuela de Acosta | | 1 |
| María de Acosta | | 1 |
| Soldier: Manuel Fernando Tenorio, married to | | |
| María Martinez, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Domingo Tenorio | 1 | |
| Manuela Placida Tenorio | | 1 |
| Monica Baeza, widow with 3 sons: | | 1 |
| Fernando Martinez | 1 | |
| Estanislao Martinez | 1 | |
| Basilio Martines | 1 | |
| Soldier: Felipe de Acosta, married to | | |
| María Francisca Tayfahan, with 3 sons: | | 1 |
| José de Acosta | 1 | |
| Patricio de Acosta | 1 | |
| Enrique de Acosta | 1 | |
| Soldier: Manuel de Tovez, married to | | |
| Ignacia Tenorio, with 2 daughters: | | 1 |
| María de Tovez | | 1 |
| Catalina de Tovez | | 1 |
| Soldier: José Marchena, married to | | |
| Rosalia Tailaf, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| José Ignacio Marchena | 1 | |
| Soldier: Julio Cristobal de Leon, married to | | |
| Rosa de Tovez | | 1 |
| Miguel de Leon, orphan | 1 | |
| Soldier: José Gonzalez, married to | | |
| María de Espinosa, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| María Magdalena Gonzalez | | 1 |
| Soldier: German Ignacio Barquilla, married to | | |
| Luisa Navarra, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Miguel Cavallero | 1 | |
| Manuel Estevan Barquilla | 1 | |
| Ignacia Agueda Barquilla | | 1 |
| María Petronila Barquilla | | 1 |
| Soldier: Lieutenant Andrés Tello Jimenez, married to | | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Josepha Garrido, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Francisco Xavier Tello Jimenez | 1 | |
| Francisca Xaviera Tello Jimenez | | 1 |
| Ambrosio Delgado, married to | 1 | |
| María de la Encarnacion, with 5 children: | | 1 |
| Maximo Delgado | 1 | |
| Crecensio Delgado | 1 | |
| María Lumen Delgado | | 1 |
| María Manuela Delgado | | 1 |
| Mariano de Lequizamo, married to | 1 | |
| Mariana Monjaysin, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Domingo Meno de Lequisamo | 1 | |
| Francisco de Lequisamo | 1 | |
| Pedro de Lequisamo | 1 | |
| María de Lequisamo | | 1 |
| Francisco de Agüero, married to | 1 | |
| Ana de Leon Guerrero, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Ignacio de Agüero | 1 | |
| Rosa de Agüero, widow with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Toribio de Ulloa | 1 | |
| Rafael José Dueñas, married to | 1 | |
| María Josepha Contreras, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Salvador Dueñas | 1 | |
| María Dueñas | | 1 |
| Tomás Sanchez Montezuma, married to | 1 | |
| Juana Laguna | | 1 |
| Miguel de Leon Guerrero, married to | 1 | |
| Dominga de Lequisamo, with 5 daughters: | | 1 |
| Francisca de Leon Guerrero | | 1 |
| Rosa de Leon Guerrero | | 1 |
| Maria de Leon Guerrero | | 1 |
| Michaela de Leon Guerrero | | 1 |
| Francisca Paulina de Leon Guerrero | | 1 |
| Domingo de Zepeda, married to | 1 | |
| Catalina Godoña | | 1 |
| José de Leon Guerrero, married to | 1 | |
| Isabel Teodora de Leon, with 2 daughters: | | 1 |
| Manuela Antonia de Leon Guerrero | | 1 |
| María Josepha de Leon Guerrero | | 1 |
| Lucia de Leon Guerrero, orphan | | 1 |
| Francisco Casimiro de Zepeda, married to | 1 | |
| Teresa Guerrero, with 2 daughters: | | 1 |

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| Ignacia de Zepeda | 1 | |
| Francisca de Zep[eda] | | 1 |
| José de Villagomez, married to | 1 | |
| María Francisca de la Vega, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Domingo de Villagomez | 1 | |
| Manuel de Villagomez | 1 | |
| Josepha de Villagomez | | 1 |
| Francisca de Villagomez | | 1 |
| Juana Agui, widow | | 1 |
| Diego de Leon Guerrero, married to | 1 | |
| Marta Agueda Peredo | | 1 |
| Pedro Ada, married to | 1 | |
| Angela Crisostomo, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Luís Ada | 1 | |
| Dominga Ada | | 1 |
| Rosa Ada | | 1 |
| Dionisio Garces de Iglesias, married to | 1 | |
| Juana Charguima de Salas, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| María Lumen de Iglesias | | 1 |
| Eusebio Martinez, married to | 1 | |
| María Clara de Espinosa, with 2 daughters: | | 1 |
| Dominga Lorenza Martinez | | 1 |
| Rosa Francisca Martinez | | 1 |
| Miguel Ortiz, married to | 1 | |
| María Gafo, with 5 children: | | 1 |
| Domingo Ortiz | 1 | |
| José Antonio Ortiz | 1 | |
| Lorenzo Ortiz | 1 | |
| María Lumen Ortiz | | 1 |
| Josepha Dominga Ortiz | | 1 |
| Angel de Salas, married to | 1 | |
| Barbara Hernandez | | 1 |
| Bernardo de Espinosa, married to | 1 | |
| Rosa Carabajal, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Andrés de Espinosa | 1 | |
| Teresa Cabangis, widow | | 1 |
| Teresa Lequisamo, widow with 1 son: | | 1 |
| José Rodriguez | 1 | |
| Domingo de Salas, married to | 1 | |
| Lucia Mansangan, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Ignacio de Salas | 1 | |
| Andrés Candido Montufar, married to | 1 | |

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| María de Leon Guerrero, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| María Francisca Baleto | | 1 |
| Ursula Martinez, widow | | 1 |
| Angel de Leon Guerrero, married to | 1 | |
| María de la Vega, with 5 children: | | 1 |
| Ignacio de Leon Guerrero | 1 | |
| Salvador de Leon Guerrero | 1 | |
| Remigio de Leon Guerrero | 1 | |
| Angela de Leon Guerrero | | 1 |
| Sebastiana de Leon Guerrero | | 1 |
| Ignacio de los Reyes, married to | 1 | |
| Victoria Queosgi | | 1 |
| Francisco Taitiguan, married to | 1 | |
| María Tenorio, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Basilio Taytiguan | 1 | |
| Juliana Taitiguan | | 1 |
| Victoria Taitiguan | | 1 |
| Miguel Garcia, married to | 1 | |
| Quiteria Pablo, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Augustin Garcia | 1 | |
| Pablo Garcia | 1 | |
| María Garcia | | 1 |
| Estanislao de Zepeda, married to | 1 | |
| Josepha Delgado, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| José de Zepeda | 1 | |
| María de Zepeda | | 1 |
| Bernardo de Aguilar, married to | 1 | |
| Ignacia Usuni, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Juan Bonifacio de Aguilar | 1 | |
| José de Aguilar | 1 | |
| Francisca de Aguilar | | 1 |
| Teresa de Aguilar | | 1 |
| Jorge de Zepeda, married to | 1 | |
| Teresa de la Cruz | | 1 |
| Manuel de la Peña, unmarried | 1 | |
| Felipe Ramirez, unmarried | 1 | |
| Rosa Losano, widow | | 1 |
| María de Leon Guerrero, widow | | 1 |
| Ana de la Cruz, widow with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Juan Ramirez | 1 | |
| Teodora Ramirez | | 1 |
| Barbara Ramirez | | 1 |

| | | |
|---|------|------|
| Francisca Xaviera Ramirez | | 1 |
| Amador Francisco Quijano, exile | 1 | |
| Antonio Abad Saenz, exile | 1 | |
| Pablo Hernandez de Aldaco, exile | 1 | |
| José María de Olachea, exile | 1 | |
| Simon Hernandez, exile | 1 | |
| Eulalia del Castillo, exile with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Antonio de los Reyes | 1 | |
| José Sanchez Montezuma, orphan | 1 | |
| Salvador Sanchez Montezuma, orphan | 1 | |
| María Sanchez Montezuma, orphan | | 1 |
| | ---- | ---- |
| [Sub=total:] ¹ | 189 | 246 |
| | ==== | ==== |

¹ Ed. note: They made one mistake, assigning the wrong sex to one person. The correct sub-total is 188 male and 245 female.

Barrio Santa Cruz (continued)

| Filipino Indians and their descendents | Male | Female |
|--|-------------|---------------|
| Soldier: Captain Manuel Antonio Pangilinan, married to María Magdalena Taitiguan, with 5 children: | | 1 |
| Mariano Sabas de la Cruz | 1 | |
| Felipe Isidro de la Cruz | 1 | |
| Francisco Xavier Pangilinan | 1 | |
| José Martin Pangilinan | 1 | |
| Josepha Damiana Pangilinan | | 1 |
| Mariana Cabangis, widow | | 1 |
| Soldier: Lieutenant Salvador Malavitan, married to Maréa Josepha de Leon, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Ignacio Malavitan | 1 | |
| Maria Angela Malavitan | | 1 |
| Catalina Teresa Malavitan | | 1 |
| Soldier: Sergeant Pedro de Herrera, married to Ignacia Pacheco | | 1 |
| Soldier: Master-of-Camp Lucas del Castillo, married to Manuela Nauson, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Pedro del Castillo | 1 | |
| Francisco del Castillo | 1 | |
| Leonarda del Castillo | | 1 |
| María del Castillo | | 1 |
| Soldier: Captain Miguel Carpio, married to Isabel Cabangis | | 1 |
| Soldier: Captain Augustin de la Cruz, married to Josepha de la Cruz, with 10 children: | | 1 |
| Miguel de la Rosa | 1 | |
| Juan de la Rosa | 1 | |
| José de la Cruz | 1 | |
| Josepha de la Rosa | | 1 |
| Juana de la Rosa | | 1 |
| María de la Rosa | | 1 |
| Manuela de la Cruz | | 1 |
| Teresa de la Cruz | | 1 |
| Angela de la Cruz | | 1 |
| Faustina de la Cruz | | 1 |
| Soldier: Captain José de Castro, married to Rosa de Padua | | 1 |
| Soldier: Captain Andrés Casimiro del Quintanilla, married to María Seraphina de los Reyes, with 4 children: | | 1 |

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| Teodoro Ignacio de Quintanilla | 1 | |
| Cosme Damian de Quintanilla | 1 | |
| Maria Lucrecia de Quintanilla ¹ | | 1 |
| Soldier: Captain Nicolas de la Cruz, married to Lucia Muña, with 3 sons: | | 1 |
| Salvador de la Cruz | 1 | |
| Rafael de la Cruz | 1 | |
| Francisco de la Cruz | 1 | |
| Soldier: Captain Andrés de Mendiola, married to Ignacia Pangilinan, with 5 children: | | 1 |
| Pedro de Mendiola | 1 | |
| Juan de Mendiola | 1 | |
| Mariano de Mendiola | 1 | |
| María de Mendiola | | 1 |
| Mariana de Mendiola | | 1 |
| Soldier: Capitan Juan Martin de Castro, married to Lucia de la Peña, with 6 children: | | 1 |
| Domingo de Castro | 1 | |
| Atanasio de Castro | 1 | |
| José de Castro | 1 | |
| Aquilino de Castro | 1 | |
| Dominga de Castro | | 1 |
| María de Castro | | 1 |
| Soldier: Capitan Luís de la Cruz, married to Elena Pangilinan, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Luís de la Cruz | 1 | |
| Francisca de la Cruz | | 1 |
| Soldier: Captain Antonio Pablo, married to María de Benavente, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Dimas Pablo | 1 | |
| Soldier: Captain Bartolomé de los Reyes, married to Rosa de la Cruz Samay | | 1 |
| Juana de Luna, widow with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Tiburcio del Rosario | 1 | |
| Felix del Rosario | 1 | |
| Santiago Satens del Rosario | 1 | |
| María Martina del Rosario | | 1 |
| Soldier: Captain Juan de Cabrera, married to María Victoria, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| María Francisca de Cabrera | | 1 |

¹ Ed. note: One of the children's names is missing.

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| Soldier: Lieutenant Domingo Hernandez, married to Inés Cabangis, with 6 children: | | 1 |
| Juan Hernandez | 1 | |
| Diego Hernandez | 1 | |
| Juan Bautista Hernandez | 1 | |
| Inés Hernandez | | 1 |
| Rosa Hernandez | | 1 |
| Veronica Hernandez | | 1 |
| Soldier: Lieutenant Felix Velasquez, married to Andrea Redondo | | 1 |
| Soldier: Lieutenant Augustin Diego, married to Juana Cabangis, with 2 sons: | | 1 |
| Miguel Diego | 1 | |
| Augustin Diego | 1 | |
| Soldier: Lieutenant Luis Taisipi, married to Manuela Muña, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| José Taisipi | 1 | |
| Soldier: Lieutenant Francisco Romero, married to Antonia Yuña, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| José Romero | 1 | |
| Soldier: Miguel Pascual Cabangis, married to Francisca de Leon, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| María Cabangis | | 1 |
| Soldier: José Diego Banton, married to Juana Angis, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Marcos Banton | 1 | |
| Macario Banton | 1 | |
| Juana Banton | | 1 |
| Soldier: Salvador Albay, married to María Taytano | | 1 |
| Soldier: Martin Laurente, married to Teresa Michaela Augoon [sic], with 2 sons: | | 1 |
| Manuel Diego Laurente | 1 | |
| Juan Benjamin Laurente | 1 | |
| Soldier: Ignacio Coeto de Leiba, married to María Teresa de Espinosa, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Andrés Coeto de Leiba | 1 | |
| Ignacio Manalo, orphan | 1 | |
| Soldier: Nicolas Inocencio, married to María de Zepeda, with 2 daughters: | | 1 |
| María Inocencio | | 1 |
| Brigida Inocencio | | 1 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Soldier: Marcos Hernandez, married to Angela Ena | | 1 |
| Soldier: Francisco de Borja Pangilinan, married to Dominga de Leon Guerrero | | 1 |
| Soldier: Francisco de los Reyes, married to María Ramirez | | 1 |
| Soldier: Ignacio Antonio Pablo, married to María Ortiz | | 1 |
| Soldier: Antonio de la Cruz Carcaman, married to María Ignacia Pangilinan | | 1 |
| Soldier: Andrés Adriano, married to Violata de los Reyes | | 1 |
| Soldier: Juan de Esquerra, married to María de Zepeda, with 1 son: Eusebio de Esquerra | 1 | 1 |
| Soldier: Pedro de la Cruz Bacoco, married to Inés de la Cruz, with 5 children: Mateo de la Cruz | 1 | 1 |
| Nicolas de la Cruz | 1 | |
| Teresa Angela de la Cruz | | 1 |
| María de la Cruz | | 1 |
| Josepha Angela de la Cruz | | 1 |
| Soldier: Antonio de la Cruz, married to Francisca Xaviera de la Concepcion | | 1 |
| Soldier: Marcos de Campos, married to María de Castro | | 1 |
| Ignacia Quetaca, widow | | 1 |
| Soldier: Roque de los Santos, married to Francisca Alon, with 4 children: Raimundo de los Santos | 1 | 1 |
| Magdalena de los Santos | | 1 |
| Dionisia de los Santos | | 1 |
| Teresa de Vera | | 1 |
| Captain Juan de Valenzuela, married to Francisca de Arceo, with 6 children: Domingo de Valenzuela | 1 | 1 |
| Fermin de Valenzuela | 1 | |
| Gregorio Xavier de Valenzuela | 1 | |
| Lucia de Valenzuela | | 1 |
| María de Valenzuela | | 1 |
| Martina Brigida de Valenzuela | | 1 |
| Captain Antonio Pangilinan, married to | 1 | |

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| Petronila de Arceo, with 9 children: | | 1 |
| Vicente Ferrer Pangilinan | 1 | |
| Juan de Dios de Pangilinan | 1 | |
| Damaso Pangilinan | 1 | |
| Pedro Pablo Pangilinan | 1 | |
| Gaspar Pangilinan | 1 | |
| Teodora Manuela Pangilinan | | 1 |
| Teresa Pangilinan | | 1 |
| María Lumen Pangilinan | | 1 |
| Josepha Pangilinan | | 1 |
| Captain José Balajadya, married to | 1 | |
| María de Zepeda, with 6 children: | | 1 |
| Francisco de Borja Balajadya | 1 | |
| Ventura Balajadya | 1 | |
| Juan Balajadya | 1 | |
| Eustaquio Balajadya | 1 | |
| Pedro Pablo Balajadya | 1 | |
| María Victoria Balajadya | | 1 |
| Captain José de Mendoza, married to | 1 | |
| Magdalena de la Cruz | | 1 |
| José de Torres, orphan | 1 | |
| Captain Mariano de Quintanilla, married to | 1 | |
| María Pablo, with 9 children: | | 1 |
| Pedro Mariano de Quintanilla | 1 | |
| Juan Mariano de Quintanilla | 1 | |
| Nicolas de Quintanilla | 1 | |
| Antonio de Quintanilla | 1 | |
| Cayetano de Quintanilla | 1 | |
| Manuel de Quintanilla | 1 | |
| María de Quintanilla | | 1 |
| Augustina de Quintanilla | | 1 |
| Luisa de Quintanilla | | 1 |
| Captain Juan de Guevara, married to | 1 | |
| Luisa Adi | | 1 |
| Captain Rafael de los Santos, married to | 1 | |
| Manuela Tarcila Aguon | | 1 |
| Captain Fco. Xavier de la Cruz, married to | 1 | |
| Lorenza Paula de los Rios, with 7 daughters: | | 1 |
| Rosa de la Cruz | | 1 |
| María de la Cruz | | 1 |
| Francisca Hermenegilda de la Cruz | | 1 |
| Augustina de la Cruz | | 1 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Manuela de la Cruz | | 1 |
| Rosalia de la Cruz | | 1 |
| Manuela Lorenza de la Cruz | | 1 |
| Captain Diego Dimapan, married to | 1 | |
| Antonia Henriquez, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Francisco Xavier Dimapan | 1 | |
| Antonia de Espinosa, with 5 children: | | 1 |
| Loduvico Martinez Blas | 1 | |
| Miguel José Blas | 1 | |
| Manuel Blas | 1 | |
| María Rosa Blas | | 1 |
| María Ana Blas | | 1 |
| Captain Vicente Manaleisay, married to | 1 | |
| María Capristrano, with 2 sons: | | 1 |
| Juan Manaleisay | 1 | |
| Manuel Manaleisay | 1 | |
| Captain Nicolas de Arriola, married to | 1 | |
| María del Castillo, with 5 children: | | 1 |
| José Diaz | 1 | |
| Juan Diaz | 1 | |
| Raimundo de Arriola | 1 | |
| Diego de Arriola | 1 | |
| Josepha de Arriola | | 1 |
| Captain Juan de Arceo, married to | 1 | |
| Michaela de la Peña, with 5 children: | | 1 |
| Felix de Arceo | 1 | |
| Leopardo de Arceo | 1 | |
| Francisco de Arceo | 1 | |
| José de Arceo | 1 | |
| Clara de Arceo | | 1 |
| Capt. Mateo Manubusan, widower, 2 sons: | 1 | |
| José Manubusan | 1 | |
| Juan Manubusan | 1 | |
| Capt. Juan Capistrano, widower, 2 children: | 1 | |
| Gaspar Capistrano | 1 | |
| Juana Rafaela | | 1 |
| Captain Nicolas Ramos, unmarried | 1 | |
| Captain Miguel Mañacop, unmarried | 1 | |
| Adjutant Felipe Malavitan, widower | 1 | |
| Lieutenant José Antonio Aguon, married to | 1 | |
| Manuela Ramirez, with 2 sons: | | 1 |
| Santiago Aguon | 1 | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Domingo Aguon | 1 | |
| Lieut. Santiago de la Concepción, married to María Agmagege | 1 | 1 |
| Lieut. Domingo de Guzman, married to Manuela Marcelo | 1 | 1 |
| Lieutenant Francisco de Leon, married to Catalina Mampogo, with 4 sons: | 1 | 1 |
| Andrés de Leon | 1 | |
| Domingo de Leon | 1 | |
| Miguel de Leon | 1 | |
| Francisco Xavier de Leon | 1 | |
| Lieutenant Pedro Pablo Marcelo, married to Felipa de Salas, with 6 children: | 1 | 1 |
| Ignacio José Marcelo | 1 | |
| Juan José Marcelo | 1 | |
| Luís Marcelo | 1 | |
| Juana Inés Marcelo | | 1 |
| María Isabel Marcelo | | 1 |
| Juana Francisca Marcelo | | 1 |
| Lieutenant Francisco Tatacaon, married to Manuela de Esquerria, with 5 children: | 1 | 1 |
| Manuel Tatacaon | 1 | |
| José Tatacaon | 1 | |
| Josepha Tatacaon | | 1 |
| Ana Tatacaon | | 1 |
| Lorenza Tatacaon | | 1 |
| Lucia de la Concepción, widow | | 1 |
| Dominga de Esquerria, orphan | | 1 |
| Lieut. Juan de la Cruz Yuzon, married to Teresa de Jesus Aguon | 1 | 1 |
| Lieutenant Nocolas Garcia, married to Francisca Quetacà | 1 | 1 |
| Lieutenant Juan Fausto, married to María Crisostomo, with 1 daughter: | 1 | 1 |
| María Petrona | | 1 |
| Luisa Agò, widow with 3 sons: | | 1 |
| Juan Crisostomo | 1 | |
| Diego Crisostomo | 1 | |
| Francisco Crisostomo | 1 | |
| Lieutenant Domingo Garcia, married to: Isabel Ati | 1 | 1 |
| Atanasio de los Santos, married to | 1 | |

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| Isabel de Guzman, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Roman de los Santos | 1 | |
| María de los Santos | | 1 |
| Isidora de los Santos | | 1 |
| Isidro de la Cruz, married to | 1 | |
| Isabel de la Cruz | | 1 |
| Mateo de la Cruz, married to | 1 | |
| Luisa Cabangis | | 1 |
| Juan Benjamin de los Santos, married to | 1 | |
| María Candida del Castillo, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Pedro Pablo de los Santos | 1 | |
| maría Feliciano de los Santos | | 1 |
| José Manuel Aguon, married to | 1 | |
| Francisca Xaviera de Leon Guerrero, with 7 children: | | 1 |
| Salvador Fosé Aguon | 1 | |
| Felipe Santiago Aguon | 1 | |
| Domingo Mariano Aguon | 1 | |
| Vicente Nicolas Aguon | 1 | |
| José Maximo Aguon | 1 | |
| Manuel Mariano Aguon | 1 | |
| Rosa Tarcila Aguon | | 1 |
| Miguel Perez de Armenta, married to | 1 | |
| Inés Nahong | | 1 |
| Nicolas de los Reyes, married to | 1 | |
| Juana Pablo | | 1 |
| Luis de Lizama, married to | 1 | |
| Teresa Ursula Sinia, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Miguel de Lizama | 1 | |
| Juan de Lizama | 1 | |
| Ignacia de Lizama | | 1 |
| María Teresa de Lizama | | 1 |
| Francisco Manuel Aguon, married to | 1 | |
| Angela Dimapan | | 1 |
| José de Castro, married to | 1 | |
| Josepha Dueñas, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Ignacio de Castro | 1 | |
| José Angel de Castro | 1 | |
| María Lumen de Castro | | 1 |
| José de la Cruz, married to | 1 | |
| Juana Pablo, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Manuel Bartolomé de los Reyes | 1 | |
| Josepha de la Cruz | | 1 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Angela Barbara de la Cruz | | 1 |
| Simon de Buenaventura, married to | 1 | |
| Josepha Pablo, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Santiago de Buenaventura | 1 | |
| Felipe de Buenaventura | 1 | |
| María de Buenaventura | | 1 |
| Lucia de Buenaventura | | 1 |
| Augustin de los Santos, married to | 1 | |
| María Victoria de la Cruz, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Juan de los Santos | 1 | |
| Josepha de los Santos | | 1 |
| Tomás de la Concepción, married to | 1 | |
| María Morales, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| José de la Cruz | 1 | |
| Juan de la Concepción | 1 | |
| Monica de la Concepción | | 1 |
| José de la Cruz, married to | 1 | |
| María Tatacaon | | 1 |
| José Tatacaon, married to | 1 | |
| Manuela Ignacia Ortiz | | 1 |
| Ignacio Tomás, married to | 1 | |
| Francisca Marcelo | | 1 |
| Francisco Pablo, married to | 1 | |
| María de Zepeda, with 5 children: | | 1 |
| Francisco Longinos Pablo | 1 | |
| Domingo Pablo | 1 | |
| Gaspar Pablo | 1 | |
| María Rosa Pablo | | 1 |
| Potenciana Pablo | | 1 |
| María Taisipi, widow | | 1 |
| Pascuala Mamsangan, widow | | 1 |
| Fernando de la Cruz, married to | 1 | |
| Tomasa Dominga | | 1 |
| José Albay, married to | 1 | |
| Rosa Taitati | | 1 |
| Augustin Basa, married to | 1 | |
| Juana Augustin [sic] Basa | | 1 |
| Ignacio de la Cruz, orphan | 1 | |
| Alonso de la Cruz, married to | 1 | |
| Margarita Teresa Gueta | | 1 |
| Manuel Francisco Lascano, married to | 1 | |
| María Lucia Mamingin, with 4 sons: | | 1 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Manuel Matias Lascano | 1 | |
| Dionisio Luis Lascano | 1 | |
| Juan Domingo Lascano | 1 | |
| Manuel Lascano | 1 | |
| Pablo Albay, married to | 1 | |
| María Aponfixo | | 1 |
| Ignacio Calixto Inocencio, married to | 1 | |
| María Juana de la Cruz | | 1 |
| Juan Blas Cortes, married to | 1 | |
| Augustina Tadmaulig | | 1 |
| Ignacio Xavier Castro, married to | 1 | |
| María Juana de la Vega | | 1 |
| José de Leon, married to | 1 | |
| Michaela Geronima Dimapan, with 2 sons: | | 1 |
| Manuel José de Leon | 1 | |
| Luis Silverio de Leon | 1 | |
| Lucas Bernabe de la Cruz, married to | 1 | |
| Luisa Diaz, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| Ubalda de la Cruz | | 1 |
| Manuela Mangi, widow | | 1 |
| Salvador Achaigua, married to | 1 | |
| María Josepha Robles | | 1 |
| María Taysipic, widow with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Mariano de Miranda | 1 | |
| Juan José de Morales, married to | 1 | |
| María Hernandez, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Francisco de Morales | 1 | |
| Dominga de Morales | | 1 |
| José Cabangis, married to | 1 | |
| Bernarda Siña | | 1 |
| Lorenzo Pacheco, married to | 1 | |
| María Charsaga, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| Maria Pacheco | | 1 |
| Pedro Pacheco, widower with 5 children: | 1 | |
| Francisco Pacheco | 1 | |
| Alexandro Pacheco | 1 | |
| Miguel Pacheco | 1 | |
| Domingo Pacheco | 1 | |
| María Pacheco | | 1 |
| María Augustina Pacheco, unmarried, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Lorenzo de la Cruz | 1 | |
| Guillermo de los Santos, widower | 1 | |

| | | |
|---|------|------|
| Isidoro Mateo de los Santos, unmarried | | 1 |
| Ignacia de Salas, widow with 2 sons: | | 1 |
| Augustin Luís Charguima | 1 | |
| Francisco Charguima | 1 | |
| Nicolas Hernandez, widower with 3 sons: | 1 | |
| Patrico de Torres | 1 | |
| Sebastian de Torres | 1 | |
| Pascual de Torres | 1 | |
| Angela Mampogo, widow with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Domingo de la Rosa | 1 | |
| María de la Rosa | | 1 |
| Teresa de la Rosa | | 1 |
| Isabel de la Rosa | | 1 |
| | ---- | ---- |
| [Sub-total:] ¹ | 201 | 194 |
| | ==== | ==== |

This City of San Ignacio de Agaña, and its Ward of Santa Cruz, has, according to the above enumeration a total of 189 Spanish men and their half-breeds, 246 of whom are female, plus 201 Filipino Indians and their descendents, 194 of whom are female and their descendents, all of whom together make up a total of 830 souls. When this number is added to 170 Spanish and Pampango soldiers in the above-mentioned lists, the total number is 1,000 souls of both sexes. They are all members of the church of said City.

And, as a representation has been made, which was justified, on account of this number being understated, His Lordship the Governor and Lieutenant of Captain-General ordered it to be satisfied, and carried out, for which I vouch.

Barrio.

Jorge Eduardo del Castillo, Secretary for Administration and War.

¹ Ed. note: Four names have been missed from this list, 1 male and 3 females.

1758 Census, continued

Visitation and enumeration of the native of the town of Anigua.—

In the town of Anigua, on the 26th of January of 1758, His Lordship General Andrés del Barrio y Rabago, Governor and Lieutenant of Captain General of these Mariana Islands on behalf of His Majesty, to continue his visitation and enumeration ordered to be done by a decree of his mentioned above and dated 7th of the current month, passed to said town. Its natives, together as a group, presented themselves before His Lordship and, by means of the present Secretary for Administration and War acting as an Interpreter, because he knows the local language well, said enumeration proceeded in the following form and manner:

| | Male | Female |
|--|------|--------|
| Master-of Camp General José Antonio Muña, married to | 1 | |
| Ana Mañongsong, with 2 sons: | | 1 |
| Melchor Muña | 1 | |
| Juan Muña | 1 | |
| Bernardo Tatacaon, orphan | 1 | |
| Crisogono Tatacaon, orphan | 1 | |
| Sergeant-Mayor Francisco Taitano, married to | 1 | |
| María Mañongsong, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Luis Taitano | 1 | |
| José Taitano | 1 | |
| María Ursula Taitano | | 1 |
| Captain Manuel José Inoo, married to | 1 | |
| Teresa Quetogua | | 1 |
| Adjutant Miguel Nataynam, married to | 1 | |
| Barbara Quidu, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Estanislao Mariano Natainam | 1 | |
| María Natainam | | 1 |
| Master-of-camp Ignacio José Naota, married to | 1 | |
| Luisa Nagorgor, with 6 children: | | 1 |
| Basilio Guehelo | 1 | |
| Pedro Guaylaie | 1 | |
| María Mamsangan | | 1 |
| Ambrosio Saguaña | 1 | |
| Lucia Fafago | | 1 |
| Lucia Goftalu | | 1 |
| Master-of-camp Francisco Tauacta, married to | 1 | |
| Ursula Sasata, with 4 daughters: | | 1 |
| María Tauacta | | 1 |

| | | |
|--|------------------------|---|
| | Juana Ursula Tauacta | 1 |
| | Rosa Tauacta | 1 |
| | María Pascuala Tauacta | 1 |
| Captain Juan Tailaf, Fiscal, ¹ married to | | 1 |
| Inés Masahi, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Mariano Tailaf | 1 | |
| María Rosa Egege, widow | | 1 |
| Captain Ignacio Agnasiña, married to | | 1 |
| Dominga Ninaisin, with 2 daughters: | | 1 |
| María Agnasiña | | 1 |
| Rosalia Agnasiña | | 1 |
| Captain Martin Taingatongo, married to | | 1 |
| Teresa Mamsangan, with 5 children: | | 1 |
| Ignacio Estanislao | 1 | |
| José Taingatongo | 1 | |
| José Miguel | 1 | |
| Lucia Eva | | 1 |
| María Mamaisa | | 1 |
| Captain Diego Taipilius, married to | | 1 |
| Rosa María Muña | | 1 |
| Adjutant Francisco Masogni, married to | | 1 |
| Michaela Mamonta | | 1 |
| Francisco Taisagui, married to | | 1 |
| Inés Taingagege | | 1 |
| Manuel Nalaho, married to | | 1 |
| Inés Pascuala, with 2 sons: | | 1 |
| Roman Tomás | 1 | |
| José Achuga | 1 | |
| Juan Chatongo, married to | | 1 |
| María Momo | | 1 |
| Estanislao Ngaha, Spanish half-breed, married to | | 1 |
| Manuela Estasia Manhosmi | | 1 |
| Manuel Tatacaon, married to | | 1 |
| Manuela Magtos, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Domingo Taipaquio | 1 | |
| Monica Atiti, widow with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Matias Aninac | 1 | |
| Manuel Balahadya, unmarried | 1 | |
| Juan de Villagomez, orphan | 1 | |
| Cristobal Goflache, married to | 1 | |

¹ Ed. note: Each town had at least one Fiscal, or controller, to ensure church attendance, etc.

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| María Quetaca | | 1 |
| Ignacio José Taitano, married to Barbara Orpus | 1 | 1 |
| Francisco Nauta, married to Manuela Manfngingin | 1 | 1 |
| José Patangña, married to Inés Gualaña | 1 | 1 |
| Isabel Taipitin, widow Andrés Hoña, married to | 1 | 1 |
| Rosa Dagi, with 2 children: Francisco Saguaña | 1 | 1 |
| María Queigimigo | | 1 |
| Manuel Salogña, married to Lugarda Samaita | 1 | 1 |
| José Taitagui, married to María Maulegña | 1 | 1 |
| María Dagi, widow, with 1 son: Sebastian Ila | 1 | 1 |
| Juan Quegacha, married to María Queisnaon, with 5 children: | 1 | 1 |
| Roman Gaisong | 1 | |
| Francisco Tagaña | 1 | |
| Manuel Tagaña | 1 | |
| Mariano Tainot | 1 | |
| Dominga Lumen Quetaca | | 1 |
| Ignacio Muña, married to Rosa María Mamsangan | 1 | 1 |
| Juan Taiguiloo, married to María Tayhimas | 1 | 1 |
| Juana Chatia, widow, with 2 daughters: María Nayaoyao | | 1 |
| Bibiana Samayña | | 1 |
| Antonio Tañona, married to Rosalia Gumataotao | 1 | 1 |
| Domingo Taimanglo, married to Angela Taingatanga | 1 | 1 |
| Felipe Queguma, married to Inés Asi, with 1 son: | 1 | 1 |
| José de los Santos Queguma | 1 | |
| Juan Taichi, married to Gabriela Taymagtus | 1 | 1 |
| Pablo Queato, married to | 1 | |

| | | |
|---|-----|-----|
| Rosa Mamsangan | | 1 |
| Francisca Mamsangan, widow, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Juan Orpus | 1 | |
| Juan Anga, married to | 1 | |
| Rosalía Mamsangan, with 5 children: | | 1 |
| Ignacio Anga | 1 | |
| Francisco Anga | 1 | |
| María Ana Anga | | 1 |
| María Rosalía Anga | | 1 |
| María Azga [sic] | | 1 |
| Ant° Gumataotao, widower with 3 children: | 1 | |
| Juan Bautista Gumataotao | 1 | |
| Mariana Tayasi | | 1 |
| María Josepha Gumataotao | | 1 |
| Tomás Quesalao, widower, with 2 sons: | 1 | |
| Ignacio de los Santos Quesalao | 1 | |
| Francisco Chargualaf | 1 | |
| Augustin Fegorgor, widower, with 1 son: | 1 | |
| Miguel Ignacio Fegorgor | 1 | |
| | --- | --- |
| [Sub-total:] ¹ | 70 | 60 |
| | === | === |

...

Visitation and enumeration of the natives of the village of Monmong.

In the Village of Monmong on 26 February 1758, etc

| | Male | Female |
|---|------|--------|
| Sergeant-Major Nicolas Namanglao, married to | 1 | |
| Damiana Aguan, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Salvador Mariano Namanglao | 1 | |
| Captain Ignacio Chocholage, married to | 1 | |
| Rosa Samay | | 1 |
| Adjutant Juan Anga, married to | 1 | |
| Josepha Mangaysin, with 2 orphans | | 1 |
| Juan Tadtaotao | 1 | |
| Dominga Paula Faasi | | 1 |
| Pedro Quefarna, unmarried | 1 | |
| Sergeant-Major Francisco Tano, Fiscal, married to | 1 | |
| María Farfago | | 1 |
| Captain Juan Alugao, married to | 1 | |

¹ Ed. note: One man is not listed.

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| María Masanganta | | 1 |
| Captain Lorenzo Taiticho, married to | 1 | |
| María Maulegña | | 1 |
| Ignacio Putinhoccoc, unmarried | 1 | |
| Captain Blas Babao, married to | 1 | |
| Teresa Aya | 1 | |
| Captain Pedro Gogui, married to | 1 | |
| Clara Quealasta, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Ignacio Santiago Gogui | 1 | |
| Manuela Ogega | | 1 |
| Mariana Gogui | | 1 |
| Adjutant Miguel Charfaulus, married to | 1 | |
| Catalina Mamchacha, with 6 children: | | 1 |
| Salvador Charfaulus | 1 | |
| Domingo Mariano Charfaulus | 1 | |
| María Ignacia Naoson | | 1 |
| Catalina Charfaulus | | 1 |
| Andrea Tomasa Charfaulus | | 1 |
| María Pascuala Charfaulus | | 1 |
| Magdalena Manana, widow, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Juan Marriano Queguma | 1 | |
| Miguel Masga, married to | 1 | |
| María Asonña, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Santiago Queguahan | 1 | |
| Pedro Alos, married to | 1 | |
| Josepha Namaipa | | 1 |
| Miguel Ninaisin, married to | 1 | |
| María Taimagtus, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Matias Ninaisin | 1 | |
| Ignacio Taitiguan, married to | 1 | |
| Josepha Mamsangan, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| José Halofña | 1 | |
| José Rodriguez Taitiguan | 1 | |
| María Mamsangan | | 1 |
| Antonio Quesoho, married to | 1 | |
| Catalina Matuna, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Manuel Tadmumahi | 1 | |
| Matias Manhongña | 1 | |
| Rosa Mafngingin | | 1 |
| Lucas Egua, widower | 1 | |
| Tadeo Quehofa, married to | 1 | |
| Josepha Agmonghaian | | 1 |

| | | |
|--|-----|-----|
| Ignacio Charsaga, married to Dominga Quetaca | 1 | 1 |
| Francisco Naiputi, married to Juana Mamsangan, with 1 son: José de la Cruz Taisagua | 1 | 1 |
| Gregorio Taisigò, married to Catalina Miyo | 1 | 1 |
| Isabel Gete, widow | | 1 |
| María Tatao, widow | | 1 |
| Francisco Quetalo, married to María Agos | 1 | 1 |
| Rosario Charguatas, widower | 1 | |
| José Tayadao, widower | 1 | |
| | --- | --- |
| [Sub-total:] | 37 | 31 |
| | === | === |

Visitation and enumeration of the village of Sinahaña.

In the Village of Sinahaña on the 27th of January, etc.

| | Male | Female |
|---|------|--------|
| Master-of-camp Francisco Taisongsong, married to Teodora Aosgui, with 4 children: | 1 | |
| Manuel Fanhogta | 1 | |
| Susana Francisca Taisongsong | | 1 |
| Antonia Sebastiana Salaoña | | 1 |
| Michaela Taisongsong | | 1 |
| Sergeant-Major José Neno, married to Juana Mafngingin, with 8 children: | 1 | 1 |
| Roque Taitano | 1 | |
| Joaquin Taitano | 1 | |
| Pedro Gago | 1 | |
| Lucia Taitano | | 1 |
| Mariana Taitano | | 1 |
| Manuela Taitano | | 1 |
| Agata Gago | | 1 |
| María Gago | | 1 |
| Captain Miguel Ogo, married to Ignacia Onta, with 5 children: | 1 | 1 |
| Augustin Alexo Matanani | 1 | |
| Juan Gago | 1 | |
| Martin Gago | 1 | |
| Agustin Tayguaha | 1 | |

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| Margarita Mansangan | | 1 |
| Adjutant Miguel Finoña, married to | 1 | |
| María Mamsangan, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Luis Finoña | 1 | |
| Balthazar Tanoña, orphan | 1 | |
| Master-of-camp Fco. Sagualahe, widower, 1 daughter | 1 | |
| Magdalena Taitanga | | 1 |
| Sergeant-Major Miguel Achuga, married to | 1 | |
| María Noña, with 5 sons: | | 1 |
| Marcelino Achuga | 1 | |
| Salvador Achuga | 1 | |
| Francisco Achuga | 1 | |
| Francisco Xavier Achuga | 1 | |
| Mariano Achuga | 1 | |
| Sergeant-Major Manuel Manahani, married to | 1 | |
| María Taitingo, with 7 children: | | 1 |
| Ignacio Manahani | 1 | |
| Manuel Ignacio Manahani | 1 | |
| Manuel José Manahani | 1 | |
| Rafael Manahani | 1 | |
| José Manahani | 1 | |
| Lorenza Mafngingin | | 1 |
| Juana Tingoña | | 1 |
| Sergeant-Major Lorenzo Atogot, married to | 1 | |
| María Conejo, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| Dionisia Gertrudis Taimagais | | 1 |
| Sergeant-Major Ignacio Agihoti, married to | 1 | |
| María Manfaisin, with 5 children: | | 1 |
| Gaspar Agihoti | 1 | |
| Lino Agihoti | 1 | |
| María Manfaisin | | 1 |
| Catalina Mansangan | | 1 |
| María Mansangan | | 1 |
| Captain Lorenzo Quegachay, married to | 1 | |
| Margarita Manfata, with 4 children | | 1 |
| Francisco Quegachay | 1 | |
| Mariano Quegachay | 1 | |
| José Quedachay [sic] | 1 | |
| Francisca Quedachay [sic] | | 1 |
| Juana Tadmalanso, widow | | 1 |
| Rafael Taguigui, Fiscal, married to | 1 | |
| Melchora de la Cruz, with 8 children: | | 1 |

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|
| Tomás Taisipic | 1 | |
| José Taisipic | 1 | |
| Ignacio Taisipic | 1 | |
| Santiago Taisipic | 1 | |
| Ignacia de la Cruz | | 1 |
| Angela de la Cruz | | 1 |
| Francisca de la Cruz | | 1 |
| María de la Cruz | | 1 |
| Pablo Quedangua, married to | 1 | |
| Michaela Aosgi, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Ignacio José Quedanga | 1 | |
| Enrique Buenaventura Quedanga | 1 | |
| María Rosa Quedanga | | 1 |
| Pedro Gogo, married to | 1 | |
| Pascuala Fetangie, with 3 sons: | | 1 |
| Ignacio Gogo | 1 | |
| José Gogo | 1 | |
| Simon Francisco Gogo | 1 | |
| Pedro Fecaca, married to | 1 | |
| María Taitanga, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Lorenzo Afaisin | 1 | |
| Lucia Tata, widow | | 1 |
| Pablo Fegorgor, married to | 1 | |
| Juana Tadsamay | | 1 |
| Simon Tadguatano, married to | 1 | |
| Teresa Taitaho, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Roque Tadguatano | 1 | |
| Salvador Fegorgor | 1 | |
| Lorenza Mamsangan | | 1 |
| María Manfaisin | | 1 |
| José Taifino, orphan | 1 | |
| Narciso Taifino, orphan | 1 | |
| Ignacio Atoigui, married to | 1 | |
| Leocadia de la Cruz, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Pedro Atoigui | 1 | |
| Roman Atoigui | 1 | |
| Augustin Atoigui ¹ | 1 | |
| José Gogo, married to | 1 | |
| María Tosan | | 1 |
| Miguel Gogo, married to | 1 | |

1 Ed. note: The name of one of the 4 children is missing.

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----|-----|
| María Dominga | | 1 |
| Ignacio Quetogsa, married to | 1 | |
| Rosa Naiaoyao, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Francisco Mariano Gogo | 1 | |
| Ninfa Mansangan | | 1 |
| María Naiaoyao | | 1 |
| Rafael Agualo, married to | 1 | |
| María Mamsangan, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Juan Miguel Quedachay | 1 | |
| María Rosa Mamsangan | | 1 |
| Ignacia Masa, widow | | 1 |
| Juan Quehoto, orphan | 1 | |
| Miguel Naputi, orphan | 1 | |
| Catalina Quetaca, orphan | | 1 |
| Francisco Ignacio Tungu, married to | 1 | |
| María Tunamtanga, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Pablo Mariano Tungu | 1 | |
| Ignacio Tungu | 1 | |
| María Timatanga | | 1 |
| Josepha Timatanga | | 1 |
| Juana Apunti, widow with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Pedro Achuga, unmarried | 1 | |
| Pedro Pablo Atugud, married to | 1 | |
| María Ualiña | | 1 |
| Cosme Damian Chargualaf, married to | 1 | |
| Clara Godongña | | 1 |
| Augustin Taihi, married to | 1 | |
| Francisca Taimagon, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Ignacio Taiguha | 1 | |
| María Egege | | 1 |
| Juana Laguna, orphan | | 1 |
| Salvador Fegorgor, married to | 1 | |
| Teresa Ango | | 1 |
| Bernardo Queda, married to | 1 | |
| Manuela Tadmampou | | 1 |
| Marta Ilis, widow, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Francisco Naychung | 1 | |
| | --- | --- |
| [Sub-total:] ¹ | 79 | 63 |
| | === | === |

¹ Ed. note: One person, a male, is indeed missing from this list.

Visitation and enumeration of the village of Asan.

In the Village of Asan on the 30th of January 1758, etc.

| | Male | Female |
|--|------|--------|
| Sergenat-Major Anselmo Gofhigam, married to | 1 | |
| Mariana de Arguelles, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| Michaela Ignacia | | 1 |
| María Manuela, widow | | 1 |
| Captain Pedro Quetogua, married to | 1 | |
| María Queagon, with 5 children: | | 1 |
| Ignacio Quetogua | 1 | |
| Mariano Quetogua | 1 | |
| Francisco Saguana | 1 | |
| Ignacia Hudaña | | 1 |
| María Quetogua | | 1 |
| Adjutant Marcos Quegaga, married to | 1 | |
| Rosa Quetaca, with 6 children: | | 1 |
| José Domingo Quetalaf | 1 | |
| Augustin Quetalaf | 1 | |
| Juan Quegaga | 1 | |
| Cornelio Quegaga | 1 | |
| Monica Quegaga | | 1 |
| Pascuala Quegaga | | 1 |
| Master-of-camp Ambrosio Taisagua, married to | 1 | |
| Manuela Anum | | 1 |
| Francisca Sengña, widow | | 1 |
| Captain Tomás Maañao, married to | 1 | |
| María Taiñgatongo, with 5 children: | | 1 |
| Pedro Laguaña | 1 | |
| Francisco Apseho | 1 | |
| Mariano Maaño [sic] | 1 | |
| Polonia Pinayag | | 1 |
| Josepha Maaño | | 1 |
| Captain José Quetano, married to | 1 | |
| Manuela Natomaisigao, with 4 children | | 1 |
| José Pascual Quetago [sic] | 1 | |
| Juan Bautista Taisayan | 1 | |
| Ignacio Xavier Quetano | 1 | |
| Teresa Manfaisin | | 1 |
| María Sinangan, widow | | 1 |
| Ignacio Cheboc, Fiscal, married to | 1 | |
| Manuela Mansangan, with 7 [rather 8] children: | | 1 |
| Ignacio Igam | 1 | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Wolfango Cheboc | 1 | |
| Ambrosio Cheboc | 1 | |
| Juan Cheboc | 1 | |
| Antonio Cheboc | 1 | |
| Raimundo Cheboc | 1 | |
| Placida Cheboc | | 1 |
| One [girl] born last night | | 1 |
| Francisco Taiasi, married to | 1 | |
| Juana Atos | | 1 |
| José Tanoña, married to | 1 | |
| Rosa Ave | | 1 |
| Santiago Quedachai, married to | 1 | |
| María Taihanan, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Clemente Quedachay | 1 | |
| Francisco Agon, married to | 1 | |
| Francisca Tadmaulig | | 1 |
| Francisco Tinafña, unmarried | 1 | |
| José Chaco, married to | 1 | |
| Lucia Songsongña | | 1 |
| Carlos Tauacta, married to | 1 | |
| Teresa Yuña | | 1 |
| Juan Evangelista Mapupu, married to | 1 | |
| María Juana Alasiña | | 1 |
| Pedro Tadpaogo, married to | 1 | |
| Rosa Mamaisa | | 1 |
| María Punu, widow | | 1 |
| Margarita Mampongo, widow, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Vicente Tapaoña, unmarried | 1 | |
| Juan Gofihos, married to | 1 | |
| María Adofan | | 1 |
| Catalina Atona, widow, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| Barbara Tainaan | | 1 |
| María Tainahon, unmarried, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| Francisca Taihanum | | 1 |
| Blas Quedachay, married to | 1 | |
| Victoria Olontaotao | | 1 |
| Josepha Manfaisin, orphan | | 1 |
| Pedro Fegorgor, married to | 1 | |
| María Mamsangan, with 2 daughters: | | 1 |
| María Ursula Fegorgor | | 1 |
| Josepha Fegogor | | 1 |
| Mariano Matanani, married to | 1 | |

| | | |
|--|-----|-----|
| Josepha Toyogaion | | 1 |
| Fco. Xavier Tadtaotao, widower, with 2 sons: | 1 | |
| Geronimo Tadtaotao | 1 | |
| Mariano Arguelles | 1 | |
| Juan Mafnas, unmarried | 1 | |
| | --- | --- |
| [Sub-total:] ¹ | 44 | 42 |
| | === | === |

1 Ed. note: One person assigned wrong sex in this count. Should be 45 male + 41 female.

Visitation and enumeration of the village of Tipungan.

In the Village of Tipungan, on the 30th of January 1758, etc.

| | Male | Female |
|---|------|--------|
| Captain Nicolas Apo, married to | 1 | |
| María Godongña, with 2 daughters: | | 1 |
| Francisca Taitingo | | 1 |
| Rosa Polonia Tadmomi | | 1 |
| Juan Taisalog, orphan | 1 | |
| Melchor Taytano, orphan | 1 | |
| Pedro Taitano, orphan | 1 | |
| Master-of-camp Pedro Quetalaf, married to | 1 | |
| Inés Finifo | | 1 |
| Captain Bernardo Yuyo, married to | 1 | |
| María Tadsamay | | 1 |
| Adjutant Manuel Lafña, Fiscal, married to | 1 | |
| Dominga Laata, with 3 daughters: | | 1 |
| Inés Aña | | 1 |
| Margarita Manfoho | | 1 |
| María Taysipic | | 1 |
| José Tayhito, married to | 1 | |
| María Taisasi, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Basilio Chargualaf | 1 | |
| Manuel Atogor | 1 | |
| María Yuña | | 1 |
| Juana Laguna | | 1 |
| Francisco Lañgitña, married to | 1 | |
| Michaela Gualafña, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| María Rosa Tadmomi | | 1 |
| Nicolas Aganga, married to | 1 | |
| Rosa Tadngangias, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Manuel Namaulig | 1 | |
| Francisca Namaulig | | 1 |
| Pablo Naputi, married to | 1 | |
| Catalina Quetaca | | 1 |
| Pedro Gofsagua, married to | 1 | |
| Catalina Sadota | | 1 |
| Toribio Atao, married to | 1 | |
| María Gopotña | | 1 |
| | --- | --- |
| [Sub-total:] | 16 | 19 |
| | === | === |

...

Visitation and enumeration of the natives of the village of Apurguan.

In the Village of Apurguan, on the 1st of February 1758...

| | Male | Female |
|---|------|--------|
| Master-of-camp Domingo Agangi, married to | 1 | |
| Juana Gangi, with 2 sons: | | 1 |
| Francisco Agangi | 1 | |
| Ignacio Agangi | 1 | |
| Captain Ignacio Tonofia, married to | 1 | |
| María Manuela Padudalo, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| José Angel Tanofia | 1 | |
| María Imposta, widow | | 1 |
| Master-of-camp Diego Hean, widower | 1 | |
| María Helo, widow, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| María Hean | | 1 |
| Captain Lorenzo Quehorge, married to | 1 | |
| Inés Vibang | | 1 |
| Captain Ignacio Manhogña, married to | 1 | |
| Francisca Itao, with 3 sons: | | 1 |
| Ignacio Gofgualaf | 1 | |
| Felipe Taliña | 1 | |
| Domingo Taliña | 1 | |
| Nicolas Maipihí, widow, with 1 son: | 1 | |
| Levino Paogo | 1 | |
| Captain Pedro Ano, Fiscal, married to | 1 | |
| Rosa Taiangan, with 6 sons: | | 1 |
| Pedro Soyuña | 1 | |
| Pedro Hipo | 1 | |
| Faustino Babaota | 1 | |
| Ignacio Ano | 1 | |
| Juan Nepumuceno Chatigam | 1 | |
| Antonino Ano | 1 | |
| Adjutant Lucas Nelemlem, married to | 1 | |
| Ignacia Angingin, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Mariano Quetano | 1 | |
| María Josepha Sipigña | | 1 |
| Lorenzo Aayguima, married to | 1 | |
| Catalina Afoho | | 1 |
| Teresa Ena, widow | | 1 |
| Salvador Apargui, married to | 1 | |
| María Tayigi, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Juan Isidro Apargui | 1 | |
| Ignacio Apargui | 1 | |

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|------|------|
| Catalina Susana Apargui | | 1 |
| Estevan Taymomo Manglo, married to | 1 | |
| Dominga Manfngingin, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| Lucia Iguigui | | 1 |
| Francisco Fico, married to | 1 | |
| Clara Tasiña, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Francisco Fico | 1 | |
| María Anaña | | 1 |
| Gregorio Taigumuho, married to | 1 | |
| María Quetaca, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Isidro Taigumuho | 1 | |
| María Lumen Mansangan | | 1 |
| Jorge Asuda, married to | 1 | |
| María Petrona Samaiña | | 1 |
| Francisco José Gasangña, orphan | 1 | |
| Felipe Namangan, married to | 1 | |
| María Taicano, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Juan Sipugña | 1 | |
| Domingo Anga | 1 | |
| Catalina Angog | | 1 |
| Lorenzo Queorge, orphan | 1 | |
| Antonio Udan | 1 | |
| Catalina Laian, widow | | 1 |
| Gregorio Quedache, married to | 1 | |
| María Paula Antoña, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Francisco Langoña | 1 | |
| Francisco Taitano, orphan | 1 | |
| Sebastian Achaiga, married to | 1 | |
| Catalina Laguna, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Salvador Adaoña | 1 | |
| Martin Ulin, married to | 1 | |
| Catalina Ido | | 1 |
| Julian Nasongogta, unmarried | 1 | |
| Lucia Anahan, widow | | 1 |
| Mariano Charsaga, orphan | 1 | |
| | --- | --- |
| [Sub-total:] ¹ | 45 | 29 |
| | ==== | ==== |

...

¹ Ed. note: One person assigned wrong sex. Sub-total should be 46 male + 28 female.

Visitation and enumeration of the natives of the district of Pago.

In the Village of Pago, on the 6th of February 1758...

| | Male | Female |
|---|-----------------------|------------------|
| Master-of-camp Felipe Ena, married to Monica Amay, with 1 daughter: Juana Mafata | 1 | 1 1 |
| Sergeant-Major Juan Eo, married to Catalina Nanago María Mampagat, widow | 1 | 1 1 |
| Captain Francisco Guatafe, widower, with 2 children: Geronimo Guatafe María Mamsangan | 1 1 | 1 |
| Adjutant Pablo Taihaia, married to Teresa Iyu Mariano Quegaga, orphan Manuel Tadtaotao, orphan Mariana Taata, widow, with 1 son: Cosme Echa | 1 1 1 1 1 | 1 1 |
| Master-of-camp Mateo Memis, Fiscal, married to María Laan | 1 | 1 |
| Master-of-camp Pablo Aiti, married to Angela Mamingin Juana Mamba, widow, with 3 children: Antonio Tanoña Francisco Pinada Victoria Faasi Juana Faasi, orphan | 1 1 1 1 1 | 1 1 1 1 |
| Master-of-camp Matias Gaion, married to Juana Aiao, with 3 daughters: María Taliña María Faasi Catalina Gaion | 1 | 1 1 1 1 |
| Sergeant-Major Lucas Itutup, widower | 1 | |
| Sergeant-Major José Taiguaha, married to Ignacia Gamumus | 1 | 1 |
| Sergeant-Major Marcos Mafnas, married to María Maasaña, with 3 daughters: Ignacia Quetaca Andrea Mafnas María Mafnas | 1 | 1 1 1 1 |
| Sergeant-Major Clemente Taytinfong, married to | 1 | |

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| Ana Mangarguita, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Miguel Taytinfong | 1 | |
| María Agmagof, widow, with 2 daughters: | | 1 |
| Barbara Paula | | 1 |
| Dominga Manfaisin | | 1 |
| María Gianaota, widow | | 1 |
| Captain Francisco Melo, married to | 1 | |
| Teresa Quetaca, with 4 childres: | | 1 |
| Mateo Mafnas | 1 | |
| Ana Manaitay | | 1 |
| María Tadmaulig | | 1 |
| Fancisca Fagani | 1 | |
| Captain Gaspar Fagani, widow, with 2 sons: | 1 | |
| Tomás Fagani | 1 | |
| Francisco Fagani | 1 | |
| Bernardo Añao, Fiscal, married to | 1 | |
| Isabel Rosa Amog, with 3 sons: | | 1 |
| Francisco Quefonta | 1 | |
| Juan Quepogsay | 1 | |
| José Mantanoña | 1 | |
| Ignacio Megay, married to | 1 | |
| Mariana Yuña, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Clemente Megai | 1 | |
| Francisco Yngin, married to | 1 | |
| Juana Ago, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Francisco Sungaofino | 1 | |
| María Samay, widow | | 1 |
| Salvador Onot, married to | 1 | |
| María Ursula Quetaca | | 1 |
| Juana Egege, widow | | 1 |
| Estevan Taisagui, married to | 1 | |
| Margarita Tadnaigui, with 6 children: | | 1 |
| Andrés Taisaigui | 1 | |
| Domingo Taisagui | 1 | |
| Salvador Taisagui | 1 | |
| Barbara Naguihin | | 1 |
| María Lumen Taisagui | | 1 |
| Ignacia Taisagui | | 1 |
| Antonia Mapongui, widow | | 1 |
| Pedro Agui, married to | 1 | |
| Dominga Josepha, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Clemente Agui | 1 | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Francisco Hococninati | 1 | |
| Catalina Mamaisa | | 1 |
| Rosa Mamsangan | | 1 |
| Lucas Tasi, married to | 1 | |
| Juana Mamtanga, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Pablo Tagaña | 1 | |
| Felipe Tasi | 1 | |
| María Tasi | | 1 |
| María Gamami, widow | | 1 |
| Dimas Mansoso, married to | 1 | |
| María Asi, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Domingo Chatigam | 1 | |
| Ignacio Tadhahi | 1 | |
| Dominga Tadsamay | | 1 |
| Catalina Tadtatoo | | 1 |
| Manuel Ango, married to | 1 | |
| Ignacia Gamomo, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| María Tadhagui | | 1 |
| Andrés Tatinfong, married to | 1 | |
| Catalina Charsaga | | 1 |
| Pedro Aboho, married to | 1 | |
| Rosa Gata | | 1 |
| Manuel Taitinfong, married to | 1 | |
| María Ayan | | 1 |
| Manuel Tadhomahi, orphan | 1 | |
| María Tadhomahi, orphan | | 1 |
| Rafael Fainingo, married to | 1 | |
| Angela Chamiyu | | 1 |
| Tomás Laho, orphan | 1 | |
| Lucas Hion, orphan | 1 | |
| Francisco Taitihod, widower, with 2 sons: | 1 | |
| Clemente Latagña | 1 | |
| Ignacio Tatihot | 1 | |
| Nicolas Taigachang, married to | 1 | |
| María Calafos, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| Inés Luchan | | 1 |
| Marcos Lafña, married to | 1 | |
| Bernarda Agmagege, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Manuel Nalaho | 1 | |
| Manuela Taicana | | 1 |
| Januario Chaco, married to | 1 | |
| Augustina Felipa Tadguaha, with 1 son: | | 1 |

| | | |
|----------------------------------|-----|-----|
| Domingo Chaco | 1 | |
| Carlos Lalalo, married to | 1 | |
| Juana Taasi, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Pedro Pacheco | 1 | |
| Juana Charsaga | | 1 |
| Manuel Agagan, married to | 1 | |
| Teresa Conejo, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Felipe de la Cruz | 1 | |
| Francisco Laurente Mafnas | 1 | |
| María Namay | | 1 |
| Juana Alago, widow, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Bernabe Gumaña | 1 | |
| Francisco Faihan, married to | 1 | |
| Rosa Ingiña | | 1 |
| José Mata, married to | 1 | |
| María Taitasi | | 1 |
| Simon Taichigo, married to | 1 | |
| Barbara Pacheco | | 1 |
| Anselmo Ogo, married to | 1 | |
| María Taiguima, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| Rosa Josepha Charsaga | | 1 |
| | --- | --- |
| [Sub-total:] | 72 | 71 |
| | === | === |

...

Visitation and enumeration of the natives of the district of Agat.

In the District of Agat, on the 30th of March 1758...

| | Male | Female |
|---|------|--------|
| Master-of-camp Pedro Taisagui, married to | 1 | |
| María Humaña, with 5 children: | | 1 |
| Quintin Saguanamnam | 1 | |
| Carlos Tayaño | 1 | |
| Enrique Ungaota | 1 | |
| José Tauacta | 1 | |
| María Quidilistaotao | | 1 |
| Captain José Taitiguan, married to | 1 | |
| Isabel Inayic, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Julian Quetagui | 1 | |
| Victoria Unaan | | 1 |
| María Chalaña | | 1 |
| Rosa Quigui | | 1 |
| Adjutant Pedro Laguaña, married to | 1 | |
| Lucia Quetaca, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| José Holonta | 1 | |
| Juana Tauasi | | 1 |
| Master-of-camp Tomás Aboglagua, married to | 1 | |
| Rosa Taipino, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| José Fahalang | 1 | |
| Captain Miguel Aguan, widower, with 4 sons: | 1 | |
| Matias Chaguiña | | 1 |
| José Quetgua | 1 | |
| Pedro Taguionamña | 1 | |
| María Mamsangan | | 1 |
| Captain Diego Mafac, married to | 1 | |
| Rosalia Quidu, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Ignacio Taitano | 1 | |
| Estevan Anao | 1 | |
| Andrés Mafac | 1 | |
| Pascuala Nanago | | 1 |
| Captain Tomás Quedaga, married to | 1 | |
| Catalina Mangi | | 1 |
| Ana Tongan, widow | | 1 |
| Captain Alonso Agua, married to | 1 | |
| Isabel Guadaña | | 1 |
| Captain Felipe Apo, married to | 1 | |
| Magdalena Taipingua, with 6 children: | | 1 |
| Vicente Hochoc | 1 | |

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| Tomás Tagaña | 1 | |
| Vicente Matanani | 1 | |
| Juana Mahosmi | | 1 |
| María Yuña | | 1 |
| Mariana Mahosmi | | 1 |
| Captain José Chogua, married to | 1 | |
| María Ago, with 5 children: | | 1 |
| Francisco Taininati | 1 | |
| Joseph[a] Sipicña | | 1 |
| Rosalia Laian | | 1 |
| Brigida Taitingo | | 1 |
| Captain Domingo Chanti, married to | 1 | |
| Margarita Tingoho, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Pablo Salognamnam | 1 | |
| Francisco Taimañao | 1 | |
| Lucrecia Timalic | | 1 |
| Magdalena Timaasi, unmarried | | 1 |
| Adjutant Basilio Chataan, Fiscal, married to | 1 | |
| Angela Yuña | | 1 |
| Angela Mantota, widow | | 1 |
| Ursula Quecano, unmarried | | 1 |
| Adjutant Pablo Naputi, Fiscal, married to | 1 | |
| Magdalena Aninog | | 1 |
| Isidro Idon, Fiscal, married to | 1 | |
| María Oña, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Felipe Fahalang | 1 | |
| Francisco Chachi, widower | 1 | |
| Isabel Gete, widow | | 1 |
| Julian Agtaaman, married to | 1 | |
| Josepha Quigui, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Francisco Mafataigui | 1 | |
| Magdalena Fincho | | 1 |
| Pablo Chargadi, married to | 1 | |
| Magdalena Aiao, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| María Isabel Monanghilo | | 1 |
| Tomás Achaigua, married to | 1 | |
| Margarita Mangloña | | 1 |
| Domingo Tainini, married to | 1 | |
| Michaela Taisipic, with 3 sons: | | 1 |
| Hermenegildo Taifagao | 1 | |
| Manuel Napoña | 1 | |
| Basilio Charfaulus | 1 | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Rosalía Taitasi, widow, with 2 sons: | | 1 |
| Pedro Nolasco Tauacta | 1 | |
| Urbano Manacui | 1 | |
| Avaristo Sungot, married to | 1 | |
| Felipa Taimaulig, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Felipe Lorenzo Taihilon | 1 | |
| Antonio Apio, married to | 1 | |
| Juana Queosgui, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Lucas Chargualaf | 1 | |
| Eulalia Paasi | | 1 |
| Nicolas Taimanglo, married to | 1 | |
| Cecilia Taifagas, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Luciano Quehorgui [sic] | 1 | |
| Antonia Taimagong | | 1 |
| Leonora Taiagta | | 1 |
| Pedro Angi, married to | 1 | |
| Tomasa Ngiso, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Avaristo Chaguña | 1 | |
| Estevan Fasisma, married to | 1 | |
| Juana Tataho, with 2 sons: | | 1 |
| Marcelino Taimanglo | 1 | |
| Mariano Taifino | 1 | |
| José Fulu, married to | 1 | |
| Sinforosa Adufan, with 3 sons: | | 1 |
| José Nano | 1 | |
| Salvador Babaota | 1 | |
| Pedro Sungut | 1 | |
| Juan Bautista Mamyug, married to | 1 | |
| María de la Cruz | | 1 |
| María Mathatlii, widow with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| María Godongña | | 1 |
| Pedro Atao, orphan | 1 | |
| Adriano Faulosña, orphan | 1 | |
| María Taicano, widow | | 1 |
| Teodora Taitango, unmarried | | 1 |
| Manuel Qesalog, married to | 1 | |
| Isabel Taiguia, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| María de la Cruz | | 1 |
| Felipe Quedagua, married to | 1 | |
| Juana Itao, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Antonio Anam | 1 | |
| Esperanza Gualafiapina | | 1 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dimas Sungaota, orphan | 1 | |
| Dionisio Chardadi, married to | 1 | |
| Teresa Econgog, with 3 sons: | | 1 |
| Francisco Anga | 1 | |
| Feliciano Saguaña | 1 | |
| Rafael Agigi | 1 | |
| Bernardo Quegaga, orphan | 1 | |
| Pablo Charsaga, orphan | 1 | |
| Francisco Sungao, married to | 1 | |
| María Egege, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Francisco de Borja | 1 | |
| Luis Queforge | 1 | |
| Maria Lumen Godongña | | 1 |
| Francisco Diego Taihilo, orphan | 1 | |
| María Alo, widow, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| María Unanay | | 1 |
| Francisco Borja Pinaola, married to | 1 | |
| María Ogogta, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Francisco de Borja Pinaola | 1 | |
| Rosa Chalaña | | 1 |
| Pablo Afachit, unmarried | 1 | |
| Estevan Taipargui, married to | 1 | |
| María Mamigi | | 1 |
| Lázaro Lahi, orphan | 1 | |
| Catalina Efago, widow, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Fernando Taiadingan | 1 | |
| Luis Tauacta, married to | 1 | |
| Victoria Manhosmi | | 1 |
| Estanislao Quesogon, married to | 1 | |
| Barbara Tadmoulig, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| Valeria Sipioña | | 1 |
| María Aisi, widow, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Bernardo Pingaoña | 1 | |
| Bernarda Lulugta | | 1 |
| Juana Nomta, widow | | 1 |
| Rosa Naion, widow | | 1 |
| Estevan Quetogua, married to | 1 | |
| Teresa Lañgit Humasña, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| María Mahosmi | | 1 |
| Santiago Quedagua, married to | 1 | |
| Rosa Tayasi, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Julian Quedagua | 1 | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Julian Quedagua | 1 | |
| Pedro Nadedoc, married to | 1 | |
| Francisca Josepha Rodriguez | | 1 |
| José Rodriguez Charguihot, married to | 1 | |
| Catalina Maigi, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Marcelo Taimanglo | 1 | |
| Isabel Saluo | | 1 |
| Francisca Hologña | | 1 |
| Francisco Suñgaolaian, widower, with 1 son: | 1 | |
| Francisco Tupacña | 1 | |
| Bernardo Tadhahi, married to | 1 | |
| María Simacña, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Eleuterio Etongo | 1 | |
| Simon Pingaoña | 1 | |
| Eulalia Chonaña | | 1 |
| José Anano, married to | 1 | |
| Ursula Agmagege, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Guillermo Queponomanglo | 1 | |
| Teodoria Sipacña | | 1 |
| Damianm Quedachay, married to | 1 | |
| Teresa Laigña, with 5 children: | | 1 |
| Miguel Tauacta | 1 | |
| Mariano Alao | 1 | |
| Salvador Babaota | 1 | |
| Francisca Yuña | | 1 |
| Dominga Pascuala Husmaña | | 1 |
| Ignacio Aquiningog, married to | 1 | |
| María Quetaca, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Gaspar Guisestano | 1 | |
| María Hanumlaian | | 1 |
| María Edi, widow, with 2 sons: | | 1 |
| Juan Elo | 1 | |
| Domingo Lafña | 1 | |
| Pedro Sofaimanglo, married to | 1 | |
| María Onaan, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| Rosalia Chatia | | 1 |
| Andrés Taigachong | 1 | |
| Inés Mamsangan, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Felipe Taitichong | 1 | |
| Tiburcio Tagaña | 1 | |
| Jochin Taisagua | 1 | |
| María Paula Tapangña | | 1 |

| | | |
|---|-----|-----|
| Anselmo Fahalong, married to | 1 | |
| Catalina Samatña | | 1 |
| Angela Taicaya, widow | | 1 |
| Michaela Figam, widow, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Tadeo Fedhelig | 1 | |
| Ignacio Mangnaan | 1 | |
| Juan Taolahe | 1 | |
| Tomasa Mafngingin | | 1 |
| Balthasar Guehelo, orphan | 1 | |
| Nicolas Haliman, orphan | 1 | |
| Ursula Maadi, widow, with 2 borthers: | | 1 |
| Cipriano Sungaota | 1 | |
| Felix Taitiguir | 1 | |
| José Taihilo, married to | 1 | |
| María Laguna, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| María Adofan | | 1 |
| Augustin Taticho, widower | 1 | |
| Tomás Achaigua, orphan | 1 | |
| Dionisio Chargualaf, widower | 1 | |
| Francisco Xavier Taitano, married to | 1 | |
| Gabriela Samaiña | | 1 |
| Lucia Talelan, widow | | 1 |
| Teresa Chonay, widow | | 1 |
| Luís Chargati, married to | 1 | |
| Ursula Mangi, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Mauricio Aguon | 1 | |
| José Chatanas, married to | 1 | |
| Isabel Guidong, with 3 sons: | | 1 |
| Gu [sic] Manfnas [sic] | 1 | |
| Marcos Sofaimanglo | 1 | |
| Juan Nepomuceno Charfaulus | 1 | |
| Pedro Quedagua, married to | 1 | |
| Catalina Mahosmi, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Anselmo Tinoña | 1 | |
| | --- | --- |
| [Sub-total:] ¹ | 134 | 108 |
| | === | === |

...

¹ Ed. note: One man is missing from this list.

1758 Census, continued

Visitation and enumeration of the natives of the town of Umata.

In the Town of Umata, on the 1st of April 1758...

| | Male | Female |
|--|------|--------|
| Master-of-camp Nicolas Taisiyo, married to | 1 | |
| Rosa Timaagangi, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Juan Taisiyo | 1 | |
| José Taisiyo | 1 | |
| María Taisiyo | | 1 |
| Magdalena Taisiyo | | 1 |
| Rosa Facay, widow | | 1 |
| Sergeant-Major Leon Guasaan, married to | 1 | |
| María Francisca Ati, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Leon Taitiguan | 1 | |
| María Samaiña | | 1 |
| Angela Hipa, widow | | 1 |
| Captain Juan Taisinon, married to | 1 | |
| Inés Mafatagui, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Mariano Taisinun [sic] | 1 | |
| Mariano Babaota | 1 | |
| María Taisinun | | 1 |
| María Maulegña, widow | | 1 |
| Adjutant Pedro Nasi, married to | 1 | |
| Josepha Ago | | 1 |
| Master-of-camp Luis Guguan, married to | 1 | |
| Tomasa Abang, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Ignacio Charguiya | 1 | |
| Josepha Tayigú | | 1 |
| Master-of-camp Fernando Fafa, widower, with 1 son: | 1 | |
| Manuel Fafa | 1 | |
| Francisco Nahagong, Fiscal, widower | 1 | |
| Master-of-camp Juan Taiaie, married to | 1 | |
| Eduarda Naichong, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Salvador Tahaye [sic] | 1 | |
| Master-of-camp Felix Iso, married to | 1 | |
| María Huguyay | | 1 |
| María Taysingon, widow | | 1 |
| Captain Juan Bautista Taitichong, Fiscal, married to | 1 | |
| Beatriz Ningaña, with 2 children: | | 1 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Domingo Taichagui | 1 | |
| Josepha Masalata | | 1 |
| Captain Leon Fahalang, married to | 1 | |
| María Quidii, with 6 children: | | 1 |
| Leon Taipila | 1 | |
| Juan Pogsaiña | 1 | |
| Francisco Qesalao | 1 | |
| María Samaiña | | 1 |
| Pascuala Manfaisin | | 1 |
| Teresa Manfaisin | | 1 |
| Captain Francisco Abi, married to | 1 | |
| María Ngonho | | 1 |
| Captain Ignacio Taisagui, married to | 1 | |
| Ignacia Agmangog, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Francisco Hosngi | 1 | |
| Gaspar Polosña | 1 | |
| María Tadsamay | | 1 |
| Dominga Gaolitao | | 1 |
| Felipa Asa, widow | | 1 |
| Adjutant Francisco Gofsagua, married to | 1 | |
| María Rosa Finoho, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Ignacio Taitiguan | 1 | |
| Adjutant Dimas Nasaiao, married to | 1 | |
| Juana Quegi, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Leonardo Taitiguan | 1 | |
| María Susana Gofmatanmiyu | | 1 |
| Augustina Pulele | | 1 |
| Catalina Neclang, widow | | 1 |
| Adjutant Geminiano Catlahi, married to | 1 | |
| Juana Quegi, with 3 sons: | | 1 |
| Francisco Manfaisin | 1 | |
| Estanislao Francisco Aologlagua | 1 | |
| Manuel Chatlahi | 1 | |
| Lorenzo Yohe, married to | 1 | |
| Teresa Mampangan, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Juan Quetaca | 1 | |
| Jochin Nangaota, married to | 1 | |
| Nicolasa Mangingin, with 2 daughters: | | 1 |
| María Machatli | | 1 |
| María Lumen Taihimas | | 1 |
| Inés Taipati, widow | | 1 |
| Gaspar Gofsagua, married to | 1 | |

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|
| María Tailagua, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Francisco Samaclahi | 1 | |
| María Samaiña | | 1 |
| Pedro Ocoy, married to | 1 | |
| Isabel Quetaca | | 1 |
| Domingo Chatlahe, married to | 1 | |
| Francisca Machatlii | | 1 |
| José Asa, married to | 1 | |
| Teesa Taipilan | | 1 |
| Leon Mafnas, married to | 1 | |
| Lucia Mangi | | 1 |
| Geronimo Chargualaf, married to | 1 | |
| Teresa Manfaisin, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Pedro Chargualaf | 1 | |
| Pablo Taininago, married to | 1 | |
| Lucia Ipa | | 1 |
| Luis Qesalog, married to | 1 | |
| Catalina Angan | | 1 |
| Estanislao Ito, married to | 1 | |
| Inés Taigima, with 2 sons: | | 1 |
| José Taigachong | 1 | |
| Mariano Xavier Quitutup | 1 | |
| José Quetalo, married to | 1 | |
| María Alvarez | | 1 |
| Francisco Chagiaña, married to | 1 | |
| María Qesamaiña, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Francisco Nolaho | 1 | |
| Dionisio Hamahi, widower, with 1 son: | 1 | |
| Angel Ano | 1 | |
| Dionisio Quepaoha, married to | 1 | |
| Josepha Naholo, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Nicolas Taisiyo | 1 | |
| Simon Taisigui, unmarried | 1 | |
| Miguel Faña, married to | 1 | |
| Ignacia Mami, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Ignacio Gofsagua | 1 | |
| Pablo Taigachong | 1 | |
| Ambrosio Fegorgor | 1 | |
| Dionisia Taigachong | | 1 |
| Dionisio Singoña, married to | 1 | |
| María Ayag | | 1 |
| Lucia Angan, widow | | 1 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ambrosio Gofhigam, married to | 1 | |
| Manuela Mafngingin, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| Teresa Angela mahosmi | | 1 |
| María Angela Namahongog, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Dionisio Leon Taiacomhom | 1 | |
| Ursula Aganhi, widow | | 1 |
| Augustin Taitiguan, married to | 1 | |
| Rosa Tadmaulig, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| José Taiacomhom | 1 | |
| Tomasa Taimagtas, widow | | 1 |
| María Taitingo, widow, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Alberto Taitiguan | 1 | |
| Francisco Pacheco | 1 | |
| Teresa Taichilo | | 1 |
| Lucia Fachalig | | 1 |
| Estevan Taliña, married to | 1 | |
| Michaela Taimangi | | 1 |
| Lucia Afataimano, widow, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| María Rosa Samaimami | | 1 |
| Francisco Aye, married to | 1 | |
| María Mansoon, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Luis Tangmegui | 1 | |
| María Tadtaotao | | 1 |
| Josepha Tadtaotao | | 1 |
| Bartolomé de la Cruz Ani, married to | 1 | |
| Petronila Maanganiyo | | 1 |
| Juan Baay, married to | 1 | |
| Teresa Mantago, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Francisco Quetaca | 1 | |
| María Eduarda Naoson | | 1 |
| Pablo Enen, married to | 1 | |
| Michaela Taotao, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Mariano Tailagua | 1 | |
| María Taihefa, widow, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Lorenzo Nasayof | 1 | |
| Juan Aasiña | 1 | |
| María Guaritao | | 1 |
| María Rosa Benedicta Nagorg | | 1 |
| Lucia machargui, orphan | | 1 |
| Casilda Tadguimeholo, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Felix Maguadoc | 1 | |
| José Namigay | 1 | |

| | | |
|---|------|------|
| María Rosa Nachataan | | 1 |
| Luis Taitiguan | 1 | |
| Catalina Doso, widow, with 2 grandsons: | | 1 |
| Felix Taitiguan | 1 | |
| Miguel Quesalog | 1 | |
| | --- | --- |
| [Sub-total:] ¹ | 87 | 80 |
| | ==== | ==== |

...

Visitation and enumeration of the natives of the district of Meriso.

In the District of Meriso, on the 4th of April 1758...

| | Male | Female |
|--|------|--------|
| Master-of-camp Casimiro Agiguan, married to | 1 | |
| Mariana Naiayoao, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Antonio Quegacha | 1 | |
| Anselmo Tailagua | 1 | |
| Gregorio Aguiguan | 1 | |
| Teresa Quetaca | | 1 |
| Sergeant-Major Estevan Taimanglo, married to | 1 | |
| Merenciana Manoga, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Francisco Saguanamnam | 1 | |
| Antonio Fachalong | 1 | |
| Petrona Manfaisin | | 1 |
| Captain Santiago Mansapit, married to | 1 | |
| Teresa Faasi | | 1 |
| Isabel Mampagat, widow, with 5 children: | | 1 |
| Jorge Taitiguan | 1 | |
| Teodoro Matanani | 1 | |
| Mariano Tatguaha | 1 | |
| Pascuala Faasi | | 1 |
| María Sipigña | | 1 |
| Adjutant Francisco Etagui, married to | 1 | |
| Juana Manuela Adofan, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Juan Francisco Etagui | 1 | |
| Isabel Inés Fetangis | | 1 |
| María Inés Faasi | | 1 |
| Master-of-camp Pablo Guasa, married to | 1 | |
| Monica Dominga, with 2 sons: | | 1 |
| Juan Isidoro Lumucababaoña | 1 | |

¹ Ed. note: One peson was assigned the wrong sex, but there is still one man missing from this list.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Francisco Macbo | 1 | |
| Master-of-camp Teodoro Acongog, married to | 1 | |
| María Taininanti, with 4 [rather 5] children: | | 1 |
| Miguel Acongog | 1 | |
| Francisco Xavier Acongog | 1 | |
| María Acongog | | 1 |
| María Lumen Acongog | | 1 |
| Sergeant-Major Pascual Maasi, married to | 1 | |
| María Mampagat | | 1 |
| Cecilia Quidij [sic], widow | | 1 |
| Captain Pedro Dudu, married to | 1 | |
| Monica Pulele, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Pascual Chaagam | 1 | |
| Teresa Humasña | | 1 |
| Captain Estevan Tasmanglo, married to | 1 | |
| María Taisamay, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Juan Tanoña | 1 | |
| Gregorio Taicano | 1 | |
| Gabriel Adimanglo | 1 | |
| María Quidij | | 1 |
| Capitan Juan Enon, married to | 1 | |
| Tomasa Tadngaña, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Pedro Pascual Quenaan | 1 | |
| Captain Diego Quechogui, married to | 1 | |
| María Taimagong | | 1 |
| Abundancia Duda, widow | | 1 |
| Captain Gabriel Tayhilo, married to | 1 | |
| Potenciana Taiasi, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| María Mamsangan | | 1 |
| Juan Nahagong, Fiscal, married to | 1 | |
| Victoria Ngiso, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Dionisio Tadfaye | 1 | |
| Luis Antonio Faragoña, married to | 1 | |
| María Nagorgor, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Francisco Taitiguan | 1 | |
| Dominga Saguataotao, widow, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Francisco Borja Taypinto | 1 | |
| Placido Mantago, married to | 1 | |
| Pascuala Tadmaulig, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Felix Sagaye | 1 | |
| Diego Nalahe, married to | 1 | |
| María Angela, with 2 children: | | 1 |

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|
| Tomás Aliyao | 1 | |
| María Teresa Sabalo | | 1 |
| Juan Charsaga, married to | 1 | |
| Inés Taitingo, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Estevan Mariano Babaoña | 1 | |
| Estevan Babaoña | 1 | |
| Francisco Matanani | 1 | |
| María Inés Taitingo | | 1 |
| Salvador Laihilon, Fiscal, married to | 1 | |
| Violata Comemaulig, with 3 sons: | | 1 |
| Francisco Queagon | 1 | |
| Luis Nasaiao | 1 | |
| Luis Etagui | 1 | |
| Francisco Queago, orphan | 1 | |
| Feliciano Agong, widow | | 1 |
| Pascual Ogo, married to | 1 | |
| Tomasa Nalamsa, with 2 sons: | | 1 |
| Diego Sebastian Fegorgor | 1 | |
| Gregorio Láazaro Nasaiao | 1 | |
| Augustina Taichilo, widow | | 1 |
| Francisco Mamafo, married to | 1 | |
| Teresa Matanmalologña, with 2 sons: | | 1 |
| Juan Chatmimo | 1 | |
| Augustin Napoña | 1 | |
| Mariano Nagorgor, married to | 1 | |
| Petronila Fegorgor, with 2 sons: | | 1 |
| Salvador Taiacomhom | 1 | |
| Feliciano Chathigam | 1 | |
| María Faasi, widow | | 1 |
| Antonio Tahayi, married to | 1 | |
| Rosalía Machatlif, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Pascual Huguyay | 1 | |
| Dionisia Oma | | 1 |
| Fernando Fegorgor, married to | 1 | |
| Dominga Taisipig, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Bartolomé Fegorgor | 1 | |
| Pablo Finoña, married to | 1 | |
| Josepha Faasi | | 1 |
| Petronila Mamsangan, widow | | 1 |
| Estevan Queama, orphan | 1 | |
| José Fesongao, orphan | 1 | |
| Tomás Taisagui, orphan | 1 | |

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| María Tosan, orphan | | 1 |
| Jorge Haque, married to | 1 | |
| María Noho, with 2 daughters: | | 1 |
| María Taitingo | | 1 |
| Isabel Godongña | | 1 |
| Carlos Hiugua, married to | 1 | |
| María Laguna, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Pedro Taylago | 1 | |
| Augustin Syagña | 1 | |
| Mariano Lahinsangan | 1 | |
| María Nalamasa | | 1 |
| Antonina Taichilo, widow | | 1 |
| Pedro Gofsagua, married to | 1 | |
| Leocadia Mantongo, with 3 sons: | | 1 |
| Angel Taihilom | 1 | |
| Juan Aboglagua | 1 | |
| Mariano Gualafña | 1 | |
| Antonio Quinini, married to | 1 | |
| Ignacia Adofan, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Ignacio Crispin Latiguan | 1 | |
| María Victoria Manfaisin | | 1 |
| Gregorio Topasña, married to | 1 | |
| Mariana Taispig | | 1 |
| José Chargualaf, married to | 1 | |
| Rosa Mamyngin, with 3 sons: | | 1 |
| Juan Adimanglo | 1 | |
| Juan Santiago Afolomaglo | 1 | |
| Domingo Santiago Mahogña | 1 | |
| Antonio Taiminga, married to | 1 | |
| María Taitichong, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Dimas Taifino | 1 | |
| Juan Matanani | 1 | |
| Leocadia Taimagof | | 1 |
| Leocadia Mamsangan, widow, with 3 daughters: | | 1 |
| Dominga Fahosguan | | 1 |
| María Manfaisin | | 1 |
| María Machatguiña | | 1 |
| Ignacio Naholo, married to | 1 | |
| Josepha Laguaña, with 2 daughters: | | 1 |
| María Rosalia Atoña | | 1 |
| Petronila Laguaña | | 1 |
| Pascuala Quesalog, widow | | 1 |

| | | |
|---|------|------|
| Alberto Quedagua, married to | 1 | |
| María Taitasi, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Pedro Pablo Taichilo | 1 | |
| Josepha Asala | | 1 |
| Juana Aoan, widow | | 1 |
| Pedro Gengo, married to | 1 | |
| Francisca Fatangisña, with 2 daughters: | | 1 |
| Eusebia Manfaisin | | 1 |
| Dominga Tayasi | | 1 |
| Pablo Tahilo, married to | 1 | |
| María Nalamsa | | 1 |
| Manuel Tinatico, married to | 1 | |
| Barbara Taisingon, with 3 sons: | | 1 |
| Andrés Taiacomhom | 1 | |
| Luis Fagiña | 1 | |
| Luis Antonio Taitiguan | 1 | |
| Pedro Ati, married to | 1 | |
| Casimira Manfata, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Luis Ati | 1 | |
| Felipe Nalaho, married to | 1 | |
| María Iña, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Juan José Mangloña | 1 | |
| María Rosa Taisipig, unmarried, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Juan José Sagaña | 1 | |
| José Antonio Infaña, married to | 1 | |
| Dominga Taitano | | 1 |
| Juan Tadpaogo, married to | 1 | |
| María Mangi, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| José Adingmanglo | 1 | |
| Casimira Manfaisin | | 1 |
| Francisco Agiguan, married to | 1 | |
| Ignacia Manfaisin | | 1 |
| Tomás Achaigua, married to | 1 | |
| Leocadia Faasi | | 1 |
| Gregorio Quetalo, married to | 1 | |
| María Itao | | 1 |
| María Taichilo, widow | | 1 |
| | ---- | --- |
| [Sub-total:] ¹ | 105 | 85 |
| | ==== | ==== |

1 Ed. note: There is a discrepancy of about 2 in this tally. Should be 104 male + 87(?) female.

Visitation and enumeration of the natives of the District of Ynarajan.

In said District of Meriso, on the 4th of April, ... His Lordship order the officers and Fiscals of the District of Inarajan to gather the natives thereof in that of Meriso to be counted ... in the presence of their Father Minister, in the following form and manner:

| | Male | Female |
|--|------|--------|
| Master-of-camp José Tiyac, married to | 1 | |
| Margarita Laguna, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| Josepha Mangi | | 1 |
| Sergeant-Majaor Martin Chatlahe, married to | 1 | |
| Francisca Taisingon | | 1 |
| Lucia Charge, widow | | 1 |
| Captain Andrés Magtos, widower | 1 | |
| Adjutant Dimas Piña, married to | 1 | |
| Ana Agua, with 2 daughters: | | 1 |
| María Gafo | | 1 |
| Manuela Susana Taitano | | 1 |
| Master-of-camp Raymundo Quedagua, married to | 1 | |
| Ana Laan, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Gregoria Mafnas | 1 | |
| Francisca Agmatagcon | | 1 |
| Margarita Taytingo | | 1 |
| María Asi | | 1 |
| Master-of-camp Lino Charguani, married to | 1 | |
| Isabel Nagorgor, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Andrés Charguani | 1 | |
| José Charguani | 1 | |
| Antonia Ingaña | | 1 |
| Antonia Tayimigi | | 1 |
| Sergeant-Major Juan Agsenton, Fiscal, married to | 1 | |
| Francisca Taichilo | | 1 |
| Ana Goftachoñgog, widow, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Ventura Taichagi | 1 | |
| Teresa Humasña, orphan | | 1 |
| Sergeant-Major Felipe Fecharang, married to | 1 | |
| María Pinatiña, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Domingo Hochocsipigña | 1 | |
| María Francisca Naiayoao | | 1 |
| José Hochoc Guafiña, orphan | 1 | |
| Sergeant-Major Pedro Nego, married to | 1 | |
| Antonia Taimagong, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Martin Hochocninago | 1 | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Martin Fegorgor | 1 | |
| María Manfaisin | | 1 |
| María Pintiña | | 1 |
| Francisca Margi, widow | | 1 |
| Captain Silvestre Oca, married to | 1 | |
| Francisca Haya | | 1 |
| Salvador Taitingo, orphan | 1 | |
| Pascual Hochocsipigña | 1 | |
| Lucia Tingoho, orphan | | 1 |
| Captain José Quitongico, married to | 1 | |
| Petronila Ogaga, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| María Lucia Mansangan | | 1 |
| Captain Felix Ninago, married to | 1 | |
| Ignacia Nimoho, with 2 sons: | | 1 |
| Juan Ninago | 1 | |
| José Taitano | 1 | |
| Captain Ignacio Chargima, widower, with 4 children: | 1 | |
| Francisca Gopotña | | 1 |
| Juan Tinihus | 1 | |
| José Nagorgor | 1 | |
| Antonio Taipidong | 1 | |
| Tadeo Miyaoho, Fiscal, married to | 1 | |
| María Mafanngoco, with 3 sons: | | 1 |
| Francisco Hocchocña | 1 | |
| Juan Crisostomo Guafiho | 1 | |
| Juan Miyaoho | 1 | |
| Pascual Ayig, Fiscal, married to | 1 | |
| Francisca Muña, with 5 children: | | 1 |
| Salvador Crescencio Tayguaha | 1 | |
| Francisca Xaviera Mantanano | | 1 |
| Teresa Saga | | 1 |
| María Mamaisa | | 1 |
| María Nineho | | 1 |
| Bernardo Faadi, married to | 1 | |
| Juana Taidilis | | 1 |
| María Yengoo, widow | | 1 |
| Eugenio Mafnas, orphan | 1 | |
| Casimiro Yagña, orphan | 1 | |
| María Samaiña, orphan | | 1 |
| Francisco Taihanon, widower, with 6 children: | 1 | |
| Pascual Taitingi | 1 | |
| Pascual Charguima | 1 | |

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|
| Pascual Pupung | 1 | |
| Teresa Maulegña | | 1 |
| Francisca Taimancha | | 1 |
| Francisca Fetangis | | 1 |
| Margarita Sinanganta, widow | | 1 |
| Pedro Funguña | 1 | |
| Estanislao Taigualo, married to | 1 | |
| Francisca Mansala, with 2 daughters: | | 1 |
| Petronila Quidilu | | 1 |
| Petronila Tadmahalong | | 1 |
| Manuel Taifiye, married to | 1 | |
| Francisca Taimamalo, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Dimas Taifalac | 1 | |
| Lucia Quidij | | 1 |
| Salvador Babaota, orphan | 1 | |
| Salvador Queguma, orphan | 1 | |
| José Magoffña, married to | 1 | |
| Francisca Eya | | 1 |
| Gregorio Quetachong, married to | 1 | |
| Catalina Tailiho, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Mariano Tailagua | 1 | |
| Margarita Fetangis | | 1 |
| Pedro Canaho, married to | 1 | |
| María Maulig, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| María Taitingo | | 1 |
| Pedro Chargiya, married to | 1 | |
| Lucia Angog, with 2 sons: | | 1 |
| Santiago Tadaogo | 1 | |
| Ignacio Chatgaia | 1 | |
| Augustin Mantanoña, orphan | 1 | |
| Gaspar Taisigo, married to | 1 | |
| Barbara Amai | | 1 |
| Ignacio Taisipig, married to | 1 | |
| Paulina Liyu | | 1 |
| Pedro Nahagua, married to | 1 | |
| Isabel Taiguidung, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Juan Ninati | 1 | |
| Francisco Chadfaulus | 1 | |
| Catalina Guaho | | 1 |
| Andrés Tagaña, orphan | 1 | |
| José Aman, married to | 1 | |
| Tomasa Godo, with 2 sons: | | 1 |

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| Francisco Taliña | 1 | |
| Diego Higamña | 1 | |
| Francisca Quegaga, orphan | | 1 |
| Manuel Chaguiña, married to | 1 | |
| Lucia Unaan | | 1 |
| Domingo Antonio Tailagua, married to | 1 | |
| Isabel Queegue | | 1 |
| Francisco Umluyo, married to | 1 | |
| Tecla Quetaca, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Sebastian Alo | 1 | |
| Genoveva Charguion | | 1 |
| Lucia Taitingo | | 1 |
| Catalina Chalan, widow, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| María Mansangan | | 1 |
| Tomasa Masomti, widow, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Martin Taiticho | 1 | |
| María Nagorgor | | 1 |
| Francisca Tipagna, widow, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Juan de la Cruz Finoña | 1 | |
| Juan Taipilo | 1 | |
| Ignacia Goftalij | | 1 |
| Tecla Nagorgor, orphan | | 1 |
| Norberto Taypili, married to | 1 | |
| Francisca Manfaysinho | | 1 |
| Ignacio Tailayag, married to | 1 | |
| Augustina Machatlij, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Felix Taitiguan | 1 | |
| Francisca Tingcaña | | 1 |
| Andrés Mimo, married to | 1 | |
| Inés Naye, with 7 sons: | | 1 |
| Melchor Sipigña | 1 | |
| Juan Unagña | 1 | |
| Rafael Taitano | 1 | |
| Juan Tagaña | 1 | |
| Miguel Catfaulus | 1 | |
| Mariano Gofsagua | 1 | |
| Dionisio Namaasi | 1 | |
| Tomás Taysangan, married to | 1 | |
| Barbara Nimpoco, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Pedro Gofsagua | 1 | |
| Domingo Naloho, married to | 1 | |
| Francisca Godongña, with 3 children: | | 1 |

| | | |
|--|------|-----|
| Lino Chargualaf | 1 | |
| Lino Chatsagua | 1 | |
| Felipa Antonia Manlij | | 1 |
| Francisca Chatsagua, widow, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| María Talij | | 1 |
| Martin Naputi, orphan | 1 | |
| José Agtano, orphan | 1 | |
| Josepha Unaan, orphan | | 1 |
| José Fahalang, married to | 1 | |
| Josepha Ano, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Dionisio Nagorgor | 1 | |
| Felipe Bana, married to | 1 | |
| Ignacia Tipu, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Felipe Ninati | 1 | |
| Francisca Manayi | | 1 |
| Francisca Fachalig | | 1 |
| Salvador Hilo, married to | 1 | |
| Ana Tayasi | | 1 |
| Francisco Taytargui, married to | 1 | |
| María Mangongog, with 2 daughters: | | 1 |
| Francisca Tagaña | | 1 |
| Barbara Agua | | 1 |
| Francisco Elilahe, widower, with 1 son: | 1 | |
| José Hochochigamña | 1 | |
| María Gamami, widow, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| José Guihot | 1 | |
| Francisca Agmataga | | 1 |
| Rosa Fachalig | | 1 |
| | ---- | --- |
| [Sub-total:] ¹ | 101 | 89 |
| | === | == |

...

1 Ed. note: Tally is correct, but 3 persons as wrong sex. Should be 98 male + 92 female.

Visitation and enumeration of the natives of the Island of Rota.

In the Town of Umata, on the 26th of May 1758, His Lordship General Andrés del Barrio y Rabago, Governor and Lieutenant of Captain General for H.M. of these Mariana Islands, for the pursuance of the Visitation and Enumeration ordered by his above-mentioned decree of 7 January of this year, which appears at the beginning of this file, on account of the disadvantage of travelling to the Island of Rota, because of necessary obligations of the Royal service in this Capital, ordered Captain Antonio de los Rios, Mayor of said Island to carry out the census of its natives.

And, he having carried it out, and remitted it, His Lordship ordered that it be copied below, in the following form and manner:

| Village of Sosanrago | Male | Female |
|---|------|--------|
| Master-of-camp General Sebastian Emi, married to Nicolasa Godongña, with 2 sons: | 1 | 1 |
| Ignacio Metengot | 1 | |
| Ambrosio Chosongña | 1 | |
| Master-of-camp Santiago Quiconay, married to Isabel Duquen, with 7 children: | 1 | 1 |
| Estanislao Amam | 1 | |
| Pedro Angel Quicanay | 1 | |
| Mariano Inaganta | 1 | |
| María Ana Dama | | 1 |
| María Rafaela Mamuranta | | 1 |
| María Manuela | | 1 |
| María Migaiña | | 1 |
| Captain Santiago Sanga, married to María Crecencia Mangugiuta, with 1 son: | 1 | 1 |
| Mariano Quitalaf | 1 | |
| Adjutant Ignacio Tayquinini, married to Rosalia Mangui, with 3 sons: | 1 | 1 |
| Francisco de Borja Taimañao | 1 | |
| Ignacio Orpus | 1 | |
| Miguel Mariano | 1 | |
| Master-of-camp Miguel matanani, married to Simforosa Pinatguan | 1 | 1 |
| Alonso Sangan, Fiscal, married to María Agong, with 2 daughters: | 1 | 1 |
| María Maina | | 1 |
| María Faraguonta | | 1 |
| Domingo Dahi, unmarried | 1 | |
| Salvador Aani, married to María Tayasi, with 1 daughter: | 1 | 1 |

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| María Matangsi | | 1 |
| Ignacio Sangi, married to | 1 | |
| Paulina Mamaisa | | 1 |
| Rosa Atanao, widow | | 1 |
| Pedro Elamin, married to | 1 | |
| María Danga | | 1 |
| María Mataya, widow, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Salvador Angoco | 1 | |
| Antonio Satguas, unmarried | 1 | |
| Francisco Anano, married to | 1 | |
| María Nanagota, with 3 sons: | | 1 |
| Vicente Hongi | 1 | |
| Silvestre Quitaro | 1 | |
| Felipe Mariano | 1 | |
| Segismundo Quiara, married to | 1 | |
| Cresencia Quitaca | | 1 |
| Dominga Nanga, unmarried | | 1 |
| José Chatgabit, married to | 1 | |
| Isabel Amactuis, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| María Dominga Lihinta | | 1 |
| Marcos Ineñao, married to | 1 | |
| María Dagua | | 1 |
| Village of Liouy¹ | | |
| Felipe Antonio Samailahi, married to | 1 | |
| Gabriela Fetangis | | 1 |
| Juan Bautista Emili, unmarried | 1 | |
| Antonia Dionisia Pintoña, unmarried | | 1 |
| Francisco Xavier Chuguaham, married to | 1 | |
| Ana Mamsangan | | 1 |
| Augustin Iyu, unmarried | 1 | |
| Sebastiana Ago, widow | | 1 |
| Lucia Taitingo, widow | | 1 |
| María Edi, unmarried | | 1 |
| José Ebbu, married to | 1 | |
| Dionisia Mamsangan, with 2 sons: | | 1 |
| Francisco Xavier Ocarman | 1 | |
| Pedro Angel Mamarao | 1 | |

¹ Ed. note: This village, and that of Miring below, were located north of Sosanrago along the west coast of the peninsula. They are now listed as Liyo, and Miling, in Bryan's Place Names, under MI 14-39b.

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| Antonio Malala, married to | 1 | |
| Teresa Niho | | 1 |
| Domingo Maañao, married to | 1 | |
| María Goffaurosta, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| María Guinagauta | | 1 |
| Margarita Eon, widow | | 1 |
| Lorenzo Matanani, married to | 1 | |
| Apolonia Taipingot, with 3 sons: | | 1 |
| Isidro Apatang | 1 | |
| Mauricio Finoña | 1 | |
| Domingo Minaulig | 1 | |
| Ambrosio Chatsagua, married to | 1 | |
| María Francisca Esa, with 2 daughters: | | 1 |
| María Angela | | 1 |
| María Juana Inaganta | | 1 |

Village of Miring

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| Mariano Quatagi, Fiscal, married to | 1 | |
| Rosa Peña, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Juan mariano Mamña | 1 | |
| María Joachina Sinsayna | | 1 |
| María Manaryoyota | | 1 |
| Francisca Xaviera Minagaata | | 1 |
| Juan Crisostomo de la Cruz, married to | 1 | |
| Petronila Paula, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Crisostomo Inanganta | 1 | |
| Ignacio de la Cruz | 1 | |
| Teodora masaganta | | 1 |
| Marcela de la Cruz | | 1 |
| Bruno Taitano, married to | 1 | |
| Rosa Máharang | | 1 |
| Edmundo Feañaota, married to | 1 | |
| Petronila Aduca, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| Rosa Queleleg | | 1 |
| Luis Matanani, married to | 1 | |
| Rosalía Quisquina | | 1 |
| Pedro Egigam, married to | 1 | |
| Mariana Dungña, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Pedro José Chapagon | 1 | |
| Teresa Dida, widow | | 1 |
| Tomás Taga, married to | 1 | |
| María Josepha de la Cruz | | 1 |

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| Dorotea de la Cruz, widow | | 1 |
| Ignacio de la Cruz, married to | 1 | |
| Juana Eta, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Mariano de la Cruz Fangononan | 1 | |
| Rosa Hinaromta | | 1 |
| Isabel Eleg | | 1 |
| Dominga Ignacia Matanani | | 1 |
| Mariano Matantaotao, married to | 1 | |
| Dorotea Osgi, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Mariano Minegofta | 1 | |
| María Susana Maulegña | | 1 |
| Gregorio Apaquin, widower, with 1 daughter: | 1 | |
| María Dominga Masahi | | 1 |
| Teresa Emerao, widow | | 1 |
| Francisco Galibig, married to | 1 | |
| Damiana Maanot, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Francisco Manuel Menegofta | 1 | |
| Juan de Dios Mafnas, married to | 1 | |
| Asela Gata, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Francisco Xavier Ayuyu | 1 | |
| Juan Nepomuceno Felix, married to | 1 | |
| Teresa Alami | | 1 |
| Pedro Ano, married to | 1 | |
| Catalina de la Cruz | | 1 |
| Domingo Soo, married to | 1 | |
| María Meque | | 1 |
| Martin Inus, married to | 1 | |
| Michaela Mamsele, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Pascual Anongui | 1 | |
| Joseph[a] Itutup | | 1 |
| Ignacia Hanumta, unmarried, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| Juan Feañaote | 1 | |
| Mariano Danglon | 1 | |
| Barbara Gofsaina | | 1 |
| María Lago | | 1 |
| María Taij, unmarried, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Ignacio Malulug | 1 | |
| Teresa Tola | | 1 |
| María Tia | | 1 |
| Ignacio Mohi, married to | 1 | |
| María Nayaoyao, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Domingo Soo | 1 | |

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|
| Arsela Agnes Mahosmi | | 1 |
| Julian Afsan, married to | 1 | |
| Teresa Maasiña, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Francisco de Borja Chanaij | 1 | |
| Maria Paulina Minauligña | | 1 |
| Maria Candida | | 1 |
| Felipe Mangocña, married to | 1 | |
| María Tugut | | 1 |
| Francisco Xavier Taimañao, married to | 1 | |
| María Fesamay, with 2 children: | | 1 |
| Francisco Guagudung | 1 | |
| Maria Simforosa Anay | | 1 |
| Juan Armagi, married to | 1 | |
| Juana Matanga, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Antonio Estevan Armagi | 1 | |

Village of Sosamhaia

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| Juan Unaan, Fiscal, married to | 1 | |
| Brigida Guoha, with 5 children: | | 1 |
| Francisco Angel Tetlumohi | 1 | |
| María Teresa Manguguahon | | 1 |
| María Susana Hulota | | 1 |
| Juana Lihinta | | 1 |
| Rosa Taimaulig | | 1 |
| Bartolomé Danglon, married to | 1 | |
| Teresa Atagui, with 5 children: | | 1 |
| Pedro Pablo Danglon | 1 | |
| Crescencio Minegof | 1 | |
| María Chatpauña | | 1 |
| Regina Mananita | | 1 |
| Juan Bautista Malulug, married to | 1 | |
| María Iña | | 1 |
| Alonso Soon, ¹ married to | 1 | |
| María Nona, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| Isabel Naña | | 1 |
| Nicolas Afi, married to | 1 | |
| Isabel Guatapang, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Salvador Fangononan | 1 | |
| Simon Masga, married to | 1 | |

¹ Ed. note: Same name as a famous Chamorro chief of 80 years earlier (see HM7). Pronounced So-on.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| María Moyi, with 1 son: | | 1 |
| Tomás Matanani | 1 | |
| Manuel Finosongsong, married to | 1 | |
| María Dama, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| María Francisca Lasza | | 1 |
| Francisco Antonio Encheng, married to | 1 | |
| Juliana Genegaota | | 1 |
| Angel Aguas, married to | 1 | |
| María Guegay | | 1 |
| María Xaviera Gata, widow, with 4 children: | | 1 |
| José Aguiod | 1 | |
| María Tarsila Casgui | | 1 |
| Gabriela Emay | | 1 |
| María Mamaraota | | 1 |
| María Haya, widow, with 1 daughter: | | 1 |
| Teresa Maasi | | 1 |
| Lorenzo Achagui, married to | 1 | |
| Rosalía Lami | | 1 |
| Sebastian magogui, married to | 1 | |
| Isabel Nanong, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Gabriel Nunio | 1 | |
| Gualberto Taisacan | 1 | |
| María Ignacia Piniti | | 1 |
| Juan Songao, married to | 1 | |
| Teresa Tia, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Miguel Taguiña | 1 | |
| Juan Mariano Domingo | 1 | |
| Rosa Elena Tia | | 1 |
| Salvador Anafo, married to | 1 | |
| María Manuela Lami | | 1 |
| Miguel Ugo, married to | 1 | |
| Francisca Maasi, with 5 children: | | 1 |
| José Estevan Anaogñan | 1 | |
| Borja Ogu | 1 | |
| Pablo de los Reyes | 1 | |
| Juan Bautista Espinosa | 1 | |
| Pedro Pablo Aniti, married to | 1 | |
| Francisca Selege, with 7 children: | | 1 |
| Juan Ocarman | 1 | |
| Miguel Achiyai | 1 | |
| Francisco de Borja Minisgon | 1 | |
| Bruno Atalig | 1 | |

| | | |
|-------------------------------------|------|------|
| Mariano Minsgon | 1 | |
| María Cecilia Selege | | 1 |
| Rosalía Angongoo | | 1 |
| Salvador Nineta, married to | 1 | |
| Teodora Gabi, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| Miguel Chorongña | 1 | |
| Juan Bautista Ninonita | 1 | |
| Dominga Mamanoc | | 1 |
| Sebastian Bandan, married to | 1 | |
| Juana Tota, with 3 children: | | 1 |
| José Afan | 1 | |
| Antonio Orpus | 1 | |
| Pascuala Ginegacta | | 1 |
| Francisco Xavier Sorgua, married to | 1 | |
| Rosa Tia | | 1 |
| | ---- | ---- |
| [Sub-total:] ¹ | 122 | 122 |
| | ==== | ==== |

...

It is a copy of the original that is kept in the Archive of this Administration and War Office under my care...

San Ignacio of Agaña, 6 June 1758.

Jorge Eduardo del Castillo,
Secretary for Administration and War.

...

Copy made in the City of Manila, 6 May 1759.

José Gomez de Cervantes.

¹ Ed. note: There are 2 men missing from this list. The grand total for Guam and Rota is 2,711 inhabitants, as shown in the summary table below. The small errors came from the list havng been copied 2-3 times.

1758 Census.—Summary table.

Summary table of the number of soldiers serving in the garrison of the Mariana Islands, and of the people inhabiting the City, Town, and Villages therein, as a result of the Visitation and Enumeration made by General Andrés del Barrio y Rabago, Governor and Lieutenant of Captain-General of said Islands on behalf of His Majesty.

Year of 1758.

| City/Town/Villages | Soldiers | Spanish & Filipinos | Native Indians |
|--------------------|----------|---------------------|----------------|
| Agaña + Sta. Cruz | 170 | 830 | --- |
| Anigua | --- | --- | 130 |
| Monmong | --- | --- | 68 |
| Sinahaña | --- | --- | 142 |
| Asan | --- | --- | 86 |
| Tipungan | --- | --- | 35 |
| Apurquan | --- | --- | 74 |
| Pago | --- | --- | 143 |
| Agat | --- | --- | 242 |
| Umata | --- | --- | 167 |
| Merizo | --- | --- | 190 |
| Inarajan | --- | --- | 190 |
| Rota I. | --- | --- | 244 |
| | 170 | 830 | 1,711 |

In the previous census of these Islands made in 1753 by Don Enrique de Olavide y Michelena, then Governor and Captain General of them on behalf of H.M., the number of inhabitants, of both sexes and of all ages, were: 2,714

At present, there are a total of 2,711

A decrease of 3 persons.

Actually, since that time, until the above-mentioned General Andrés del Barrio y Rabago took over this Government, the Natives have decreased by 84 individuals, and the Spanish and Filipinos have increased by 91.

Notes 1758C

A tempest in a teapot—The dispute between the Governor of Marianas and the Jesuits in 1758

Sources: Present location unknown; cited in AHN Clero Jesuitas, Legajo 891, doc. n° 1, folios 141 et seq. Note: The following documents were found among the papers seized from the Jesuits at Manila in 1769 by Judge Galvan.

C1. Letter from the Governor of the Marianas to Fr. Vice-Provincial, dated Agaña 12 September 1758

Contents: 1 page, or 1/2 folio, “sobre averle despachado dicho Governador ruego y encargo al Rector del Collegio de San Juan de Letran de aquellas Yslas, y este falló à la devida obligacion de la verdad, para que dicho Padre Vice Provincial haga dar la justa satisfaccion del agravio hecho a la Real Justicia.”

Translation: Regarding a summons that said Governor had sent to the Rector of the College of San Juan de Letrán of those Islands, but that said Rector has failed to tell the truth, so that said Father Vice-Provincial may rectify the harm done to the Royal justice.

C2. Letter from Fr. Wolfango Staimbelk [sic] to the Governor, dated Agaña 14 September 1758

Contents: 1 folio, “desculpandose a dicho Padre de averse cometido desacato contra la Real Justicia por el Padre Rector del Collegio de San Juan de Letran en la respuesta que dio al Ruego y encargo de dicho Governador de Marianas.”

Translation: Excusing said Father from having committed contempt toward the Royal justice by the Father Rector of the College of San Juan de Letrán in the answer he gave to the summons from the Governor of the Marianas.

C3. Letter from Governor of Marianas to Fr. Vice-Provincial, dated Agaña 14 December [rather September] 1758

Contents: 1/2 folio, “es contestacion a la inmediata del Padre Wolfango.”

Translation: In answer to the letter he had just received from Father Wolfango.

C4. Letter from Fr. Stainbeck to the Governor of the Marianas, dated Aña 14 September 1758

Contents: 1 folio, "en que se escusa dicho Padre de responder al ruego y encargo al Governador segun la norma respuesta que este le embio."

Translation: In which said Father excuses himself for answering the summons from said Governor in accordance with the standard form sent to him by said Governor.

C5. Another letter from Fr. Stainbeck to the Governor, dated 17 September 1758

Contents: 1 folio, "en que pide dicho Padre se borren las expreciones contra el Padre Rector del Collegio de San Juan de Letran de dichas Yslas puestas en el ruego y encargo arriba dicho, y en su defecto rezvia [sic = revisará?] su respuesta &c&c"

Translation: In which said Father requests that the expressions against the Father Rector of the College of San Juan de Letrán of said Islands be struck out from the above-mentioned summons, failing which he will revise his own answer, etc.

C6. Letter from Governor to Fr. Stainbeck, dated 18 September

Contents: 1/2 folio, "en que se expresa dicho Governador los agravios, que le han hecho, y lo señala y se conviene en quemar todos los papeles, por quitar motivos de Displicencia."

Translation: In which said Governor expresses the harm done to him, in detail, but he agrees to burn all of the papers, in order to remove the source of disagreement.

C7. Letter from Fr. Xavier Reitterberger to the Governor of the Marianas, dated Aña 16 October 1758

Contents: 1/2 folio, "sobre que le embie un Colegial, y un criado suyo, que havian hurtado unas alas [sic],¹ por cuio delito el Governador, los castigo con azotes, quejandose ser demasiada afrenta."

Translation: Requesting the return of a college boy, and one of his servants, who had stolen some valuables, for which crime the Governor had sentenced them to be whipped, complaining that such was too much of an affront.

C8. Letter from Governor to Fr. Reitterberger, 17 October

Contents: 1 folio, "en que le dice el delito que ha cometido el Colegial, y el sirviente; y el castigo, que les ha dado sin la tener necesidad de ello."

Translation: In which he tells him the crime committed by the college boy, and the servant, for which there was no need to punish them.

1 Ed. note: Probably "alas" (from the Spanish "alhajas") which meant turtle shell valuables in old Chamorro (see Scott Russell's *Tiempon I Manmofo'na*, pages 134(i) and 232).

**C9. Letter from Fr. Stainbeck to Fr. Provincial, dated Agaña 24
May 1759**

Contents: 19 pages, “en que le da un informe completo de los hechos del Gobernador de aquel Presidio contra los Padres.”

Translation: In which he gives him a complete report of the deeds of the Governor of that garrison against the Fathers.

Documents 1759A

Father Canicia left Spain to go to the Marianas

Sources: AGI Contratación 5550/1 (ex-45-2-7/10); copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 16, fol. 240-241 v, 247-248.

A1. Petitions by Fr. Altamirano and Fr. Torres

[Endorsement:] 1759.—Mission band of the Society of Jesus for the Province of San Ignacio in the Philippines.—Main Accounting Office of the House of Trade.

The mission band consists of 25 Religious (including 2 Coadjutors) who are part of a band of 58 granted by H.M. to the said Province by Royal Order dated 9 September 1757.

Petition of Fr. Altamirano

...

1. Fr. **Rafael Canicia**, professor with 4 vows, 42 years old, born in Alicante.

...

Petition of Fr. Torres

...

1. Fr. **Rafael Canicia**, born in Alicante, departed from the College of Ontiniente, Province of Aragon, on 12 June 1759, and arrived at the Port of Santa María (i.e. Cadiz) on 30th of said month and year.

...

Puerto de Santa María 29 July 1759.

José de Torres.

A2. Physical inspection before boarding

Fr. José de Torres, Superior of this Mission, 56 years old.

1. Fr. **Rafael Canicia**, 42 years old, born in Alicante, Diocese of Orihuela, C.R. [sic], slim, dark and somewhat pale [sic], bushy beard, black eyes and hair.

...

Cadiz, 7 August 1759.

Marcos Troncoso y Sira.

Documents 1759B

Pay accounts of the Mariana Islands for 1756-1759

Sources: AGN AHH 6-560 and 563.

B1. Letter to the Jesuits in the Marianas, dated Mexico 1759

Original text in Spanish.

A los Religiosos de la Sagrada Compañía de Jesus Misioneros en las Yslas Marianas: por cuenta de Gastos de Philipinas los estipendios y limosnas tocantes a un año que cumplira en fin de Diziembre de 1759.

Thezorero Don Pedro Maria de Somosa y Torres.—Factoria 1759.

Certificacion.—

Francisco Xavier Urfarer de la Comp^a de Jesus Vice Provincial y Superior de estas Yslas Marianas: Certifico y juro in verbo sacerdotis la mas bastante forma que pueda y me sea concedido como en estas Yslas Marianas y sus Misiones han estado y estan empleados en la Predicacion del Santo Evangelio, adelantamiento de esta nueva Christiandad y nuestra Santa Fee en servicio de la Divina Magestad y del Rey nuestro Señor [(que Dios guarde)] los siguientes sacerdotes y Hermanos: 1. Padre Francisco Xavier Urfarer; 2. Padre Wolfgang Stainbeck; 3. Padre Francisco Xavier Reitemberger; 4. Padre Francisco Xavier Stengel; 5. Padre Luis Kanapp [sic]; 6. Hermano Lorenzo Loraque; 7. Hermano Placido Lampur-lanes.

Asimismo en dicha manera certifico y juro in verbo sacerdotis como ha estado y al presente esta en dhas Yslas un Seminario de Niños Marianos donde son instruidos en las costumbres Christianas y Politicas al cuidado, y cargo de dhas Misioneros de nuestra Compañía en cumplimiento de la Real voluntad. Tambien certifico en dha Forma como ha havido y ay en dhas Yslas 7 Yglesias donde estan con todo cuidado y adorno posible otros tantos sagrarios con sus lamparas alumbrando el Santisimo Sacramento para su culto y lo quedan del mismo modo.

Y para que todo conste asi el Excelentissimo Señor Virrey de la Nueva España como a los Tribunales Reales de cuentas y Señores Juezes Ofiziales Reales de las Caxas de la Ciudad de Mexico y ademas que convenga doy la presente fecha en esta Ysla de San Juan y Ciudad de San Ygnacio de Agaña de las Yslas Marianas a 5 de Mayo de 1756 años.

Francisco Xavier Urfarer.

Comprovacion.—

Wolfgang Stainbeck Presbitero de la Comp^a de Jesus Secretario de este Oficio: Certifico y juro in verbo sacerdotis como todo lo de arriba referido por nuestro actual Superior y Vice Provincial en esta Mission Mariana asi en lo tocante al numero de Misioneros, como Seminario de Niños Marianos es la pura verdad y para que conste donde convenga doy el presente testimonio firmado de mi mano en esta Ciudad de San Ygnacio de Agaña en 13 de Mayo de 1756.

Wolfgang Stainbeck.

Certificacion.—

Francisco Xavier Urfarer de la Comp^a de Jesus Vize Provincial y Superior de estas Yslas Marianas Certifico y juro in verbo sacerdotis en la mas bastante forma, que pueda y me sea concedido como en estas Yslas Marianas y sus Misiones han estado y estan empleados en la Predicacion del Santo Evangelio adelantando de esta nueva Christiandad y nuestra Santa Fee en servicio de la Divina Magestad y del Rey nuestro Señor (que Dios guarde) los siguientes sacerdotes y Hermanos: 1. P. Francisco Xavier Urfarer; 2. P. Wolfgang Stainbeck; 3. P. Francisco Xavier Reitemberger; 4. P. Francisco Xavier Stengel; 5. P. Luis Knapp; 6. P. Juan Antonio Blesa; 7. H^o Lorenzo Loraque; 8. H^o Placido Lampurlanez.

Asimismo en dha manera Certifico y juro in verbo sacerdotis como ha estado y al presente esta en dhas Yslas un Seminario de Niños Marianos donde son instruidos en las costumbres Christianas y politicas al cuidado y cargo de dhos Misioneros de nuestra Comp^a en cumplimiento de la Real voluntad. Tambien certifico en dha forma que ha havido y ay en dhas Yslas 7 Yglesias donde estan con todo cuidado y adorno posible otros tantos Sagrarios con sus lamparas alumbrando el Santisimo Sacramento para su culto y lo que dan del mismo modo.

Y para que conste al Excelentisimo Señor Virrey de la Nueva España como a los Tribunales Reales de cuentas y Señores Juezes Ofiziales Reales de las Reales Caxas de Mexico y ademas que convenga doy la presente fecha en esta Ysla de San Juan y Ciudad de San Ygnacio de Agaña de las Yslas Marianas a 18 de Mayo de 1757 años.

Comprovacion.—

Wolfgang Stainbeck Presbitero de la Comp^a de Jesus Secretario de este Oficio: Certifico y juro in verbo sacerdotis como todo lo arriba referido por nuestro actual Superior y Vice Provincial en esta Mission Mariana asi en lo tocante al numero de Misioneros como Seminario de niños Marianos es la pura verdad y para que conste en donde convenga doy el presente testimonio firmado de mi mano en esta Ciudad de San Ygnacio de Agaña en 20 de Mayo de 1757.

Wolfgang Stainbeck.

Certificacion.—

Wolfgang Stainbeck de la Comp^a de Jesus Vice Provincial y Superior de estas Yslas Marianas Certifico y juro in verbo sacerdotis en la mas bastante forma que pueda y me sea concedido como en estas Yslas Marianas y sus Misiones han estado y entan empleados en la Predicacion del Santo Evangelio, adelantamiento de esta nueva y nuestra Santa Fee en servicio de la Divina Magestad y del Rey nuestro Señor (que Dios guarde) los siguientes sacerdotes y Hermanos: 1. P. Wolfgang Stainbeck; 2. P. Franci-

sco Xavier Reitenberger; 3. P. Francisco Xavier Urfarer; 4. P. Francisco Xavier Stengel; 5. P. Miguel Roldan; 6. H^o Lorenzo Loraque; 7. Hermano Placido Lampurlanez.

Asimismo en dha manera Certifico y juro in verbo sacerdotis como ha estado y al presente esta en dhas Yslas un Seminario de niños todos Marianos donde son instruidos en las costumbres Christianas y politicas, al cuidado y cargo de dhos Misioneros de nuestra Comp^a en cumplimiento de la Real voluntad. Tambien Certifico en dha forma que ha havido y ay en dhas Yslas 7 Yglesias donde estan con todo cuidado y adorno posible, otros tantos Sagrarios con sus lamparas alumbrando al Santisimo Sacramento para su culto y lo quedan del mismo modo.

Y para que todo conste asi al Excelentissimo Señor Virrey de la Nueva España, como a los Tribunales Reales de quantas y Señores Juezes Ofiziales Reales de las Reales Caxas de la Ciudad de Mexico y ademas que convenga doy la presente fecha en esta Yslas de San Juan y Ciudad de San Ygnacio de Agadña de las Yslas Marianas a 24 de Mayo de 1758.

Comprovacion.—

Francisco Xavier Reitenberger Presbitero de la Comp^a de Jesus Secretario de este Oficio Certifico y juro in verbo sacerdotis como todo lo arriva referido por nuestro actual Superior y Vize Provincial en esta Mission Mariana asi en lo tocante al numero de Misioneros, como Seminario de Niños Marianos y para que conste, en donde convenga doy el presente testimonio firmado de mi mano en esta Ciudad de San Ygnacio de Agadña en 3 de Junio del año de 1758.

Francisco Xavier Reitenberger.

Memorial.—

Excelentissimo Señor:

Bernardo Pazuengos, Religioso de la Comp^a de Jesus y Procurador General de la Prov^a de Fhilipinas ante VExa en la mejor forma que en derecho haya lugar comparezco y Digo que como consta de la Certificacion adjunta que es del Vize Provincial y Superior de las Yslas Marianas, y de su Secretario han administrado, y administran los Ministerios de aquellas Yglesias 7 religiosos de nuestra Comp^a y juntamente subsiste y permanece un Seminario de Niños todos Marianos como tambien 7 lamparas ante el Divinissimo Sacramento, todo lo qual tiene la piedad del Rey nuestro Señor dotado sobre sus reales Caxas de esta Ciudad por lo que Suplico a VExa se sirva mandar a los Ofiziales Reales de las sobre dhas Caxas me exhiban la cantidad corespondiente a la manutencion de todo lo sobre dho sin embargo de qualquiera otros ordenes. Otro sí presento a VExa las certificaciones de todo lo sobredho por los años de 56 y 57 per cuio de facto me mando VExa por su Decreto el año pasado de 58 afianzar el total importe de los extipendios con las fincas que mi Prov^a y sus Misiones poseen en este Reyno, lo que execute con el termino ultramarino por lo que Suplico a VExa que en vista de dhas Certificaciones mande a Ofiziales Reales cancelar la escriptura de fianza y declararme a mi libre de la obligacion ê hipoteca favor que espero de la Benignidad de VExa: Por tanto: A VExa Suplico se sirva de mandar como llevo pedido.

Bernardo Pazuengos.

Decreto.—

Mexico 30 de Henero de 1759: Ynformen Ofiziales Reales.

Rubricado de Su Excelencia.

Ynforme.—

Excelentísimo Señor:

El año proximo pasado de 1758: se libraron en esta Real Caxa a los Religiosos de la Sagrada Comp^a de Jesus Misioneros en las Yslas Marianas sus extipendios y limosnas areglado a los que se les pago en los dos años anteriores de 756 y 757 por la falta de las Certificaciones que no presentaron y vajo de la obligazion que otorgo el R.P. Procurator General de presentarlas en este presente año, como asi lo tiene executado por lo tocante a dhos tres años: De cuios Ynstrumentos resulta deverseles a dhos Misioneros por sus estipendios y limosnas de este presente año de la fha que cumplira en fin de Diziembre de el 4,822 pesos 7.6 de los 5,508 pesos 7.9 que tienen devengados por que los 686 pesos 0.3 que ban a dezir de su cumplimiento se les rebaja por librados de mas en los citados 3 años: despues de compensarles 16 pesos librados de menos: cuias diferencias resultan por los extipendios de dos Religiosos Sacerdotes que no asistieron, el uno en el año de 756 y el otro en el proximo pasado de 758, como asi mismo por las altas y bajas que hubo en los valores del vino y azeite que se les da de Limosna.

Y para la satisfacion de los expresados 4,822 pesos 7.6 siendo del Superior agrado de VExa solo se nesesita el levantamiento de las ordenes de prohibicion o lo que su recta justificacion hallare por mas justo.

Real Caxa de Mexico 6 de Febrero de 1759.

Somoza.

Valdes.

Cleere.

Decreto.—

Mexico 9 de Febrero de 1759: [A] Los Ofiziales Reales de estas Caxas sin embargo de mis ordenes prohibitivas paguen al Suplicante los 4,822 pesos 7.6 que refieren en su presedente informe por los mismos que coresponden a los Religiosos de la Comp^a de Jesus Misioneros en las Yslas Marianas executandolo en virtud de este Decreto de que se tomara razon en el Real Tribunal de quantas.

Rubricado de su Exa.

Otro.—

Tribunal y Real Audiencia de quantas 13 de Febrero de 1759: Pase a la Mesa de Memorias para que en los Libros de su cargo se forme la prevencion que corresponde.

Señalado con dos Rubricas.

Ante mi: Augustin Francisco Guerrero y Tagle.

Razon.—

Queda tomada la razon que previene el Decreto antecedente en el Libro de Mandamientos n. 12 a f. 52 Mesa de Memorias y alcances del Real Tribunal y Audiencia de cuentas de Mexico y Febrero 13 de 1759.

Abad.

Fuente.

Auto.—

Real Caja de Mexico Febrero 13 de 1759: Pase este expediente de las dos fojas antecedentes fho a pedimiento del R. P. Bernardo Pazuengos de la Comp^a de Jesus Procurador General de la Prov^a de Philipinas para que en conformidad del Superior Decreto de Su Exa se despache la libranza y haga la paga de los 4,822 pesos 7.6 contenidos en el; y para los efectos que se expresan en dho expediente: proveyeron los dhos Señores Ofiziales Reales y lo Rubricaron.

Señalado con tres Rubricas:

Ante mi: Miguel de Castro Cid.

Libranza.—

En 14 de Febrero de 1759 se libraron en dho Thezoro por cuenta de Gastos de Philipinas al R.P. Bernardo Pazuengos de la Sagrada Comp^a de Jesus y Procurador General de los Religiosos Misioneros de las Yslas Marianas 4,822 pesos 7.6 que hubo de haver de oro comun en esta manera:

3,000 p. para el Seminario en que los niños Marianos son instruidos en costumbres politicas y Christianas al cuidado de dhos Padres Misioneros y á un año que empezá a correr desde 1^o de henero de este presente año de la fha y cumplira en fin de Diziembre de él 3,000 p 0.0

1,400 p. que han de haver de 2,100 p. por los extipendios de los 5 Religiosos y 2 coadjutores que consta asistieron el año proximo pasado de 1758 y a este exemplar se les bonifica por este presente año al respecto cada sacerdote de 350 p. y cada coadjutor de 175 p. por que los 700 p. que ban a decir a su cumplimiento se les rebaja por el extipendio de 2 Religiosos sacerdotes que asistieron de menos el uno de 1756 y el otro proximo pasado de 58 1,400 p 0.0

Y 5 p 7.6 que han de haver de 72 p 7.9 por el valor de 7@1/2 [@ = arrobas!] de vino de Castilla para los citados 5 sacerdotes a razon de arrova y media para cada uno se le da al año para celebrar el Santo Sacrificio de la Misa y al presio de 43 p 6 Barril de 4-1/2@ que es a como se comprá por factoria dho año proximo pasado para los Almazenes de Manila y a este exemplar se les bonifica para este presente año: Atento a que los 7 p 0.3 que ban a dezir se les rebaja de los 32 p 0.3 que se les libro demas los 35 p de ellos por el valor de arrova y media de vino que el año de 56 se les libro demas por el religioso que asistio de menos aquel año; y los 17 p 0.3 restantes que se les libro demas dho año proximo pasado por arrova y medio de vino que le tocaba al religioso que asistio de menos aquel año como por la diferencia que de los 45 p a que se les regulá el Barril dho año proximo pasado a los 43 p 6.0 que se compro en aquel año por factoria: mediante a que se les bonificá los 25 p que ban a dezir por el año de 57 pues havien- doles regulado a 45 p Barril se compro aquel año por factoria a 57 p 4 tomines 65 p 7.6

Y 357 p que han de haver de 336 por el valor de 42 @ de azeite de Castilla á fin de que las lamparas del altar de los 7 Sagrarios alumbren al Santisimo Sacramento en que se halla colocado su Divina Magestad con el cuidado aderezo y esmero posible en otras tantas Yglesias regulado a seis arrovas de azeite para cada lampara y al presio de 8 p que es a lo que se comprá por factoria aquel año mediante aquel los 21 p ban a dezir seles bonifican por librados de menos el año de 56 por la diferencia que ba a dezir de los 7 p 4 reales a que se les regulá en aquel año las 42@ de azeite a los 8 p que en aquel año se comprá por factoria 357 p 0.0

4,822 p 7.6

Cuias quatro partidcas componen los 4,822 p 7.6 referidos y tocantes a este presente año de la fha que cumplira en fin de Diziembre de él: Mandados librar y satisfacer sin embargo de las ordenes prohibitivas por Decreto del Exmo. Marquez de las Amarillas Virrey de este Reyno de 9 del corriente de que se tomo razon en el Real Tribunal de quantas Que dho Decreto Certificaciones del R.P. Provincial de la asistencia de dhos Religiosos tocantes a los años de 56, 57 y el proximo pasado de 58 y asimismo de haver ardido en dhos tres años las 7 lamparas acompañaron a la Libranza original 4,822 p 7.6

Synthesis.

Note: The "red tape" involved with this file is obvious, and somewhat repetitive; that is why, it will be summarized, except for the lists of missionaries serving in the Marianas.

This is a report produced in 1759 by the office controlling the subsidies in Mexico City. It is signed by Treasurer Don Pedro María Somoza y Torres.

Firstly, there is a certification, signed by the Vice-Provincial, Fr. Francisco Xavier Urfarer, for the list of missionaries serving in the Marianas on 5 May 1756:

- Fr. Francisco Xavier Urfarer;
- Fr. Wolfgang Stainbeck;
- Fr. Francisco Xavier Reitemberger;
- Fr. Francisco Xavier Stengel;
- Fr. Luís Knapp**,¹
- Br. Lorenzo Loraque**,²
- Br. Plácido Lampurlanes.

Secondly, there is another certification by Fr. Urfarer for the list of missionaries present on 18 May 1757. It is the same as the above, except for one new member, who must have arrived with the 1756 galleon:

- Fr. Juan Antonio Blesa.**

Thirdly, there is yet another certification for the following year, signed by Fr. Stengel, the new Vice-Provincial, and dated Agaña 24 May 1758. It shows that Fr. Knapp and Fr. Blesa are no longer there, and therefore must have left with the 1757 galleon, or a few months later with the Mariana patache, if there was one. However, there is one new member, who must have arrived with the 1757 galleon:

- Fr. Miguel Roldán.**

Besides, the royal alms for wine and oil, for 7 sanctuaries, were still being received for this period; they must have been for the main church and the Jesuit chapel in Agaña, and the churches of Agat, Umatac, Merizo, Inarahan, and Rota.

Because of the varying number of missionaries in this period, and their having been paid on a basis of 5 priests and 2 brothers, the accounts were adjusted in 1759, and that year a subsidy of 4,822 pesos was sent to them from Mexico, through their Procurator, Fr. Bernardo Pazuengos.

1 Ed. note: Reported in the Marianas for the first time; he must have arrived with the galleon of 1755.

2 Ed. note: Ditto.

B2. Letter to the Major in charge of the garrison, dated Mexico 1759

Original text in Spanish.

A los Presidiales de las Yslas Marianas pro cuenta de Gastos de Philipinas los sueldos de un año que cumplira en fin de Diziembre de 1759 devajo de la Obligacion que se refiere.

Thezorerero Don Pedro Maria de Somosa y Torres.—Factoria 1759.

Esripto.—

M[uy] Yllustre Señor el Sargento Mayor Don Santiago del Barrio y Rabago actual Ynterino de este Presidio y Real Campo de San Ygnacio de Agaña: ante VS en devida forma me presento y Digo: que para la recaudacion en las Reales Caxas de la Ciudad de Mexico del sueldo, o sueldos que me deven pertenecer por razon de dho empleo nesesito testimonio literal del titulo que se me despachá por este Gobierno por lo que VS se ha de servir mandar que el Secretario de esta Governacion y Guerra ponga a continuacion dho testimonio sacando del Libro donde se toman razon de los Titulos que corresponden a la Senventia [sic] de los empleos militares de este Real Presidio y juntamente la constancia del día que tomé posecion del referido empleo y fecho se me entregue: Por tanto: A VE pido y suplico se sirva de hasi proveer y mandar segun que llevo expresado merced que espero recibir de VE &c.

Santiago del Barrio.

Auto.—

Agaña y Marzo 10 de 1758: El Secretario de esta Governacion y Guerra por lo que constase del Archivo de su cargo libresele a esta parte el testimonio del titulo de Sargento Mayor y la constancia del día que entro en posesion y entreguesele como lo pide.

Barrio.

Joseph Eduardo del Castillo Secretario de esta Governacion y Guerra.

Titulo.—

Yo el Capitan Don Joseph Eduardo del Castillo Secretario de la Governacion y Guerra de estas Yslas Marianas, obedeciendo el Decreto de oy 10 del corriente mes proveido de el escripto antecedente presentado por el Sargento mayor Don Santiago del Barrio y Rabago actual interino de este Presidio de San Ygnacio de Agaña doy fee y verdadero testimonio a los Señores que la presente vieren como habiendo registrado el Libro donde se toma razon de los titulos de los empleos militares de este dho Presidio y Real Campo despachados por el Señor General Don Andres del Barrio y Rabago Governador y Teniente de Capitan General por S.M. de estas referidas Yslas halle desde f. 31 a 32 de dho Libro la razon del titulo del expresado Sargento Mayor Don Santiago del Barrio y Rabago: cuió Tenor a la letra es como se sigue.

El General Don Andres del Barrio y Rabago Governador y Teniente de Capitan General por S.M. de estas Yslas Marianas &tc.

Por quanto conviene nombrar persona que sirva la plaza de Sargento mayor interino de este Presidio y Real Campo de San Ygnacio de Agaña de las Yslas Marianas en lugar del Sargento Mayor Don Pedro Fernandez Verdugo por renuncia que hizo motivado de sus conocidos y notorios achaques y avanzada edad y que sea de toda satisfacion[,] confianza, valor[,] practica y experiencia militar y de las par-

tes que se requieren y por concurrir estas en la del Capitan Commandante Don Santiago del Barrio y Rabago actual Yntendente de las Reales Obras y Sementeras de este Presidio: teniendo concideracion a los servicios que ha fecho a S.M. y esperando los continuara en adelante, he tenido y tengo por bien de elegirle y nombrarle, como por el presente le elixo y nombro al expresado Capitan Comandante Don Santiago del Barrio y Rabago por Sargento Mayor interino de este mencionado Presidio y Real Campo para que como tal sirva y exersa dha plaza en todo lo que le tocare y perteneziere segun de la forma y manera que lo hizieron, pudieron y devieron hazer los Sargentos mayores que han sido interinarios de este dho Real Presidio y con la facultad propia gozando de todas las honrras, gracias, mercedes, franquezas, livertades, prerrogativas[,] inmunidades y los demas honores y preeminencias que por razon de la referida plaza deve haver y gozar y le deven ser guardadas bien y cumplidamente sin que le falte cosa alguna; Y ordeno a los Capitanes[,] Ayudantes[,] Alférezes[,] Sargentos y demas ofiziales y soldados de este enunciado Presidio y Real Campo le hayan[,] recivan[,] tengan por tal Sargento Mayor, obedeciendo, guardando, y cumpliendo sus ordenes so las penas que les impusiere que para las executar en los inobedientes le doy plena facultad, y poder bastante el que de derecho se requiere; Y dha plaza ha de servir con el mismo sueldo que tuvieron y gozaron los Sargentos mayores que han sido interinarios de este Presidio y Real Campo ocurriendo por si mismo o por su Apoderado ante el Exmo. Sor. Virrey de la nueva España para que de aquellas Reales Caxas donde esta asignado este sueldo sele satisfaga desde el dia de la fha de este titulo que empezara a servirla, en la quantia y conformidad que se huviere librado y pagado a los Sargentos mayores que han sido Ynterinarios de este Real Presidio; Y se tomara razon de este titulo que le ha mandado despachar en los Libros de S.M. que existen en el Archivo de esta Governacion y Guerra declarando no dever pagar cosa alguna al derecho de la Media annata respecto de tener S.M. declarado por de Guerra viva los empleos militares de los Presidios de los Reynos de las Yndias, y no causarla los que sirven en ellos.

Dado en esta Ciudad de San Ygnacio de Agaña sellado con el de mis Armas y refrendado por mi Secretario a 21 de Febrero de 1758.

Andres del Barrio.

Por mandado de su Señoria.

Jorge Eduardo del Castillo Secretario de esta Governacion y Guerra.

Asimismo doy fee y verdadero testimonio como haviendo rexistrado el Libro de filiaciones o asiento de plazas de la Ynfanteria Española de la Guarnicion de este dho Presidio y Real Campo de San Ygnacio de Agaña formado por el Señor General Don Andres del Barrio y Rabago Governador y Teniente de Capitan General de estas Yslas halle a f. 2 de el, la nota de haver tomado posesion de la de Sargento Mayor Don Santiago del Barrio y Rabago cuio tenor a la letra es lo siguiente.

En 21 de Febrero de 1758 años fue reformado de la plaza de Capitan[,] entrando en su lugar el Alférez Don Fernando de Aguero y en dho dia asendio a la de Sargento Mayor de este Presidio y Real Campo de San Ygnacio de Agaña por renuncia que hizo el Sargento Mayor Don Pedro Fernandez Verdugo que la servia.

Al pie de esta nota esta una rubrica al parecer del dho Señor General Don Andres del Barrio y Rabago concuerda este traslado con sus originales que existen en el Archivo de esta Governacion y Guerra que es a mi cargo, y lo hize copiar y copie fielmente, siendo testigos el Capitan Don Dionisio de Castro

y los Alférezses Don Domingo Manuel Garrido y Don Manuel Garrido presentes y es fecho en esta Ciudad de San Ygnacio de Agaña a 10 de marzo de 1758 años de que doy fee.

Lo firmo en testimonio de verdad.

Jorge Eduardo del Castillo Secretario de esta Governacion y Guerra.

Comprovacion.—

Yo Wolfango Stainbeck de la Comop^a de Jeus Vice Provincial de la Mission de estas Yslas Marianas Juez Eclesiastico y Vicario foraneo en ellas: Certifico y doy fee que el Capitan Don Jorge Eduardo del Castillo de quien ba firmado el testimonio de las tres foxas con esta es Secretario de la Governacion y Guerra de estas referidas Yslas, usa y exerce dho Oficio y como tal a todos los autos, escrituras y demas instrumentos de esta ygualdad que por su testimonio han pasado y pasan seles ha dado y da entera fee y credito Judicial y extrajudicialmente como a Secretario fiel legal y de toda confianza y la firma letra, y nombre es propia suya y de la que acostumbra en todos sus despachos en cuiu testimonio por inopia de otros Secretarios y Escrivanos publicos y reales que comprueven ser asi doy la presente firmada de mi mano en esta Ciudad de San Ygancio de Agaña a 10 de Marzo de 1758 años.

Wolfango Stainbeck.

Poder.—

En la ciudad de San Ygnacio de Agaña a 7 de Marzo de 1758 años antemi el Secretario de la Governacion y Guerra de estas Yslas Marianas y testigos que a la final se expresaran el Sargento Mayor Don Santiago del Barrio y Rabago actual interinario del Presidio y Real Campo de ellas a quien doy fee conosco: Dixo: que da todo su Poder cumplida y bastante el que de derecho se requiere y es nesarario en primer lugar a Don Joseph de Rabago y Teran del Orden de Santiago Contador de la Real Casa de Mone-da en la Ciudad de Mexico y por su falta a Don Francisco Antonio de Rabago y por la de ambos a Don Joseph Gonzalez Calderon todos vezinos de la Ciudad de Mexico en el Reyno de la nueva España especial para que en nombre del otorgante y representando su misma persona cobre de las Reales Cajas de ellas el sueldo, o sueldos que deve gozar por la servenzia de dha plaza segun y como se ha practicado con los demas Sargentos mayores interinarios de este Presidio y Real Campo para lo qual se presente ante el Exmo. Señor Virrey de dho Reyno con el testimonio de su titulo por el que exerce dho empleo inserta en él, la nota del dia que tomo Posesion y con la fee de vida que para el efecto se les remitiran y supli[co] que se sirva de librarle dho su sueldo o sueldos, y asimismo presente escripto, pedimiento de suplica, cartas misivas y demas diligencias Judiciales y extrajudiciales que convengan para el referido efecto que siendo fhas por los enunciados Don Joseph de Rabago y Teran: Don Francisco Antonio de Rabago y Don Joseph Gonzales Calderon en el lugar y grado que an nombrados desde aora para entonces las aprueva, y ratifica como si por el otorgante fuesen fechas presente siendo, que para todo lo referido, y lo demas anexo y dependiente de ello les da este Poder con libre y general administracion, y facultad de enjuiciar[.] Jurar y substituir, revocar substitutos y nombrar otros de nuevo, si conviniere y a ellos relevo en forma de derecho; Y para la validacion, firmeza, y cumkplimiento de lo que en virtud de este Poder se hiziere se obligo el otorgante con su persona y bienes havidos y por haver con poderio a las Justicias y Juezes de S.M. sumission à ellas, y renunciacion de las Leyes de su favor y la general del derecho en forma; Y asi lo otorgo y firmo en este papel ordinario por no haverlo del sellado, ni usarse en estas Yslas: siendo

testigos los Capitanes Don Dionisio de Castro y Don Bartholome de los Reyes, y el Alferez Don Domingo Manuel Garrido presentes de que doy fee.

Santiago del Barrio.

Jorge Eduardo del Castillo Secretario de esta Governacion y Guerra.

Es traslado de su original que queda otorgada a f. 152 del Registro corriente de escrituras publicas que es a mi cargo y de pedimento del otorgante hize sacar y saque el presente con toda fidelidad y es fecho en esta Ciudad de San Ygnacio de Agaña dho dia 7 de Marzo de 1758 años de que doy fee.

Lo firmo en testimonio de verdad,

Jorge Eduardo del Castillo Secretario de esta Governacion y Guerra.

Comprovacion.—

Yo Wolfango Stainbeck de la Comp^a de Jesus Vice Provincial de la Mission de estas Yslas Marianas Juez Eclesiastico y Vicario foraneo en ellas: Certifico y doy fee que el Capitan Don Jorge Eduardo del Castillo de quien ba firmado el testimonio de la presedente foxa es Secretario de la Governacion y Guerra de estas referidas Yslas y exerce dho Oficio, y como a tal, a todos los Autos escrituras y demas instrumentos de esta ygualdad que por su testimonio han pasado, y pasan, se les ha dado y da entera fee y credito Judicial y extrajudicialmente como s Secretario fiel Legal y de toda confianza y la firma letra y nombre es propia suya y de la que acostumbra en todos sus Despachos en cuio testimonio por inopia de otros Secretarios y Escrivanos publicos y Reales que comprueben ser asi doy la presente firmada de mi mano en esta Ciudad de San Ygnacio de Agaña a 7 de Marzo de 1758 años.

Wolfango Stainbeck.

Certificacion.—

El General Don Andres del Barrio y Ravago Governador y Teniente de Capitan General por S.M. de estas Yslas Marianas: Certifico que los Ofiziales y Soldados vivos y reformados que estan de Guarnicion en este Presidio y Real Campo de San Ygnacio de Agaña asi Españoles como Pampangos son los mismos que desde 2 de Mayo del año pasado de 1757 hasta oy dia de la fha han estado en actual exercicio de las plazas que en la lista abajo se expresaran y quedan continuando en el Real servicio: cuios nombres son los siguientes:

1^a Comp^a.—

Primera Comp^a de Ynfanteria Española.—Ofiziales:

Capitan Don Fernando de Agüero:

Alferez Don Thomas de la Cruz:

Sargento Gaspar de los Reyes:

Ayudante del sueldo Don Juan de Villagomes:

Ayudante de este Real Campo Don Lucas de la Rosa y Cervantes

Plaza menor.—Tambor Alexandro Pereira.

Soldados.—

Capitan reformado Don Juan Luis Sanchez:

Capitan reformado Don Jorge Eduardo del Castillo:

Capitan reformado Don Luis Fernandez de Ubiarco:

Capitan reformado Don Pedro Cayetano de Astudillo:

Capitan reformado Don Juan Antonio Rotea:
Capitan reformado Don Domingo de la Vega:
Capitan reformado Don Antonio de los Rios:
Ayudante reformado Don Joseph Guerrero:
Ayudante reformado Don Francisco Xavier de Villaseñor:
Ayudante reformado Don Francisco Rodriguez de Tovez:
Ayudante reformado Don Valerio Antonio Leguisamo:
Ayudante reformado Don Roque de la Asumpcion Leguizamo:
Ayudante reformado Don Felix de Arzeo:
Alferez reformado Don Antonio de Leon Guerrero:
Alferez reformado Don Fernando Lazaro Dueñas:
Alferez reformado Don Bentura Franquez:
Sargento reformado Thomas Thenorio:
Sargento reformado Mathias de Benavente:
Cavo de Esquadra Phelipe de Acosta:
Manuel de Acosta: Juan de Benavente:
Ygnacio Maria de Soto: Juan Antonio de Agüero:
Ygnacio Guerrero: Pedro Nolasco Alvarez:
Ant^o de Leon Guerrero: Miguel de los Ríos:
Pablo Garcia: Joseph Ygnacio Montufar:
Ygnacio de Agüero: Pedro Dueñas:
Dom^o Sarmiento y Torres: Joseph Afan de Rivera:
Don Manuel Joseph Yndalecio del Barrio y Rabago:
Jorge de Zepeda.
2^a Comp^a.—
Segunda Comp^a de Ynfanteria Española.—Ofiziales:
Capitan Don Francisco de Carmen Baletto:
Alferez Don Manuel Garrido:
Sargento Domingo Roman Montufar:
Ayudante del Sueldo Don Domingo de Salas.
Plaza menor.—Tambor Francisco Palacios.
Soldados.—
Capitan reformado Don Joseph Granados:
Capitan reformado Don Joseph Miguel de Torres:
Capitan reformado Don Santiago Solis:
Capitan reformado Don Dionisio de Castro:
Capitan reformado Don Manuel Joseph Pereda:
Capitan reformado Don Diego de la Cruz:
Capitan reformado Don Manuel Balthazar de Ojeda:
Ayudante reformado Don Salvador de la Cruz:
Ayudante reformado Don Bernardo Ygnacio Palomo:
Ayudante reformado Don Phelipe de la Cruz:

Feliciano Garcia:
Francisco de Zepeda:
Juan Manuel Carbajal:
Antonio de Toves:
Joseph Ramon Dueñas:
Cayetano Carlos Montufar:
Carlos de Zepeda:
Ygnacio Claudio de Torres:

Alferez reformado Don Joseph Joachin Peredo:

Alferez reformado Don Francisco de Villagomez:

Alferez reformado Don Juan Joseph de Quiñones:

Alferez reformado Don German Ygnacio Barquilla:

Alferez reformado Don Domingo Manuel Garrido:

Sargento reformado Eleuterio de Guzman:

Sargento reformado Juan de Espinosa:

Cavo de Esquadra Diego de Zepeda:

Ygnacio Grijalva: Pablo de los Rios:

Antonio de Zepeda: Manuel Gonzalo de Mesa:

Manuel Fern° Thenorio: Manuel de Toves:

Leonardo Guerrero: Luciano Guerrero:

Mariano Pereda: Ygnacio Lafña:

Mathias Lorenzo: Joseph Carbajal:

Joseph de Benavente:

Joseph de Acosta:

Nicolas Ortiz:

Francisco Xavier de Trillo:

Andres Candido Montufar:

Joseph de Espinosa.

3° Comp*,—

Tercera Comp* de Ynfanteria Pampanga.—Ofiziales:

Maestre de Campo Antonio de los Santos:

Capitan Manuel Antonio Pangilinan:

Alferez Salvador Malavitan:

Sargento Pedro de Herrera:

Soldados.—

Maestre de campo reformado Andres de Arceo:

Maestre de campo reformado Lucas del Castillo:

Capitan reformado Miguel Carpio:

Capitan reformado Augustin de la Cruz:

Capitan reformado Joseph de Castro:

Capitan reformado Pedro de Robles:

Capitan reformado Andres Casimiro de Quintanilla:

Capitan reformado Juan Martinez de Castro:

Capitan reformado Luiz de la Cruz:

Capitan reformado Antonio Pablo:

Capitan reformado Juan de Cabrere:

Capitan reformado Manuel Raphael:

Capitan reformado Bartholome de los Reyes:

Alferez reformado Domingo Hernandez:

Alferez reformado Felix Felix [sic] Velasquez:

Alferez reformado Miguel Valdes:

Alferez reformado Augustin Diego:

Alferez reformado Luis Taysipi:

Alferez reformado Francisco Romero:

Cavo de Esquadra Miguel Pasqual Cabangis:

Vizente Garcia: Joseph Diego Banton:

Salbador A[?]bay:

| | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <i>Martin Laurente:</i> | <i>Ygnacio Coeto de Leyba:</i> | <i>Nicolas Ynocencio:</i> |
| <i>Marcos Hernandez:</i> | <i>Mathias de la Cruz:</i> | <i>Pedro de la Cruz Chargima:</i> |
| <i>Frc° de Borja Pangilinan:</i> | <i>Narsiso de los Reyes:</i> | <i>Esteban Manubusan:</i> |
| <i>Alonso de los Santos:</i> | <i>Manuel Pangilinan:</i> | <i>Justo de los Reyes:</i> |
| <i>Augustin de Esquerria:</i> | <i>Pedro de Torres:</i> | <i>Andres Cabangis:</i> |
| <i>Ygnacio Antonio Pablo:</i> | <i>Gaspar de Lizama:</i> | <i>Chrisostomo Uriel:</i> |
| <i>Pasqual de los Santos:</i> | <i>Antonio de la Cruz Carcaman:</i> | <i>Phelipe de los Reyes:</i> |
| <i>Melchor de los Reyes:</i> | <i>Mariano de Lizama:</i> | <i>Miguel Domingo de los Santos:</i> |
| <i>Juan Franc° Regis Pablo:</i> | <i>Alverto de Torres:</i> | <i>Fulgencio Natal:</i> |
| <i>Andres Adrianof:]</i> | <i>Juan de Esquera:</i> | <i>Mariano Calisto Ynocencio:</i> |
| <i>Thomas Montesuma:</i> | <i>Juan Chrisostomo Flores:</i> | <i>Andres de Esquerria:</i> |
| <i>Pedro de la Cruz Bacoco:</i> | <i>Antonio de la Cruz:</i> | <i>Marcos de Campos:</i> |
| <i>Guillermo de Aranzazu:</i> | | |

Todos los quales consta estar existentes y en actual servicio como parece en la forma expresada de las tres foxas con esta sacadas à la letra de los Libros que para en el Archivo de esta Capitania General a que me remito: Y aunque S.M. que Dios guarde tiene asignada de Dotacion a esta su Real Presidio 130 plazas Jamas ha venido sueldo para este numero; sino para la de 60, y se ha cresendo à el de 168 en que se distribuye el cituado para la seguridad y manutencion de estas referidas Yslas: Y para que conste donde convenga doy la presente Certificacion especialmente para que mi Apoderado General y el de estos Presidarios en la Ciudad de Mexico que lo es Don Joseph de Rabago y Teran del Orden de Santiago Contador de la Real Casa de Moneda en ella en primer lugar y por su ausiencia en segundo a Don Francisco Antonio de Rabago y por la de ambos en tercero Don Joseph Gonzales Calderon todos vezinos de dha Ciudad se presente con ella ante el Exmo. Señor Virrey de nueva España si mas poder que el que le confiero en esta y de estos Presidarios para que su Exa se sirva de mandar librar el cituado corespondiente al año proximo venidero de 759 y en caso de que por la contingencia ultramarina, u otro impedimiento que se pueda ofrezzer de no poder hazer annualmente la remision de Lista o Listas de dhos Presidarios pueda por la presente y por el Poder General por mi otorgado por el Sargento mayor de este Presidio y por los suso dichos en esta Ciudad de San Ygancio de Agaña a 5 de Diziembre del año pasado de 756 hazer la misma Cobranza del situado, ó cituados anuales que coresponden a este dho Real Presidio dando para ella las fianzas que se requiere y con obligacion de manifestar las Listas corespondientes a cada año[.]

Dada en San Ygnacio de Agaña sellada con el de mis armas y refrendada por mi Secretario a 15 de Marzo de 1758 años.

Andres del Barrio.

Por mandado de Su Señoria,

Jorge Eduardo del Castillo Secretario de esta Governacion y Guerra.

Comprovacion. —

Yo Wolfango Stainbeck de la Comp^a de Jesus Vice Provincial de la Mision de estas Yslas Marianas Juez Eclesiastico y Vicario foraneo en ellas: Certifico y doy fee que el Capitan Don Jorge Eduardo del Castillo de quien ba refrendado el instrumento de las tres foxas antecedentes es Secretario de la Governacion y Guerra de estas referidas Yslas usa y exerce dho oficio y como a tal a todos los autos[.] escriptu-

ras y demas instrumentos de esta ygualdad que por su testimonio han pasado y pasan se les ha dado y da entera fee y credito Judicial y extrjudicialmente como a Secretario fiel legal, y de toda confianza y la firma[,] letra y nombre es propia suya y de la que acostumbra en todos sus despachos en cuió testimonio por inopia de otros Secretarios y Escrivanos publicos y Reales que comprueven ser asi doy la presente firmado de mi mano en esta Ciudad de San Ygnacio de Agaña a quinze de Marzo de 1758.

Wolfgang Stainbek.—

Fee de vida.—

Yo el Capitan Don Jorge Eduardo del Castillo Secretario de la Governacion y Guerra de estas yslas Marianas doy fee y verdadero testimonio a los Señores que el presente vieren como el Sargento mayor Don Santiago del Barrio y Rabago actual en inter de este Presidio y Real Campo de San Ygnacio de Agaña esta vivo[;] le he hablado y me ha respondido en diferentes materias y como a tal le obedecen[,] guardan y cumplen executando sus ordenes todos los militares y demas gente de este dho Real Presidio y para que asi conste de su pedimiento doy la presente Fée de vida en esta Ciudad de San Ygnacio de Agaña a 15 de Marzo de 1758.

Lo firmo en testimonio de Verdad,

Jorge Eduardo del Castillo Secretario de la Governacion y Guerra.—

Comprovacion.—*Yo Wolfgang Stainbeck de la comp* de Jesus Vize Provincial de la Mission de estas Yslas Marianas Juez Eclesiastico y Vicario foraneo: Certifico y doy fee que el Capitan Don Jorge Eduardo del Castillo de quien ba firmado el testimonio antesedente es Secretario de la Governacion y Guerra de estas referidas Yslas usa, y exerce dho Oficio como tal a todos los autos, escrituras, y demas instrumentos de esta ygualdad que por su testimonio han pasado y pasan, seles ha dado y da entera fee y credito Judicial y extrajudicialmente como a Secretario fiel, legal y de toda confianza, y la firma, letra, y nombre es propia suya, y de la que acostumbra en todos sus despachos[,] en cuió testimonio [por inopia] de otros Secretarios y Escrivanos publicos y Reales que comprueben ser asi doy la presente firmada de mi mano en esta Ciudad de San Ygnacio de Agaña a 15 de Marzo de 1758 años.*

Wolfgang Stainbek.—

Fee de vida.—

Yo el Capitan Don Jorge Eduardo del Castillo Secretario de la Governacion y Guerra de estas Yslas Marianas doy fee y verdadero testimonio a los Señores que el presente vieren como oy dia de la fecha el Señor General Don Andres del Barrio y Rabago Governador y Theniente de Capitan General por S.M. de estas Yslas esta vivo[;] le he hablado y me ha respondido en diferentes materias, y se halla en actual exercicio de dhos empleos, y como a tal le reconocen, obedecen, quardan[,] cumplen y executan sus ordenes asi todos los militares como politicos y demas gente de este Real Presidio; Y para que conste de orden de dho Señor Governador y Theniente de Capitan General doy la presente fee de vida en esta Ciudad de San Ygnacio de Agaña a 15 de Marzo de 1758.

Lo firmo en testimonio de verdad.

Jorge Eduardo del Castillo Secretario de esta Governacion y Guerra.—

Yo Wolfgang Stainbeck de la Comp de Jesus Vize Provincial de la Mision de estas Yslas Marianas Juez Eclesiastico y Vicario foraneo en ellas: Certifico y doy fee que el Capitan Don Jorge Eduardo del*

Castillo de quien ba firmado el testimonio antecedente es Secretario de la Governacion y Guerra de estas referidas Yslas usa y exerce dho Oficio y como a tal a todos los autos[,] escripturas y demas instrumentos de esta ygualdad que por su testimonio han pasado y pasan se les ha dado y da entera fee y credito Judicial y extrajudicialmente como à Secretario fiel, legal, y de toda confianza y la firma, letra, y nmombre es propia suya y de la que acostumbra en todos sus despachos: en cuio testimonio por inopia de otros Secretarios y Escrivanos publicos y Reales que comprueben ser asi doy la presente firmada de mi mano en esta Ciudad de San Ygnacio de Agaña a 15 de Marzo de 1758.

Wolfgang Stainbeck.—

Partida de registro.—

*En la Ciudad de los Reyes Puerto de Acapulco en 26 dias del mes de Marzo de 1758 estando los Señores Castellano y Ofiziales Reales en la enramada destinada para el Despacho aora que seran las 10 de la mañana por antemi el escrivano[,] rexistro Don Phelipe Lopez de Soto[,] Capitan y Maestre del Patache de Philipinas **Nuestra Señora de la Porteria** por parte de Don Ysidro de Santa Maria Apoderado de Don Francisco Antonio de Rabago quien lo es del General Don Andres del Barrio y Rabago Gobernador de las Yslas Marianas los efectos siguientes:*

43 caxones de Miniestras abrigados en Guangoche liados y cavezados de cuero y marcados con la del margen:

12 cajones de Fuciles en que se incluyen los dos que trajo en el presente Patache el Capitan Comandante Don Manuel Vasco de la Ciudad de Manila para en su regreso entregarlos a dho Gobernador con la Carta que ira puesta donde le coresponde:

6 tros [sic = tercios] de ropa abrigados con Guangoches y asimismo marcados estos; y 10 de los Cajones de Fuciles con la misma marca:

los que remite como Apoderado de dho Gobernador y Militares del expresado Presidio de Yslas Marianas y se embarcan en virtud de Decreto del Excmo. Señor Virrey de este Reyno su Data en Mexico a los 28 de Febrero de este presente año: de cuias partidas se dio por entregado a dho Maestre y se obligo llevarlos a Bordo de dho Patache vajo de cubierta y entregarlas llegado que sea a dhas Yslas Marianas a el expresado General Don Andres del Barrio Gobernador de ellas y por su falta a el Gobernador que al presente fuere de dho Presidio y de no tacar en dhas Yslas hara la referida entrega de los expresados efectos en la Ciudad de Manila a el General Don Juan Ynfante su Apoderado a cuia entrega se obligo en toda forma de derecho y lo firmaron de que doy fee.

Felix Lopez de Soto.

Ysidro de Santa Maria.

Antemi Bartholome Martos Escrivano publico y de Real Hazienda.

Concuenda con la partida del Rexistro que de suso ba fha mencion y original queda en el oficio de mi cargo a que me remito y para que conste donde convenga de orden verbal de los Señores Castellano y Ofiziales de la Real Hazienda y Caja de esta Ciudad de los Reyes Puerto de Acapulco doy el presente en ella día de su fha de que doy fee.

Bartholome Martos Escrivano Publico y de Real hazienda.—

Otra.—

*En dho Día 25 de Marzo de 1758 años presentes los Señores Castellano y Ofiziales por antemi el Escrivano rexistro Don Felix Lopez de Soto Capitan y Maestre del Patache de Philipinas **Nuestra Señora de la Porteria** por parte de Don Ysidro de Santa Maria como Apoderado de Don Francisco Antonio de Rabago Apoderado del Governador y Milicianos del Presidio de las Yslas Marianas:*

16,500 p 4 reales los que se embarcaron en virtud de Decreto del Exmo. Señor Virrey de este Reyno su Data en Mexico a los 28 de Febrero de este presente año Libres de derechos: de cuiá cantidad se dio por entregado el expresado Maestre a su satisfacion y se obligo a llevarlos a Bordo vajo de cubierta y entregarla llegado que sea a el dho Presidio de Yslas Marianas a su Governador General Don Andres del Barrio y Ravago y de no tocar a dhas Yslas hara dha entrega en la Ciudad de Manila a el General Don Juan Ynfante de Sotomayor su Apoderado: a cuió cumplimiento se obligo en toda forma y lo firmaron de que doy fee.

Felix Lopez de Soto.

Ysidro de Santa Maria.

Antemi Bartholome Martos Escrivano publico y de Real Hazienda.

Concuenda con la partida de Rexistro que de suso va fha mencion y original queda en el oficio de mi cargo a que me remito; Y para que conste donde convenga de pedimiento de la parte[,] de orden verbal de los Señores Castellano y Ofiziales de la REal Hazienda y Caxa de la Ciudad de los Reyes Puerto de Acapulco doy el presente en ella a 26 de Marzo de 1758.

Bartholome Martos Escrivano Publico rexistros y Real Hazienda.—

Memorial.—

Excelentisimo Señor:

Don Francisco Sanchez de Sierra Tagle por el Governador Sargento Mayor y Presidiales del Real Presidio de las Yslas Marianas en la mejor forma que haya lugar en derecho: Digo que la grandeza de VExa se ha de servir mandar que Ofiziales Reales de esta Corte en la forma acostumbrada y sin embargo de los Superiores ordenes prohibitivos de VExa paguen a mis partes el importe de sus sueldos correspondientes al presente año de 759 para que en la presente Nao pueda su Apoderado remitirles dhos sueldos: cuiá paga se execute en virtud del Superior Decreto que sirva de Despacho. A VExa Suplico se sirva mandar como pido en que mis partes reciviran merced.

Francisco Sanchez de Sierra Tagle.

Decreto.—

Mexico 26 de Henero de 1759: Ynformen Ofiziales Reales.

Rubricado de su Exa.

Ynforme.—

Excellentisimo Señor:

Al Governador, Sargento Mayor y 60 soldados que guarnezen el Presidio de las Yslas Marianas en la Governacion de Philipinas seles deve 20,137 p. 4. por sus sueldos tocantes a un año que empezó a correr desde 1° de Henero de este presente año de la fha y cumplira en fin de Diziembre de él, al respecto el Governador de 825 p que goza al año como interino el Sargento Mayor que es tambien Ynterino de 412

p 4.0; y cada soldado de 315 p para cuia satisfacion siendo del superior agrado de VExa soo se nesesita el levantamiento de las ordenes de prohibicion o lo que su recta Justificacion hallare por mas Justo:

Real Caja de Mexico 6 de [Febrero de] 1759.

Somoza.

Valdés.

Cleere.

Decreto.—

Mexico 9 de Febrero de 1759: Los Ofiziales Reales de estas Caxas sin embargo de mis ordenes prohibitivas paguen al lexitimo Apoderado del Governador[,] Sargento Mayor, y soldados del Presidio de las Yslas Marianas los 20,137 p 4). que expresa su presedente informe coresponderles por los sueldos de un año que cumplirá en fin de Diziembre del actual: executandolo en virtud de este Decreto, de que se tomara razon en el Real Tribunal de quantas.

Rubricado de Su Exa.—

Otro.—

Tribunal y Real Audiencia de quantas 13 de Febrero de 1759: Pase a la Mesa de Memorias para que en los Libros de su cargo se forme la prevencion que coresponde.

Señalado con dos Rubricas.

Antemi, Augustin Francisco Guerrero y Tagle.—

Razon.—

Queda tomada la razon que previene el Decreto antecedente en el Libro de Mandamientos n. 12 a f. 52 vuelta.

Mesa de Memorias y Alcances del Real Tribunal y Audiencia de quantas de Mexico, en 13 de Febrero de 1759.

Abad.

Fuente.—

Auto.—

Real Caxa de Mexico y Febrero 17 de 1759: Pase a la Real Contaduria para que se despache la libranza y haga la paga como su Exa manda: provayeronlo los Señores Ofiziales Reales y lo rubricaron.

Señalado con tres rubricas:

Antemi, Miguel de Castro Cid.—

Libranza.—

En 19 de Febrero de 1759 se librarón en dho Thezoro por quenta de Gastos de Philipinas a Don Francisco Antonio Ravago vezino y del comercio de esta Ciudad y Apoderado del Governador[,] Sargento Mayor y 60 soldados del Presidio de las Yslas Marianas 20,137 p 4.0 de oro comun que hubo de haver por los sueldos de los susodhos tocantes a un año que empezo a correr desde 1° de henero de este presente de la fha y cumplira en fin de Diziembre de él, respecto el Governador de 825 p que goza al año como Ynterino: el Sargento Mayor que es tambien Ynterino 412 p 4. y cada soldado de 315 p al año: Manda-

dos librar y satisfacer sin embargo de las ordenes prohibitivas por Decreto del Exmo. Virrey Marqués de las Amarillas de 9 del corriente de que se tomo razon en el Real Tribunal de cuentas: Devajo de la obligacion que otorgo dho Apoderado de que en el termino ultramarino traera y presentara en esta REal Caja Certificacion de asistencia de dhos Presidiales tocante a este presente año de la fha y certificaciones de supervivencia del Governador y Sargento Mayor hasta fin de Diziembre de este presente año: como asimismo dentro de dos meses corrientes desde la fha de esta presentara asimismo en esta Real Caja Certificacion de Escrivano de Acapulco de haver embarcado y registrado dho Apoderado en el presente Galeon de Philipinas el citado situado en reales y Generos. Que dho Decreto, Certificacion de asistencia de dho Presidiales tocante al año proximo pasado, Certificaciones de supervivencia del Governador y Sargento Mayor hasta 15 de Marzo de dho año proximo pasado, Testimonio del Titulo del Sargento Mayor y su posesion, Poder General de este, como asimismo Certificaciones dadas por dho Escrivano de la Real Caja de Acapulco de haver embarcado dho Apoderado el situado el año proximo pasado y Certificacion de no dever Media annata acompañaron la Libranza original: Atento a que el Poder otorgado por dichos Presidiales acompañó al Libramiento despa[chado] el año proximo pasado de esta misma cantidad:

..... 20,137 p 4.0

Synthesis.

Note: Only the list of soldiers will not be summarized, due to its importance for genealogy. See also Doc. 1766A for the same budget, and a complete roll call for 1766.

Firstly, the letter appointing General Andrés del Barrio y Rabago Governor of the Marianas is reproduced, as well as that of a relative of his, Captain Santiago del Barrio y Rabago, as the new Sergeant-Major of the garrison, the former holder of the position, Major Pedro Fernandez Verdugo, having resigned for health reasons.

Secondly, there is a power-of-attorney granted to their agent in Mexico City, José de Rabago y Terán, a royal accountant and obviously another relative. However, in his absence, Francisco Antonio de Rabago, or José Gonzalez Calderón, both residents of Mexico City, were to become substitutes.

Thirdly, the list of soldiers serving in the Marianas on 15 March 1758 if given as follows.

List of the soldiers serving in the garrison of Agaña on 15 March 1758.

First Company of Spanish Infantry Headquarters

Captain Fernando de Agüero

Lieutenant Tomás de la Cruz

Sergeant Gaspar de los Reyes

Paymaster: Adjutant Juan de Villagomes

Adjutant of the Royal Camp: Lucas de la Rosa y Cervantes

Drummer: Alexandro Pereira.

Soldiers

Captain (ret'd) Juan Luís Sanchez

" " Jorge Eduardo del Castillo

" " Luís Fernandez de Ubiarco

" " Pedro Cayetano de Astudillo

" " Juan Antonio Rotea

" " Domingo de la Vega

" " Antonio de los Rios

Adjutant (ret'd) José Guerrero

" " Francisco Xavier de Villaseñor

" " Francisco Rodriguez de Toves

" " Valerio Antonio Leguizamo

" " Roque de la Asunción Leguizamo

" " Felix de Arzeo

Lieutenant (ret'd) Antonio de León Guerrero

" " Fernando Lázaro Dueñas

" " Ventura Franquez

Sergeant (ret'd) Tomás Tenorio

" " Matías de Benavente

Squad Corporal Felipe de Acosta

Manuel de Acosta Juan de Benavente

Ign. María de Soto Juan Antonio de Agüero

Ignacio Guerrero Pedro Nolasco Alvarez

Ant^o de León Guerrero Miguel de los Rios

Pablo García José Ignacio Montufar

Ignacio de Agüero Pedro Dueñas

Dom^o Sarmiento y Torres José Afán de Rivera

Manuel José Indalecio del Barrio y Rabago

Jorge de Zepeda.

Feliciano García

Francisco de Zepeda

Juan Manuel Carbajal

Antonio de Toves

José Ramón Dueñas

Cayetano Carlos Montufar

Carlos de Zepeda

Ignacio Claudio de Torres

Second Company of Spanish Infantry

Officers

Captain Francisco de Carmen Baletto

Lieutenant Manuel Garrido

Sergeant Domingo Román Montufar

Paymaster: Adjutant Domingo de Salas

Drummer: Francisco Palacios

Soldiers

Captain (ret'd) José Granados

" " José Miguel de Torres

" " Santiago Solis

| | | | |
|--|------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| " | " | Dionisio de Castro | |
| " | " | Manuel José Pereda | |
| " | " | Diego de la Cruz | |
| " | " | Manuel Balthasar de Ojeda | |
| Adjutant (ret'd) Salvador de la Cruz | | | |
| " | " | Bernardo Ignacio Palomo | |
| " | " | Felipe de la Cruz | |
| Lieutenant (ret'd) José Joachin Peredo | | | |
| " | " | Francisco de Villagomez | |
| " | " | Juan José de Quiñones | |
| " | " | Germán Ignacio Barquilla | |
| " | " | Domingo Manuel Garrido | |
| Sergeant (ret'd) Eleuterio de Guzman | | | |
| " | " | Juan de Espinosa | |
| Squad Corporal Diego de Zepeda | | | |
| Ignacio Grijalva | Pablo de los Rios | | José de Benavente |
| Antonio de Zepeda | Manuel Gonzalo de Mesa | | José de Acosta |
| Manuel Fernando Tenorio | Manuel de Toves | | Nicolás Ortiz |
| Leonardo Guerrero | Luciano Guerrero | | Francisco Xavier de Trillo |
| Mariano Pereda | Ignacio Lafña | | Andrés Candido Montufar |
| Matías Lorenzo | José Carbajal | | José de Espinosa. |

Third Company of Pampanga Infantry

Officers

Master-of-camp Antonio de los Santos
 Captain Manuel Antonio Pangilinan
 Lieutenant Salvador Malavitan
 Sergeant Pedro de Herrera

Soldiers

Master-of-camp (ret'd) Andrés de Arceo
 " " Lucas del Castillo
 Captain (ret'd) Miguel Carpio
 " " Agustín de la Cruz
 " " José de Castro
 " " Pedro de Robles
 " " Andrés Casimiro de Quintanilla
 " " Juan Martinez de Castro
 " " Luís de la Cruz
 " " Antonio Pablo
 " " Juan de Cabrera
 " " Manuel Rafael
 " " Bartolomé de los Reyes

Lieutenant (ret'd) Domingo Hernandez

" " Felix Velasquez

" " Miguel Valdés

" " Agustín Diego

" " Luís Taysipi

" " Francisco Romero

Squad Corporal Miguel Pascual Cabangis

Vizente García José Diego Banton

Martín Laurente Ignacio Coeto de Leyba

Marcos Hernandez Matías de la Cruz

Francisco de Borja Pangilinan Narciso de los Reyes

Alonso de los Santos Manuel Pangilinan

Agustín de Esquerria Pedro de Torres

Ignacio Antonio Pablo Gaspar de Lizama

Pascual de los Santos Antonio de la Cruz Carcaman

Melchor de los Reyes Mariano de Lizama

Juan Francisco Regis Pablo Alberto de Torres

Andrés Adriano Juan de Esquerria

Tomás Montesuma Juan Crisostomo Flores

Pedro de la Cruz Bacoco Antonio de la Cruz

Guillermo de Aranzazu.

Salvador Albay

Nicolás Inocencio

Pedro de la Cruz Chargima

Esteban Manubusan

Justo de los Reyes

Andrés Cabangis

Crisostomo Uriel

Felipe de los Reyes

Miguel Domingo de los Santos

Fulgencio Natal

Mariano Calisto Inocencio

Andrés de Esquerria

Marcos de Campos

On 26 March 1758, there was loaded aboard the patache **Nuestra Señora de la Portería**, commanded by General Manuel Vasco, the following supplies, to be delivered at Guam:

—43 crates of dried peas;

—12 crates of rifles;

—6 half-loads of cloth.

On the previous day, the royal officials at Acapulco had turned over to the ship Master, Captain Felix Lopez de Soto, the rest of the subsidy in cash: 16,500 pesos.

Early in 1759, the same procedure was used to get a warrant for the payment of a subsidy of 20,137 pesos from the royal treasury at Mexico City.



Bishop Miguel Lino de Espeleta. *He was Bishop of Cebu, but governed the Philippines by interim from 1759 to 1761. (From La Ilustración Filipina, Manila, 21 September 1892).*

Document 1759C

The galleon Trinidad modified once again

Source: AGI Fil. 480.

**Letter from the Governor of the Philippines, dated Manila
19 July 1759****Original text in Spanish.**

El Governador de Philipinas Obispo de Zebu

*Dà cuenta à V.M. con testimonio, como es necesario reforsar el Navio nombrado **Santísima Trinidad** con una cubierta por haverlo enflaquecido la revaja que promovio mi Antecesor y costará mucho mas de lo que se gasto en dicha revaja.*

Señor

*Con el motivo de las quejas que se dibagaron de las incomodidades, que padecieron las Misiones, gente de Mar y demas Pasajeros en el Navio la **Trinidad** a causa de la revaja tan notable, que mando hazer mi antecesor de una cubierta promoví un Decreto para que los Pilotos, que havian venido en él en este presente año, me informasen del estado en que se hallava, y de la necesidad, que tenia para su mejor composicion, y con efecto me informaron, que con dicha revaja se enflaquecio notablemente por haversele quitado mas de la mitad de las curvas, y adelgasado Baos, y Latas, de sus cubiertas de que provino que fuese menos andador, que antes y que era necesario para fortalecerlo bolverle a poner otra cubierta y para que fuese defensible sele pusiese otra andana de Artilleria y que su costo importaria algo mas de lo que se gastò para enflaqueerlo, como todo consta del testimonio, que acompaña, y no haviendo otro Navio que haga viaje el año venidero al Puerto de Acapulco quedo en la presicion de emprehender esta costosa maniobra para la conservacion de las Yslas y efectuar los conatos de V.M. en esta importancia lo que le hago presente a su Soberania para patentarle à V.M. toda la aplicacion que promuebo para desempeñar el Real servicio tan recomendado en esta parte por repetidos ordenes de V.M.*

Dios N.S. guarde la C.R.P. de V.M. muchos años con aumentos de maiores Dominios.

Manila y Julio 19 de 1759.

*Señor
Miguel Obispo de Zebu*

Translation.

The Governor of the Philippines reports to Y.M., along with a record of proceedings, how it is necessary to reinforce the galleon named **Santísima Trinidad** with one deck, because she had been weakened by the cutting down promoted by my predecessor, and the costs will be much greater than what was spent in cutting her down.

Sire:

As a result of the complaints that were made about the lack of comfort, suffered by the mission bands, the seamen and other passengers aboard the galleon **Trinidad**, because of the drastic cutting down that my predecessor had ordered of one deck, I issued a decree to have the Pilots who had come aboard her this year to inform on her present condition, and the need to repair her better. To this effect, they informed me that the cutting down of her had markedly weakened her, because over half of her knees had been removed, and the beams of her decks made thinner, the result of which was that she became slower than before and that it was necessary, in order to strengthen her, to reinstate that deck and, in order to defend her, to add another row of guns; the cost of such repairs would be somewhat greater than what it cost to weaken her. The details can be found in the enclosed record of proceedings. Since there was no other galleon to make the voyage to the port of Acapulco in the coming year, I am forced to undertake this costly operation for the preservation of the Islands and carry out the obligations of Y.M. in this wise, which I bring to the Sovereign attention of Y.M., to prove the application in these parts of the interests of the Royal service, as so many orders from Y.M. have recommended.

May God save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M. for many years with an increase of your Dominions.

Manila, 19 July 1759.

Sire:

Miguel, Bishop of Cebu.

Editor's notes.

The new modifications recommended by Pedro Frasin, who had been her Chief Pilot during her latest voyage, were: 1) the extension of the quarter-deck as far as the main mast; 2) to install beams for the upper deck from the main hatchway to the fore hatchway, raising her sides to add two complete rows of guns, and also on top of the quarter-deck, if necessary, by removing some of the boards of the lower deck and leaving part of the boards fore and aft; and 3) to lengthen the main mast to its previous length. The other pilots on the same voyage, Manuel Galvez and Vicente Camacho, expressed similar opinions.

See Doc. 1760C for the follow-up letter and report on this subject.

Document 1759D

Navy Lieutenant José Soroa, new Governor of the Marianas

Source: AGI Fil. 480 (2 copies).

Letter from the Bishop of Cebu, Governor of the Philippines, to the King, dated Manila 17 July 1759**Original text in Spanish.**

El Governador de Philipinas Obispo de Zebú

Da cuenta à V.M. de haver despachado un Patache à las Islas Marianas, con nuevo Governador Interino inteligente en la Marina, para la avilitazion de aquellos Puertos, y para que conduxen el Abasto necesario de aquellos Presidarios y Misiones.

Señor

Haviendo pasado tres años que no se despachava Barco para las Islas Marianas, hallandose estas sumamente indigentes de todos sus menesteres, tube por precisa obligacion apromptar un Barco que fuese à su socorro en este presente año, embiando Juntamente nuevo Governador de las Islas, qual combenia à sus importancias, y nombrè para el efecto à Don Joseph Soroa sugeto inteligente en la marina: Cuya pericia se considera necesaria en aquellas partes para la avilitacion de sus Puertos, y mejor asistencia para el arrivo de las Naos de la Carrera, y seguridad de los Pataches, pues aunque este Individuo lo destinò mi antecesor, para que entendiese en la Rivera de Cavite, como Constructor no teniendo ninguna inteligencia en este arte fue preciso separarlo à su pedimento y escusarle à el Real Herario la mesada de sesenta pesos que sele havian asignado, y por que no vacase à el ocio logre la oportunidad de su acomodo, lo que participo à V.M. para que se digne aprovar esta Resolucion dirigida à el mejor Real servicio.

Dios nuestro Señor Guarde à V.M. muchos años con aumentos de mayores Dominios.

Manila y Julio 17 de 1759.

Señor

Miguel Obispo de Zebu.

Translation.

The Governor of the Philippines, Bishop of Cebu, reports to Y.M. that he has despatched a patache to the Mariana Islands with their new interim Governor, a man knowledgeable about naval matters, for the habilitation of the ports overthere, and to carry the necessary supplies for the soldiers of the garrison and for the missionaries.

Sire:

Since three years had passed without a ship being despatched to the Mariana Islands, and they were in extreme need of bare necessities, I took in upon myself to make a ship ready to send to their succor this year. At the same time, I took this opportunity to send a new Governor for the Islands, one who would befit their importance. To this effect, I appointed Don José Soroa, a man knowledgeable in naval matters, whose expertise is considered necessary in those parts for the habilitation of their Ports, and a better assistance when the galleons of the run stop there, and the safety of the pataches; indeed, although this individual had been assigned by my predecessor to the shore of Cavite, as a ship-builder, he was not knowledgeable about this aspect, and had to be relieved at his request, effecting a saving of 60 pesos to the Royal treasury that he had been assigned as an allowance. To keep him busy, I took this opportunity to re-assign him, which news I report to Y.M., should you be pleased to approve this decision aimed at the better service of Y.M.

May God our Lord save Y.M. for many years with an increase in your Dominions.

Manila, 17 July 1759.

Sire.

Miguel, Bishop of Cebu.

Notes 1760A

Letters from Fr. Stainbeck to Fr. Provincial Juan Romero

*Sources: Present location unknown; cited in AHN Clero Jesuitas, Legajo 891, doc. n° 1, fol. 173-174.
Note: On the list of documents seized from the Jesuits at Manila in 1769 by Judge Galvan.*

A1. Letter to Fr. Provincial Juan Romero, dated Agaña 24 January 1760

Contents: “sobre las diligencias, que tenia con el Governador de aquellas Yslas sobre linderos de las tierras, que allí poseían; incluyendo copia de la Carta que el mismo Padre escribe al Señor Obispo de Zebu, y Governador de estas Yslas.”

Translation: Regarding the proceedings that he had with the Governor of those Islands about the boundaries of the lands that they possessed overthere; enclosing a copy of the map that the same Father sent to the Lord Bishop of Cebu, then Governor of these Islands.

A2. Id. Letter to Bishop of Cebu. Contents: Idem.

A3. Id. Letter to Governor of the Philippines. Contents: Idem.

A4. Id. Letter to Fr. Provincial, dated 30 January.

Contents: “Dando quenta de haverse desidido las diferiencias dichas en la antecedente a favor de los Padres.”

Translation: Reporting that the disagreements mentioned in his previous letter have been decided in favor of the Fathers.

A5. Id. Letter to Fr. Provincial, dated 31 January.

Contents: “Del estado de Intereses de aquella Casa, compra de generos[,] suplemento hecho a aquel Gobierno y otros puntos relativos a dicho Colegio.”

Translation: About the state of affairs of that residence, the purchase of goods, the supplement paid to that Government, and other points concerning said College.

Documents 1760B

The galleon *Trinidad* and her new look

Sources: AGI Fil. 681; MP Fil. 41 (see Doc. 1755A2).

B1. Letter from the Governor of the Philippines, dated 11 July 1760

Original text in Spanish.

El Obispo de Zebú Gobernador de las Yslas Philipinas.

*Dà quenta à V.M. con Testimonio de diligencia de haver con reconocimiento de practicos, y pleno conocimiento de la necesidad de compocion, y refuerzo que demandava el Bajel la **Santísima Trinidad** para poder navegar con seguridad, y resguardo de su Tripulacion à la Nueva España, determinado con Audiencia de vuestro fiscal en Junta General de Hacienda se pusiese en practica por la Maestranza è Intervencion del Castellano, que V.M. tiene en el Puerto y Rivera de Cavite de aquellas Yslas remediendole los defectos, que por la rebaja que havia hecho su antecesor D. Pedro Manuel de Arandia le ponian en Imminente, riesgo, y a su Tripulacion en una navegacion tan penosa. Suplicando, y pidiendo en ello la Real aprovacion de V.M.*

Señor
22

*No habiendo otro Bajel, que despachar el presente año a el Reyno de la Nueva España con los Pliegos del Real servicio de V.M.[.] conducir el Situado de estas Yslas, y llevar parte del permiso, que la Benignidad de V.M. tiene concedido à el Comercio, y vecindario de esta Capital, para su subsistencia, y manutencion, que el nombrado la **Santísima Trinidad**, que el pasado [año] regresò aqui del mismo viage. Mandè que por los Pilotos maiores de esta navegacion, contra Maestres, y mas Oficiales de Mar con los de Maestranza, y Arsenal de Cavite se pasase à hacer Inspeccion, y reconocimiento de la obra, que dicho Bajel necesitava para dicho viage, y poder navegar, con aquella moral seguridad, que se deve precausionar en lo penoso que ès por su larga distancia, y en el rigor del Invierno; y de el que hicieron se evidencio la precisa necesidad de su compocion no solo de una Carena regular, sino que se devia reforsar con algunas Maderas de quenta para dejarlo en el mismo estado, que tenia antes de la Carena*

pasada, por haverlo dejado flaco, y debil con la rebaja, que en ella le havia mandado hazer mi Antecesor D. Pedro Manuel de Arandia, corriendosele la ventoja en las obras muertas de la Toldilla de Popa, unico defecto que se havia percivido, digno de reparo, de su primera construccion, y que dio motivo à la mencionada rebaja.

Y haciendome cargo, que en ello se procediò por dicho mi Antecesor con dictamen, de los que para el efecto, tuvo por practicos, como tan celosso à el mejor acierto en el Real servicio de V.M. concurriendo en mi igual obligacion para desempeño de la Real confianza en que me constituye este Ministerio mandè dar visita a el Fiscal de V.M. que apreciando por conveniente Informasen los Pilotos, que havian navegado en el, el sita- do ultimo viage, los defectos, que le havian reconocido, ô experimentado, y que con lo que dixesen los Oficiales y Maestranza de Cavite con Intervencion de aquel Castellano como Inteligente en la Construccion, bolviesen à hacer nuevo reconocimiento determi- nandose la obra, que para seguridad de este Bajel tuviesen por conveniente, y tiempo oportuno a su conclusion para poder hacer el presente viage respecto à que con la men- cionada rebaja demas del ningun abrigo, y resguardo, que tenia su tripulacion en nave- gacion tan dilatada, y rigurosa, se pondria à un inminente riesgo de perderse. Lo que executado asi por dichos Informes, nuevo reconocimiento de la Maestranza, y el que hizo el Castellano con la representacion, que dize haver hecho a mi Antecesor sobre los inconvenientes, que propuso quando se hizo la rebaja de dicho Bajel (que pidiò se aco- mulase por Testimonio à el expediente de esta materia con un Mapa, que demuestra en dos diceños el estado, que antes tenia, y el en que despues quedò) se confirmò la necesi- dad de la mencionada compocicion, y que esta devia ser volviendose à el estado, que antes tenia rebajandole solo parte de la ventoja [sic = ventola?], que arriva queda asen- tado haver sacado de su primera construccion en las obras muertas de Popa, cuio costo: bien, que no asertivamente, seria menor, que el que causò, en dicha rebaja, que por lo que oficiales Reales hazen constar subio à 53 mil y mas pesos:

En cuio estado con lo nuevamente pedido por el Fiscal de V.M. mandè pasar el ex- pediente à Junta general de Hacienda, y conformandome con el maior numero de votos resolví se puciese en practica la mencionada compocicion, que era lo que se hallò por mas conforme à el mejor Real servicio de V.M. en la manera que dicha Maestranza de Cavite con Intervencion de su Castellano, ô la persona, que a su falta substituyese su lugar en la Intendencia de las obras Reales, de aquel Arcenal lo hallasen por mas con- forme à su seguridad, como serà à V.M. constante del Testimonio, con que de todo doy quenta suplicando à la Real Soverania de V.M. se sirva aprovar esta determinacion ò lo que fuese de su Real agrado, haciendo presente à V.M. que assi en ella como en todo lo demas que por la dignacion de vuestra Real confianza corre a mi cargo en este Min- isterio he puesto, y pondrè todo el celo, cuidado, y vigilancia, que à fuerza de fiel, y leal vasallo de V.M. devo deseoso del mejor acierto en el Real servicio.

Dios guarde à la C.R.P. de V.M. quanto la Christiandad necesita.

Manila y Julio 11 de 1760.

[Miguel Obispo de Zebu.]

Translation.

The Bishop of Cebu, Governor of the Philippine Islands, reports to Y.M., along with a record of proceedings, that he had arranged for the survey by experts of the ship **Santísima Trinidad**, after it had been fully realized that she needed repairs, and strengthening to be able to sail to New Spain in safety, and shelter her crew. This decision, taken with your Fiscal in a general Meeting of the Finance Council, was to have the Shipyard personnel, under the supervision of the Warden that Y.M. has in the port and shore of Cavite of those Islands, repair the defects that the cutting down that had been done by his predecessor, Don Pedro Manuel de Arandia, had placed her, and her crew, in imminent danger during such a hard voyage. He begs for the Royal approval of Y.M. in this matter.

Sire:

Letter N° 22.

Since there was no vessel available for despatch this year to the Kingdom of New Spain with the mail of the Royal service of Y.M., to bring back the subsidy of these islands and part of the permitted profit that the largesse of Y.M. has granted to this Commerce, and to the residents of this Capital, for their subsistence and maintenance, other than the galleon **Santísima Trinidad** that last year returned here on the same voyage, I therefore ordered the Chief Pilots of this run, the Boatswains, and other naval officers, along with those of the Shipyard and Arsenal of Cavite to carry out an inspection, and survey of the work that said vessel would need to make said voyage, and be able to sail with that moral safety that must be guaranteed during such a hard voyage, on account of its long distance and the rigor of the winter. The findings of said survey were that repairs were indeed necessary, not just the regular careening but also that she needed to be strengthened with some wooden beams that would restore her to her former condition before the last careening, when she had been weakened by the cutting down that my predecessor, Don Pedro Manuel de Arandia, had ordered done, correcting the wind tail(?) of the upper works of the poop deck, the only defect that needed repair, from her initial construction, but that gave the excuse for the above-mentioned cutting down.

And, having found out that my predecessor had acted on the advice of experts, in all fairness to the Royal service of Y.M., I fulfilled my own obligation by ordering the Fiscal of Y.M. to visit her with the Pilots who had sailed aboard her in the last voyage, to report on the defects that they had recognized or experienced in her, in addition to consulting the officers of the shipyard of Cavite, with the participation of the Warden overthere, who is a man knowledgeable in ship-building. They were to make a new survey, to determine what work needed to be done for the safety of this vessel, and the time required to carry it out, given that with said cutting down, her crew had been left without any shelter, or protection, during such a long and rigorous voyage, and in imminent danger of being lost [overboard]. This was done, and the reports of the new survey by the shipyard include a statement by the Warden that he had pointed out to my prede-

cessor the disadvantages of cutting down said vessel (which he had requested to be added to the file regarding this matter, along with a sketch that demonstrates, in two figures, her condition before and after)¹ and the need to carry out said repair was confirmed, that is, that she had to be restored to her previous condition, by lowering only part of the wind tail(?) that, as mentioned earlier, was the part that was removed from her initial construction in the upper works at the poop. As for the cost, though only approximate, it would be less than the expenditure of more than 53,000 pesos that the last modification has cost, according to the Royal officials.

With the file in that state, following a new request from the Fiscal of Y.M., I ordered that it be reviewed in a General Meeting of the Treasury Council, and, in line with the greater number of votes cast, I decided to have said repairs carried out, as they were considered to be in the interest of the Royal service of Y.M., by said shipyard of Cavite, under the supervision of its Warden, or the person who might be substituted for him from the department of works of that Arsenal, the better for her safety, as Y.M. will see from the Record of proceedings (enclosed), all of which I bring to the Royal attention of Y.M., begging you to please approve this decision, or another one that may be more agreeable to your Royal pleasure. I take this opportunity once again to thank you for the Royal trust that placed me in this Ministry, and to express my zeal, care and vigilance that I intend to apply as a loyal vassal of Y.M. to achieve my objectives for the Royal service.

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

Manila, 11 July 1760.

[Miguel, Bishop of Cebu.]

Synthesis of the attached Report by those who examined the works.

On 8 January 1760, the Bishop ordered that a copy be made of the appropriate royal orders, and other files, concerning the despatch of galleons.

On 12 September 1759, the Chief pilots of the Manila-Acapulco run, Pedro Laborde, Pedro Frasin, Manuel Galvez, Raimundo Kelly, as well as the Boatwains of the same run, Captain Pedro Hernandez Valenzuela, Manuel Rodriguez, Juan Gavilan, and Francisco Reina, were ordered to go to Cavite on the 15th, to meet with another expert of that dependency, José de Acevedo, in order to carry out a survey of the galleon.

They presented their recommendations within two days after the survey was done (see below).

The Governor asked the Fiscal for his opinion. He agreed on 1 October. Then the government adviser was asked for his opinion. He advised on 4 October that a meeting of the Finance Council should be called. The pilots were also invited to it. For some of their opinions, see Doc. 1759C. The past correspondence and previous modifications, and their costs, were reviewed previous to the meeting. The meeting finally took place on 4 December 1759. The resolution taken was that, given that she was the only

1 Ed. note: See MP Fil. 41 in Doc. 1755A2.

galleon available for the 1760 voyage, she should be immediately put to order. The Governor immediately gave his approval.

B2. Recommendations of the experts for the modifications to be made to the galleon

Original text in Spanish.

Reconocimiento.

*En el Puerto de Cavite, y Real Arzenal de él à quinze de Septiembre de mil setecientos cinquenta y nueve años. En cumplimiento del Superior Decreto de la foxa anterior a esta del Ilustrísimo Señor Presidente Governador, y Capitan General de estas Yslas por antemí D. Joseph Joaquin Martinez, Theniente de Justicia maior Cobrador de los Reales Tributos Alguacil maior del Santo Oficio Visitador de la Santa Crusada, y Juez conservador de las dos Reales Rentas de Vino, y Buyo de dicho Puerto, y su distrito que actuo como Juez Receptor con mis testigos acompañadores, por falta de Escrivano publico, y Real passo el Señor Don Joseph de Acevedo, Intendente de dicho Real Arzenal, en consorcio de los Pilotos maiores de la Carrera de [Nueva] España Don Pedro Laborde Tausias, Don Manuel Galvez, D. Reymundo Kelly, y D. Pedro Frasin [y] Contramaestres de ella, D. Manuel Rodriguez, D. Juan Gavilan, D. Pedro Hernandez Valenzuela, y D. Francisco Reyna, y la Maestranza de dicho Real Arzenal, y es Benito Garcia, Maestro maior Francisco Baza, Maestro segundo Lazaro Baza, tercero Maestro, y de Cavo de obras Luis del Castillo, Los Carpinteros Juan Antonio el chico, Juan de Talavera y Geronimo Sicang à efecto de hacer en el Navio la **Santísima Trinidad** que acava de llegar del Reyno de Nueva España, el reconocimiento que les está mandado hacer en dicho Superior Decreto, para lo qual a cada uno separadamente les recibí juramento por Dios Nuestro Señor, y una señal de Cruz, segun derecho sucargo de él ofrecieron hacerle segun su leal saver, y entender, y haviendolo executado todos bien prolijamente, y conferenciado largamente entre sí, unanimes, y conformes dixeron ser necesario, y preciso añadir en el, un bao mas en la cuvierta de Popa, de los dos Palos de maior, y trinquete para mas refuerzo en dicho Parage, como tambien se siga la cuvierta del Combes de Popa, a Proa, como estava antes, quitando la Xareta, ô cuvierta postisa, que se puso en la Carena pasada.*

Que se aumenten dos Baos, y las Latas correspondientes en el Castillo de Proa.

Que la cuvierta de la tordilla [sic], se siga hasta el Palo maior para mayor refuerzo del Baso.

Que se lebanten en la Plaza de Armas, ô Combès, unos lampazos para abrir Portas, y montar Artilleria en dicho Parage, para lo qual se necesita seguir las sintas, y contra sintas necesarias para su fortificacion, y perfeccion con cui obra hazen juicio quedará dicho Bajel, bastantemente fortificado, y aproporcion con suficiente conveniencia para el abrigo, y desahogo del equipaje. Todo lo qual Dixeron ser lo que cada uno alcanza su leal saver, y entender bajo el juramento que tiene fecho en que se afirmaron,

y ratificaron, y firmaron los supra nominados concurrentes conmigo, y dichos mis acompañados. De que doy feè:

Joseph de Acevedo

Pedro Laborde Tausias

Reymundo Kelly

Manuel Galvez

Pedro Frasin

Pedro Fernandez Valenzuela

Manuel Rodriguez

Francisco Reyna

Juan Gavilan

Benito Garcia

Lazaro Baza

Francisco Baza

Luis del Castillo

Juan Antonio el chico

Geronimo Sicang

Juan de Talavera.

Los firmantes arriba son los mismos que por mí se expresan en la diligencia de reconocimiento hecha en virtud del Superior Decreto, ya citado lo que hago constar, y lo firmè con dicha mis acompañados, de que doy feè:

Joseph Joachin Martinez

Pedro de los Santos

Francisco de Salas.

Translation.

Survey report.

In the Port of Cavite, and its Royal Arsenal, on the 15th day of September 1759, in compliance with the Superior Decree of his Most Illustrious Lordship, the President, Governor, and Captain- General of these Islands, before me, Don José Joaquin Martinez, Assistant Senior Judge Receiver of the Royal tributes, Chief Constable of the Holy Office, Inspector of the Holy Crusade, and Judge Curator of the Royal income from Wine and Betel Nuts in said Port and its District, acting as Judge Receiver, along with my accompanying witnesses, in the absence of a Notary, royal or public, there appeared Don José de Acevedo, Quartermaster of said Royal Arsenal, jointly with the Chief Pilots of the Run to [New] Spain, Don Pedro Laborde Tausias, Don Manuel Galvez, Don Raymundo Kelly, and Don Pedro Frasin, and with its Boatswains, Don Manuel Rodriguez, Don Juan Gavilan, Don Pedro Hernandez Valenzuela, and Don Francisco Reyna, and those of the Shipyard of said Arsenal, to wit, Benito Garcia, Master Builder Francisco Baza, Second Master Lázaro Baza, Third Master and Superintendent of Works, Luís del Castillo, plus the Carpenters Juan Antonio, Jr., Juan de Talavera, and Gerónimo Sicang, for the purpose of carrying out a survey a survey of

the galleon **Santísima Trinidad** which has just returned from the Kingdom of New Spain, as ordered by said Superior Decree. To this effect, I had each one of them in turn to swear an oath, in the name of God our Lord and a sign of the cross, according to law, and under said oath they offered to give their own opinion according to their loyal understanding and knowledge. And, after everyone had expressed it at some length, and discussed among themselves for a long time, they, unanimously, declared: That it was necessary to add one more beam to her poop deck, to two of her masts, the main mast and the foremast, to strengthen those areas, as well as to continue the deck from the poop to the bow, as it was before, removing the harpings, or false deck, that was placed during the last careening.

That two beams, and their corresponding cross-beams, be added to the quarter-deck.

That the quarter-deck be prolonged as far as the mainmast, to reinforce the hull.

That on the quarter-deck be installed some frames before opening gun ports, to mount guns in said area; for said purpose, it is necessary to extend the wales, and corresponding cross-wales, necessary for strength and quality work. With said modifications, they think that said vessel will have been strengthened rather well, in a proportioned manner, and with sufficient room for shelter and resting space for the crew. All of the above-mentioned gentlemen, the undersigned, declared this to be according to their loyal understanding, and opinion, under the oath previously made, which they affirmed, and ratified, as follows, for which I vouch.

José Acevedo

Pedro Laborde Tausias

Raimundo Kelly

Manuel Galvez

Pedro Frasin

Pedro Fernandez Valenzuela

Manuel Rodriguez

Francisco Reyna

Juan Gavilan

Benito Garcia

Lázaro Baza

Francisco Baza

Luis del Castillo

Juan Antonio, Junior

Gerónimo Sicang

Juan de Talavera.

The above signatories are the same individuals mentioned by me in the proceeding of the survey made by order of the Superior Decree already mentioned, to which I refer, and in faith whereof I, and my accompanying witnesses, have affixed our signatures:

José Joachin Martinez

Pedro de los Santos

Francisco de Salas.

 Document 1761A

Retired General de la Torre died before he could become Governor of the Philippines

Source: AGN AHH Marina, vol. 19, folio 109.

Letter from the Archbishop of Manila to the Viceroy, dated Manila 14 July 1761

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Señor.

Mui Señor mío:

El incluso testimonio manifestará a V. Exc. la orden del Rey para que este Gobierno en todo evento de vacante pase al Arzobispo, y habiendo fallecido antes de llegar a las Islas Marianas el Brigadier D. Juan Manuel Gómez de la Torre, nombrado por S.M. para gobernar estas islas, al arrivo del navío que lo conducía de este Reyno entre luego en mando del Gobierno el 9 del corriente y estando obligada mi atención a ofrecerlo a las ordenes de V.E. apreciare ocasiones en que haver buenas demonstraciones en obsequio de V.Exa.

Dios guarde a V.Exa. muchos años.

Manila y Julio 14 de 1761.

Exmo. Sr.

B.M. de V.E. su siervo y Capellan,

Man. Antonio Arzopo. de Manila.

[Al] Exmo. Sor. Marqués de Cruillas.

Translation.

To His Excellency:

My dear Sir:

The attached record will let Your Excellency know the order of the King for this government, if ever vacant, to pass into the hands of the Archbishop. Since Brigadier Juan Manuel Gomez de la Torre, appointed by H.M. to govern these Islands died before he reached the Mariana Islands, at the arrival of the ship of this kingdom that was carrying him, I therefore took control of the government on the 9th of this month. Ob-

liged as I was to bring this matter to your attention, I am ready to receive the orders of Y.E. at any time and I look forward to show my respect to Y.E.

May God save Your Excellency for many years.

Manila, 14 July 1761.

Most Excellent Sir:

Your servant and chaplain who kisses the hand of Y.E.,

Manuel Antonio [Rojo], Archbishop of Manila.

[To] His Excellency the Marquis of Cruillas.

Document 1761B

The EIC ships Warwick, Caernarvon and Princess Augusta, via western Micronesia**Logbook of the ship Warwick, Captain Joseph Dewar, Voyage 1759-62. Via Mapia and Pulo Ana in 1761**

Source: India Office record L/Mar/B/585H.

Extract from the log

...

Ship Warwick Towards China

[In going from Batavia to Whampoa, the ships went by way of the SW corner of Micronesia]

Tuesday Feb. 3d 1761

Light airs and smooth seas at Noon joined company with the Caernarvon.¹ Find a help to the Northward.

...

Monday March the 2d 1761

1 [p.m.] Winds and weather as per Logg had a large swell from the Northward. People employed under the Boatswain caulking the steerage. At Sunset the extremes of St. David's Islands from S by W to W by S distance from the nearest Island 4 or 5 Leagues.

6 [p.m.] When a little to the Northward of them made them seven in number from the mast head they seemed to extend southeastward. Kept a very good lookout in the Night.

Lat. 1°19 N. per O. 1°26 per I[nstrument?]. Long. in 1°49 E North Part New Guinea S 49° West distance 48 leagues.

Tuesday March the 3rd 1761

First Part Light airs & calms Tried the current and found it set SSE two fathoms. Kept a constant good lookout. At 5 p.m. Departed this life Peter Peterson Seaman. At

¹ Ed. note: Captain Norton Hutchinson.

8 a.m. committed the body to the deep. Still a large swell from the Northward. Employed as before. Sailmaker at work upon the sails.

Lat. 1°47 per O[ctant?]. 1°48 per I. Long. in 2° E North Part New Guinea S 48° West distance 61 leagues.

Wednesday March the 4th 1761

Squally unsettled weather as per Logg Find a hindrance to the Northward of 19 miles. I imagine the current sets thro the opening between Luconia and the Islands from the Northwestward.

Lat. 2°44 per O. 2°43 per I. Long. 2°37 E North Part New Guinea S 44° West Distance 74 leagues.

...

Lat. 4°55 per O. 5°03 per I. Long. 4°30 E North Part of New Guinea S 42° West Distance 134 leagues.

Thursday March the 12th 1761

Light airs and fair weather Still a large Northerly swell. Kept a good lookout in the night[,] find a help to the Northward of 17 miles

Lat. 6°00 per O. 5°43 per I. Long. in 4°42 E. Northmost Part New Guinea S 37° West Distance 157 leagues.

Friday March the 13th 1761

Light breezes and cloudy weather. Kept a good lookout. At sunset from the mast head we thought we saw an island bearing NNW and as we had reason by the charts to expect to see islands, thought it was not prudent to run all night. At 12 at night laid her head to the Southward untill 4 in the morning. Find a help to the Northward of 7 miles the swell comes now from the NNE.

Lat 6°44 per O. 6°37 per I. Long. in 4°35 E Northmost Part of New Guinea S 33° West Distance 167 leagues.

Saturday March the 14th 1761

Winds and weather as per Logg had a swell from NE. Kept a very good lookout. Rewd a new tillow roap [sic].

[Ngulu Atoll]

Lat. 7°47 per O. 7°52 per I. Long. in 4°17 E Northmost Part New Guinea S 28°04 W. Distance 183 leagues.

Sunday March the 15th 1761

First and latter cloudy, middle squally with rain. At sunset saw the island Aracises [sic] bearing NNW the southmost of the Matelotys [sic] N distance about 4 leagues. I did not choose to pass them in the night. At 6 p.m. wore ship to the SE, had a great

swell from the NE. 10 a.m. had a great rippling upon the water; imagine is occasioned by a westerly current against the NE swell.

Lat. $8^{\circ}24$ per O. $8^{\circ}22$ per I. Long. in $0^{\circ}6'2''$ Island Aracissis West Distance 8 leagues.
Monday March the 16th 1761

Winds and weather as per Logg. At 5 p.m. saw the Matelotys from the mast head. At 6 Ditto the Southmost bore WSW and the Northmost W by S $1/2$ S Distance about 4 leagues. They seem to be long low islands by close together E and W from Arcifes, it is a higher island & larger and lyed N and S nearest it is I believe 6 or 7 miles from the North end of Arcifes to I. Matelotys. Had a large swell from the N and NNE. I have had a strong set to the Eastward by our making the islands as we did I take my departure from the Northmost Mateloty allowing it to ly[e] in $8^{\circ}40$ N.

Lat. $9^{\circ}59$ Long. in $0^{\circ}02$ W. The Northmost of the Islands Matelotys S 2° E distance 26 leagues.

Tuesday March the 17th 1761

... At 8 a.m. departed this life Benedict Consith(?) Seaman. At 8 a.m. committed the body to the deep.

Lat. $11^{\circ}41$ per O $11^{\circ}47$ per I. Long. in $0^{\circ}48$ W The Northmost Mateloty S 10° E distance 62 leagues.

Wednesday March the 18th 1761

... Punished St. Satumeyen(?) of the French Volunteers with a dozen lashes for stealing Arrack, getting drunk and causing a disturbance in the ship...

[The two ships reached Whampoa on 6 April, and learned that the **Princess Augusta** had arrived 6 or 7 days earlier. On Sunday 17 April St-Pierre, one of the French volunteers, died.]

[Return voyage]

Ship Warwick toward St. Helena

Tuesday July 14th 1761

... In company the **Caernarvon** and **Princess Augusta**.

...

Lat. $8^{\circ}58$ per O. $8^{\circ}51$ per I. Long. in. $12^{\circ}08$ E. Bottel Islands N $40^{\circ}45$ West Distance 344 leagues.

All these 24 hours the wind and swell abating gradually. Latter part moderate and fair. in Company of Caernarvon & Princess Augusta.

...

Lat. 7° per O. $7^{\circ}33$ per I. Long. in $12^{\circ}43$ E. Bottel Islands N $40^{\circ}01$ West. Distance 367 leagues.

Tuesday September 1st 1761

Moderate breezes and mostly fair. Kept a very good lookout and went under easy sail in the night being near the Latitude of the two islands called the Johanns [sic] in the charts.¹ In company as before. Find a hindrance to the southward of 9 miles.

Lat. 5°18 per O. 5°27 E. Long. in. 12°41 E. Bottel Islands N 35°45 W. Distance 403 leagues.

Friday September 4th 1761

Unsettled weather as per Logg. At 10 p.m. saw a small island bearing SE. At Ditto wore ship and burned a false fire to the **Caernarvon**. At 12 Ditto bore SSW dist. about 2 or 3 leagues. At sunrise Ditto SW 3 or 4 leagues. At noon the body of Ditto N 30° W. Dist. 4 or 5 leagues. Had clear weather a.m. but could see no other land, there is no such island laid down in any chart. I have saw [sic] a small praw [i.e. proa] close in with the island which makes me think there must be other islands near, for she had a sail set. I make meridian distance from the Bottel Islands to this 11°34 E. I make it to ly in 4°38 N.² Find a set to the Southward of 26 miles by our driving by the island; the current must set strong to the Eastward also. We sounded within 2 leagues of the island but had no ground.

Lat. 4°36 O 4°37 I Long. 12°33' E The island N 80° W. Distance 4 leagues.

Saturday 5 September 1761

First and middle part dirty cloudy weather and squally. At sunset the small island bore SW dist. about 6 leagues. At 7 p.m. the Caernarvon and Princess Augusta being a great way ahead lost sight of them. at Ditto we fell off from the W by N to NE by N burnt a blue light to the other ships but had no answer. Concluded they had tacked. We tacked also. At 8 Ditto burnt another blue light but still no answer, we then thought the other ships had continued standing to the Northward. At Ditto we tacked in hopes of joining them. Kept a very good lookout. At daylight saw nothing of the other ships. At sunrise the Island bore WSW 1/2 S Distance about 6 Leagues. At 10 Ditto W by N at same time saw another island bearing S by E. At Noon Ditto S 20°30 W. Dist. 3 or 4 leagues. It lyes about SE from the first about 12 elagues in the Latitude of 4°14 N. I shall take my Departure from this last island and for the present call it Warwicks Island.

Lat. 4°23 per O. 4°31 per I. Long. in 12°34 Warwicks Island S 21° W Distance 4 leagues.

Sunday 6 September 1761

Variable winds and unsettled weather. At sunset the body of Warwicks Island S °45 W about 4 leagues. P.M. saw three small praws as coming from the island. They soon after came alongside but could not prevail upon them to come in. They seemed very

1 Ed. note: They were near the Sonsorol Is.

2 Ed. note: This corresponds to Pula Ana.

hungry and had nothing in the praws. Our people was throwing beef & rice into their praws when the ship was taken aback which so surprised them that they scuttled away as fast as they could for the island which was right to windward 4 or 5 leagues. The largest had 7 men, another 3, and the 3rd 2, all naked with their bodies painted. Had a narrow piece of stuff made of grass about their middle. A.M. saw nothing of the island. At 10 Ditto saw one of the praws that had but two men. Shortened sail and took them up almost famished not having been able to gain the island. At Noon saw the largest and got them aboard. Am afraid the other with three men are perished. They are well made people. We have nobody as yet understand anything they say.

Lat. 4°29 per I. Long. in 0°07 W. Warwick Island S °23 E. Distance 5 or 6 leagues.
Monday 7 September 1761

Mostly fair weather with moderate breezes. A.M. shifted both our topsails. Find a set within this two days of 34 miles to the Southward. The currents are strong against us. Despair of getting up with Warwick Island again I shall take care of these poor people till we see land. They chose to go too. We carry an easy sail in the night and keep a good lookout. Got the Long boat caulked ready for getting in the water.

...
Saturday 12 Sept. 1761

First part squally and rain, middle and latter light airs and calm & fair. At 8 p.m. layed the ship too with her head to the westward not caring to pass the latitude of St. David's Islands in the night. We find a hindrance of about 17 miles to the southward. Within the 2 days see a great many drifts of trees.

...
Monday 25 September 1761

Light airs and variable, the weather mostly fair. At 6 a.m. saw land bearing S 10 E Dist. 7 or 8 leagues when the clouds were off from it, appeared like Islands if so it must have been Provid(?) laid down in some charts 3 or 4 degrees to the Eastward of the Pitts Straits. Find a hindrance to the Norward of 7 miles.

Lat. 0°14 per O. 0°07 per I. Long. in 2° W. Warwick Island N 26° E Distance 89 leagues.

...

Editor's note.

On September 28th, when the ship was in Pitts Strait, Walet Davies, surgeon, died. The next day, his body was burned ashore on a small island.

Since the other ships may have seen so-called Warwick Island, their logbooks could be consulted for details: ref. India Office 589F & G for the **Caernarvon**, Captain Norton Hutchinson, and 590C for the **Princess Augusta**, Captain Thomas Baddison.

Typical English merchant ship of the 1760s

Nomenclature for her masts, yards, sails, rigging and parts of the hull

Bowsprit and rigging.

1. Bowsprit.
2. Jibb boom & horses.
3. Bobb stays.
4. Gammoning.
5. Spritsail & yard.
6. Spritsail topsail & yard.
7. Spritsail lifts.
8. Spritsail braces.
9. Spritsail clue lines.
10. Spritsail sheets.
11. Spritsail hall yards.
12. Jibb furlit on the boom.
13. Jibbhallyards.
14. Jibb stay.
15. Fore topgallant stay.
16. Fore topmast stay.
17. Fore topmast stay sail.
18. Netting for ditto.
19. Forestays.

Foremast & rigging.

Fore topgallant:

1. Mast.
5. Yard & sail.
6. Shrouds.
7. Lifts.
11. Hallyards.
8. Braces.
9. Clue lines.
10. Sheets.
3. Cap.

Fore topmast:

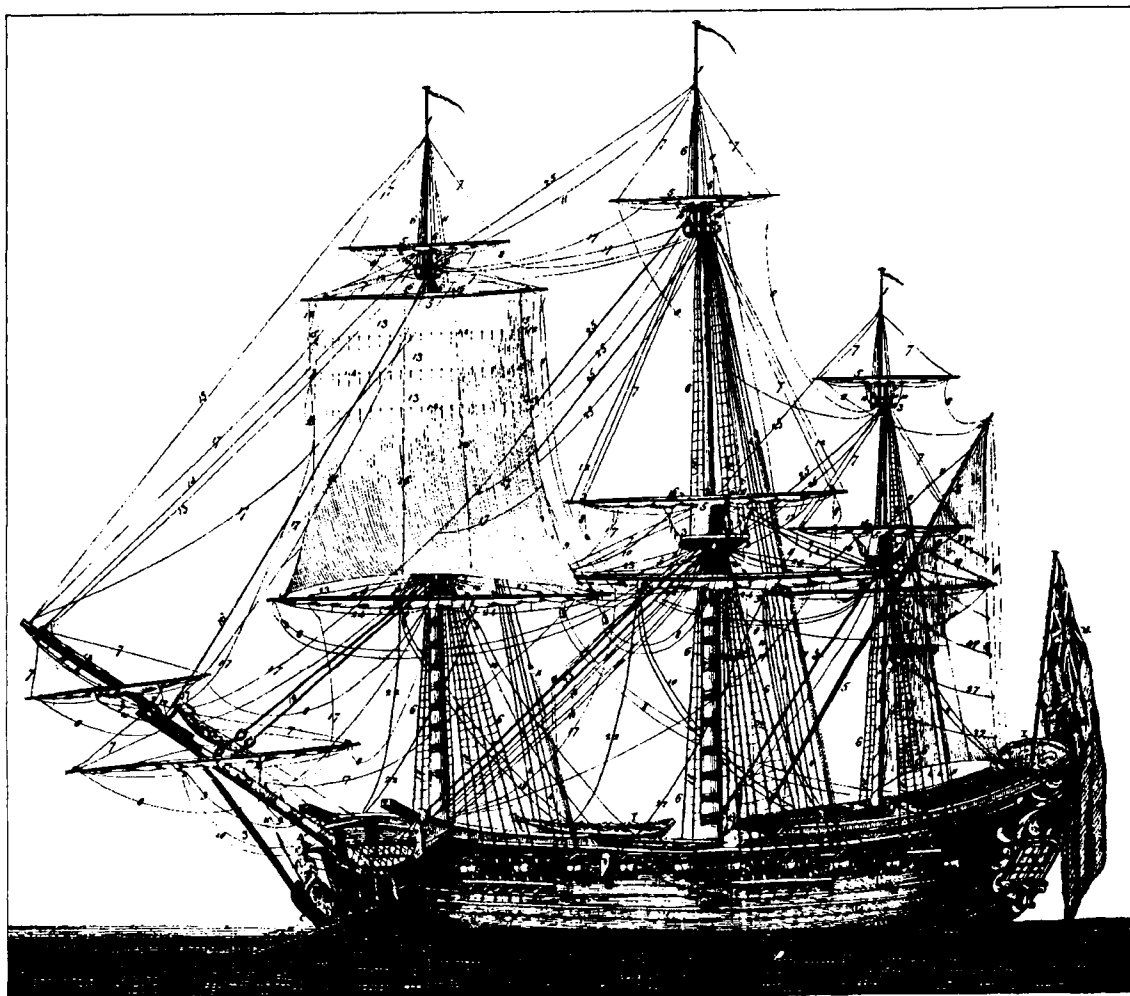
3. Cross trees.
6. Shrouds.
11. Staysail hallyards.
4. Back stays.
5. Yard & sail hoisted.

Fore topsail:

7. Lifts.
8. Braces.
9. Clue-lines.
12. Reef tackles.
13. Reefs.
14. Points.
15. Earrings.
16. Bunt-lines.
11. Hallyards.
17. Bow-lines.

Foremast:

5. Yard & sail.
21. Crowfoot.
6. Shrouds.
18. Rattlings.
3. Top.
19. Lannyards.
20. Dead eyes.
11. Tye & jears.
22. Tacks.
10. Sheets.
9. Clue-garnetts.
16. Bunt-lines.
23. Leech-lines.
17. Bow-lines.
7. Lifts.



Merchant-ship with all her masts, yards, sails & rigging. Engraved by J. Bayly in 1762.

- 8. Braces.
- 24. Horses & stirrups.

Mainmast & rigging.

Main topgallant:

- 1. Mast.
- 5. Yard & sail.
- 6. Shrouds.
- 7. Lifts.
- 8. Braces.
- 17. Bow-lines.
- 6. Clue-lines.

- 10. Sheets.

- 2. Cap.
- 25. Stay.

- 11. Hallyards.

Main topmast:

- 3. Cross trees.
- 6. Shrouds.
- 4. Back stays.
- 25. Stay & staysail hallyards.
- 5. Yard & sail.

Main topsail:

- 7. Lifts.
- 8. Braces.

- 9. Clue-lines.
- 10. Sheets.
- 16. Bunt-lines.
- 11. Hallyards.
- 17. Bow-lines.
- 12. Reef tackles.

Mainmast:

- 5. Yard & sail.
- 6. Shrouds.
- 18. Rattlings.
- 21. Crowfoot.
- 25. Stay.
- 3. Top.
- 19. Lannyards.
- 20. Dead eyes.
- 11. Tye & jears.
- 22. Tacks.
- 10. Sheets.
- 9. Clue-garnetts.
- 16. Bunt-lines.
- 23. Leech-lines.
- 17. Bow-lines.
- 7. Lifts.
- 8. Braces.
- 24. Horses & stirrups.

Mizen-mast & rigging.**Mizen topgallant:**

- 1. Mast.
- 5. Yard & sail.
- 6. Shrouds.
- 7. Lifts.
- 8. Braces.
- 9. Clue-lines.
- 10. Sheets.
- 2. Cap.
- 25. Stay.

Mizen topmast:

- 3. Cross trees.
- 25. Stay & staysail hallyards.
- 6. Shrouds.
- 4. Back stays.

- 5. Yard & sail.

Mizen topsail:

- 7. Lifts.
- 8. Braces.
- 9. Clue-lines.
- 16. Bunt-lines.
- 10. Sheets.
- 17. Bow-lines.
- 11. Hallyards.

Mizen mast:

- 5. Yard & sail.
- 3. Top.
- 25. Stay.
- 26. Stay sail.
- 6. Shrouds.
- 27. Brails.
- 10. Sheet.
- 11. Reef.
- 5. Cross jack yard.
- 21. Crowfoot.
- 19. Lannyards.

Parts of the hull.

- A. Head.
- B. Rails.
- C. Cutt water.
- D. Bow.
- + Chains.
- E. Catt heads.
- F. Boat on the booms.
- G. Chess-tree.
- H. Quarter.
- I. Taffarel.
- K. Poop.
- L. Poop lanthorn.
- M. Ensign.
- N. Companion.
- O. Binnacle.
- P. Wheel.
- R. Hawse-hole.

 Documents 1762A

The last voyage of the frigate *Nuestra Señora del Rosario y San Juan Bautista*, alias el *Filipino*, in 1761-1762

A1. Letter from the merchants to the Viceroy, dated Navidad 27 January 1762

Sources: AGN AHH Marina, vol. 19, folios 23-24, 28, 73-74; photocopy at MARC (pp. 1812-1821).

*Summary notes: Deposition accompanied with letters and the manifest of the **Nuestra Señora del Rosario y San Juan Bautista**, alias **El Filipino**. There were 1,000 items, not 997 as shown on the manifest, and 1 was for transfer to the Marianas. Enclosed is a list of the officers, garrison, soldiers, crew and passengers.*

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Señor,

Señor:

Con el motivo de despacharse los pliegos de su Magestad, logramos el honor por medio de esta de desearle a V.E. mui cabal salvo, y participarle nuestro feliz arrivo a las costas de este Reyno, ofreciendo a V.E. nuestra prompta obediencia a las ordenes del superior agrado de V.E.

Participamos asimismo a V.E. que, por Real permiso, se le concedió a aquel comercio embarcar en este navio 1,000 piezas, aunque en registro no vienen mas de 997, que se ponen de 699 medios fardillos, 223 medios cajones, y 75 churlos a canela, 10 cajones del permiso de las religiones, uno que retornara para el Gobernador de Marianas, y 1/2 marqueta de cera; de lo qual damos a V.E. más exacta razón el maestre de este navio.

Cumpliendo con nuestra obligación de solicitar el más feliz éxito de aquel miserable comercio, imploramos por esta la superior y benigna pr..ción [previsión?] de V.E.; en quanto conduzca al b.. [bien?] de aquellas islas, suplicamosle assimismo a V.E. se digne de dar las providencias concernientes a la más prompta baja de los mercaderes de este año a la Feria de Acapulco, para que hecha esta con tiempo, nos libre de algunos quebrantos, que de lo contrario se experimentan perjudiciales a aquel comercio, como de la retardada tornavuelta de este navio, por el riesgo de una invernada, que consiste en la tarda recalada a aquellas islas.

Nuestro Señor guarde la Excellentíssima persona de V.E. por muchos años.

*Abordo del **Philipino**, Puerto de la Navidad y Henero 27, de 1762.*

Exmo. Señor.

B.L.M. de V.E. sus mas obligados servidores,

Joseph Francisco Romay

Luis Estevan de la Colina

Vicente Laurenzo(?) de Memije

[Minute:] *Por la carta de V.M. de 27 de enero próximo pasado, quedo en 1,000 piezas del destino con que se han dividido en el presente patache **Philipino**, a cuyo favorable despacho en beneficio de aquellas islas concurrirán mis providencias.*

[Signature:] *Marq de &c 13 de febrero de 1762*

Translation.

Your Excellency:

Sir:

Taking advantage of the royal mail courier, we have the honor of addressing the present to Y.E., hoping that it will find Y.E. in good health, and we let Y.E. know of our arrival upon the coasts of this Kingdom, offering our prompt obedience to the orders of Y.E. that may be of the superior pleasure of Y.E.

We also let Y.E. know that by royal permission granted to that trade, 1,000 pieces were loaded aboard this ship, although no more than 997 appear on the manifest; the breakdown is as follows: 699 half-bundles, 223 half-crates, and 75 cinnamon bags, 10 crates allowed to the Religious, one that goes back as it is for the Governor of the Marianas, and 1/2 [112?] crude cake(s) of wax, of which the Master of this ship will give Y.E. a more detailed account.

To comply with our duty of endeavouring the most successful outcome for that miserable trade, by the present we beg the superior and benign foresightedness(?) of Y.E. with regards to the welfare of those Islands. We also beg Y.E. to please issue the provisions concerning the most rapid move of the merchants down to Acapulco for this year's trade fair, so that it may be done in time to free us from some losses which might otherwise become prejudicial to that trade, for instance, that of the late return voyage of this ship, on account of the risk of a wintering, if it should arrive late back at those Islands.

May Our Lord save the most Excellent person of Y.E. for many years.

Aboard the **Filipino** in the port of Navidad, 27 January 1762.

Your Excellency:

Your most obliged servants who kiss the hand of Y.E.,

José Francisco Romay

Luis Esteban de la Colina

Vicente Lorenzo de Memije

[Minute:] By the letter of Your Grace dated 27 January last, the final count is 1,000 pieces loaded aboard the present patache **Filipino** for whose favorable despatch in benefit of those Islands my provisions will apply.

[Signature:] Marquis de [Cruillas] &c., 13 February 1762.¹

List of the officers of the patache Nuestra Señora del Rosario, San Juan Bautista, alias el Filipino, for the voyage it is about to make to the port of Acapulco, Kingdom of New Spain, this year of 1761.

| | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| General | D. Juan Antonio Blanco [de Sotomayor] |
| Ship captain | D. Luís Esteban de la Colina |
| First Lieut., Captain of Infantry | D. José Doyle |
| Second Lieut. | D. José del Rivero |
| First Second-Lieut. of Infantry | D. José Salgado |
| Second Second-Lieut. of Infantry | D. Antonio Latinos |
| Accounting clerk | D. José Moreno |
| Chaplain | D. Toribio de Olivares |
| Surgeon | D. Juan Solís |
| Chief Pilot | D. Antonio Borcur [sic] ² |
| Second Pilot | D. Felipe Viera |
| Third Pilot | D. Francisco Caster |
| Master of the silver | D. José Gongora |
| Master gunner | D. Santiago de Azereto |
| Boatswain | D. Pedro Hernandez [Valenzuela] |
| Master of the rigging | D. Manuel Pacheco |
| Master of the rations | D. José Antonio Zabala y Orihuela |
| Steward | D. Sebastian Barron |
| Boatswain's mate | D. Ramón de Cárdenas |
| Master Carpenter | Valentín Andrés de San Miguel |
| Master Caulker | Carlos Philiteo |
| Master Cooper | Andrés Sican[g] |
| Gunsmith | Francisco Xavier |
| Diver | D. Domingo Luxardo |
| Water constable | Hilario Almanza |
| Two cooks | |

Garrison of said patache:

| | |
|-----------|-------------|
| Sergeants | Jorge Dobis |
| | José Perez |

-
- 1 Ed. note: There follows the ship manifest. Some of the owners of the permits, in decreasing order of importance, were: Two sets of 166 items, or pieces, allotted to Andrés Blanco Bermudez; two sets of 113 pieces allotted to Juan Infante de Sotomayor; 92 pieces to Jorge de San Clemente y Torralba; 85 to Manuel Antonio Gonzalez del Rivero; 69 pieces to Domingo Norsagaray; and so on, for a total of 997 pieces aboard.
 - 2 Ed. note: This was the French pilot, Antoine Boucourt, whose name is here misspelled and who later became captain or general of the Manila galleon.

Drummer
Squad corporals

Santiago de Soto
Cristoval Libolios
José Moya
Francisco Leiba
Francisco Otor

Soldiers:

Francisco José
Pablo Delgado
Prospero Santilla²
José Camacho
José Vega
Antonio Rosas³
Tomás Ortis⁴
Ersevio Yriberri
José Castros⁵
Ignacio Prado
Nicolás Zambrano
Antonio Alegre⁸

Andrés Estevan
Francisco Perez¹
José Pozo
Nicolás Cabrera
Francisco Michel
José Gonzalez Laso
Gregorio Oviedo
Miguel Antonio
Juan Palacios⁶
Ignacio Castañeda
Cristoval Evpeprigue..a⁷

Have also embarked with permission to stay and an ordinary ration the following:

Don Francisco Estorgo Gallego[s]⁹ Nicolás Aspetegua

Gunners:

Luis Felipe Carmona
Mariano Canales
José Herrera
Adriano Fernandez¹⁰

Crewmen:

—24 gunners
—74 seamen
—54 Spanish ship's boys
—32 ordinary ship's boys

Passengers:

—Father Miguel Cavallero, S.J.
—Fray Francisco de Asebo, O.S.F.

1 Stayed behind on account of marriage.

2 Idem.

3 Idem.

4 Idem.

5 Idem.

6 Idem.

7 Idem.

8 Idem.

9 Ed. note: This man was to return to Manila later, in command of a despatch boat.

10 They embark also with permission but without rations, they being married.

- Fray Juan Navarro, O.S.F.
 - Ship captain about to retire, with his wife
 - Don Antonio Ynel
 - Don Domingo Norsagaray
 - Don Remigio Lagunas
 - Don Vicente de Memije
 - Don Salvador Carranza
 - Don José Francisco Romay
 - Don Francisco Reyna
- 1,000 registered pieces.**
Manila, 13 July 1761.

A2. Rojo's narrative of the burning of the empty Filipino by the English at Palapag in 1762

Sources: Manuel Antonio de Rojo y Vieira, "Relation of the operations of the Archbishop of Manila, Governor and Captain General of the Philippines..." [Manila, 1763]; translated in B&R 49; 176 et seq.

Note: Archbishop Rojo, had to surrender Manila to the English in 1762. He died on 30 January 1764, before the English had departed.

...

17. Before this misfortune befell that of the capture of the galley which had been despatched by the commander of the **Filipino**, with notice of its return from Acapulco and that it had arrived at the village of Palapag. Two days after the siege began, namely, on 24 September, the galley entered the bay and came within sight of the squadron (of which it had no news). An [English] frigate gave it chase and several bancas, it having been beached already toward the north in Bancusay. Although some of those who came in it were able to escape by swimming, its officers and the above-mentioned Don Antonio Sierra Tagle were captured. The enemy took possession of everything in the galley, including many letters from which they gathered information of the **Filipino's** presence in Philippine waters and her location. Two days later they sent a frigate and a ship in order to capture it; for the day before they had been joined by a ship and two frigates which had earlier become separated from their squadron.

18. From some quite damp letters, among them that of the commander of the **Filipino**, which had been carried by those who escaped by swimming, the Archbishop learned (and it was the first news) that the **Filipino** was in Palapag; that she had been unable to enter by way of the Embocadero because of stormy weather; and that on leaving Acapulco, by a letter of the Viceroy to the commander, the latter had learned of the breaking out of war with England, and he was advised to be careful; but said commander knew nothing of what was happening in Manila. In view of all things, and with the unanimous opinion of the members of the Audiencia and principal citizens, a letter was written to the commander, giving him an order to fortify himself in Palapag, and to land the silver and chests. Fortifying himself as well as possible in said port, which is

very difficult to get at, and only very experienced persons know its entrances, which with but slight work can be made impassable, the said commander was to hold his ship in readiness for sinking by burning, if the ships of the enemy met it. This letter was sent with all care, by a person very knowledgesable about the coasts along the Strait, so that it reached Palapag in a very few days. It had been duplicated, as a precaution to what might happen to it on the first despatch.

...

[However, to pay for the ransom of Manila, the Archbishop and leading citizens were forced to agree that the treasure of the **Filipino** would be turned over to the English.]

62. As the whole business or object of the English was the treasure of the **Filipino** they sent two more frigates to look for her, and in them went persons authorized by this community...

They were unable to make the port of Palapag because of very violent storms which might have caused their shipwreck. So, after 90 days, they arrived back at Manila.

63. Seeing that their attempt was frustrated and that the rumors that they heard were that the silver had been removed from the **Filipino**, and placed in safety,¹ Admiral Cornish, irritated and just about to sail, attempted a new sack.

[Further negotiations followed and a further 2 million pesos were to be paid in ransom, out of the treasure of the **Filipino**.]

...

66. The Admiral departed, as has been said, on 1 March [1763]. He left orders to his warden of Cavite to go in a frigate to Palapag. In fact, the latter did so, and through a citizen, who was selected by the merchant body, the order was given from the beginning for the commander of the **Filipino** to bring the silver or deliver it; so that, having reduced the amount which was lacking to complete the millions, the remainder might be delivered to the Spaniards interested and sent to its destination. Already it was more than probable by this time that the silver of the said ship was placed in safety; and the above-mentioned warden, who went to Palapag, found that it was so. He found the said ship without any crew or any cargo; and notwithstanding some investigations which he made to get the silver, he ordered the **Filipino** to be set on fire and returned to Manila without having obtained anything else than having made his efforts in vain.² But he did not cease to make all efforts ashore and by sea in small boats to get the silver, but the same result followed of not obtaining any success.³

1 Ed. note: The rumors were true.

2 Ed. note: Before burning it, the English stripped the galleon of her copper, and spiked the guns (ref. Marquis Ayerbe's *Sitio y conquista*, p. 72).

3 Ed. note: The Archbishop knew that the new Governor, Anda, had gotten hold of it and used the money to run his government in the Province of Pampanga.

Documents 1762B

The capture of the Santísima Trinidad by the English in 1762

B1. Letter from Admiral Cornish to Lord Anson

Sources: British Library, Add. mss. 35,898, fol. 278-279; Hardwicke papers; Vol. DL. Navy papers, 1693-1779. Published in B&R 49: 49:60-63.

Note: Lord Anson never read this letter as he died on 6 June 1762, before it reached him.

My Lord

It affords me the most sensible pleasure to congratulate you on the success of His Majesty's Arms in the reduction of Manila with its dependancies.

The possession of the port of Cavite is an acquisition of great Consequence to the Squadron, by which I shall be enabled with a plenty of Stores of all kinds and a Number of Artificers to refit many of the Ships, that in their present condition it woud not be safe to proceed with them to Sea; having these advantages together with a good Hospital and plenty of Provisions, I shall be able to give new Health to the People, to proceed from this place with the Squadron, in a better condition than it has been since my Arriving to the command.

I gave Captain Parker an order to Command the **Panther**,¹ as She was a Clean Ship, and joyn'd the **Argo**² with him to go in quest of the Galleon St. Philipina [sic]³ who was at Cayayagan between the [Em-] Bocadero and Cape Spirito Santo [sic] the 10th of Sept.; and proposed remaining there till the Monsoon was broke up; As Capt. Parker was with your Lordship and is very well acquainted with those Seas I have the most sanguine hopes of his success.

1 Ed. note: Captain Hyde-Parker was nominally captain in charge of the ship Grafton, one of a squadron of 11 ships, then at anchor in Manila Bay.

2 Ed. note: Then commanded by Captain Richard King.

3 Ed. note: By Saint Philipina, he meant the Filipino, but they met with another ship, that had turned back in distress, the Santisima Trinidad.

...

For a more particular State of the Squadron I take the liberty of referring your Lordship to Capt. Kempfenfelt, whom I send with my dispatchs, and will have the Honour to present to you some Copper Plates of the Philippine Islands, that were found in Manila.¹ This Gentleman having approved Himself a very able & diligent officer, as such I beg leave to recommen Him to Your Lordship's Protection.

I have the Honour to be with the greatest Respect
Your Lordship's most obliged & most humble Servant,
Samuel Cornish

Norfolk, off Cavita in the Bay of Manila 1st of November 1762.

B2. Copy of a letter from Vice-Adm. Cornish, to Mr. Cleveland, dated in the bay of Manila, the 10th of November, 1762.

Sources: Scots Magazine (1763), pp. 232-235; as published in B&R 49:57-58; also published in the London Gazette, the London Chronicle, the Gentleman's Magazine, the Dublin Magazine, and the Universal Magazine. all in 1763.

In my letter of the 31st of October, I acquainted you of my having sent Capt. Parker, with the **Panther** and **Argo**, in quest of the galleon Saint Philipina [sic], from Aca-pulco bound to Manila.

The 7th instant, Capt. King in the **Argo**, returned, with a letter from Capt. Parker, acquainting me, that in consequence of my orders, having the 30th of October, got the length of the island Capul, near the entrance into the Embocadero, in pursuit of the Saint Philipina, where the **Argo** had come to an anchor (and which he intended to do for that night), just as the day closed saw a sail, and stand to the northward; at eight in the evening he got sight of the chace, about two leagues to leeward, but unluckily, by the rapidity of a counter current to what the chace was in, was drove among the Naranjo's,² in the utmost danger of being lost, and obliged to anchor: the frigate having escaped the danger, got up with the chace, and engaged her near two hours; but was so roughly handled, that Capt. King was obliged to bring too to repair his damage. By this time the current slackened, which enabled Capt. Parker to get under sail with the chace in sight. About nine the next morning he came up with her, and after battering her two hours within half-musket shot, she struck. The enemy made but little resist-

-
- 1 Ed. note: He means "stolen," of course. *Scotts Magazine* (1763, xxv, p. 235) refers to them as being "8 copper plates, on which are engraved a most particular map of the Philippine islands, adorned with the customs and habits of the inhabitants of those parts, which was done by order of the governor, in 1734." They were the work of Fr. Murillo Velarde. The English stole so many more Spanish documents when they sacked Manila.
 - 2 i.e., The Naranjos Group lying in the strait of San Bernardino, south of Sorsogon, and consisting of six small islands: San Andrés, Medio, Escarpada, Aguada, Dársena, and Rasa.

ance, trusting to the immense thickness of the sides of their ship, which the **Panther's** shot was not able to penetrate, excepting her upper works. Capt. Parker was no less disappointed than surprised, when the General came on board, to find, that instead of the Saint Philipina, he had engaged and taken the **Santisima Trinidad**, who departed from Manila the 1st of August for Acapulco, and had got 300 leagues to the eastward of the Embocadero; but meeting with a hard gale of wind, was desmasted and put back to refit. She had 800 men on board, and pierced for sixty guns, but when Capt. King engaged her, had only six mounted, and but thirteen when taken.¹ She draws thirty-three feet of water, and is a much larger ship than the **Panther**. I cannot ascertain the value of her cargo, but there is to the amount of one million and a half of dollars registered, and she is reputed to be worth three millions.

Capt. King left the **Panther** with her prize at an anchor about three leagues south of the Corregidor, at the mouth of this bay; and as I have sent a reinforcement of men with launches and warps, I hope very soon to have them in safety.

I am, &c.
S. Corning²

Historical Notes.

Montero y Vidal, in his *Historia* (vol. ii, pp. 16-17), says that her artillery was in the hold, and she only carried above hatches five 8-pounders, and four 4-pounders. Notwithstanding this surprise, the unfortunate condition of the vessel, and the formidable force of the English, her commander who was a Galician, and the other Spaniards who were aboard it, as if they knew what had happened in Manila, and were of a mind to vindicate the luster of their fatherland, there at stake, fought desperately, and received 1,700 balls of the caliber of 18 and 24. Thirty-five of the English were killed and 18 Spaniards in addition to the wounded. The ship after being captured was towed to Cavite, where it arrived on 12 November 1762. The silks, spices, gold dust, and other effects that it contained, were worth 2 million pesos.

"The Holy Trinity, a rich galleon, taken at the Manilas by Adm. Cornish, arrived in Plymouth Road, June 9, commanded by Lieut. Mainwaring Wilding." (*Scots Magazine*, 1764, xxvi, p. 348).

"The Santissima Trinidad, the galleon which was taken in her voyage to Acapulco during the siege of Manila, is now advertised for sale at Plymouth. This ship is one of the largest ever seen in Britain. She is upwards of 2,000 tuns burthen: the gun-deck measures 167 feet 6 inches: the breadth, 50 feet 6 inches: the depth of the hold from the poop-deck, 30 feet 6 inches: and her draught of water when she arrived at Plymouth was 28 feet." (*Ut supra*, p. 515).

1 Ed. note: See Historical notes below.

2 Ed. note: He wrote from aboard his flagship, the **Norfolk**.

“On the 14th of August, the great cause of the Manila ship, Santissima Trinidad, was determined by the lords of appeals for prizes, the sentence affirmed, and the Spanish claim wholly rejected.” (Up supra, 1765, xxvii, p. 493).

B3. Extract from Archbishop Rojo’s narrative

Source: Manuel Antonio de Rojo y Vieira, “Relation of the operations of the Archbishop of Manila, Governor and Captain General of the Philippines...” [Manila, 1763]; translated in B&R 49: 176 et sequitur.

Note: Archbishop Rojo died soon after that, on 30 January 1764.

...

60. At this time the two frigates which had been assigned by the enemy, at the time of the siege, to capture the **Filipino**, entered the bay with the ship **Trinidad**, which they had fought and captured after a vigorous defence on the 29 and 30th of October. This ship left for her voyage to Acapulco from the Embocadero under a favorable wind on 13 September, but lost her mast[s] in a severe storm at a distance of 300 leagues at the parallel of the Marianas. She was all but gone, and it became necessary to put back [which was done] with great difficulty. When she was in the Embocadero near San Jacinto, without being aware of what was happening in Manila, she was attacked by said two frigates and captured. From the time of her arrival, the claim was begun to be made that she was not a legitimate prize, the freedom of trade, possessions, and property having been agreed upon in anticipation. And although the instance of the commerce body was continued to the British government for this declaration, the government sent it to Admiral Cornish,¹ and the latter after many delays, and by nature serious, harsh, and hard, because the Spaniards had not fulfilled the stipulation regarding the millions, answered that that matter belonged to the admiralty of London, whither she was sent. He would never consent to have the cargo remain in bond, or to have it delivered to those interested in it, under the guaranty which was lastly proposed by the Archbishop, he having previously supported the right of the citizens to restitution; for said Admiral said that it was no time now to discuss this matter, as he was just about to sail, and left on the first of March with his squadron, taking said ship.

B4. Letter from General Meylan to the King, dated Manila 25 February 1763

Source: AGI Fil. 681.

Original text in Spanish.

El General del Galeon Santísima Trinidad, que el año proximo pasado, de 1762, se despacho de el Puerto de Cavite à el de Acapulco, dà quenta a V.M. con el Diario

¹ Ed. note: That is, some Englishmen who had come with the Squadron and acted as a provisional government.

que formo desde el Dia 1º de Agosto que salio asta el 12 de Noviembre del citado año que regreso de arivada con el quebranto del Baso, Palos y Belas, y Presa toda la carga de su buque por dos Navios Yngleses[,] las Dilixencias que practicò para la Livertad, en atenzion a los Capitulado en la toma de Manila, y remision del Negozio a los Almirantes de Londres; Pide aprovacion de lo operado por el, y que se le declare no obligado â devolver, la parte del sueldo no devengado: por las razones que expone.

Señor

*Doi quenta â V.M. de haberme conferido el empleo de General del Galeon La **Santísima Trinidad** vuestro Reverendo in Christo Arzobispo Governador y Capitan General de estas Yslas Philipinas el año proximo pasado de 1762 y despachadome en la forma ordinaria con la percepcion del sueldo acostumbrado, y afianzado a la deboluzion de el en caso de no servirlo en Parte ô en el todo.*

Y cumpliendo mi destino segun el Diario que por menor yncluyo a V.M. se manifiesta haverme hecho a la Bela del Puerto de Cavite el 1º de Agosto del citado año y regresado â el mismo el 12 de noviembre del mismo año, con el quebranto de el Baso, Palos, y Belas, y Presa toda la carga de su buque por dos Navios Yngleses segun que latamente se menciona en el enunciado Diario; Yhaviendo llegado â la Ciudad de Manila la encuentre poseida de los mismos quienes Capitularon despues de tomada la Ciudad dejar el comercio libre desde el dia de su fecha que fue el 10 de octubre de dicho año, y aviendo sido Apresada la Nao el dia 30 de octubre de consiguiente el Comercio de esta Ciudad asintió en no ser Lexitima presa lo que le motivo â conferirle los Poderes al General Don Juan Solano y a mi para que representando su derecho Pidiesemos su buque con la carga ante el Governador Yngles, cuia Dilixencia aunque exactamente se procuro solo se consiguio el que senos remitiese para su decision al Almirante Samuel Cornis, y haviendo ocurrido â este remite el negozio a la Corte de Almirantes de Londres que segun juzgo la Providencia tomada por los de esta Ciudad es solo el ocurso â V.M. suplicandole â su benignidad tome la satisfazion que corresponde: Me ha parecido muy digno de mi obligacion el hacer Presente a V.M. lo que llevo relacionado suplicandole sumisamente se sirva en vista del Diario que acompaño aprovar lo executado como por yndispensable a los tiempos y a casos de una aspera y corta fortuna; y asimismo de declararme no obligado â devolver la parte de el sueldo no devengado porque dandose este adelantado para la disposicion de viveres para toda la oficialidad, y abilitacion del General consumiendose en estos efectos apresados y que corrieron la misma ruina que la carga sin debolverse cosa alguna[,] antes si siendo Prisionero de Mar a mi regreso â esta Ciudad encuentre mi Cassa y familia toda distituida de quantos bienes avia en ella, es de consiguiente su quebranto: Por cuia justa consideracion espero de la ygnata Piedad de V.M. se sirva conzederme esta Grazia, o la que fuese de su Real Agrado.

La Divina Magestad Guarde y prospere la mui ymportante vida de V.M. dilatados años.

Manila y febrero 26 de 1763.

Translation.

The General of the galleon **Santísima Trinidad** which was despatched last year, in 1762, to the port of Cavite to that of Acapulco.

He reports to Y.M., enclosing the Logbook that he kept from the 1st of August when he departed until the 12th November of said year when he returned in distress, with broken hull, masts, and sails, and was captured, along with the whole cargo of the ship, by two English ships, the proceedings that he carried out in order to set her free, in the face of the acts of capitulation signed at Manila after its surrender, and the referral of the business to the Admiralty of London. He requests the approbation of what he did in this matter, and that he not be obliged to forego the part of his salary that was not earned, for the reasons that he expresses.

Sire:

I report to Y.M. that your Reverend in Christ the Archbishop Governor and Captain General of these Philippine Islands had conferred upon me the job of General of the galleon **Santísima Trinidad** last year 1762, and despatched me in the ordinary way with the perception of the accustomed salary, and a bond posted to guarantee repayment in case of not serving it, in part or in full.

And, in compliance with my destiny, in accordance with the detailed Logbook that I enclose for Y.M., I did set sail from the Port of Cavite on the 1st of August of said year and returned to the same port on the 12th of November of the same year, with the hull, masts, and sails, of my vessel all broken, and the whole cargo seized by two English ships, as is narrated more fully in said Logbook. When I arrived at the City of Manila, I found it to be in the hands of those people who had agreed, after the capture of the City, to give freedom to the commerce, from the date of signature, which was the 10th of October of said year. Since the galleon had been captured on the 30th of October, consequently the traders of this City declared that the prize was not legal, which led them to confer upon General Juan Solano and me the power to represent their right in this affair and to claim their ship back, with its cargo, before the English Governor. Said proceeding, though fastidious, only resulted in our being referred to Admiral Cornish for a decision, but, upon appealing to him, it turns out that he refers the affair to the Admiralty Court in London. In view of the decision taken by those of this City, it seems that the only recourse is for me to appeal to Y.M. to beg you to take pity and apply the corresponding remedy; therefore, I think it my duty to beg Y.M. know, once you have taken notice of the logbook that I very humbly remit, to be pleased to approve what I did as unavoidable under the circumstances of the times, as a case of simple bad luck, and in addition to declare me not obliged to repay part of the unearned salary, because it was an advance that I received to buy food supplies for all of the officers, and to take care of my own expenses as General; said expenses continued after our capture, and I was left with nothing. Our ruin is assured with the loss of the cargo. In fact, when I returned to this City as a prisoner- of-war, I found my family destitute and my house devoid of all of the effects that had been therein, and bankruptcy is inevitable.

cers, and to take care of my own expenses as General; said expenses continued after our capture, and I was left with nothing. Our ruin is assured with the loss of the cargo. In fact, when I returned to this City as a prisoner-of-war, I found my family destitute and my house devoid of all of the effects that had been therein, and bankruptcy is inevitable. For a just consideration thereof, I hope from the innate mercy of Y.M. that you will be pleased to grant me this favor, or what may be of your Royal pleasure.

May the Divine Majesty save and foster the very important life of Y.M. for many long years.

Manila, 26 February 1763.

Sire.

At the Royal feet of Y.M., your most faithful and loyal vassal who wishes to serve you.

Francisco Vicente Meylan.

B5. The Spanish side of the story—The narrative of General Francisco Vicente Meylan, dated Manila 24 February 1763

Source: AGI Fil. 681.

Original text in Spanish.

Relacion de lo acaecido al Galeon Trinidad que al Comando de su General Don Francisco Vicente Meylan, emprendio viaje de este Puerto de Cavite para el de Acapulco, por el Real Situado y con el Permiso de los Vecinos des estas Yslas Philipinas asta que volvio de Arribada à ellas. Año de 1762.

*Nos pusimos a la vela para nuestro destino el 1º de Agosto a las diez de la mañana, y nos pusimos frente à Manila para recoger los Pliegos, y seguimos de aquel Bordo a las Zercanias de Carcave, y luego volvimos a la Punta de el Sangley, en donde el Dia siguiente a las dos de la tarde llegaron los Pliegos, y siguiendo nuestro destino nos vimos precisados a fondear en la Boca de Mariveles por averse llamado el viento al Bendaval con fuertes fogadas y Aguaceros asta el dia 16 que mas sereno el tiempo[,] nos levamos con vientos Norueste y fuimos à desembocar por la Boca grande lo que conseguimos a la 1-1/2 de la tarde y a las 10 y 15 minutos dimos fondo entre Fortun y la Ysla de el Corregidor, por decir los Pilotos no podian seguir temiendo la ymediacion de la Luna nueva, y asi al dia siguiente me pidieron volver à entrar por Mariveles, en cuiá cercania [hole]s parte de adentro anclamos a las 5-1/2 de la tarde, y asi nos mantubimos asta el 3 de Septiembre que salimos otra vez, y el 4 a las 10 y 20 minutos montamos la Punta de Santiago con una filizidad suma, y novista, pues el 7 amanecimos a la vista de San Jacinto en donde à mas de la aguada, leña, y refresco que ymediatamente embarcamos; El 8 llego un Champan con viveres y utencilios despachado por este Superior Gobierno, para remediar de este modo lo que podriamos haver gastado en la demora, y que en lo sucesivo no llegase a faltarnos, ocurriendo al mismo tiempo à otro ynconveniente, en que como ya el tiempo se consideraba algo abanzado comenzavan algunos a dificultar nuestro viaje sobre el desconuelo de no parecer asta entonces el Patache **Philipino** que*

se aguardava de regreso de la Nueva España, y por esta razon le hacian los mas perdido, y asi mandé celebrar una junta de los Pilotos mas practicos, por si el Navio podia ó no hacer viaje; en la que se resolvió el que no era del todo difícil pues ya se avia conseguido[.] en yguar tiempo enviando al General destas Dilixencias un tanto o testimonio para su yntelixencia, y con estos auxilios salimos de este Puerto el 12 al rajar el Alba, y el 13 Amanecimos a distancia de la Punta de Viri como 4 Leguas y el día 14 amanecimos a las cercanias del Cavo del Espiritu Santo, 15° a la vista de Palapa que dijeron que las cercanias encontrados les abian buuelto atras, y calmando el viento andubimos dando con algunas bentolinas varias bueltas asta el 17 que yvamos caiendo azia al bajo de Montufar que lo teniamos distante dos leguas y media pero llamandose prontamente el viento al Norueste y refrescando salimos de algun cuidado que pudiera darnos en caso de levarnos las corrientes á sus zercanias.

Día 20: al meterse el sol aviamos perdido el Cavo ya de vista pues aviendonos entrado un vendabal fresco y claro desde la Noche antecedente yba la Nabe que parecia que queria volar, el 21 enpezo á refrescar mas, se arrio el Mastelero Mayor y se áteso la Xarcia: 22, siguió el viento con mas teson y con la Proa a nuestro rumbo todo era felicidad se fue atesando la Xarcia los masteleros arriados y solo mareada mayor y trinquete: El 23 se fue amainando un poco el viento, sin embargo de que se andavan 2-1/2 millas.

24 Amanecimos en calma pero a las 3 de la tarde volviendo á refrescar el viento Navegamos a nuestro rumbo 5 millas por ora con gruesas mares por la Proa.

25 a las 4 y 3/4 de la mañana se nos rompieron de ymproviso los masteleros que llevavamos en su lugar desde el 23 á excepcion del de mesana que se descaveco [sic] un poco que enredados en las Xarzas y velas nos causo bastante confusion con la necesidad de aberlos de acavar de cortar para que causen de una vez al agua caiendo la coz del Mastelero maior sobre el Alcazar, en donde estavan de guardia mas de treinta hombres á ninguno de ellos lastimo, solo sí el Gaviero que estava en la cofa maior estropeo un poco.

Reparados desta desgrazia subimos otros masteleros que llevavamos de respecto y siguiendo nuestra derrota siempre con viento favorable, nos insulto de Nuebo la noche del día 2 de octubre un biento fuerte por el Nordeste y varios relampagos[.] subieron el Mastelero de Trinquete a su lugar y se pusieron los Pilotos a la Capa asta la mañana de el 3 que amaneciendo para nuestra maior ruina juzgamos ser llegada la ora de nuestro funesto occaso!

Eran ya las 7 de la mañana quando hasta el sol se negava a ser testigo de una desgracia: y entre las obscuras nubes, que vestia nos haria ya evidente el Peligro! Los dos elementos de mar y viento se llegaron á alterar y enfurezer de tal modo que el Primero en cada ola ofrecia un sepulcro! la pobre Nao contra quien se avian confederado tan poderosos enemigos, no pudiendo resistir toda su estructura material a tanta violencia y rigor pues de cada Golpe de mar nos llevaba á pedazos el corredor de Popa, comenzandole á faltar las Jarcias; a cavo de una vez de desarbolar en altura de 18 grados y 30 minutos de Latitud y 13 de Longitud: aciendose pedacos el Palo de trinquete por tres partes: y el maior por la fagonadura estando ácuñados, y el de Mesana que nos vimos

precisados de picarle por que no senos avriese de una vez la Nave, quedandonos tan solamente el Baupres!

En esta lamentable estado emos quedado hechos Boya sobre las aguas, reducidos a la ultima miseria y a distancia de mas de 360 leguas de la tierra que aviamos dejado! verdaderamente catastrophe el mas digno de lastima y compasion! mientras que nosotros flu[c]tuando de esta suerte entre continuos y extraordinarios balances al paso que el tiempo cada vez era maior yban creciendo por instantes nuestros peligros! porque al entrarnos la tarde como los golpes de mar que nos entravan en el Barco eran muchos y la mas de ella yba a la Bodega sin poder por lo pronto remediarla ademas de la que descubrimos y que nos entrava por el Yugo del timon, y alguna por los trancaniles; lo que dio motivo a que se dibulgase instantamente una apochripha voz de que ya el agua subia por las escotillas arriba; con cuiá novedad acavandose de bajar los animos los unos lloran y gimen sus culpas y procuran buscar en la Penitencia la tabla verdadera y segura de salvarse confesandose y recibiendo la absoluzion en altas voces, pero mas animosos otros tratan de dar â las Bombas sin exepcion de Personas; con cuiá dilixencia fue el agua a menos.

Nuebe dias continuos estubimos desta suerte sin saver si el viento, y las corrientes nos llevarian hazia al Japon para donde corrian si barariam sobre algun bajo acavando de hacernos pedazos en el: ô si dariamos en alguna Isla desierta de las muchas que ai por aquel meridiano, sin que este reconocida ninguna de los Pilotos desta Carrera, en medio de estas afliciones procuramos con los pocos fragmentos de un Mastelero de los de repecto, y otras vergas que nos avian quedado sobre la Crugia y el Pedazo del Palo de Mesana formar nuestras Bandolas envergando una pequeña vela que servio de trinquetillo, que la Grande Practica del Maestro Carpintero Manuel de Taurieta ynsigne en su arte formo, y pudiendo navegar con el pusimos la proa el dia 11 con extraordinario gozo, y contento de todos en demanda otra vez del Cavo del Espiritu Santo, y aunque propuse a los Pilotos fueros en busca de Marianas me dijeron no se podia, y asi volvimos a donde âviamos salido, Ofreci el trinquetillo con los demas oficiales a la Virgen de Guia que llevaba de Patrona para el costo de una fiesta en su Pueblo de la Hermita pues siendo esta Divina Reyna refuxio de Pecadores esperavamos por medio de su yntercesion poderosa, que nos guiase y condujese a Puerto seguro de salvarnos.

Proseguimos nuestra derrota y me pidieron los Pilotos que era menester â tortorar el Barco y le echaron 13 tortores en la camara[,] 4 en la toldilla[,] 3 en el Alcazar[,] 2 en Santa Barbara[,] 2 despues de haver desecho la toldilla y disbaratado toda ella, y rebajado como un codo diciendo que deste modo governaria bien el Barco, y asi en una pura faena volvimos sin zesar ya para aumentar mas vela que llegamos â poner 6 ya fabricando la Barca que llevabamos en rosca con el tiempo tan bonancible que ni â medida de nuestro deseo se pudiera mejorar.

El 24 mande montar 12 cañones para recalar en las cercanias de la tierra, y reclamo el Condestable y Maestro Carpintero que el Barco no estava capaz que a qualquiera temporal se abirian los costados y que todas las piezas de quenta estavan en falso; le

pedi Certifico, y procurando disimular mande subieran algunos y montaron cinco y dos que fueron montados todo el viaje heran 7 que para defendernos de Moros y la fusileria eran suficientes, pues por aquel tiempo no podian venir otros enemigos, asi descubrimos el Cavo el Dia 28 a las 6 y 1/4 de la mañana con especial Jubilo y contentof.] me pidieron los Pilotos junta para entrar en el Puerto de Palapa aunque no tenian gana de entrar en el, combeque a los oficiales les yze presente fueros a Sisiran mostrando de la ordenanza, que lo previene asi, me dijeron que no se podia, se resolvio entrar en Palapa y estando y[n]mediatos al Puerto fuimos disparando algunos cañonazos, y ningun socorro tubimos ni quien nos abisara nada, y asi me dijeron que no se atrevian a entrar por que no savian el Puerto y que querian entrar asta Bacatao.

*El 23 a las 11 del dia volvimos a entrar por San Bernardino, ya contemplando nos seguros dentro del embocadero donde no podia haver enemigos, quien creyera que este nuebo beneficio avia de ser para empeñarnos despues en otras muchas desgracias? asi sucedio durandonos mui poco este consuelo, y trocandose de ymproviso nuestra alegria en pena y nuestro gozo en sentimiento! a las 2 de la tarde mande echar la Barca al agua y dijeron los Pilotos que los Palos de las Bandolas no podian aguantar su peso, y asi solo el Bote se echo, a las quatro o mas de la tarde descubrimos a distancia de 4 Leguas de la Ysla de Capul una vela que caiendo detras de la Ysla no se volvio a ver asta las ocho de la noche con el motivo de hacer una Luna bien clara estando todos en la duda de si seria o no embarcacion de Cruz[,] Barco o Balandra de las nuestras que trafican a aquellas Provincias, asi nos mantubimos en Arma asta la una y tres quartos poco mas o menos se vino caiendo a nuestra Popa[,] mande reconocerla no quiso hablar y bolviendo a repetirle me pidio hechara el Bote al agua el que estava en ella, Luego empezo a cañonearnos por la popa, y como nuestro Barco no orzava ni arriavava no le podiamos presentar el costado y solo con la fusileria hizimos continuo fuego asta que cojiendonos el Barlovento se vino a nuestro costado y dando buelta por la Proa seguimos aciendo fuego sin zesar con los 7 cañones que teniamos los 5 de a 12, y los dos de a 4, asta las 4-1/2 pasadas de la mañana que haciendo mucha agua y bastante maltratada se retiro con perdida de 13 hombres segun confeso su Capitan[,] hera fregata de 30 cañones de gran lijereza llamada **Argos**, a pedir socorro a otro Navio de 64 cañones, y la andana baja de calibre de 24 nombrado **Panter** [sic] que yva en su conserva, y avia quedado fondeado detras de un yslote que llaman el Naranja grande y no se ha visto, y aunque hizo esta fuga no por eso omiti formar algunos Parapetos para defender mi jente y monte mas 9 cañones, aunque los tres no pudieron laborear y quando vinieron los dos acordonados presentando los dos costados a la Popa tenia prontos 13 cañones[,] a las 6 deste dia empezaron a balearme por la Popa y siguieron 1 ora y 45 minutos, y enfadados deste Paraje me cojieron el Barlovento y siguieron tirandonos todo jenero de Bala y metralla que parece querian hacer almacen de ellas[,] nuestro Barco del que correspondiamos sin zesar, asta las 10 de la mañana que vino el Capitan de Navio Don Pedro Cosio y el Piloto mayor Don Domingo Gutierrez pidiendome que arriaramos la Bandera, les dije que no[,] que se defendieran[,] me dijeron que era Barbaridad quando tenia la ventaja de que de cinta para bajo no me clareaban las valas el Barco[,] que*

*me allava en las cercanias de San Jacinto[,] en donde avia una fuerzecilla nuestra con algunos cañones y otros varios recursos por estar en nuestras tierras y conozer los Parajes, tener viveres, Polvora y bala, y ningun recelo de que me âBordaran pues en esto era segura la victoria caso de que lo yntentaran, bolvieron â ynstarme diciendo que arriaseamos la Bandera que hera cargo de conciencia la jente que nos mataban y que ellos serian responsables al cargo que me hiciesen, pidieron junta y en ella determinaron arriar la Bandera, llame al Contramaestre y Artilleros alentandolos â defendernos pero excepto tres cañones los demas ya los dejaban, arriaron la Bandera despues de mil Nuebecientos sesenta y cinco cañonazos¹ de Bala rasa metralla y demas ynvenciones dejando las Pocas velas echas un Armero, y todo el Barco acrivillado, y a las 11 de la mañana poco mas o menos entraron a nuestro bordo y nos llevaron Prisioneros a mi y demas oficiales y algunos Pasajeros de nuestro Navio al grande de ellos nombrado la **Pantera** del mando del Capitan de navio D. Tait Parker: â otros a la Fregata, y alguna de nuestra gente de mar que dejaron en la Presa con la suficiente, guarnicion y oficiales para poderla conducir con seguridad al remolque como lo yzieron.*

*Quien nos viese luego despojar de nuestras aciendas, è intereses, sin los que perdieron hasta las vidas, que no pasaron de 20 y algunos eridos, se señalaron cumpliendo con su obligacion los dos Thenientes Don Joachin Condon y Don Agustin de Ugarte, 5 artilleros, y la tropa y ninguno mas, amparando sus puestos, fue yncomparable mas que todo el haver savido inmediatamente de dicho Capitan que ia esta Ciudad de Manila podria â aquellas horas estar tomada por una esquadra de ellos, compuesta de quince navios, y comandada por el Almirante D. Samuel Cornis [sic], de la que el se avia separado, dejandole fondeada en esta Bahía, y quasi en terminos de rendir la Plaza, para yr â apresar yualmente al **Philipino** que savian por un despacho que havian cogido que venia de regreso de la Nueva España y havia tomado Puerto en el Embocadero; cuio raro motivo le avia echo encontrar con nosotros; asi lo confirmamos al llegar â Mariveles en que dicho Almirante le despacho una Galera anticipandole la notizia de haver conseguido despues de catorce dias de sitio el tomar esta Ciudad por asalto el dia 5 de octubre, y al siguiente rendido al Puerto de Cavite, Capitulando no obstante, a vista desta scena qual nos quedariamos todos? Amarga Nueva! Duro golpe! infeliz suceso para este estado Philipino y su Capital: pues llego â perder en tan corto tiempo lo que avia grangeado quasi en dos siglos, es mui digno de reflexa de que al tiempo que este consternado Pueblo Capitulaba con los enemigos: estabamos nosotros en nuestro total desarbolo aciendolo tambien con Dios.*

En las cercanias de Mariveles en tierra firme de Manila me permitio el Capitan el echar en tierra tres Relixiosos, que pasavan a la America, la tropa, parte de la tripulacion y criados que todos pasaron de 300 hombres, quedando todavia Prisioneros mas de 200 pues algunos se avian adelantado en la fregata â Cavite, que por todos heramos mas de 600 Almas en el Galeon de RR.PP. Pasajeros tropa y tripulacion.

1 1,965 cañonazos me tiraron.

Finalmente entrando por la Bahía el 12 de Noviembre, yba saliendo a la vela una fragata de porte de 31 cañones en la que se conducia a Londres al General de la Esquadra D. Willermo Drapert [sic] con la noticia de la toma desta Capital, y nosotros fondeamos en Cavite zerca de las dos de la tarde con las precauciones que la politica de la guerra exige en estos Cassos, presentandonos luego en tierra el Capitan que nos apreso al Almirante. Y pues se leé en el Libro de la sabiduria que cuentan los Peligros del mar aquellos que le navegan[.] gracias al todo Poderoso que me deajo vida para contarlo.

Manila y Febrero 24 de 1763.

Estoi pronto á jurar, ser la verdad todo lo relacionado: y no otra cossa aunque los emulos quieran Aplicarse Glorias, no teniendo el mas leve fundamento que les favorezca.

Francisco Vicente Meylan.

Translation.

Narrative of what happened to the galleon Trinidad which, under the command of General Francisco Vicente Meylan, undertook a voyage from this port of Cavite to that of Acapulco, to get the Royal subsidy and carrying the permitted cargo of the residents of these Philippine Islands, until she returned to them in distress. Year of 1762.

We set sail for our destination on the 1st of August at 10 in the morning, and we came up before Manila to receive the mail, and we continued on that tack as far as the neighborhood of Carcave, and then we tacked back to Sangley Point, where the next day at 2 in the afternoon, the mail arrived. Pursuing our voyage, we were forced to remain anchored in the channel of Mariveles, on account of the wind having shifted to a monsoon with strong squalls and showers, until the 16th when the weather improved. We weighed anchors and with NW winds went to exit [Manila Bay] through the big channel, By 1:30 p.m., we had succeeded and at 10:15 let go the anchors between Fortún and Corregidor Island, because the Pilots said that they could not continue as they feared the approach of the New Moon. So, the next day they asked me to get back in through Mariveles, and we did so, anchoring in that neighborhood at 5:30 in the afternoon. We remained there until the 3rd of September when we went out once more, and on the 4th at 10:20 we doubled Santiago Point. We were very happy and so successful after this that on the 7th at daybreak we were already in sight of San Jacinto [Ticao Island] where we immediately took on water, wood and refreshments. On the 8th, a champan arrived with food supplies and equipment sent to us by this Superior Government, to make up for what we might have spent during the delay, and so that we would not lack any in future. At this time, there happened another drawback; as the season was considered somewhat advanced, a few people began to put up objections to our voyage, pointing out that the patache **Filipino** that was expected to return from New Spain had not yet appeared, and for this reason most of them assumed that she had been lost. So, I ordered that a council of the most experienced pilots be held, to decide whether or not the galleon should made the voyage; they decided that it was not at all difficult,

since it had been almost achieved already, and they sent to the General a copy of the record of these proceedings for his information. With these supplies we departed from this port on the 12th at daybreak and on the morning of the 13th we had reached a point located 4 leagues from Biri [Island]. On the morning of the 14th we were in the vicinity of Cape Espiritu Santo. On the 15th we were in sight of Palapa; they said that, in effect, we had lost ground as the wind had died down. We continued tacking back and forth with some light airs until the 17th when we fell back towards the Montufar Shoals. We had them at a distance of 2-1/2 leagues when the wind changed to NW and freshened. We escaped from a danger that could have given us some concern, if the currents had driven us to that neighborhood.

On the 20th, at sunset, we had already lost sight of the Cape. Indeed, a fresh monsoon wind had come in during the previous night, a clear night, and the galleon had seemed to fly all day long. On the 21st, the wind began to freshen even more. The main topmast was taken down and the rigging was hauled taught. On the 22nd, the wind stiffened some more. We maintained the bow pointed on course, and we rode happily with the rigging taught, the topmasts down and only the main sail and foresail flying. On the 23rd, the wind subsided a little, but we still covered 2-1/2 miles.

On the 24th, in the morning, we were becalmed, but at 3 in the afternoon the wind picked up again and we sailed along our course at the rate of 5 miles per hour, in heavy seas.

On the 25th, at 4:45 in the morning, the topmasts that we had been using since the 23rd broke suddenly, except the mizzen topmast, They became tangled with the rigging and sails and caused us quite a confusion. We finally had to finish to cut them down, to make them fall into the water, but in falling the bottom part of the main topmast hit the quarter-deck where over 30 men were on guard duty. Luckily none of them was hurt, but the sailor who had been in the main crow's nest was wounded a little.

This mishap was repaired by installing the new topmasts that we carried as spares, and we pursued our voyage, always with a favorable wind until again, during the night of the 2nd of October, a strong wind from NE and various lightning strikes hit us. The pilots had the fore topmast raised to its place and they layed to until the morning of the 3rd, when we arose thinking that the hour of our ruin and utter demise had arrived!

It was already 7 in the morning but even the sun refused to witness our misfortune; it was hidden behind the dark clouds that made the danger appear so near! The two elements of sea and wind became so furious that the former offered to bury us with each wave! So many powerful enemies had conspired to attack our poor galleon! How could her hull have been strong enough to resist such violence and harshness? Indeed, with every blow the poop gallery was being destroyed and the rigging was beginning to fail. At the end we found ourselves completely dismayed at a latitude of 18°30' and a longitude of 13° [E of Cape Espiritu Santo]. The foremast had broken into three pieces, the mainmast was wedged behind the fireboxes, and we had to cut down the mizzen mast so that the ship would not open up. We were left with only the bowsprit!

In this miserable state we remained bobbing up and down like a buoy on top of the water, at a distance of over 360 leagues from the land we had left behind! Clearly such a catastrophe deserved some pity and compassion! Meanwhile, we were hanging on to life while being balanced continuously from side to side, with the swings getting worse as time went on, and increasing the danger we were in! In fact, at the beginning of the afternoon the seas washed over the ship and the water poured into the hold, without us being able to remedy the situation quick enough; furthermore, leaks were being discovered, one through the yoke of the rudder, another through the waterways. This was the origin of an apocryphal rumor to the effect that the water in the hold had risen up to the hatches. This false news just broke the courage of a few who began to cry and lament for their sins, while trying to find a real plank upon which to save themselves by confessing themselves and seeking absolution in high voices. However, others, more courageous, were trying to man the pumps, without exception of rank. Such efforts did reduce the water a little.

For nine days we were in this state, not knowing whether or not the wind and the currents would carry us towards Japan, in the direction of which they were taking us, or if we would end up on top of some shoal in a thousand pieces, or on some deserted island, of which there are many in that meridian, and none of them having been surveyed by the pilots of this run. In the midst of such afflictions we tried, with the few fragments of one of the spare topmasts, and other yards that had remained amidships, plus the remaining piece of mizzen mast, to get up a jury rig consisting of a small sail serving us as a small foresail, thanks to the great experience of our Master Carpenter, Manuel de Taurieta, a real expert in his trade. Thus, we were able to sail. On the 11th, we pointed the bow towards Cape Espiritu Santo, with the extraordinary rejoicing and contentment of everyone.

Although I had proposed to the pilots that we should head for the Marianas, they told me that it was not possible, and so, we returned to the place from which we had departed. I made a vow to offer the small foresail to Our Lady of Guía, who was then our patron saint on board, and to pay the cost of a celebration in her town of Ermita; indeed, this Divine Queen being the refuge of sinners, we hoped through her powerful intercession to be guided by her and led to a safe port, and be saved.

We pursued our voyage and the pilots asked me to let them strap the vessel. We installed 13 strappings in the cabin, 4 in the quarter-deck, 3 on the poop deck, 2 on the gun deck, 2 more after we had taken down the quarter-deck and cleared it all, cutting it down by about one cubit, as they had said that the ship would steer better after this was done. So it was a continuous labor until it was done, then more attention was given to increase the area of our sails; we finally had 6 of them up. The boat that we carried in kit form was put together when the weather improved, so much so that we could not have hoped for a better one.

On the 24th, I ordered 12 guns to be mounted, as we were once again nearing the land. The Master Gunner and the Master Carpenter protested that the ship was not able to bear their weight, that the sides would open up in any storm, and that all of the

important pieces were in fact fake cannon. I asked them to put this in writing, but trying to dissimulate, I nevertheless ordered them to bring up a few, and they mounted five more, in addition to the two that had been mounted during the whole voyage, making a total of 7 guns, a sufficient number to defend ourselves against the Moros, next to our small arms; indeed, at that season no other enemies were expected.

Thus, we sighted the Cape [of Espiritu Santo] on the 28th at 6:15 a.m., with special enjoyment and happiness. The Pilots asked me for a council to decide whether or not to go to the port of Palapa, although they were not too keen on going there. I called a council of all of the officers and suggested to them that we should go to Sisiran, and showed them the Ordinance that says so, but they told me that it was impossible. It was decided to go to Palapa. While we were near that port, we fired a few guns but no-one came to our assistance, to guide us in. Then the pilots told me that they did not dare go in, because none of them knew that port, and that they preferred to go as far as Baga-tao.

On the 23rd at 11 in the morning we again sailed through [the Strait of] San Bernardino, and were already considering ourselves safe beyond it, because there could hardly have been any enemies there. Who would have believed that this new advantage would be transformed into so many misfortunes? So it was that our newly-found consolation did not last very long, and our happiness was soon transformed into sorrow! At 2 in the afternoon, I ordered the boat overboard and the pilots told me that the mast with flimsy sails would not be able to overcome her dead weight. So, only the naked boat was put overboard. At 4 in the afternoon, or a little later, at a distance of 4 leagues from the Island of Capul, a sail was sighted, that disappeared behind the island and was not seen again until 8 p.m., in a very bright moonlight. Everyone was wondering if she were a pirate ship, or one of our ships or sloops that trade with those provinces. Therefore, we were up in arms until 1:45 a.m., more or less, when she came on behind our poop. I ordered her to be spoken to, but she refused to identify herself. I repeated my request, and she answered that I should put my other boat into the water. Then she began to fire her guns at our poop, As our ship could not be maneuvered in any way, we could not put her sideways; so, we kept up a continuous fire with our firearms, until they maneuvered, coming up alongside of us; they had us downwind from them. We swung our bow and brought our 7 guns to bear upon them, firing them continuously. Five were 12-pounders, and the other two were 4-pounders. This fire was maintained until past 4:30 in the morning when the enemy withdrew, because (as her Captain later admitted) she was leaking very much, was damaged, and had lost 13 men. She was a very light frigate of 30 guns named **Argo**. She went to get help from another ship of 64 guns, the lower row of which were 24-pounders, named **Panther**, that was her consort and had remained anchored behind a small island that is called the larger Naranjo, and had not been seen [by us]. Although this flight occurred, I did not omit to have a few parapets built up for the protection of my men and I mounted 9 guns more, although three of them could not be aimed properly. When the two of them came after us, in line, presenting their two sides to our poop, we let go the firepower of our 13 guns. It had

been 6 p.m. when they began to shoot at our poop and their fire went on for 1 hour and 45 minutes without letting up. Then, tired of that position, they maneuvered to get me downwind from them and kept on firing all sorts of balls and grapeshots, so much so that it appeared that they wanted to turn our ship into an arms depot. For our part, we responded in kind without letting up, until 10 in the morning when the Captain of the galleon, Don Pedro Cosio, and her Chief Pilot, Don Domingo Gutierrez, came up and asked me to strike my colors. I told them no, that they should defend themselves. They told me that it was a pity. [I told them that] I had the advantage of having a ship that they balls could not pierce from the wales downward, that I found myself in the vicinity of San Jacinto, where we had a small fort with a few cannon and many other resources, that we were in our own country and knew the neighborhoods, could get food supplies, powder and balls, and not have to fear of being boarded by them; indeed, we were sure of winning if they attempted to board us. Once again they asked me to strike my colors, because it was a matter of conscience, that the men were being killed, and they themselves would be made responsible if a charge were to be laid at me. They asked for a council, and in it they decided to bring down the flag. I called the Boatswain and the gunners, encouraging them to defend us, but, except for three guns, the rest had already been abandoned. They brought down the flag, after 1,965 shots¹ with ball, grape, scrap iron, and so on, leaving our few sails like a munitions storeroom, and the whole ship riddled with holes. At about 11 in the morning, more or less, we were boarded. I and the other officers and a few passengers were taken prisoners from our ship to the bigger ship of theirs, the one named **Panther**, commanded by Navy Captain Tait [rather Hyde-] Parker. Some others were taken to their frigate, and part of our seamen were left aboard the prize, enough to serve under their officers and a garrison to be able to take her safely under tow, which they did.

Who would have guessed that we would be despoiled of our property, and interests, not to mention those who lost even their lives, though there were no more than 20 dead, but many were wounded. Among the many who performed beyond the call of duty were the two Lieutenants Joachin Condon and Agustin de Ugarte, 5 gunners, and the soldiers (but nobody else), since they never abandoned their posts. Above all else, we were astounded to learn immediately from said Captain that the City of Manila had probably been captured already by a squadron of theirs, consisting of 15 ships, under the general command of Admiral Samuel Cornish, from which squadron he had separated, leaving it behind at anchor in this bay, and the place being about to surrender, in order to go to capture the **Filipino** in the same way. They had learned through a despatch that had been sent, that she had returned from New Spain and had made port in the Strait. Such was the happenstance that made them find us instead. The news was confirmed when we got to Mariveles, where said Admiral sent him a galley bearing the news that they had succeeded in taking Manila after a siege of 14 days, by attacking it in daylight on the 5th of October. On the next day, the port of Cavite had surrendered,

1 They fired 1,965 times at me.

and nevertheless capitulated. In view of this situation, who could tell what would happen to us? What a bitter news! What a hard blow! What an unhappy lot for this Filipino state and its capital! Indeed, in such a short time had been lost what had taken almost two centuries to build. It is very worthy, meanwhile, to consider that, at the time that this consternated population was surrendering to the enemies, we ourselves had been dismayed and were also surrendering, to God.

In the vicinity of Mariveles, on the shore of Luzon, I was allowed by the Captain to disembark three Religious who had been on the way to America, the soldiers, part of the crew and servants, all in all, over 200 men. That still left over 200 of us prisoners, because a few had been sent ahead to Cavite with the frigate. We had been over 600 souls aboard the galleon, counting the Fathers, the passengers, the soldiers and the crew.

Finally, upon entering the Bay on the 12th of November, we saw a frigate bearing 31 guns leaving it; aboard her was the General of the Squadron, William Draper, who was taking the news of the capture of this capital to London. We anchored in Cavite at about 2 in the afternoon, taking all of the precautions that are normal in wartime. The Captain then took us ashore to present us to the Admiral. Well then, in the Book of Wisdom, one can read about sailors recounting the many perils of the sea. Thanks be to Almighty God who kept me alive, to recount my own story.

Manila, 24 February 1763.

I am ready to swear that the above report is completely true, and that nothing else is, although some rivals may want to claim some glory for themselves; they would have not a shred of evidence to prove their case.

Francisco Vicente Meylan.

Document 1763A

Some documents regarding the sack of Manila by the English

Introductory notes.

The English Navy and Marines occupied Manila Bay from September 1762 to March 1764. They captured the walled city of Manila and the port of Cavite. Their lack of sufficient forces and the active resistance by both the Spanish colony and the Filipino people prevented them from extending their control beyond the bay. Still, the admirals and generals allowed their troops to sack and loot the town in true pirate fashion, something that was then considered shameful behavior among the civilized European nations. Part of the documents from the civil and religious archives were, however, not destroyed but carried to England where some material has been preserved to this day. Some of the Spanish nautical charts captured at Manila were published according to an Act of the British Parliament by Alexander Dalrymple in May 1796 (see below).

A1. Letter from Governor Anda to the King, dated Manila 14 July 1764, regarding damages done to the archives in the city of Manila

Sources: Main source is AGI Fil. 608 (formerly 105-5-20); more information in Fil. 681; cited in B&R 53: 344.

Original text in Spanish.

El Doctor Don Simon de Anda, y Salazar, Real Audiencia Governadora, y Capitanía General que fuè de las Yslas Philipinas en el tiempo de la Guerra, Dà cuenta à V.M. con Testimonio del extrago que hizo la tropa Inglesa en los Papeles, y Causas de los Archivos Reales de la Ciudad de Manila.

Señor

Por el contexto del adjunto testimonio del que diò el Secretario de Camara de esta Audiencia de Manila se hace patente la ruina que padecieron los Archivos de las Secretarías de esta Governacion, y Audiencia, y los de vuestras Reales Contadurias de Hacienda, y Cuentas à causa de que las Tropas Britanicas desarraigaron violentamente

sus puertas, y aloxaron en sus Piezas à distintos oficiales quienes arrojaron por las ventanas a la calle, muchas de las causas Archivadas, y sacando de los Aparadores, y estantes, los Libros, y Papeles, no solo descompusieron la orden en que la economica politica los tenia para facilitar su uso: sino que los desparramaron por los suelos menos preciandolos de que resulto la extraccion de mucha parte de ellos, y la perdida de sus foxas con irreparable perjuycio del publico, y maior de vuestro Real Servicio, y del estado, sin que para su remedio fuesen bastantes, las representaciones, y diligencias que practico en el modo posible, Vuestro Reverendo in Christo Arzobispo Metropolitano Presidente Gobernador, y Capitan General que fuè de estas Yslas, lo qual he tenido por preciso representar à V.M. para su Inteligencia, no dudando que mi subcesor en el Gobierno Don Francisco de la Torre con Documentos hara constar la falta que en cada ofizina se aya reconocido haver de sus Papeles despues de la restauracion de esta Plaza a vuestros Reales Dominios.

D. N.S. guarde la Real Persona de V.M. con las felicidades, y auges que sus leales vasallos deseamos.

Manila à 14 de Julio de 1764.

Dr. Don Simon de Anda Salazar.

Translation.

Doctor Simon de Anda y Salazar, of the Royal Audiencia, then in charge of the government and Captaincy General of the Philippine Islands during the War.

He reports to Y.M., enclosing a record of proceedings, regarding the havoc caused by the English soldiers among the papers and case files of the Royal Archives in the City of Manila.

Sire:

From the contents of the enclosed Record of Proceedings presented by the Court Secretary of this Audiencia of Manila, the ruin suffered by the Archives of the secretariats of this Government, and Audiencia, and of your Royal Accounting Offices of the Treasury, and of Accounts, has been made obvious. It was caused by the British troops who violently pushed in their doors, with various officers taking up their lodgings in those offices. They threw many of the well-sorted case files out of windows, taking books and papers out of desks and shelves. They not only destroyed the order which existed in them, the better to facilitate their consultation and public decisions, but they also scattered them all over the floors, in scorn, the result of which was the extraction of the greater part of them, and the loss of their folios, doing irreparable prejudice to the public, and greater prejudice to your Royal service, and to the state, in spite of the many representations and measures taken by Your Reverend in Christ the Metropolitan Archbishop, then President Governor, and Captain-General of these Islands, to remedy the situation. I have thought it adviseable to advise Y.M. of this, and I do not doubt that my successor in the Government, Don Francisco de la Torre, will provide

documents to show the extent of the destruction of the papers in each office, once this Place has been restored to your Royal Dominions.

May God our Lord save the Royal person of Y.M. with all of the joys and successes that we your vassals wish.

Manila, 14 July 1764.

Dr. Simon de Anda Salazar.

A2. Letter from the King to Anda, dated San Lorenzo 23 October 1766

Source: AGI Fil. 335 (formerly 105-2-7), Libro 17, fol. 371-371v; cited in B&R 53: 351.

Original text in Spanish.

Al Governador de Philipinas remitiendole diferentes Cédulas que tratan de asuntos generales, y particularmente para que se cumplan y guarden en los casos que ocurran mediante el destrozo que padecieron los Archivos quando los Yngleses tomaron à Manila.—Fecho con Duplicado. Vista.

El Rey.

Governador y Capitan General de las Yslas Philipinas, y Presidente de mi Real Audiencia de ellas, que reside en la Ciudad de Manila.

Haviendome representado el teniente de Rey siendo Governador interino de esas Yslas, que en el saqueo que hicieron los Yngleses arruinaron todos los Archivos de ese Gobierno por lo que ha quedado sin noticia de las ordenes que havia en èl; hè resuelto por mi Real Orden de 6 de Octubre del año proximo pasado se embien assi por mi Consejo de las Yndias como por la Via reservada copias de las mas exempciales que se hayan expedido en estos ultimos tiempos, y deban tenerse presentes para su observancia; y en su consecuencia os dirijo las adjuntas Reales Cédulas impresas que pertenecen al expresado mi Consejo, y tratan de asuntos generales, con copias de otras que en dilerosos tiempos se han expedido, y precedido tomarse razon de ellas en la Contaduria general del mencionado mi Consejo à fin de que en los Casos que ocurran las cumplais, y observeis, y hagaeis cumplir, y observar, como os lo ordeno, y mando; por ser assi mi voluntad.

Fecha en San Lorenzo à 23 de Octubre de 1766.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey Nuestro Señor, Don Thomas del Mello.

Translation.

To the Governor of the Philippines, sending him various Decrees that deal with general affairs, and specially some that must be complied with, regarding the destruction suffered by the Archives when the English captured Manila.—Made in duplicate. Approved.

The King.

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

Since the King's Lieutenant, then acting as Governor of those Islands, has represented that the English ruined all of the archives of that Government, and that the orders that were filed there have disappeared, I have decided, by my Royal Order of 6 October of last year, to send copies of the most essential ones that have been issued recently, through my Council of the Indies, and through the confidential mails, those that must be kept in mind and observed. And in consequence thereof, I am sending you the enclosed Royal decrees that have been printed by the above-said my Council, those that deal with general affairs, with copies of others that have at various times been issued, after due notice has been taken of them in the general accounting office of the above-said my Council, so that they might be obeyed and observed by you, and others, as the case may be, as I do so order you now, as this is my will.

Made at San Lorenzo, on 23 October 1766.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord,
Don Tomás del Mello.¹

A3. Analysis of the Spanish charts published by Dalrymple in 1796

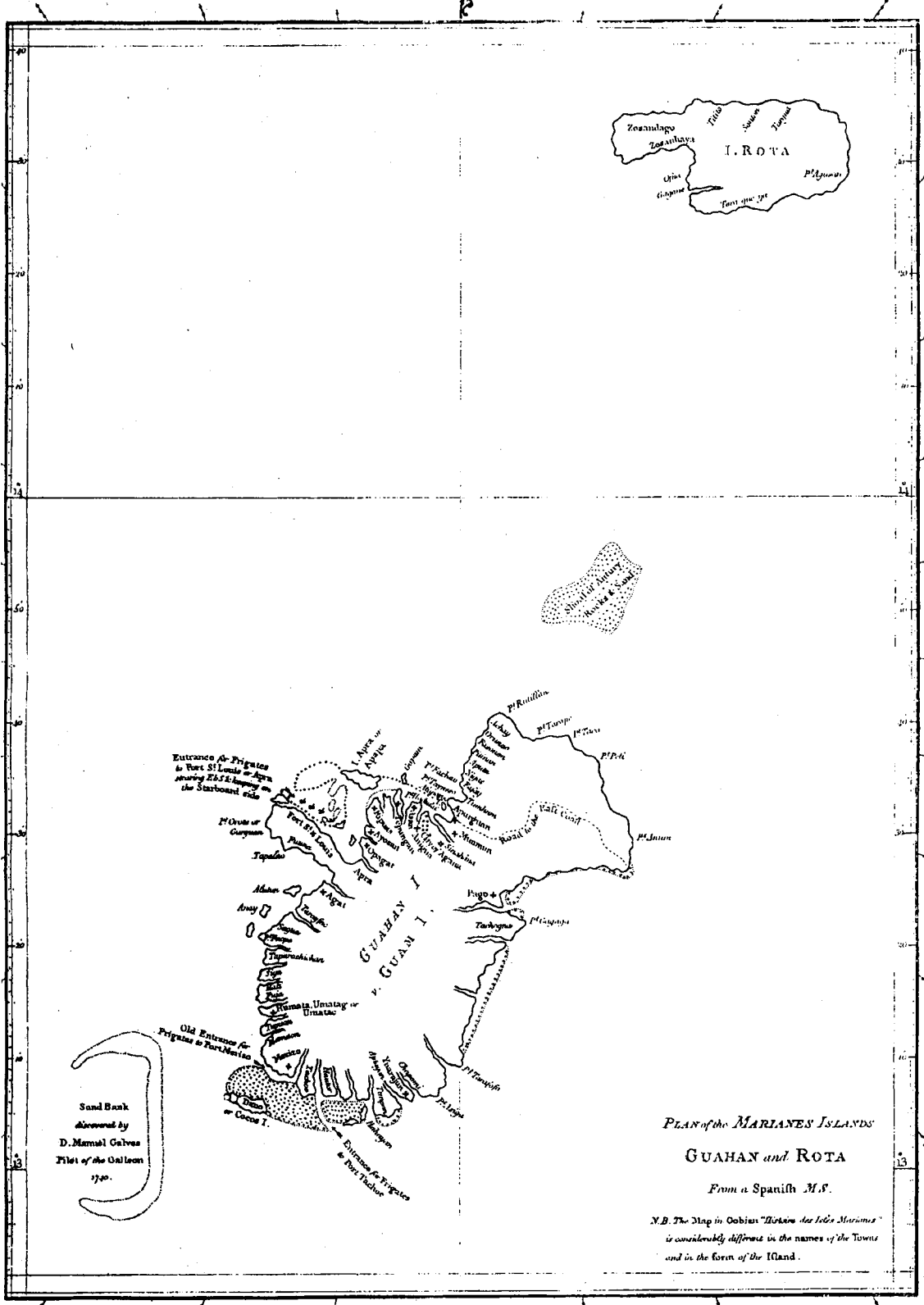
Chart of Guam and Rota.

The caption reads: "Plan of the Marianne Islands—Guahan and Rota. From a Spanish Ms.— N.B. The map in Gobien "Histoire des Isles Marianes", is considerably different in the names of the Towns and in the form of the Island."

In the SW corner, there is shown an unusual **sand bank** said to have been discovered by Manuel Galvez who was a pilot aboard the galleon of 1740. First of all, there is no such sand bank in that location; this may have been a vague reference to Santa Rosa Bank, which is much further SSW of Guam. The 1740 galleon was the **Nuestra Señora de Guía** but there is no logbook extant.

The cross symbol on the map of Guam normally indicates a church. It is true that at the time there were churches (clockwise) at Merizo, Umatac, Agat, Agaña, Pago, and Inarajan, but nowhere else, although there might have been some chapels in the dependencies of the church of Agaña that were still populated, i.e. in Tepungan, Asan, Anigua, Monmong, and Sinahaña. Fort San Luís on the Orote Peninsula never had any church, of course.

1 Ed. note: Regarding the damage done to the archives by the English occupation of Manila, King Charles IV again wrote in 1803 to the Governor of the Philippines (see AGI Fil. 338, libro 23, fol. 383-384).



Published according to Act of Parliament by A. Dalrymple May 15 1796

The dotted line, said to be a “Road to the East Coast” led, in fact, to Pago, not to the NE point.

Place names of Guam.

Clockwise from the SW corner, they are to be compared with those in HM 5:385:

Cocos I., or Dano: Correct, although the name Dano was no longer used;

Merizo;

Mamaon: now Mamatgun(?);

Tupuan: Rather Toguan;

Humata, Umatag, Umatac;

Fuja: Rather Fouha;

Hati: Or Haty, now wrongly called Cetti (a misprint on a map, ca. 1900);

Siya: Or Sidya, now Sella;

Taparuchichan: Rather Taragrighan, now Achugao;

Pt. Facpe: Or Facpi Point;

Sagua: Rather Sogua;

Tarayfac: Now Taleyfac;

Anay (Island): Or Anae I.;

Alutan I.: Rather Aluton I.;

Agat;

Fuuna: Rather Fuuña, or Fuña (former village, placed too far west);

Tapalao: Rather Tuparao, Tupalao, or Tupalao;

Pt. Orote or Gurguan;

Apra;

Opagat: former village;

Ayosan: Rather Agosan, former village;

Ripuas: Rather Riguas, former village;

I. Apra or Apapa: Rather I. Cabras, or Apapa;

Gapam (rock): Rather Gapan;

Tepungan: Or Tipungan;

Asan;

Pt. Hadulai: Rather Adelup Point;

Anigua: Or Aniguag;

City of Agana: Rather Agaña;

Sinahâna: Rather Sinahaña;

Munmun: Rather Monmong, or Mongmong;

Apurguan;

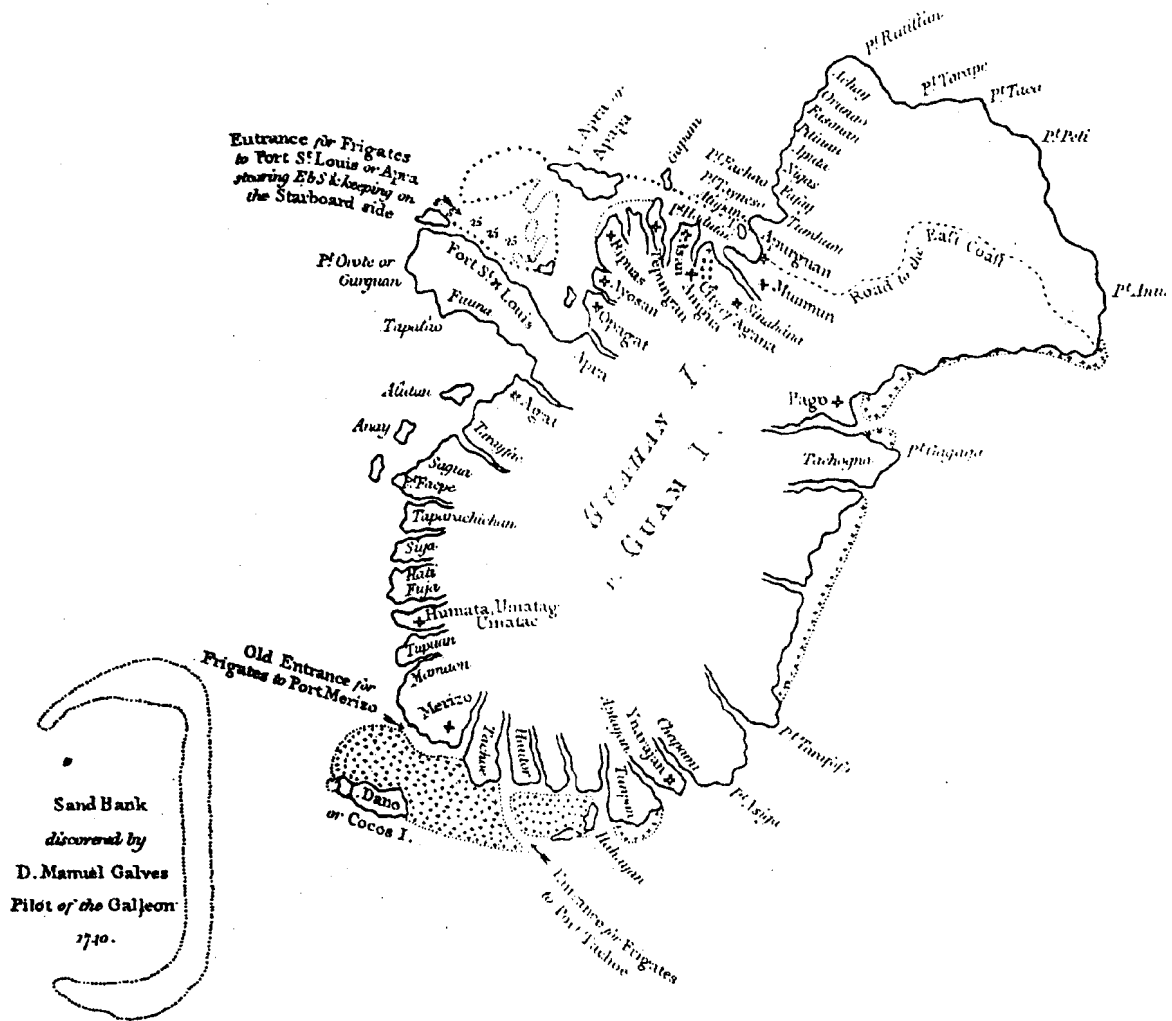
Alupan I.;

Pt. Tayneso: Rather Taynaneso, now Saupon Point;

Tumhum: Rather Tumhom, or Tumon;

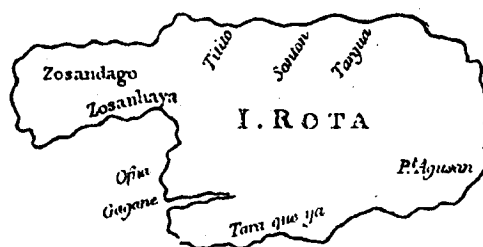
Fafay: Rather Fafac, former village;

Pt. Fachao: not recognizeable;



- Nigas: Rather Pigua, or Pugua, or even Niigo, former villages;
- Aputa: Rather Haputo;
- Pitinan: not recognizeavle, not previously recorded;
- Fasonan;
- Orunao: Or Urunao;
- Achay: Or Achae;
- Pt. Tutillan: Rather Titillan, or Ritidian;
- Pt. Tarape: Rather Tarague;
- Pt. Taca: Rather Tagua;
- Pt. Peti: Rather Pati;
- Pt. Anum: Or Hanum;
- Pago;

Pt. Gagaga: Rather Tagachan;
 Tachogna: Rather Togcha;
 Pt. Tarufofo: Rather Tarafobo, or Talafobo;
 Pt. Asiga;
 Chapami: Rather Chagami [a first mention];
 Ynarajan: Or Inarajan, or Inarahan;
 Aplayan: Rather Agfayan;
 Tunpan: Rather Toguan, now Dongua;
 Hahayan: Or Ajayan;
 Hautor: Rather Autan, or Jaotan;
 Tachoe: Rather Tachoc (former name of Achang Bay?).
 The so-called Shoal of Antury, north of Guam, never existed.



Place names of Rota.

Clockwise from the “west” end (the island has wrongly been rotated 45° clockwise):

Zosandago: Rather Sosanrago, or Sosanlago;
 Titito: Or Teteto, now written Tatacho, a former village;
 Sonton: Or Songton, a former village;
 Targua: Rather Tatgua, a former village;
 Pt. Agusan: Now called Mochon Point;
 Tara que ya: Rather Talakaya, a district;
 Gagane;¹
 Ofna: Rather Poña;²
 Zosanhaya: Rather Sosanhaya.

1 Site of a former hamlet (see Doc. 1719A);

2 N° 30A in E. H. Bryan's Guide to Place Names in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (Honolulu, Bishop Museum, 1971).

Charts of Saipan and Tinian.

The three charts published by Dalrymple are indeed of old Spanish vintage, by an unknown pilot. His N° 2 was given to him by Admiral Hyde-Parker who indeed participated in the capture of Manila in 1762 (see also Doc. 1750D2). His N° 3 came from the belongings of the Spanish pilot, named [Domingo] Gutierrez, who had been captured aboard the galleon **Trinidad** in 1762 and brought to England to serve as a witness, along with Captain Cosio.

Place names on Saipan.

From north to south:

Inaejan, Janvan, and Ynavan: All misprints for Inagen, I think (see HM8:95), even the Inaeyen of 1772.

Marpy, Marpi: Marpi is correct, but sometimes written Magpi.

Tachoc, Tafsche, Tachie: Tachoc is correct.

Taho, Luyo, Juyo: Luyo is correct (it means Ginger).

Catan, Calanway, Calanunay: Catan Unay is correct (means Windward Beach).

Muchud, Muchuc: Muchot Point.

Ruchan Pason, Ruchanpangon, Ruchanpagon: Ruchan Pagon (see 1772, means Downwind, or Leeward, Pagon), formerly Harac.

Anguan, Anugian, Anaguan: Anaguan is correct.

Tumhum, Junsun, Tanhum: Tumhum, or Tumon, is correct.

Sumpe, Sunpi, Sumpi: Susupe is correct.

Catanhuda, Canhuda: Catanhuda, then Fatiguan, now Chalan Kanoa.

Ninegua, Ninoguas: It is Ninesuas in 1772; Nineguas seems to be correct, name no longer used, unless it is the same as the Finasusu of today.

Hugantia, Ruantias, Ruchantiao: Also recorded as Ruchanliao in 1772, could be Ruchan Tiao, and is the same as old Araiao, and could be the same as the modern Piao.

Place names on Tinian.

Tagon, Tangon: Tagon (Point) is correct.

Chuou, Churu, Chunu: Churu is correct (means Brother, now written Chelo).

Nani, Unag, Unay: Unay is correct (simply means Beach).

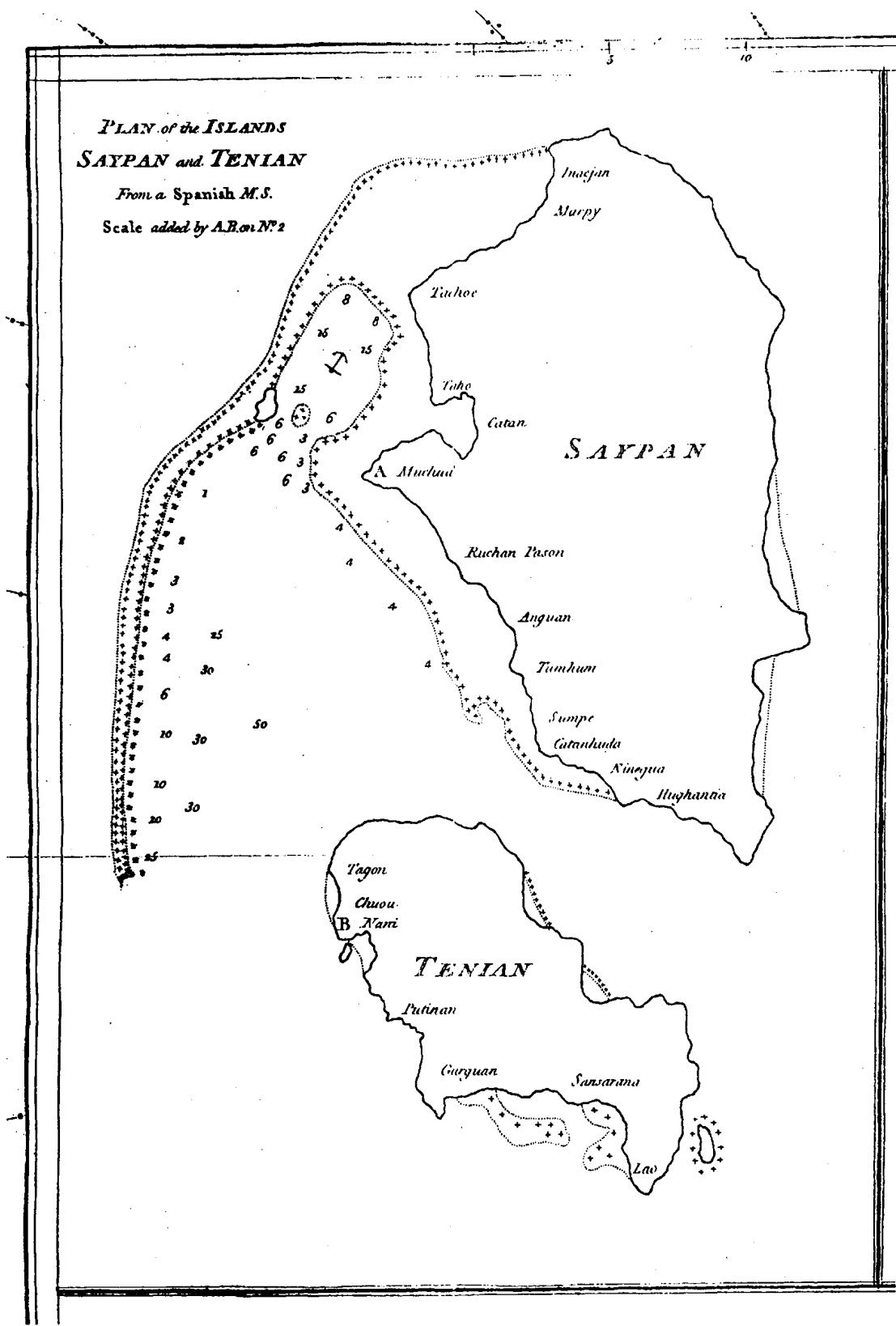
Putinan, Lintinian, Pitinan: unknown place, will be recorded with yet another variation, Pilinum, in 1772.

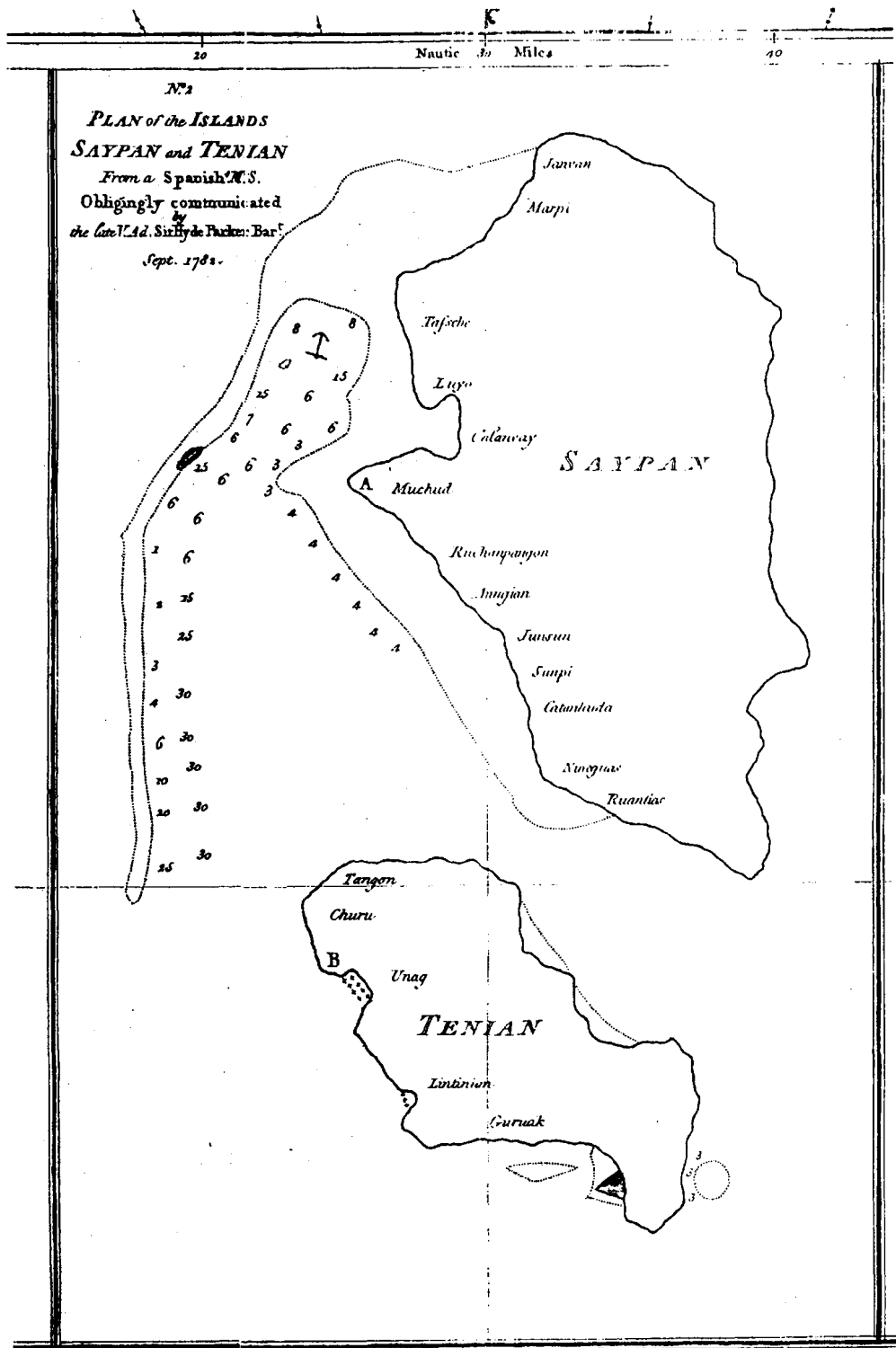
Gurguan, Guruak, Gurguan: Or even Gursuan in 1772; Gurguan (Point) is correct.

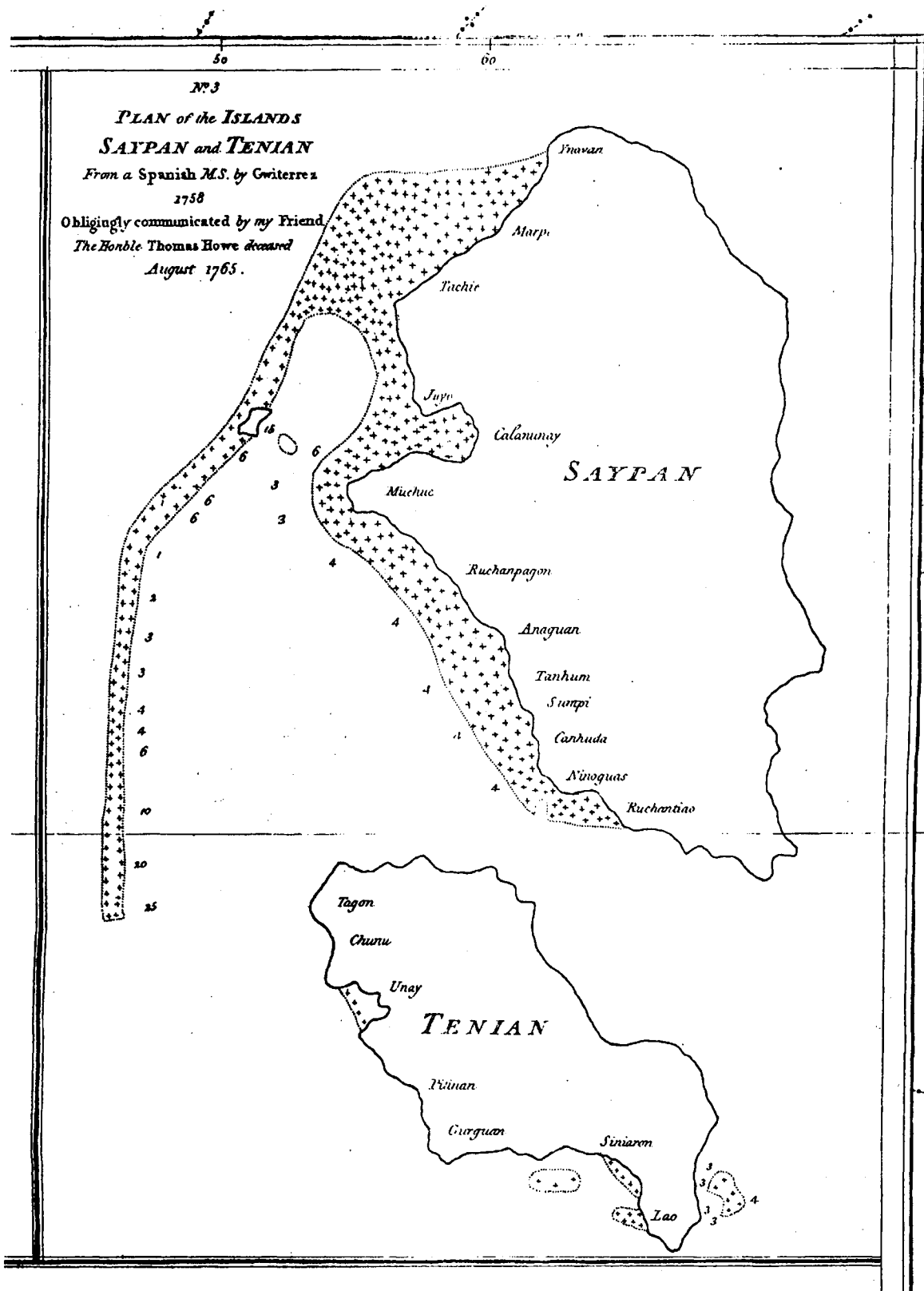
Sansarana, Siniaron: Recorded as Sunjaron in 1772; Sunharon is correct.

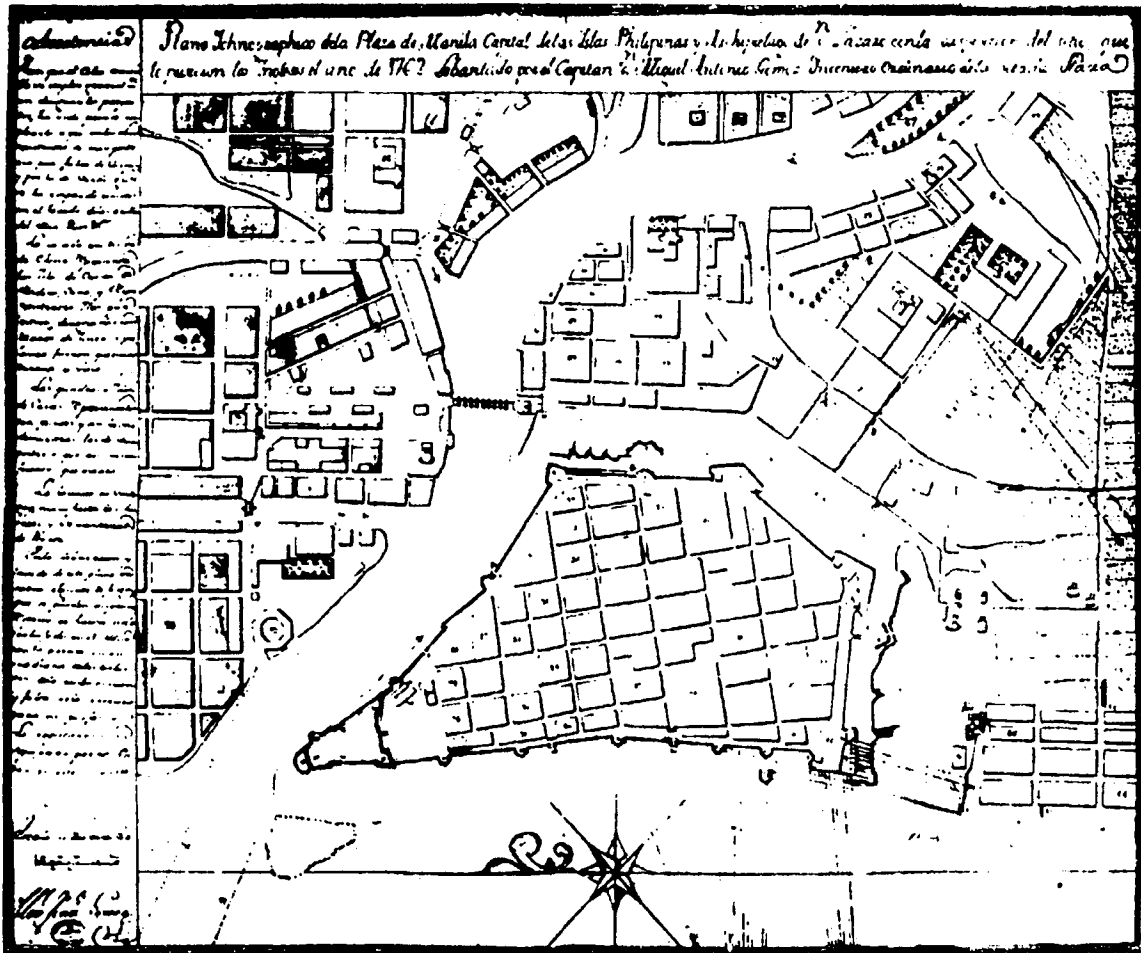
Lao: Rather Lalo (point).

PLAN of the ISLANDS
SAYPAN and TENIAN
From a Spanish M.S.
Scale added by A.B. on N^o 2





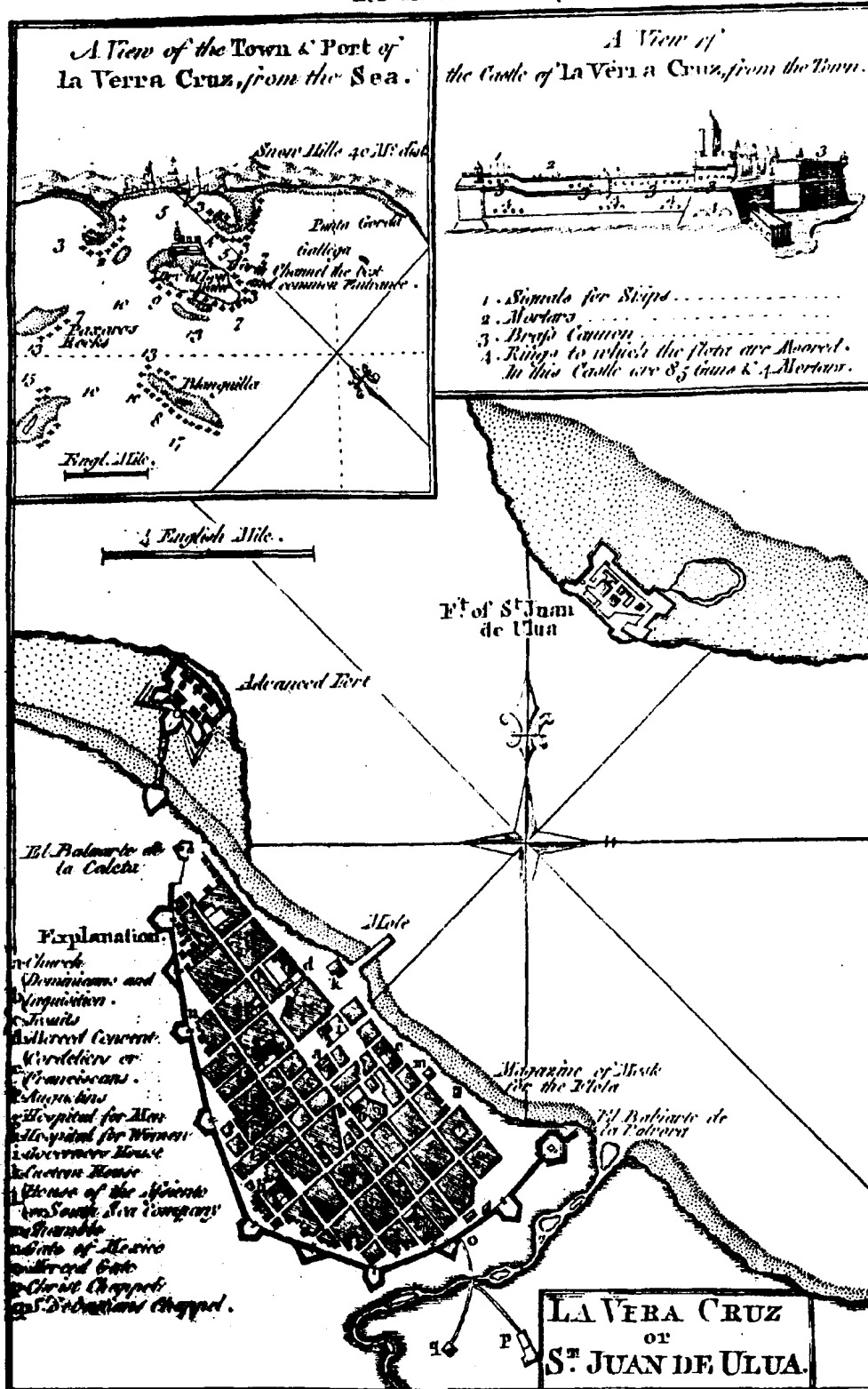




Map of Manila in 1762, before the English attack. Drawn by Captain Miguel Antonio Gomez, military engineer.

(Facing page:) Map of Veracruz which the English also planned to attack in 1762. Drawn by Thomas Kitchin for the London Magazine.

For the London Mag.



Documents 1764A

The frigate *Santa Rosa*, Captain Estorgo, passed by the Marianas in February 1764

Sources: AGN AHH Marina, vol. 19, folios 193, 195, 231, 258, 263-5, 271, 352, 354.

*Note: The Peruvian frigate **Santa Rosa (de Lima)** was purchased in Mexico from its owner, Marine Captain Antonio Pimentel y Sotomayor, for the sum of 47,525 pesos (ref. AHH 600-397). It departed Acapulco on 23 December 1763.*

A1. Subsidies of 1763

| | |
|---|-----------------|
| For the Manila treasury, the subsidy for this year | 112,654 [pesos] |
| For the Government of the Marianas | 20,137 |
| [Sub-total:] | 132,792 |
| For the pay of the crew and garrison of the frigate | 21,229 |
| | ----- |
| [Total:] | 154,021 |

A2. Draft note from Captain Estorgo to the Governor of the Marianas, dated 31 October 1763

Note: Because of the strange date, this note (as well as the following ones) are obviously drafts, to be used later at Guam.

The captain, pilot and master of this frigate **Santa Rosa** arrived at this place with the necessity to beg you for some help in order to complete their voyage to Manila, do beg you to exempt what belongs to them, with regards to their share of the crates which have costs [attached].¹ and to let them know your answer.

May God save you for many years, 31 October 1763.

[To] the Governor of the Garrison of the Marianas.

¹ Ed. note: That is, those that are taxable, I guess.

A3. Another draft note, dated the same day

Marianas.

Aboard this navy frigate, on her way to Manila, in accordance with its order, in charge of her captain, pilot and master, Don Francisco Estorgo, I have ordered that 20,137 pesos in gold be unloaded that have been assigned as your salary and that of the garrison for the present year, of which I expect a receipt from you.

May God, etc. 31 October 1763.

[To] the Governor of the Garrison of the Marianas.

A4. Convict soldier sentenced to serve time in the Marianas

I am enclosing an official copy of the sentence imposed upon the prisoner Mariano de Armas in order to serve His Majesty for a period of 5 years of hard labor at that Garrison; consequently, may you carry it out, giving me a receipt of same.

May God, etc. 31 October 1763

[To] the Governor of the Garrison of the Marianas.

A5. The convict escaped at Acapulco

Most Excellent Sir:

The attached document will give Y.E. the reason why the convict meant for the Mariahas, Mariano Armas, who came in the care of the constable of said frigate for that purpose, cannot be embarked aboard the frigate **Santa Rosa**.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Acapulco 10 November 1763.

Excellent Sir.

Blas Perez Carrasco

Estevan de la Carrera

Juan Manuel Ramirez

[To] His Excellency the Marquis of Cruillas.¹

A6. Narrative of the voyage of the frigate Santa Rosa, by Alfonso Rodriguez de Ovalle

Source: A book by Pedro Jordan de Urries, Marqués de Ayerbe, entitled: "Sitio y conquista de Manila por los Ingleses en 1762" (Zaragoza, 1897). This booklet is available at AGI, under number 177/9.

Note: Ovalle was a naval officer sent to carry the royal mail to Manila aboard the frigate Santa Rosa, with the important news of the peace treaty with England and the need for the English troops to evacuate Manila. This man kept a diary which formed the basis for a lengthy report to the Viceroy of New Spain, who in turn kept the report among his personal papers, where it was found and synthesized by the Marquis of Ayerbe.

¹ Ed. note: The convict had fled while his guard fell asleep. They looked for him for two days and gave up after they found the leg irons hanging from a tree, the padlock having been broken.

Letter to the Viceroy of New Spain, dated Mexico 1764.

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Sr.:

*Habiendo mandado S.M. por una Real Orden de 29 de Junio de 1763 remitiese V.E. con persona de su satisfacción los pliegos del real servicio para la evacuación de la plaza en virtud de los últimos tratados de paz, se sirvió V.E. hacerme el honor de conferirme este cargo por decreto de 2 de Diciembre de dicho año, en cuya atención pasé al puerto de Acapulco y me embarqué en la fragata **Santa Rosa**, que para este fin se hallaba destinada, y habiendose hecho á la vela el 23 de dicho mes, dí fondo en las Islas Marianas el día 18 de Febrero de 1764. El 2 de Marzo siguiente se avistó el Cabo del Espiritu Santo, y el 15 del mismo ancló en la bahía de Manila con 83 días en toda la navegación.*

El día 16 entregué los referidos pliegos de S.M. al Oidor D. Simón de Anda y Salazar, quien se hallaba en la provincia de La Pampangá, doze leguas distante de la plaza, reconocido por gobernador y capitan general de las Islas Filipinas, y como tal defendiendo el partido de España con la tropa que había levantado después de haber tomado á Manila por asalto los ingleses.

El día 25 de Julio de dicho año recibí los pliegos y demás documentos del real servicio que me entregó el nuevo gobernador interino, el coronel D. Francisco Xavier de la Torre, y el 27 me embarqué en el puerto de Cavite en la nominada fragata, la que inmediatamente se levó para el referido Acapulco, á donde arribé con felicidad.

En todo el tiempo que me mantuve en Manila procuré con la mayor atención hacer una relación en forma de diario de todos los hechos y casos más principales que han acaecido desde que los ingleses fueron á su conquista hasta que se retiraron, arreglado á varias instrucciones que me suministraron para su intento y á la voluntad de las personas más fidedignas, así de la plaza como de algunas de sus provincias, y asimismo lo que observé desde mi llegada hasta que se hicieron á la vela los ingleses.

Para la mayor inteligencia, hago primero presente por un estado general el número de navios de que se componía la escuadra inglesa con su gente de mar y tierra y el en que se hallaba la plaza antes de haberla asaltado, con distinción de la artillería y varios pertrechos que existían, y lo últimamente entregado por los ingleses, que con sus respectivas faltas y otras advertencias reconocerá V.E. en dicho estado general.

Asimismo, por medio de un mapa ó bosquejo, vendrá V.E. en conocimiento de la parte por donde los ingleses hicieron el desembarco, sitios y lugares en que acamparon y el principio en que plantaron la batería para abrir la brecha.

Este pequeño trabajo, Señor, que he practicado deseoso de desempeñar la confianza que V.E. se dignó conferirme por ser en servicio de S.M. pongo en sus manos para que V.E. se sirva aprobarlo, que es el principal fin á que se dirige.

Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años para amparo de este su más fiel y leal criado.

México.

Excmo. Sr:

A los pies de V.E.,

Alfonso Rodriguez de Ovalle.
[A] Excmo. Sr. Marqués de Cruillas.

Translation.

Your Excellency:

H.M. having ordered Y.E. in a royal order dated 29 June 1763 to remit with a person of your satisfaction the royal mail for the evacuation of the place [of Manila] in view of the last peace treaties [with England], Y.E. was pleased to make me the honor of conferring this charge upon me by decree of 2 December of last year. To that effect, I went to the port of Acapulco and embarked aboard the frigate **Santa Rosa** that had been made ready for the purpose and, after it had sailed on the 23th of said month, it anchored at the Mariana Islands on 18 February 1764. On 2 March, Cape Espiritu Santo was sighted, and on the 15th of said month, it anchored in Manila Bay, after 83 days of navigation.

On the 16th [of March 1764], the above-mentioned royal mail was delivered to the Audiencia Member, Don Simón de Anda y Salazar, who was found in the Province of Pampanga, 12 leagues distant from the place, acting as Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, and as such defending the interests of Spain with the troop that he had raised after the English had attacked and taken over Manila.

On 25 July of the same year, I received the royal mail and other official documents, that were delivered to me by the new interim Governor, Colonel Francisco Xavier de la Torre, and on the 27th I boarded the above-mentioned frigate in the port of Cavite, which immediately set sail for Acapulco, where I arrived successfully.

During the whole time of my stay at Manila, I tried with the greatest of attentions to keep up a narrative in the form of a diary of all the happenings and more important cases that have occurred since the English came in to conquer it until they withdrew, arranged as various instructions that were provided me for this attempt and those provided by trustworthy persons, not only of the place but also of some of the provinces, and based on what I myself observed from my arrival until the English sailed away.

For a clearer understanding, I first present the general state of the number of ships that were part of the English squadron, with their sea and land forces,¹ and the state in which the place was found before the attack, with details as to the artillery, and various equipment that existed, and what was delivered at the end by the English, by which Y.E. will recognize the missing elements of each category in said general status report.

In addition, by means of a map or sketch,² Y.E. will come to know the part where the English effected their landing, the sites and places where they made their camps, and first set up their battery to open the breach.

1 Ed. note: For such information, as given by the English, see B&R 49, specially the list of ships on pp. 55-56.

2 Ed. note: Not included in the book. However, I include a different map of Manila in 1762 for intelligence purposes.

I have written this small work, Sir, as I wished to fulfil the trust that Y.E. was pleased to confer upon me, on account of it being for the service of H.M., I place it in the hands of Y.E., hoping that you will be pleased to give it your approval, which is the aim that I seek.

May God save Y.E. for many years for the protection of this your most faithful and loyal servant,

Mexico.¹

Most Excellent Sir:

At the feet of Y.E.,

Alfonso Rodriguez de Ovalle.

[To] His Excellency the Marquis of Cruillas.

1 Ed. note: The exact date is not given in the book.

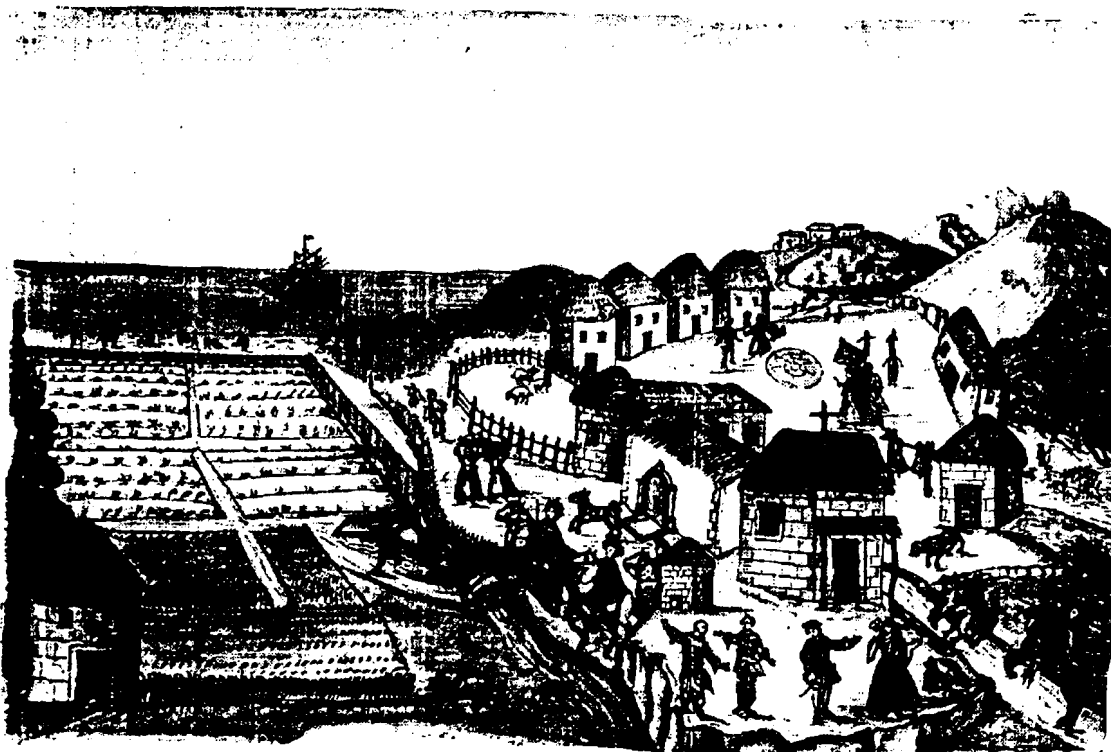
Note 1764B

Some Manila galleons stopped at San José del Cabo in the 1760s

The drawing of Father Ignatius Tirsch.

Sources: Ms. in the National Library in the Klementinum, Prague, Czech Republic; published by Dawson's Book Shop, Los Angeles, in 1972 in a book entitled: "The Drawings of Ignacio Tirsch, a Jesuit Missionary in Baja California." Also published by Oldrich Kaspar in Prague in 1991.

Notes: Fr. Ignatius Tirsch was born in Komotau [Chomutov], Bohemia [now Czech Republic] in 1733. He arrived in California in 1762 and served as curate of the mission at Santiago from 1763 to 1768, from where he visited San José del Cabo. He was expelled with the other Jesuits in 1768 and returned to Prague, where he made the drawing below, from memory.



San José del Cabo, another mission named after Saint Joseph in the foothills of San Lucas in California, which was also nearly completed by me. The mission is depicted with the Philippine ship arriving to be supplied with food.



Document 1765A

The voyage of HMS Dolphin and HMS Tamar in 1765—The narrative of Commodore John Byron

Source: John Hawkesworth (ed.), An Account of the Voyages (London, 1773).

Note: The narrative in Robert E. Gallagher (ed.), Byron's Journal of Circumnavigation 1764-1766 (Hakluyt Soc., 1964) is unedited, and a more succinct version than that published by Hawkesworth.

Introductory note.

At the close of the Seven-Years War in 1764, Commodore Byron, who had served in the **Wager** as a midshipman under Anson, was put in command of his own expedition to the South Sea in 1765. He was given two ships: **HMS Dolphin**, with 190 men, and **HMS Tamar**, with 115. After exiting from the Strait of Magellan, he headed northwest, past the Tuamotu Archipelago, until he crossed the Gilbert Islands. On 2 July 1765, he discovered a low island which was named Byron's Island. This was Nikunau, as H.E. Maude has proven (ref. JPS 70 (1961): 72), although Andrew Sharp, in his book entitled Discovery of the Pacific Islands, makes a weak case for either Tabiteuea, or even Beru. He made a purposeful landing at Tinian on 31 July 1765. Nine months later, he was back in England.

Commodore Byron's Voyage Round the World

CHAP. X. The Run from King George's Islands to the Islands of Saypan, Tinian, and Aguigan; with an Account of several Islands that were discovered in that Track.

...

1765. June.
Saturday 29.

(Facing page:) **Commodore John Byron and his ship HMS Dolphin.** *This 511-ton frigate carried 24 guns and measured 113 feet (gun deck) and had a depth of hold of 11 feet. (From Gallagher's version of Byron Journal).*

We continued our course till the 29th, in the track of these [Solomon] islands, and being then ten degrees to the westward of their situation in the chart, without having seen any thing of them, I hauled to the northward, in order to cross the equinoxial, and afterwards shape my course for the Ladrone Islands, which, though a long run, I hoped to accomplish before I should be distressed for water, notwithstanding it now began to fall short. Our latitude, this day, was 8°13'S., longitude 176°20'E. and the variation was 10°10' E.¹

July. Tuesday 2.

[Discovery of Nikunau]

On Tuesday the 2d of July, we again saw many birds about the ship, and at four o'clock in the afternoon, discovered an island bearing north, and distant about six leagues: we stood for it till sun-set, when it was distant about four leagues, and then kept off and on for the night.

Wednesday 3.

In the morning, we found it a low flat island, of a most delightful appearance, and full of wood, among which the cocoa-nut tree was very conspicuous: we saw, however, to our great regret, much foul ground about it, upon which the sea broke with a dreadful surf. We steered along the south west side of it, which we judged to be about four leagues in length, and soon perceived not only that it was inhabited, but very populous; for presently after the ship came in sight, we saw at least a thousand of the natives assembled upon the beach, and in a very short time more than sixty canoes, or rather proas, put off from the shore, and made towards us. We lay by to receive them, and they were very soon ranged in a circle round us.

These vessels were very neatly made, and so clean that they appeared to be quite new: none of them had fewer then three persons on board, nor any of them more than six. After these Indians had gazed at us some time, one of them suddenly jumped out of his proa, swam to the ship, and ran up the side like a cat: as soon as he had stepped over the gunwale, he sat down upon it, and burst into a violent fit of laughter, then started up, and ran all over the ship, attempting to steal whatever he could lay his hands upon, but without success, for being stark naked, it was impossible to conceal his booty for a moment. Our seamen put him on a jacket and trowsers, which produced great merriment, for he had all the gestures of a monkey newly dressed; we also gave him bread, which he eat with a voracious appetite, and after having played a thousand antic tricks, he leaped overboard, jacket and trowsers and all, and swam back again to his proa; after this several others swam to the ship, ran up the side to the gun-room ports, and having crept in, snatched up whatever lay in their reach, and immediately leaped again into the sea, and swam away at a great rate, though some of them, having both hands full, held up their arms quite out of the water, to prevent their plunder from being spoiled.

1 Ed. note: Sharp notes that Byron's longitudes in that area were several degrees west of their true positions.

There people are tall, well proportioned, and clean-limbed: their skin is a bright copper colour, their features are extremely good, and there is a mixture of intrepidity and cheerfulness in their countenances that is very striking. They have long black hair, which some of them wore tied up behind in a great bunch, others in three knots: some of them had long beards, some only whiskers, and some nothing more than a small tuft at the point of the chin. They were all of them stark naked, except their ornaments, which consisted of shells, very prettily disposed and strung together, and were worn round their necks, wrists, and waists: all their ears were bored, but they had no ornaments in them when we saw them: such ornaments as they wear, when they wear any, are probably very heavy, for their ears hang down almost to their shoulders, and some of them were quite split through. One of these men, who appeared to be a person of some consequence, had a string of human teeth about his waist, which was probably a trophy of his military prowess, for he would not part with it in exchange for any thing that I could offer him. Some of them were unarmed, but others had one of the most dangerous weapons I had ever seen: it was a kind of spear, very broad at the end, and stuck full of shark's teeth, which are as sharp as a lancet, at the sides, for about three feet of its length. We shewed them some cocoa-nuts, and made signs that we wanted more; but instead of giving any intimation that they could supply us, they endeavoured to take away those we had.

I sent out the boats to sound soon after we brought to off the island, and when they came back, they reported that there was ground at the depth of thirty fathom, within two cables' length of the shore; but as the bottom was coral rock, and the soundings much too near the breakers for a ship to lie in safety, I was obliged again to make sail, without procuring any refreshments for the sick.

This island, to which my officers gave the name of Byron's Island, lies in latitude of $1^{\circ}18'S.$, longitude $173^{\circ}46'E$; the variation of the compass here, was one point E.

In our course from this place, we saw, for several days, abundance of fish, but we could take only sharks, which were become a good dish even at my own table. Many of the people now began to fall down with fluxes, which the Surgeon imputed to the excessive heat, and almost perpetual rains.

Sunday 21.

By the 21st, all our cocoa-nuts being expended, our people began to fall down again with the scurvy. The effect of these nuts alone, in checking this disease, is astonishing: many whose limbs were become as black as ink, who could not move without the assistance of two men, and who, besides total debility, suffered excruciating pain, were in a few days, by eating these nuts, although at sea, so far recovered as to do their duty, and could even go aloft as well as they did before the distemper seized them. For several days, about this time, we had only faint breezes, with smooth water, so that we made but little way, and as we were now not far from the Ladrone Islands, where we hoped some refreshments might be procured, we most ardently wished for a fresh gale, especially as the heat was still intolerable, the glass for a long time having never been

lower than eighty-one [degrees Fahrenheit], but often up to eighty-four; and I am of opinion that this is the hottest, the longest, and most dangerous run that ever was made.

Monday 22.

On the 18th, we were in latitude 13°9'N., longitude 158°50'E., and on the 22d, in latitude 14°25'N., longitude 153°11'E. during which time we had a northerly current. Being now nearly in the latitude of Tinian, I shaped my course for that island.

CHAP. XI. The Arrival of the Dolphin and Tamar at Tinian, a Description of the present Condition of that Island, and an Account of the Transactions there.

Sunday 28.

Tuesday 30.

On the 28th, we saw a great number of birds about the ship, which continued till the 30th, when about two o'clock in the afternoon we saw land, bearing W.1/2N. which proved to be the islands Saypan, Tinian, and Aiguigan [sic]. At sunset, the extremes of them bore from N.W.1/2N. westward to S.W.; and the three islands had the appearance of one. At seven, we hauled the wind, and stood off and on all night.

Wednesday 31.

At six the next morning, the extremes of the islands, which still made in one, bore from N.W. by N. to S.W. by S. distant five leagues. The east side of these islands lies N.E. by N. and S.W. by S. Saypan is the northernmost; and from the north east point of that island to the south west point of Aiguigan, the distance is about seventeen leagues. These three islands are between two and three leagues distant from each other; Saypan is the largest, and Aiguigan, which is high and round, the smallest. We steered along the east side of them, and at noon hauled round the south point of Tinian, between that island and Aiguigan, and anchored at the south west end of it, in sixteen fathom water, with a bottom of hard sand and coral rock, opposite to a white sandy bay, about a mile and a quarter from the shore, and about three quarters of a mile from a reef of rocks that lies at a good distance from the shore, in the very spot where Lord Anson lay in the **Centurion**. The water at this place is so very clear that the bottom is plainly to be seen at the depth of four and twenty fathom, which is no less than one hundred and forty-four feet.

As soon as the ship was secured, I went on shore, to fix upon a place where tents might be erected for the sick, which were now very numerous; not a single man being wholly free from the scurvy, and many in the last stage of it. We found several huts which had been left by the Spaniards and Indians the year before; for this year none of them had as yet been at the place, nor was it probable that they should come for some months, the sun being now almost vertical, and the rainy season set in. After I had fixed upon a spot for the tents, six or seven of us endeavoured to push through the woods, that we might come at the beautiful lawns and meadows of which there is so luxuriant a description in the Account of Lord Anson's Voyage, and if possible kill some cattle. The trees stood so thick, and the place was so overgrown with underwood, that we



Commodore Byron landing in Patagonia in 1765.

could not see three yards before us, we therefore were obliged to keep continually hallooing to each other, to prevent our being separately lost in this trackless wilderness. As the weather was intolerably hot, we had nothing on besides our shoes, except our shirts and trowsers, and these were in a very short time torn all to rags by the bushes and brambles; at last, however, with incredible difficulty and labour, we got through; but, to our great surprise and disappointment, we found the country very different from the account we had read of it: the lawns were entirely overgrown with a stubborn kind of reed or brush, in many places higher than our heads, and no where lower than our middles, which continually entangled our legs, and cut us like whipcord; our stockings perhaps might have suffered still more, but we wore none. During this march we were also covered with flies from head to foot, and whenever we offered to speak we were sure of having a mouthful, many of which never failed to get down our throats. After we had walked about three or four miles, we got sight of a bull, which we killed, and a little before night got back to the beach, as wet as if we had been dipt in water, and so fatigued that we were scarcely able to stand. We immediately sent out a party to fetch the bull, and found that during our excursion some tents had been got up, and the sick brought on shore.

August. Thursday 1.

The next day our people were employed in setting up more tents, getting the water-casks on shore, and clearing the well at which they were to be filled. This well I imagined to be the same that the **Centurion** watered at; but it was the worst that we had met with during the voyage, for the water was not only brackish, but full of worms. The Road also where the ships lay was a dangerous situation at this season, for the bottom is hard sand and large coral rocks, and the anchor having no hold in the sand, is in perpetual danger of being cut to pieces by the coral; to prevent which as much as possible, I rounded the cables, and buoyed them up with empty water casks. Another precaution also was taught me by experience, for at first I moored, but finding the cables much damaged, I resolved to lie single for the future, that by veering away or heaving in, as we should have more or less wind, we might always keep them from being slack, and consequently from rubbing, and this expedient succeeded to my wish. At the full and change of the moon, a prodigious swell tumbles in here, so that I never saw ships at anchor roll so much as ours did while we lay here; and it once drove in from the westward with such violence, and broke so high upon the reef, that I was obliged to put to sea for a week; for if our cable had parted in the night, and the wind had been upon the shore, which sometimes happens for two or three days together, the ship must inevitably have been lost upon the rocks.

As I was myself very ill with the scurvy, I ordered a tent to be pitched for me, and took up my residence on shore; where we also erected the armourer's forge, and began to repair the iron-work of both the ships. I soon found that the island produced limes, sour oranges, cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, guavas, and paupaus in great abundance; but we found no water-melons, scurvy-grass, or sorrel.

Notwithstanding the fatigue and distress that we had endured, and the various climates we had passed through, neither of the ships had yet lost a single man since their sailing from England; but while we lay here two died of fevers, a disease with which many were seized, though we all recovered very fast from the scurvy. I am indeed of opinion that this is one of the most unhealthy spots in the world, at least during the season in which we were here. The rains were violent, and almost incessant, and the heat was so great as to threaten us with suffocation. The thermometer, which was kept on board the ship, generally stood at eighty-six, which is but nine degrees less than the heat of the blood at the heart; and if it had been on shore it would have risen much higher. I had been upon the coast of Guinea, in the West Indies, and upon the island of Saint Thomas, which is under the Line,¹ but I had never felt any such heat as I felt here. Besides the inconvenience which we suffered from the weather, we were incessantly tormented by the flies in the day, and by the musquitos in the night. The island also swarms with centipedes and scorpions, and a large black ant, scarcely inferior to either in the malignity of its bite. Besides these, there were venomous insects without number, altogether unknown to us, by which many of us suffered so severely, that we were afraid to lie down in our beds; nor were those on board in a much better situation than those on shore, for great numbers of these creatures being carried into the ship with the wood, they took possession of every birth, and left the poor seamen no place of rest either below or upon the deck.

As soon as we were settled in our new habitations, I sent out parties to discover the haunts of the cattle, some of which were found, but at a great distance from the tents, and the beasts were so shy that it was very difficult to get a shot at them. Some of the parties which, when their haunts had been discovered, were sent out to kill them, were absent three days and nights before they could succeed; and when a bullock had been dragged seven or eight miles through such woods and lawns as have just been described, to the tents, it was generally full of fly-blows, and stunk so as to be unfit for use: nor was this the worst, for the fatigue of the men in bringing down the carcass, and the intolerable heat they suffered from the climate and the labour, frequently brought on fevers which laid them up. Poultry however we procured upon easier terms: there was great plenty of birds, and they were easily killed; but the flesh of the best of them was very ill-tasted, and such was the heat of the climate that within an hour after they were killed it was as green as grass, and swarmed with maggots. Our principal resource for fresh meat, was the wild hog, with which the island abounds. These creatures are very fierce, and some of them so large that a carcass frequently weighed two hundred pounds. We killed them without much difficulty, but a Black belonging to the **Tamar** contrived a method to snare them, so that we took great numbers of them alive, which was an unspeakable advantage; for it not only ensured our eating the flesh while it was sweet, but enabled us to send a good number of them on board as sea-stores.

1 Ed. note: The Island of Sao Tomé off the coast of Gabon, Africa.

In the mean time we were very desirous of procuring some beef in an eatable state, with less risk and labour, and Mr. Gore, one of our Mates, at last discovered a pleasant spot upon the north west part of the island, where cattle were in great plenty, and whence they might be brought to the tents by sea. To this place therefore I dispatched a party, with a tent for their accommodation, and sent the boats every day to fetch what they should kill; sometimes however there broke such a sea upon the rocks that it was impossible to approach them, and the **Tamar's** boat unhappily lost three of her best men by attempting it. We were now, upon the whole, pretty well supplied with provisions, especially as we baked fresh bread every day for the sick; and the fatigue of our people being less, there were fewer ill with the fever: but several of them were so much disordered by eating of a very fine looking fish which we caught here, that their recovery was for a long time doubtful. The Author of the Account of Lord Anson's Voyage says, that the people on board the **Centurion** thought it prudent to abstain from fish, as the few which they caught at their first arrival surfeited those who ate of them. But not attending sufficiently to this caution, and too hastily taking the word *surfeit* in its literal and common acceptation, we imagined that those who tasted the fish when Lord Anson first came hither, were made sick merely by eating too much; whereas, if that had been the case, there would have been no reason for totally abstaining afterwards, but only eating temperately. We however bought our knowledge by experience, which we might have had cheaper; for though all our people who tasted this fish, ate sparingly, they were all soon afterwards dangerously ill.¹

Besides the fruit that has been mentioned already, this island produces cotton and indigo in abundance, and would certainly be of great value if it was situated in the West Indies. The Surgeon of the **Tamar** enclosed a large spot of ground here, and made a very pretty garden; but we did not stay long enough to derive any advantage from it.

While we lay here, I sent the **Tamar** to examine the island of Saypan, which is much larger than Tinian, rises higher, and, in my opinion, has a much pleasanter appearance. She anchored to the leeward of it, at the distance of a mile from the shore, and in about ten fathom water, with much the same kind of ground as we had in the road of Tinian. Her people landed upon a fine sandy beach which is six or seven miles long, and walked up into the woods, where they saw many trees which were very fit for topmasts. They saw no fowls, nor any tracks of cattle; but of hogs and guanicoes there was plenty.² They found no fresh water near the beach, but saw a large pond inland,³ which they did not examine. They saw large heaps of pearl oyster-shells thrown up together, and other signs of people having been there not long before: possibly the Spaniards may go

1 Ed. note: The red snapper, barracuda and surgeonfish are frequently affected by the ciguatera toxin in waters off the Marianas. The poison comes from microscopic marine plants, eaten by herbivores and subsequently concentrated in their predators (ref. Amesbury & Myers' *The Fishes*, p. 13).

2 Ed. note: There is no Spanish reports about guanacos (related to the llamas) being imported into the Marianas. They must have been goats.

3 Ed. note: Lake Susupe; so, they must have landed at what is called Chalan Kanoa today.

thither at some seasons of the year, and carry on a pearl fishery. They also saw many of those square pyramidal pillars which are to be found at Tinian, and which are particularly described in the Account of Lord Anson's Voyage.

1765. September. Monday 30.

On Monday the 30th of September, having now been here nine weeks, and our sick being pretty well recovered, I ordered the tents to be struck, and with the forge and oven carried back to the ship; I also laid in about two thousand cocoa-nuts, which I had experienced to be so powerful a remedy for the scurvy.

October. Tuesday 1.

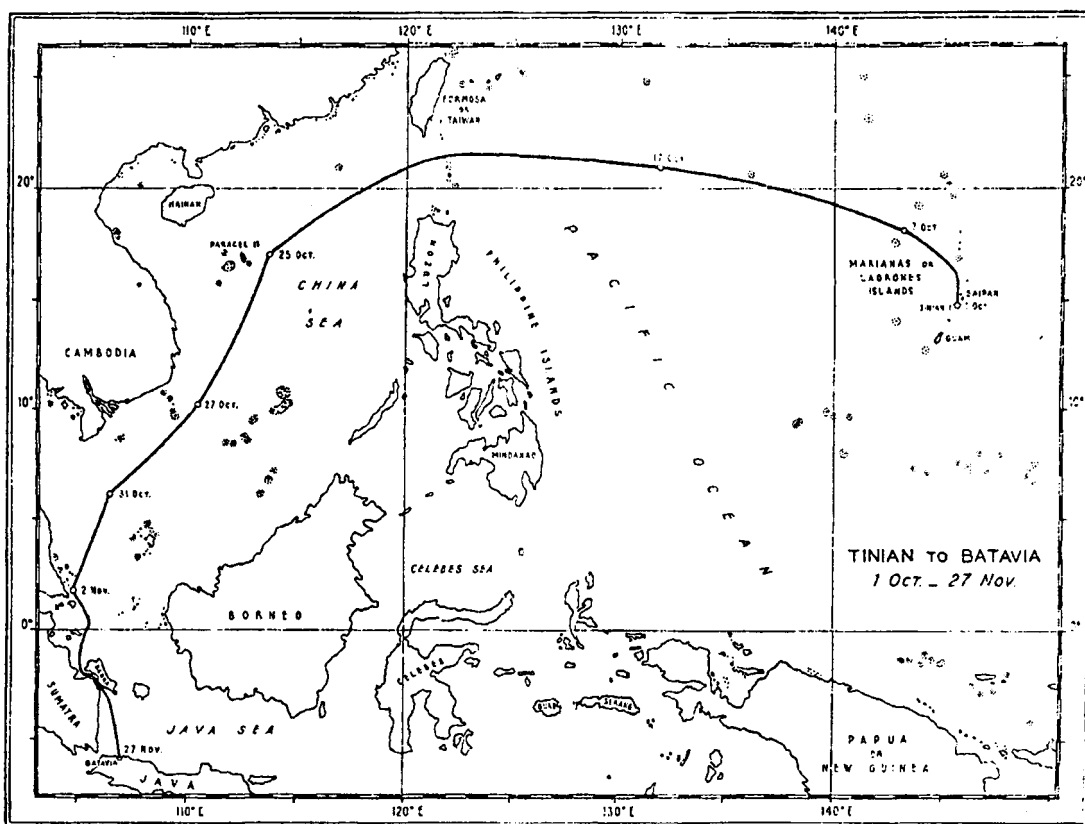
The next day I weighed, hoping that before we should get the length of the Bashee Islands, the N.E. monsoon would be set in. I stood along the shore to take in the beef-hunters; but we had very little wind this day,

Wednesday 3.

and the next till the evening, when it came to the westward and blew fresh: I then stood to the northward till the morning of

Thursday 3,

when we made Anatacan, an island that is remarkable high, and the same that was first fallen in with by Lord Anson.



Document 1765B

The voyage of HMS Dolphin and HMS Tamar—The narrative of Charles Clerke

Source: A book entitled: "A Voyage Round the World, In His Majesty's Ship The DOLPHIN, Com-manded by the Honourable Commodore BYRON... Together with An accurate Account of Seven Islands lately discovered in the SOUTH SEAS, By an Officer on Board the said Ship," and published in London in 1767, in at least 2 editions.

Note: Although the author wished to remain anonymous, bibliographers have ascertained that the author was Charles Clerke, a member of the crew.

A Voyage Round the World

...

[At Mas-afuera Island, off the coast of Chile]

Having taken in as much wood and water as the weather would permit, the surf sometimes swelling in such a manner, as to prevent our boats coming near the shore, we thought of leaving the island. However, we first received captain Mouat from the **Tamer** [sic], who came on board as commander of the **Dolphin**; all flag officers having a commander under them. This caused several changes, our first officer taking the command of the **Tamer**.

On the first of May [1765] we weighed, and at six in the morning set sail from Mas-afuera to the westward. We had now a continued series of fine weather, and yet found, that the nearer we approached the Line, the scurvy raged among the men with the greater inveteracy.¹

...

Still proceeding in our course to the westward, we had on the twenty-third excessive hard showers of rain, on which we seized this opportunity of filling our casks with a fresh supply of water. This is performed on board a ship by extending large pieces of canvass in an horizontal position, hanging them by the corners, and placing a cannon ball, or any thing heavy in the centre; by which means the rain running trickling to the middle, pours in a stream into the casks placed under. In this manner the Manila ships,

¹ Ed. note: The expedition went by Napuka, Tepoto, Takaroa Takapoto and Maniki Islands, all on the northern fringe of the Tuamotu Archipelago, before passing by Pukapuka in the Northern Cooks, Atafu in the Tokelau Group, and finally the Gilbert Islands.

during the long passages they make through the South Seas, recruit their water, from the great showers of rain which at this season of the year fall in these latitudes, for which purpose they always carry a great number of earthen jars with them.

...
On the twenty-eighth of June, we had fresh breezes, with heavy squalls of rain, and now giving up all hopes of seeing Solomon's Islands, which we had expected to visit; and should certainly have found had there been any such islands, in the latitude in which they are placed in our maps, we altered our course to the north northwest, with the **Tamer** in company, during the whole time: our people being frequently employed in catching rain water; we having been now upwards of four months with only a quart of water a day for each man.

On the fourth of July the **Tamer** making the signal for seeing land, we stood towards it, and found an island in [blank]¹ degrees thirteen minutes south latitude, and in west longitude [blank] degrees forty minutes; and it being never before discovered, we gave it the name of Byron Island. It is near four leagues from the north-west to the south-east, and being covered with a great number of trees, appears very fruitful. To the south-west of the island you may anchor from ten fathom water to thirty-seven, in a coral bottom, half a mile from the shore, where there is little or no surf. At ten in the morning we sent our boat armed on shore, at which time we saw a multitude of inhabitants, provided with a kind of proas or Indian boats, scattered on different parts of the shore. On our boats approaching the land, the Indians came along-side them, and trafficked with our men, who gave them several trinkets in exchange for their fruit, and other things; and they seemed to be highly delighted both with what they received, and the courteous behaviour of the sailors. Their boats are small, and covered with leaves of trees sewed together; some of them carrying four people, and others only two. These have some resemblance to the proas used by the Indians of the Ladrone Islands, they having what is termed an outrigger, that is, a frame laid out to the windward, to balance this little vessel, and prevent its oversetting, which would otherwise infallibly happen, from its small breadth in proportion to its length.

These Indians are of an olive colour, and have fine long black hair, and their teeth are remarkably white. They are well made, and have strait limbs, and great activity. The men were entirely naked, and though we saw upwards of a hundred of them in their proas, there was but one woman among them, and of her they seemed to take great notice; she was distinguished by wearing something about her waist. While the proas were round the ship, one of the Indians came on board, and by his manner of sitting on the deck, seemed to be more used to sitting than standing; for he instantly squatted down on his hams, and did not quit that posture till he jumped overboard. These Indians seem to have no notion even of those points, which, one would think, nature must have informed them of, without the assistance of the laws formed by polite nations for the ad-

1 Ed. note: In an earlier note, the editors of this book explain that it was their patriotic duty to hide this information, to prevent foreigners from taking possession of English discoveries in the Pacific.

vantage of civil society; but it is probable that they enjoy all things in a manner in common amongst themselves, and thence have little idea of property with respect to others. Thus one of them came in his proa under the ship's stern, and jumped into our gun-room without being perceived by the men, whence he stole some little trifles, which he could conveniently carry away in his hands; and another of them, who had trafficked with one of the men, after giving him strings of beads in exchange for the bread which he seemed desirous of having, watched his opportunity, and attempted to snatch them again out of his hand, taking to the water, to which they are so habituated, that they will frequently stay a minute or more under it.

On the eighth of July, three days after we left this island,¹ we made the signal to the **Tamer** of seeing land, and at eight in the morning ran in with it, when we saw three islands, which proved to be Tinian, Aguigan and Saypan: but were obliged to stand off and on from the land all night. However, the next morning we came to an anchor in the road of Tinian, in eighteen fathoms water, in white sand intermixed with coral rock: one of our anchors lay to the westward, and the other to the eastward, and our cables were buoyed with casks, to keep them off the foul ground. We found fresh gales of wind from the north to the east, and when we moored, the tide was observed to run regularly from the extremes of the island, ebbing and flowing about eight or nine feet. Thus we arrived at this delightful island, after a passage of four months and twenty days, from the streights of Magellan through the Pacific Ocean, with this surprising and happy circumstance, that during this long run, though many had great complaints of the scurvy, from the salt provisions they had been obliged to live upon, yet thro' the care of the Commodore, in causing the people to be supplied at stated times with portable soup,² and the refreshments we had obtained from several islands, we had not buried a single man; and we had now, by being favoured with fair weather, an opportunity of sending our sick on shore, into the tents, which some of our men had soon prepared for their reception.

Mean while our men were despatched into the woods in search of cattle, which from the account published in Commodore Anson's voyage, we had reason to expect we should find in great numbers: but we had cast anchor on the wrong side of the island,³ and to our great disappointment we found them very scarce, and the few we did find, when they were shot, were with great difficulty brought to the ship; the woods through which we were obliged to pass being there so thick, as greatly to obstruct our passage; and several that were shot we were obliged to leave behind; for though the beasts themselves had made paths thro' these woods, we could not proceed in them without the greatest difficulty. We therefore killed, during the first week, only three white bullocks, one of which we could not get soon enough to the shore, for in less than twenty-four hours he was covered with maggots, from the warmth of the climate, and the prodi-

1 Ed. note: Error for 28 July, i.e. 23 days after leaving the Gilberts.

2 Ed. note: A concoction against scurvy which the English were then experimenting with. Gallagher compares them to modern-day bouillon cubes.

3 Ed. note: They had not; they were also anchored in Sungharon Roads.

gious number of flies in the day, and muscatos [sic] by night, which last greatly resemble our gnats in England, but are larger as well as more numerous, and more troublesome; however, we were soon plentifully supplied with fresh beef, pork, and even all the necessaries, and many of the luxuries of life, in the greatest plenty, and all excellent in their kind.

On the seventh of August were sent on shore to the tents, which we called the hospital, sixteen others of our ship's company; and the first day John Watson, our quarter-master, departed this life; and soon after died Peter Evans, one of the seamen belonging to the **Tamer**. We now got our copper oven on shore, and baked bread, which we served to the sick; the whole being under the inspection of our own surgeon.

We now sent a boat to the [north-]westernmost part of the island, where the cattle were more numerous, there being great droves of them, some men remaining on shore to shoot them as soon as the boats appeared in sight, when they were instantly killed, cut up, and carried to the boat; by which means our people had as much good beef and broth as we could possibly expend; with guavas, oranges, lemons, limes, plenty of excellent cabbages, which grow on the cocoa [-nut] trees, and the bread fruit, for which these islands are justly famous; and not only poultry like those in England, but wild fowl of various sorts. Our people also caught a number of hogs in snares.

This fine island is situated in fifteen degrees eight minutes north latitude, and in a hundred and fourteen degrees fifty minutes west longitude from Acapulco in New Spain; but is only about twelve miles in length, and half as much in breadth. The soil is dry and healthy, and being somewhat sandy, is supposed to be, on that account, the less disposed to a too luxuriant vegetation. No spot upon earth can appear more delightful from the sea, than the country when viewed from some parts of the coast, where, instead of having the appearance of an uncultivated and uninhabited place, it resembles a beautiful and noble plantation, in which stately woods and spacious lawns have been laid out, and most beautifully intermingled, and so happily adapted to the inequalities of the ground, as to produce a most striking, and at the same time a most pleasing effect. The land generally rises in gentle slopes, that are frequently interrupted by valleys, irregularly winding through the country, which with the gentle swellings of the ground, agreeably diversified with the mutual encroachments of lofty woods and spacious lawns, covered with a fine trefoil intermixed with flowers, traverse the island. The beauty of these fine rural landscapes were in several views from the coast, most pleasingly enlivened by herds of some thousand cattle, feeding together in the fine lawns; and it is no less true than singular, that all of them are milk-white, with black or brown ears; these resort to two or three large pieces of fresh water in the middle of the island, where are also found plenty of ducks, teal and widgeons, curlew and the whistling plover. There are also found abundance of wild hogs, which are very fierce, but excellent food, as is also the flesh both of the horned cattle and the fowl. Add to all this, the great number of domestic poultry which range the woods; and as the author of Commodore Anson's Voyage justly observes, by their clamour and frequent parading, perpetually excite the idea of the neighbourhood of farms and villages.



(Facing page:) **British sailors exploring a South Sea Island like Tinian.** *This illustration is taken from page 130 of the second edition of Clerke's book, said to show "a grove with an altar of stones, supposed to be a place of worship?" at one of the Tuamotu islands in Polynesia. However, the author of the sketch must have been influenced by his description of Tinian. It was engraved by J. Collyer.*

The beauty of the prospects, and the fresh provisions, furnished by this delightful island, are not all the advantages it affords; it being as worthy of admiration from the excellence of its fruits and vegetables, which are happily adapted to the cure of the sea-scurvy; these are all excellent in their kind, and several of them deserve a particular description.

The cocoa-nut tree, already mentioned as growing in most of the new discovered islands, as well as at Tinian, is one of the most beautiful, as well as most admirable of all the vegetable productions, and is also found in many other parts of the world, particularly in the East and West Indies. It is a species of the palm: the trunk is large, strait, and unsensibly grows smaller from the bottom to the top; on the upper part of the trunk are found the branches which form a beautiful head. The fruit hangs to the trunk in bunches by strong stalks; some are always ripe, others green, and some just beginning to button, while the blossoms, which are yellow, are still in bloom. The fruit is of different sizes, and of a greenish colour: it is covered with two rinds, the outer composed of long, tough brown threads; but the second is extremely hard, and has within it a thick firm white substance, which has the taste of a sweet almond. The people of several countries eat it with their meat as we do bread, and squeeze out of it a liquor that resembles almond milk, which, on being exposed to the fire, is converted into a kind of oil, that is used both in sauces and in lamps. In the midst of the nut is also a considerable quantity of a clear cool liquor, that has the taste of sugar-water, and when drank is very refreshing. What is called the cabbage consists of a cluster of many white, thin, brittle flakes, which have something of the taste of almonds, and when boiled has some resemblance to the taste of a cabbage; but is sweeter and more agreeable.

But the most remarkable fruit of these islands, is the bread fruit; it being generally eaten by the Europeans who come hither instead of bread, to which it is even preferred. It grows upon a lofty tree, which, near the top, divides into spreading branches, covered with leaves of a deep green, notched on the edges, and from a foot to eighteen inches in length. The fruit which grows single on all parts of the branches, is seven or eight inches long, of an oval form, and covered with a rough rind, and when gathered green, and roasted in the embers, has its inside soft, tender, white and crummy like bread; but has something of the taste of an artichoke's bottom. This excellent fruit is in season eight months in the year. As it ripens it turns yellow, and growing softer, has the taste of a ripe peach, and a fragrant smell; but is then said to be unwholesome, and apt to produce the flux.

But to proceed: after being some time at this fine island, parties were frequently sent out before day, who constantly saw some hundreds of cows and calves grazing together

in herds, when they got so near as to pick out and shoot the finest, and then bring them to the boats; so that each man had sometimes an allowance of three pound of flesh meat a day; and we had also plenty of hogs and fowl.

The fish, however, caught on the coast, appear to be unwholesome; for on the 17th of September, the officers, after eating a dish of them, were taken ill with a violent purging and vomiting, which had like to have proved of fatal consequence; indeed Mr. Walter, in his account of Commodore Anson's voyage, observes, that the few they caught at their first arrival had surfeited those who eat of them, on which they thought it prudent to abstain from them; which observation, added to our own experience, is a sufficient proof of their being prejudicial. However, amidst such plenty as we enjoyed, the want of fish might very well be dispensed with. The greatest disadvantage attending this island is the want of a safe harbour, and the inconvenience of the road, which in some seasons affords but little security for a ship at anchor.

It is however surprising, that an island, thus bounding with the necessities and luxuries of life, should be destitute of inhabitants; but it seems it was once populous: and that an epidemical sickness having carried off multitudes of the inhabitants of this and the neighbouring islands, the Spaniards cruelly removed the rest to Guam, to supply the numbers that had died there; where languishing for their native spot, and their former habitations, the greatest part of them died with grief. Indeed, we saw the ruins of their town, which is now over-run with trees and bushes.

Though Tinian is entirely uninhabited, the Indians of Guam, and other of the neighbouring islands, frequently resort thither to jerk beef, and carry it away. These Indians are a bold, strong, well-limbed people; and if we may judge from the admirable structure of their flying proas, the only vessels they use at sea, they are far from being deficient in point of understanding. These vessels move with such amazing swiftness, that it is generally allowed by all who observed them with attention, that with a brisk trade-wind they will run at least twenty miles an hour. The construction of these proas is very remarkable, the head and stern being exactly alike; but the sides very different, that intended for the windward-side being built rounding, while the lee-side is flat. The body is formed of two pieces joined end-ways, and neatly sewed together with bark; and as the strait run of her leeward-side, and her small breadth, would certainly cause her to overset, a frame, called an out-rigger, is laid out from her to windward, to the end of which is fastened a log, made hollow, in the shape of a small boat.¹ Thus the weight of the frame balances the proa, and that, with the small boat, which is always in the water, prevents her oversetting to windward. This vessel generally carries six or seven Indians, two of whom sit in the head and stern, who steer the proa alternately, with a paddle, according to the tack she goes on; he in the stern being the steersman: the rest are employed in setting and trimming the sail, or bailing out the water she accidentally ships. Thus by only shifting the sail, their vessels, with either end foremost, can, with amaz-

1 Ed. note: His description is copied from Anson's voyage and repeat this small error about a hollow float.

ing swiftness, run from one of these islands to another, and back again, without ever putting about.

On the ninth of September, at four in the morning, the wind blew with such violence, that the **Tamer** was driven from her anchors out to sea; but at twelve she came to an anchor again; and yet at four in the afternoon was driven out to sea a second time.

We having on our first coming to the island haled our barge on shore, to repair the damage she had sustained; she was finished on the tenth of September, and ordered to prepare for sea.

In the mean while our boats, which had been sent to examine Saypan and Aguigan, two of the islands we had seen on our steering to Tinian, returned, with the news, that they had found an excellent bay at Saypan, and that the island abounded with a variety of the finest fruits, and seemed to enjoy all the advantages of Tinian, from which it was three leagues distance; and that Aguigan, which lies to the southward, is likewise a beautiful island, and appears to produce nearly the same refreshing fruits as the other islands.

During this time the **Tamer** met with an accident,¹ that was attended with fatal consequences to two of her best seamen; she had, as usual, sent her boat on shore, when the surf suddenly rose so high as to fill the boat with water, by which means the men were dashed against the steep craggy rocks near the shore, and two of them drowned; and the rest who were six in number, with great difficulty, escaped suffering the same fate, by swimming to shore, they being frequently repelled by the unusual swell which prevailed at that time.

Having taken in a large quantity of cocoas and limes, which were distributed to the ship's company, and got our tents from the island, we sailed from Tinian, and the rest of the Ladrone Islands, on the second of October. For as we had now finished the business on which we were sent, by the discovery of those islands in the South Seas, according to our original destination...

...

(Overleaf:) **Plan of the Islands Tenian and Saypan** by John Townshend of the *Tamer* 1765. Published by Dalrymple in 1796, this map is much better than any of the Spanish maps that he published at the same time.

¹ Ed. note: According to Byron, this accident occurred upon the northwest coast of Tinian when the boat was visiting the hunting camp.

143.45

50

114°

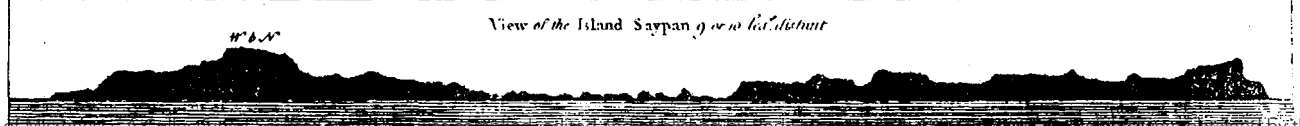
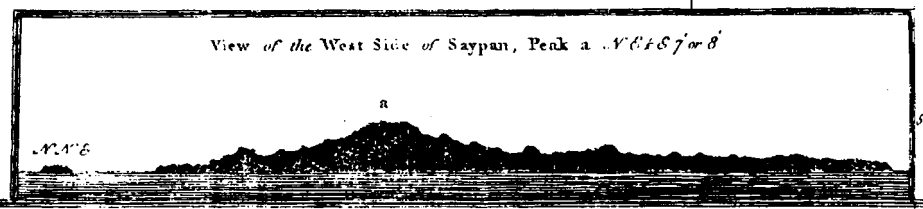
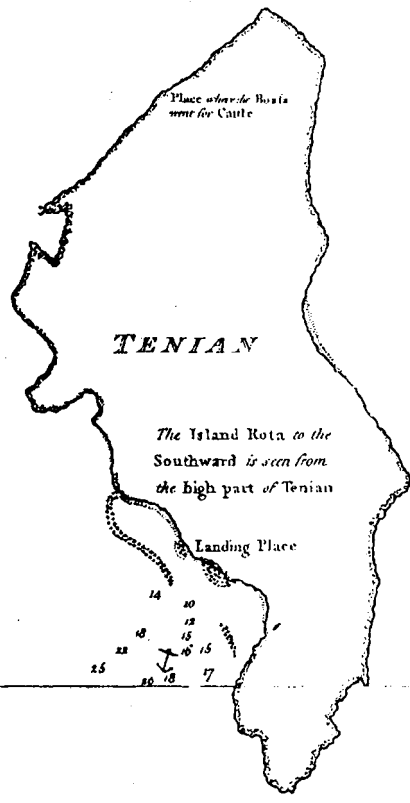
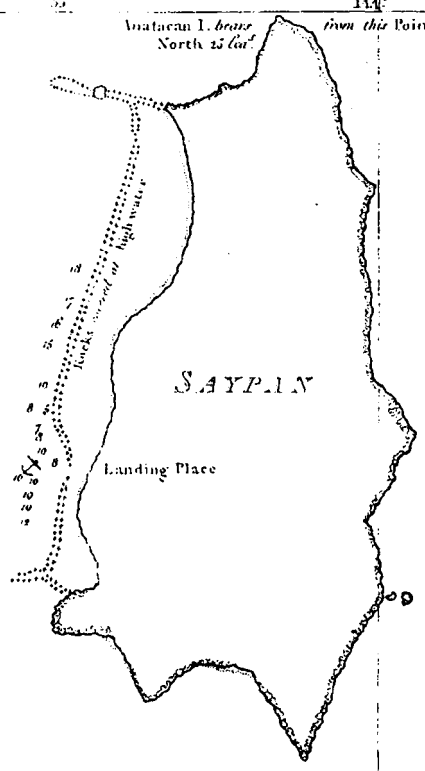
PLAN of the ISLANDS TENIAN and SAYPAN

by
John Townshend
in the
Tamer
1765

Variation 6° E. is allowed.

Saypan is a very fine Island with plenty of Hogs; vast quantities of Limes & Lemons; and some wild-fowl about the size of Hens, which are good eating: many Guanoes, that are supposed to suck the Powl's Eggs. The Trees in the Woods are tall & straight & pretty clear from brush & under wood.

18. The Spanish Plans mark a Reef extending from the Island A. about 18' to the SW with Soundings between that Reef and Saypan; and also describe a Harbour to the NE of the Island A. The Extremity of the Reef is brought further to the Southward than the North Point of Tenian.



Documents 1766A

List of the soldiers of the garrison of the Marianas in 1766

Source: AGNAHH 6-563. Note: The list of soldiers was certified by Frigate Lieutenant José de Soroa, Governor of the Mariana Islands.

Petition of Juan José Echeveste on behalf of the Garrison

*Note: Mexico Treasurer, Don José Romualdo Arango, processed the petition of the garrison for its 1767 subsidy, which was loaded aboard the frigate **San Carlos Borromeo**, alias **El Imposible**.*

List of the 158 soldiers serving in the Marianas on 1 May 1766.

Headquarters staff

Sergeant-Major Rodrigo Sanchez
Senior Adjutant José Fernandez de Cárdenas
Junior Adjutant Tomás de la Orua

1st Company of Spanish Infantry

Officers

Officer-in-Charge: Captain Manuel José Pereda y Franco
Lieutenant Maximo Delgado
Sergeant Antonio de Vargas
Squad Corporal Juan de Benavente
Squad Corporal Manuel Gonzalo de Mesa
Drummer Francisco Palacios

Soldiers

Capt. (ret'd) Santiago de Solis
Capt. (ret'd) Jorge Eduardo del Castillo
Capt. (ret'd) Juan Antonio Rotea
Capt. (ret'd) Antonio de los Rios
Capt. (ret'd) Fernando de Aguero
Capt. (ret'd) Antonio de Ortiz
Capt. (ret'd) Domingo y Sarmiento y Torres

Capt. (ret'd) Juan Antonio Regis de Torres
 Capt. (ret'd) Dionisio Garzes de Yglesias
 Capt. (ret'd) Joseph Antonio de Aguirre
 Adj. (ret'd) Valerio Antonio Leguizamo
 Adj. (ret'd) Diego de Leon Guerrero
 Lieut. (ret'd) Miguel de Espinosa
 Lieut. (ret'd) Francisco Gutierrez
 Lieut. (ret'd) Fernando Lázaro Dueñas
 Lieut. (ret'd) Domingo Román Montujar
 Lieut. (ret'd) Augustin Roque Sablan
 Lieut. (ret'd) Manuel José Aguon
 Sgt. (ret'd) Eleuterio de Guzman
 Sgt. (ret'd) Tomás Tenorio
 Manuel de Acosta Feliciano García Miguel Caballero
 Francisco Rodriguez de Toves Lorenzo Dueñas Remigio Franquez
 Santiago Aguon Juan de la Cruz Juan de Espinosa
 José Peredo Toribio de Ulloa Angel de Aguero
 Angel de León Guerrero Pablo García Antonio Valero
 Justo Ramirez Ign. Angel Guerrero Gregorio
 Tenorio
 Juan Martín de Castro Juan Luís Sanchez Fco. del Carmen Valero
 Pedro Cayetano de Astudillo José de Castro Mariano Meno

2nd Company of Spanish Infantry

Officers

Capt. Andrés Candido Montujar
 Lieut. Juan Antonio de Aguero
 Sgt. Felipe de Acosta
 Squad Corporal José Marchena
 Squad Corporal Luciano Guerrero
 Drummer Lorenzo Pacheco

Soldiers

Capt. (ret'd) Domingo de la Vega
 Capt. (ret'd) Diego de la Cruz
 Capt. (ret'd) Miguel Balthasar de Ojeda
 Capt. (ret'd) Manuel Garrido
 Capt. (ret'd) Salvador de la Cruz
 Capt. (ret'd) Ignacio Claudio de Torres
 Capt. (ret'd) Bernardo Ignacio Palomo
 Adj. (ret'd) Felipe de la Cruz
 Adj. (ret'd) Salvador Malavitan
 Adj. (ret'd) Francisco Xavier de Torres

| | | |
|---|----------------------|------------------------------|
| Lieut. (ret'd) Germán Ignacio Barquillo | | |
| Lieut. (ret'd) Diego de Cepeda | | |
| Sgt. (ret'd) Antonio de Cepeda | | |
| Sgt. (ret'd) José de Acosta | | |
| José Román Dueñas | Miguel de los Rios | Pablo de los Rios |
| Franc° de Borja Pangilinan | José Benavente | Ignacio Martín de Espinosa |
| Ign. Juan de León Guerrero | Ignacio Lafña | Antonio de León Guerrero |
| Marcos Peredo | Nicolás Sorraez | Miguel Rodriguez de Toves |
| Ignacio Xavier de Castro | Juan Crisost. Flores | Hipolito Belisario de Guzman |
| Francisco de Borja Guerrero | Pedro de los Reyes | Policarpio de Benavente |
| José de Ibarra | José Flores | Juan de León Guerrero |
| Sebastián de Villagomez | Antonio Guerrero | Juan de Grijalva |
| José Granados | Domingo de Salas | Juan de Villagomez |
| Gaspar de los Reyes | José Afán de Ribera | |

3rd Company of Pampanga Infantry

Officers

Master-of-camp Andrés de Mendiola
 Capt. Manuel Antonio Pangilinan
 Lieut. Antonio de la Cruz
 Sgt. Narciso de los Reyes
 Squad Corporal Justo de los Reyes
 Drummer Ignacio de la Cruz

Soldiers

| | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|
| Capt. (ret'd) Luís de la Cruz | | |
| Lieut. (ret'd) Agustín Diego | | |
| Lieut. (ret'd) Esteban Manubusan | | |
| Sgt. (ret'd) Pedro de Herrera | | |
| Sgt. (ret'd) Manuel Pangilinan | | |
| Miguel Pascual Cabangis | Ign. Cueto de Leyba | Pedro de la Cruz Charguima |
| Agustín Esquerra | Pedro de Torres | Gaspar de Lizama |
| Juan Francisco Regis Pablo | Alberto de Torres | Mariano Calixto Inocencio |
| Francisco de Borja Balajadia | Tomás Montesuma | Juan Hernandez |
| Ventura Balajadia | Ignacio Manalo | Ignacio Muña |
| Diego Crisostomo | Vicente Pangilinan | Felix de Arceo |
| Román de la Concepción | Tomás Rodriguez | Diego Rivera |
| Antonio de Quintanilla | Bernardo Benavides | Tiburco de Rosario |
| Luis Marcelo | Raymundo de los Santos | Nicolás de la Cruz |
| Juan Marcelo | Leopardo de Arceo | Mariano de Lizama |
| Jorge Taitiguan | Francisco Crisostomo | Juan de la Rosa |
| Francisco Charguima | Lucas del Castillo | Marcos de Campos |
| Bartolomé de los Reyes | Miguel Valdés | Pablo Albay |

Editor's notes.

The total yearly subsidy for the garrison of the Marianas was still fixed at 20,137 pesos in 1768, when it was claimed for despatch aboard the frigate **Santa Rosa**. However, in 1767, Echeveste, the agent, had used over 2,000 pesos to buy the following supplies:

—5 tercios [i.e. half-loads] with 3 pieces of blue waterproof cloth totalling 432 yards, and in one of them which is n° 11, 8 gross of flat yellow buttons;

—2 reams of paper;

—6 crates of soap, totalling 4,320 cakes;

—2 boxes containing 200 black hats;

—1 large crate containing 2 bronze bells, weighing 94-3/4 pounds.

All of the above items were packed into a total of 12 tercios, or standard half-loads, and 1 odd-sized crate.

 Documents 1766B

Letters from the Marquis of Croix, Viceroy of Mexico, and from his nephew Teodoro

Source: Croix, (ed.). Correspondance du Marquis de Croix, Capitaine Général des Armées de S.M.C., Vice-Roi du Mexique, 1737-1786 (Nantes, Grimaud, 1891).

Note: The Marquis de Croix was Viceroy from 1766 to 1771.

B1. Letters in French

1. Letter to his brother, dated Mexico 27 September 1766.

Note: The editor of this book does not mention the archival source, but I think it was the Croix family archives.

J'ai trouvé tout le pays que j'ai traversé pour parvenir jusqu'ici très beau. La capitale est magnifique et immense, mais habitée par une multitude des plus vilaines gens, de toutes espèces et de toutes couleurs, sans honneur, sans sentiments, sans habits et beaucoup sans religion. Il y a pourtant grand nombre d'honnêtes gens, aisés et même riches, aimant le brillant à la fureur, mais se traitant mal dans l'intérieur de leurs maisons, qui sont richement ornées, mais sans méthode et sans goût. Je crois que cette différence de caractère avec celui des Européens tient à l'abondance du pays et à la chaleur qui les pousse à la fainéantise.

Ici, tout est fort en désordre et je suis surchargé depuis mon arrivée d'écritures et d'affaires arriérées.

Votre fils le commandeur se porte comme le Pont-Neuf; je viens de le nommer gouverneur d'Acapulco, poste qui lui vaudra six mille écus d'appointements et ne l'oblige à y résider que deux mois et demi pendant le séjour du galion, qui vient tous les ans des Philippines; j'espère que le Roi ratifiera cette nomination.

Vous ne pouvez vous figurer les friponneries que je découvre; il y a de mes prédécesseurs qui se faisaient jusqu'à 250,000 livres par an en tolérant ou même en faisant la contrebande; quant à moi, j'aime mieux partir pauvre d'ici, plutôt que de m'enrichir à ce prix.

Le Roi veut le bien; mais ni lui ni ses ministres n'ont idée de ce qui se passe ici; personne ne leur disait la vérité; mais dorénavent ils ne pourront prétexter leur ignorance, et s'ils font attention à mes renseignements, j'espère parvenir à réprimer bien des abus.

La mission que j'ai donnée à votre fils est toute commerciale; il s'agit d'aller à Acapulco, le pays le plus chaud de l'Amérique, pour empêcher d'embarquer plusieurs millions de plus sur le galion qui va à Manille acheter toutes sortes de produits de la Chine.

2. Letter to his brother, dated Mexico 14 February 1767.

Je sais par votre fils, qui est à Acapulco, que ce pays est très chaud et très malsain; il est fort occupé et s'acquitte bien de son emploi; car il est parvenu à découvrir la complicité qui existe, depuis que le galion vient ici, entre les commerçants d'ici et ceux de Manille. Elle a causé un préjudice incroyable au Roi; ainsi ce galion qu'il a été recevoir et qui ne rapportait au fisc qu'une vingtaine de mille écus, lui en donnera 340,000.

Charles-Quint avait raison quand il disait qu'il aurait moins de peine à empêcher ses Flamands de boire que ses Espagnols de voler.

Il paraît que votre fils pourrait se faire là-dessus 12 à 15,000 écus, sans faire tort à personne ni à son devoir; mais je le connais si scrupuleux, qu'il n'en fera rien et ne recevra rien que par ordre du Roi.

3. Letter from the Governor of Acapulco, dated Acapulco 20 March 1767.

L'on m'assure que la Cour sera satisfaite de moi, pour avoir découvert la manière dont se faisait ici la contrebande; on n'avait pu y parvenir malgré tous les ordres, et c'est assez naturel; car les Vice-Rois étant les premiers à en tirer profit, leurs employés faisaient de même et ne trahissaient pas le secret.

Le chargement du vaisseau étant de 12 à 13 millions, les droits étaient d'au moins un million, dont on fraudait le Roi par suite de la fausse évaluation de la cargaison.

Ce galion retournant à Manille le 1er avril, je compte aller à Mexico le 12 ou 14.

4. Letter from the Governor of Acapulco, dated Mexico 29 May 1767.

Un mois après mon arrivée à Acapulco, le galion arriva; je montai à bord sans rien dire, et le lendemain, permis le débarquement; je fis confisquer et porter dans des magasins tout ce qui était de contrebande et demandai des ordres à mon oncle. Je lui disais que si je maintenais la confiscation, ce qui n'avait d'appel que du Roi et du Conseil des Indes, S.M. risquait de ruiner le commerce des îles Philippines; que du reste cela était mon avantage, puisque sur la confiscation je touchais 300,000 gros écus, ou 1,500,000 livres, mais que l'on pourrait croire que c'était là le motif de ma sévérité.

Le Vice-Roi et M. le Visiteur général furent d'avis que S.M. aurait plus à y perdre et diminuèrent la peine encourue. Le Roi a touché son droit régulier, correspondant à la valeur de la cargaison; c'est plus de deux millions entrés dans ses coffres et je n'eus pour le mien que 150,000 livres, au lieu de un million et demi.

On ne permettait au commerce de sortir qu'une cargaison d'un million de gros écus par an, et elle était parfois de 5 à 6.

Mon oncle a la besogne de 50 hommes, il la supporte, Dieu merci, à merveille, et si la Cour suit ses conseils, le pays pourra bien changer et rapporter le triple au Roi, en laissant plus heureux ses sujets qui ont toujours depuis la conquête été tyrannisés.

On vient de faire partir il y a six semaines une petite armée pour la Sonora et la Sinaloa; ces provinces sont les plus riches du royaume en mines d'or et d'argent, mais presque désertes à cause des invasions des sauvages. Si l'expédition réussit et que l'on s'arrange pour repeupler ces vastes provinces, elles vaudront plus au trésor que tout le reste du royaume.

J'espère y aller avec M. le Visiteur général cette année ou l'an prochain; il a demandé à aller y fonder des établissements et à m'emmener, comme le seul à qui il pût se fier.

5. Letter from the Viceroy, dated Mexico 17 January 1768.

*Votre fils est arrivé à Acapulco le 10 janvier, et le même jour a vu y arriver le galion la **Santa Rosa**; parti de Manille le 9 août, il était un peu plus en règle que celui de l'an passé, mais il lui donnera encore bien de la besogne.*

Grâce aux mesures de sévérité que j'ai prises, les troubles qui avaient suivi la chute des Jésuites sont apaisés depuis deux mois.

6. Letter dated Mexico 17 August 1768.

Votre fils est de retour d'Acapulco depuis le 12 de ce mois; le galion de l'an passé, étant à Manille avant le départ de celui-ci, l'avait prévenu de la fin des abus; aussi était-il plus en règle et rapportera-t-il au Roi; mais le chevalier a fait revivre un droit qu'on avait cessé d'appliquer depuis longtemps et qui vaudra au trésor plus de 35,000 gros écus par an.

Nous avons eu ici le 4 de ce mois un tremblement de terre de 4 minutes, qui a égalé en violence celui que nous eûmes en 1755. Il n'a pas fait de grands dégâts dans la capitale, mais beaucoup davantage dans l'intérieur du royaume.

7. Extract from a letter dated Mexico 29 December 1768.

...
J'ai logé le bataillon de mon ancien régiment, officiers et soldats, dans l'ancien collège des Jésuites près du palais.

8. Extract from a letter dated Mexico 25 January 1769.

...
Votre fils m'écrit que le galion des Philippines est fort en retard cette année et on croit qu'il ne viendra pas à cause de l'expulsion des Jésuites. Voici pourquoi:

Il y a peu d'argent à Manille, le commerce que cette ville fait avec le Mexique par Acapulco se faisait avec celui des Obras Pias que les communautés [religieuses] prêtent aux commerçants avec un intérêt de 35 ou 40 pour cent.

L'argent des Jésuites faisant défaut, il est fort possible que l'on n'ait pu compléter la cargaison et que le commerce de Manille ait renoncé pour cette année à expédier le galion.

9. Letter dated Mexico 30 August 1769.

Nous avons eu des nouvelles du galion de Manille qui n'est pas arrivé l'an dernier; il était parti de ce port, mais a eu de telles tempêtes qu'il a dû y retourner et attendre à cette année-ci pour faire le voyage; je l'attends donc les premiers jours de décembre, ce qui fait que votre fils partira vers la Saint-Charles pour Acapulco.

...
Le pilote que j'ai envoyé à Manille sur un bateau de 36 pieds de long et avec 15 hommes d'équipage, y est heureusement arrivé; il a porté l'ordre d'expulsion des Jésuites, qui a été exécuté, mais sans grande vigueur.

10. Last letter from Mexico, written on 4 August 1771.

Le Roi vient enfin de me donner pour successeur Don Antonio Bucareli, gouverneur de la Havane, qui arrivera à la Vera-Cruz à la fin du mois présent, ce qui me fait espérer d'être à Cadix au printemps prochain.

Le ministre, en m'envoyant la permission de partir, m'assure que le Roi est satisfait de mes services dans ce pays.

30 août, P.S.—Je viens de recevoir, à mon réveil, la nouvelle que la frégate amenant mon successeur est arrivée le 23 à la Vera-Cruz.

Cette lettre-ci est donc la dernière que vous recevrez de moi de Mexico.

Translations

1. Letter to his brother, dated Mexico 27 September 1766.

I have found the whole countryside that I have traversed to come here very beautiful. The capital is magnificent and huge, but inhabited by a multitude of peoples from among the vilest, from all sorts and all colors, without any honor, without feelings, without [good] customs, and many without religion. Nevertheless, there exist a large number of honest folk, well-to-do and even rich, but practicing ostentation with a passion, though they treat themselves badly inside their own homes, that are richly decorated, but without order and in a tasteless fashion. I believe that this difference in character with that of Europeans is due to the abundance of the country and to the heat that makes them indolent.

Here, everything is very disorderly and I have been overloaded since my arrival with documents about long-delayed affairs.

Your son the Commander is as healthy as a new bridge.¹ I have just appointed him Governor of Acapulco, a post that will pay him 6,000 *écus* in salary² and will not force him to stay there more than two and a half months when the galleon comes there every year from the Philippines; I hope that the King will ratify this appointment.

You cannot imagine the cheating that I find out. Some predecessors of mine were making as much as 250,000 pounds every year by tolerating contraband, or even participating in it. As for me, I prefer to leave this place poor, than to enrich myself in such a way.

The King wants to do good, but neither he nor his ministers has any idea of what is going on here. No-one was telling them the truth, but from now on they will not be able to claim ignorance, because, if they pay attention to my reports, I hope to be able to repress many abuses.

The mission that I have given to your son is completely commercial: he has to go to Acapulco, the hottest place in America, to prevent the loading of many millions [of pesos] aboard the galleon going to Manila to buy all sorts of Chinese products.

2. Letter to his brother, dated Mexico 14 February 1767.

I have learned from your son, who is at Acapulco, that that place is very hot and very unhealthy. He is very busy and fulfils his job very well, because he has been able to find out the complicity that exists, since the galleon has come here, between the traders from here and those of Manila. It has caused incredible harm to the King; for example, the galleon that he went to receive, and would have normally produced but 20,000 *écus* in revenue, will yield 340,000.³

Charles V was right when he said that he would have less trouble stopping the Flemish from drinking than the Spanish from stealing.

It appears that your son would be able to make from 12 to 15,000 *écus* for himself overthere, without hurting anyone or his duty. However, I know him to be so scrupulous that he will do no such thing and will receive nothing except by order of the King.

3. Letter from the Governor of Acapulco, dated Acapulco 20 March 1767.

I have been told that the Court will be satisfied with me, for having discovered the manner in which contraband was carried out here. No-one had been able to find this out before, in spite of all the orders to that effect, and it is only natural, because the

1 Ed. note: He refers to his nephew, Théodore, the future Viceroy of Peru, from 1784 to 1789.

2 Ed. note: Same as piasters, dollars, or pesos. According to this book, the “gros écu” was then worth 5 French pounds and 6 cents. Le Gentil (Doc. 1767A) gives the rate of 5-1/4 pounds to each peso at Manila.

3 Ed. note: The galleon of 1767 was named San Carlos.

Viceroy were the first ones to get a profit from it, and their employees, doing the same thing, would not reveal the secret.

The cargo of the vessel being worth from 12 to 13 millions, the taxes were at least 1 million, but the King was cheated by the cargo being falsely declared.

This galleon returning to Manila on 1 April, I hope to leave for Mexico City on the 12th or 14th.

4. Letter from the Governor of Acapulco, dated Mexico 29 May 1767.

One month after my arrival at Acapulco, the galleon came in. I went on board without saying anything, and the next day, gave permission for the unloading. I ordered the confiscation and storage within warehouses of everything that was contraband and I asked my uncle for his orders. I told him that if I maintained the confiscation—something that could only be appealed to the King and the Council of the Indies—H.M. might very well ruin the trade of the Philippine Islands; besides that, it was to my advantage, since I stood to make 300,000 *écus*, or 1,500,000 pounds on the confiscated goods, but people might believe that this was the reason for my severity.

The Viceroy and the Visitor General¹ were of the opinion that H.M. would lose more this way and they decreased the incurred fine. The King has received his regular tax revenue, corresponding to the value of the cargo; more than 2 millions were registered into his coffers. As for me, my share was only 150,000 pounds, instead of 1-1/2 million.²

The trade was permitted to take out a cargo worth 1 million *écus* a year, but it was sometimes worth 5 or 6 millions.

My uncle is doing the work of 50 men, and, thank God, he is doing fine under this burden. If the Court follows his advices, the country could very well change and yield three times as much to the King, yet making happier his subjects, who have always been tyrannized since the conquest.

Six weeks ago, a small army was despatched to Sonora and Sinaloa, provinces that are the richest of the kingdom in gold and silver mines, but almost uninhabited, because of attacks by wild Indians. If the expedition succeeds and if measures are taken to repopulate those vast provinces, they will become worth more to the treasury than the rest of the kingdom.³

I hope to go there with the Visitor General, this year or next year. He has asked to go there to found settlements and to bring me along, as the only person in whom he has confidence.

1 Ed. note: A person sent by the King to carry out official inspections. His name was José de Galvez.

2 Ed. note: Dividing by 5, his take was therefore 30,000 pesos in commission on the contraband goods.

3 Ed. note: Before he became Viceroy of Peru, the author spent one year as Lieutenant-General of this Northern Army.

5. Letter from the Viceroy, dated Mexico 17 January 1768.

Your son arrived at Acapulco on the 10th of January, and on that same day, he saw the galleon **Santa Rosa** come in. She had departed Manila on 9 August. She was a little more in order than last year's galleon, but she will still give him some work to do.

Thanks to the severe measures that I have taken, the troubles that had followed the expulsion of the Jesuits have subsided these past two months.

6. Letter dated Mexico 17 August 1768.

Your son has been back from Acapulco since the 12th of this month. Last year's galleon, having reached Manila before the departure of this one, had warned her about the end of the abuses. So, she was more in order and would yield more for the King, but the Knight has revived an excise tax that had long been disregarded and that will yield over 35,000 pesos to the treasury every year.

On the 4th of this month, we have had an earthquake here that lasted 4 minutes. It was as violent as the one we had in 1755. It did not cause great damages in the capital, but much more so in the interior of the kingdom.

7. Extract from a letter dated Mexico 29 December 1768.

...

I have lodged the battalion of my former regiment, its officers and soldiers, in the old Jesuit college near the palace.

...

8. Extract from a letter dated Mexico 25 January 1769.

...

Your son has written to me that the Philippine galleon is very late this year and it is believed that she will not come because of the expulsion of the Jesuits. Here is why:

There is little money in Manila, as the trade that that city had with Mexico City through Acapulco was done with money from the Obras Pias [i.e. Pious Works] that the Religious Orders loaned to the traders at an interest of 35 or 40 percent.

With the lack of the money from the Jesuits, it is very possible that the Manila traders were unable to gather a full cargo load and they decided to postpone this year's galleon.¹

¹ Ed. note: In fact, unbeknown to him at the time, the galleon San Carlos that left Manila in 1768 was forced to turn back in distress.



Marquis de Croix.

9. Letter dated Mexico 30 August 1769.

We have received news about the Manila galleon that did not arrive last year. She did leave that port, but met with such storms that she had to turn back, and wait until this year to make the voyage. I therefore await her for the beginning of December, so that your son will leave for Acapulco at about St. Charles Day.¹

...

The pilot whom I sent to Manila aboard a boat of 36 feet in length, and with 15 men as a crew, made it successfully there. He took there the order of expulsion of the Jesuits, which has been carried out, but without much rigor.²

-
- 1 Ed. note: That is, about 4 November. The Viceroy, named Charles François de Croix, was naturally quite aware of this date, as it was that of his patron saint, as well as that of the incoming galleon,
 - 2 Ed. note: A reference to the boat named Nuestra Señora de la Soledad, alias Sonora, Captain Estorgo, in 1768.

10. Last letter from Mexico, written on 4 August 1771.

The King has finally named someone as my successor, Don Antonio Bucareli, Governor of Havana, who will arrive at Veracruz at the end of the present month. So, I hope to be at Cadiz by next spring.

The Minister, when he sent me permission to leave, assured me that the King is satisfied with my services in this country.

30 August, P.S.—Upon waking up this morning, I received the news that the frigate with my successor on board has arrived at Veracruz on the 23rd.

This letter is therefore the last one that you will receive from me from Mexico City.¹

B2. Information, in Spanish, about Acapulco in 1771

Source: Norman F. Martin (ed.). Instrucción del Virrey Marqués de Croix que deja a su sucesor Antonio María Bucareli (Mexico, Jus, 1960).

Note: All 186 instructions are dated 1 September 1771.

Original text in Spanish.

149. Aunque por este puerto podía hacer entrada el enemigo, la dificultad de una dilatada navegación y ser necesario pasar la línea y los cabos de Buena Esperanza y de Hornos, ha dado motivo a que no se recele se emprenda semejante entrada; ayudando mucho al concepto el ver que sólo estando la nao de China en el puerto, y cargada, podía moverles a entrar en él, y también el ver que el internarse tierra adentro, sobre ser muy difícil por lo áspero y escabroso del país, ninguna utilidad les podía tener, por no haber poblaciones que se la produzcan.

150. Sin embargo de esta natural defensa, por si se ofreciese alguna, tiene este puerto un castillo, que se fabricó en principios del siglo pasado, y en él hasta ochenta y un cañones con seis culebrinas, y lo necesario opara servirles; tiene cuatrocientos y cincuenta fusiles con sus bayonetas, algunas lanzas, medias lunas y la balería correspondiente a cañones y fusiles.

151. Arreglóse la tropa que había en dicho puerto, reduciéndola a dos tenientes primero y segundo, un sargento y dos cabos, doce artilleros y uno de ellos armero y un condestable; tiene su hospital general, y siendo el coste que hacía esta tropa al Real Erario de trece mil ochocientos veintisiete pesos, quedó con el arreglo en ocho mil seiscientos veintisiete, ahorrándose al rey cinco mil y tantos pesos, y sin embargo de haberse aumentado cuatrocientos pesos para el hospital.

152. Conosco que en este castillo hay más cañones y armas de las que necesita para su defensa, pero aunque se intentara llevarlas a Veracruz, sería muy difícil y costoso así por mar como por tierra, y por ello se mantienen en él.

¹ Ed. note: Croix became Viceroy of Valencia. The Visitor, Mr. Galvez, also returned to Spain and became a member of the Council of the Indies. On Christmas Day 1769, when the **San Carlos** arrived at Acapulco with the expelled Jesuits on board, Teodoro de Croix was cured of the flu by Br. Marcos, who was a graduate surgeon (see Doc. 1769D).

Translation.

149. Although the enemy could invade through this port, the difficulty of a long navigation and the need to pass the equator and either the Cape of Good Hope or Cape Horn, has led to the supposition that he will not attempt such an invasion. This idea is further reinforced by the realization that it would be only when the Manila galleon is in port, and loaded, that he could be motivated to come in, and also the realization that if he were to go inland, he would derive no profit from it, because of the great difficulty of doing so, on account of the harshness and roughness of the country, and the lack of settlements that might produce any booty.

150. Notwithstanding this natural defence, in case of need, this port does have a fortress that was built at the beginning of the last century. In it, there are up to 81 guns plus 6 culverins, and what is needed to make them effective. It has 450 rifles with their bayonets, some lances, halberds and the corresponding ball-making apparatus for the guns and rifles.

151. The troop that existed in said port has been re-organized. It was reduced to two lieutenants, a first and a second, one sergeant and two corporals, 12 gunners, one of them a gunsmith, and one master gunner. It has its general hospital. This troop used to cost the Royal treasury 13,827 pesos, but after the re-organization it costs 8,627 pesos, having saved the king some 5,000 pesos, in spite of the hospital's budget having been increased by 400 pesos.

152. I know that this fortress has more guns and weapons than it needs for its defence, but it would be very difficult and costly to attempt to carry them to Veracruz, either overland or by sea, and that is why they are being kept there.

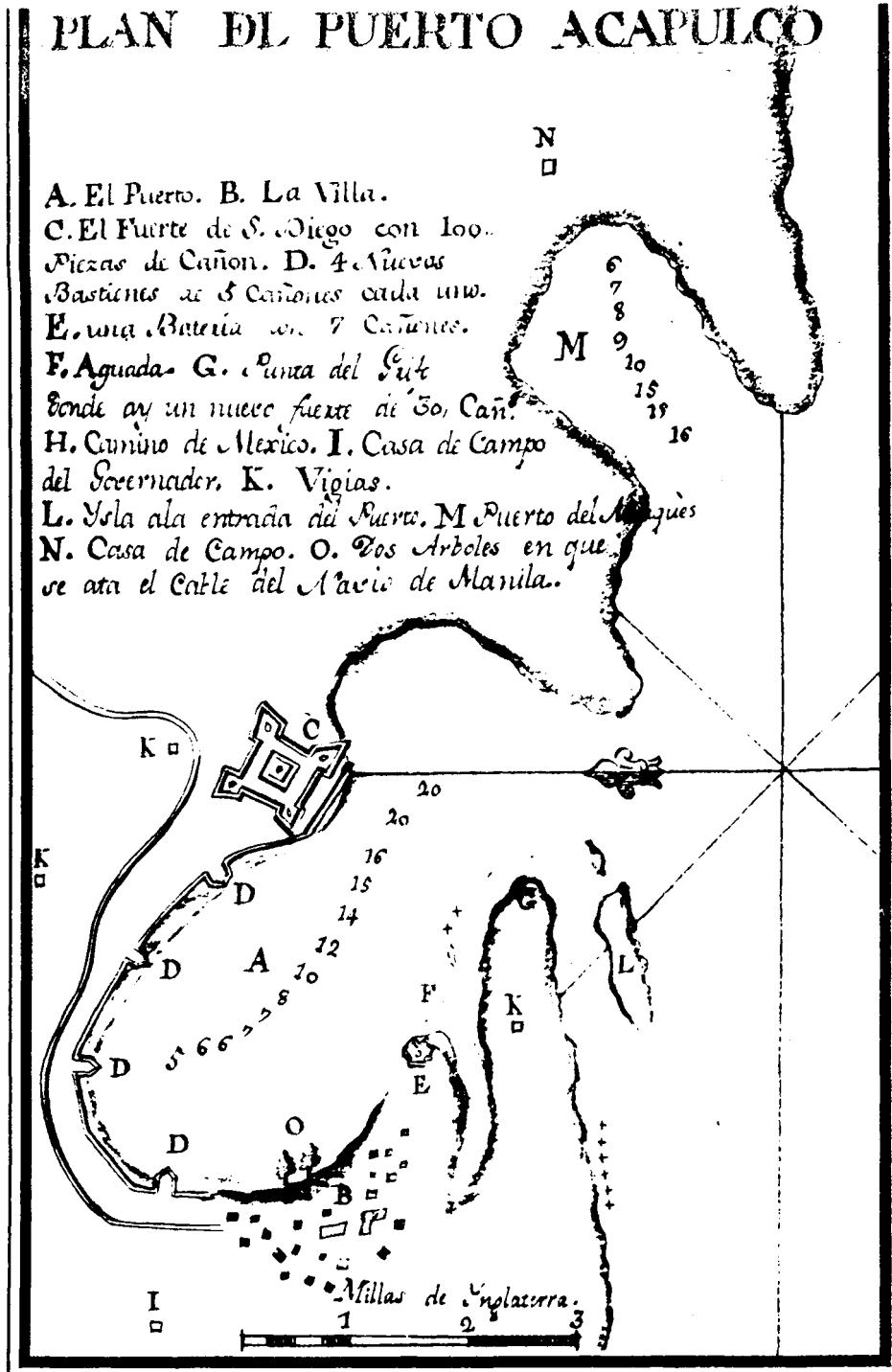
(Facing page:) **Plan of the port of Acapulco, by O'Crouley, ca. 1770.**

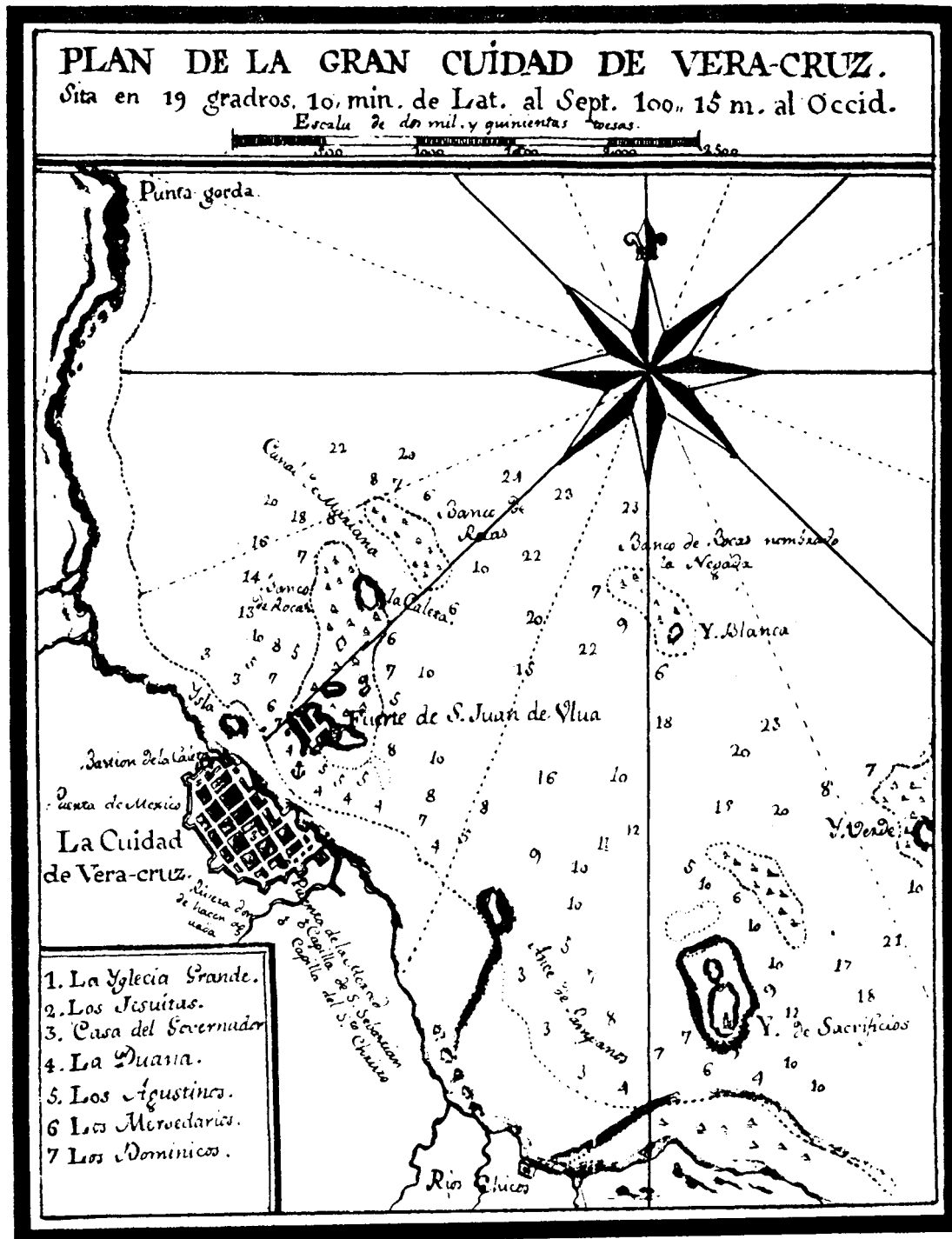
The legend reads:

- A. The port. B. The town. C. Fort San Diego with 100 artillery pieces.
- D. 4 new bastions with 5 guns each. E. Battery with 7 guns.
- F. Watering place. G. Point Grifo where there is a new fort with 30 guns.
- H. Road to Mexico. I. The Governor's Country House.
- K. Sentries, L. Island at the entrance of the port. M. Port Marqués.
- N. Country House. O. Two trees used to moor the Manila galleon.

PLAN DEL PUERTO ACAPULCO

A. El Puerto. B. La Villa.
 C. El Fuerte de S. Diego con 100.
 Piezas de Cañon. D. 4 Nuevas
 Bastiones de 5 Cañones cada uno.
 E. una Bateria con 7 Cañones.
 F. Aguada. G. Punta del Sur
 donde ay un nuevo fuerte de 50. Cañ.
 H. Camino de Mexico. I. Casa de Campo
 del Sreernader. K. Vigias.
 L. Isla ala entrada del Puerto. M Puerto del Marques
 N. Casa de Campo. O. Dos Arboles en que
 se ata el Cable del Navio de Manila.





Notes 1766C

Some documents concerning the shipwreck of the Mariana patache San Carlos in northern Samar in 1766

Sources: Present location unknown; cited in AHN Clero Jesuitas, Legajo 891, doc. n° 1, fol. 147v-148, 177v-180v..

Note: Listed as one of the documents seized from the Jesuits at Manila in 1768 by Judge Galvan.

A1. Letter from Fr. Joachin Ramos to Fr. Juan Izquierdo, dated Catbalogan 7 November 1766.

Contents: 1 folio, from the Rector of Catbalogan “en que le aconseja recoja quanto se pueda de la Mission de Marianas del Rey Nuestro Señor y del difunto Governador de Marianas en la perdida del Barco que iba a dichas Islas, y que no se fie del Alcalde de Catbalogan porque sus disposiciones son no mas de boca, y que este hà informado imposturas y falsos testimonios al Superior Gobierno contra los Padres de aquella Provincia.”

Translation: In which he recommends to him that he should recover as much as possible from the things of the Mariana Mission belonging to the King our Lord and to the late Governor of the Marianas lost during the shipwreck of the ship that was on the way to said Islands, and telling him that he does not trust the Mayor of Catbalogan because his own decisions are not in writing, but that he has sent a written report to the superior government containing impostures and false testimonies against the Fathers of that province.

A2. Letter from Fr. Joseph Gomez to Fr. Ramos, dated Bangahan 22 November 1766.

Contents: “sobre suplementos que ha hecho de algunos generos para el Padre Izquierdo residente en Marianas [sic], afin de que se le carguen en quenta.”

Translation: Regarding extra supplies that he has provided to **Father Izquierdo who resides in the Marianas** [sic],¹ so that they may be charged to his account.

A3. Letter from Fr. Ramos to Fr. Provincial Bernardo Pazuengos, dated Catbalogan 27 December 1766.

Contents: “Escusandose a venir a la Congregacion a que estava llamado, y dando cuenta del Naufragio del patache **San Carlos**, que iba à Marianas, con Expression por menor de los generos de Comercio salvados, que llevaba para la Mission de aquellas Yslas y de la conducta del Padre Isquierdo que iba en el citado Patache.”

Translation: Excusing himself for not coming to the Meeting that he had been called to, and reporting the Shipwreck of the patache **San Carlos** that was on the way to the Marianas, enclosing a detailed list of the commercial goods that were salvaged, from those carried for the Mission of those Islands, and about the conduct of Father Izquierdo who was on board said Patache.

A4. Letter from Fr. Ramos to Fr. Vice-Provincial Domingo Ynsausti, dated Catbalogan 16 January 1767.

Contents: “Sobre el mismo asunto, que la antecedente, y proceder del Padre Isquierdo, y remeza que haze de unos generos para el pago de los santos oleos, Títulos, y otras cosas que havia remitido a dicho Padre Ynsausti.”

Translation: Regarding the same subject matter, as the preceding one, and the doings of Father Izquierdo, and the remittance that he makes of some goods to pay for the holy oils, official papers, and other things that the latter had remitted to said Father Ynsausti.

A5. Letter from Fr. Domingo Ynsausti to Fr. Joachin Ramos, dated Zabua 11 February 1767.

Contents: 1/4 folio, “en que le encarga la brevedad de que se espenda la ropa de la Mission de Marianas y otros generos expuestos de corrupcion de los que se han salvado en la perdida de dicho Patache; y que el empaque de N. Ramirez hecho en Cabeza del muchacho del Padre Yzquierdo se entregue a algun Español, para que lo beneficie a favor de dicho Ramirez.”

Translation: In which he lets him know that it is urgent to expend the cloth and other things subject to rotting that were salvaged from the wreck of said Patache, and that the package addressed to N. Ramirez that had been entrusted to Father Izquierdo’s servant be turned over to some Spaniard, so that he might sell it for the account of said Ramirez.

¹ Ed. note: This Jesuit may have been assigned to the Mariana mission and been on his way there when he was shipwrecked. I have found no further notice of his having served there, which makes me believe that he was just ship chaplain for that voyage.

A6. Letter from Fr. Ramos to Fr. Provincial Joseph de Torres, dated Catbalogan 24 April 1767.

Contents: “Informando del Naufragio del patache **San Carlos** que yba a Marianas y de la perdida de algunos generos de la Mision de aquellas Yslas, de que le hà dado razon en los anteriores.”

Translation: Reporting the shipwreck of the patache **San Carlos** that was on the way to the Marianas and the loss of some goods belonging to the Mission of those Islands, and which he had mentioned in his previous reports.

Document 1767A

A French scientist's observations about the Manila galleons

Source: Guillaume Le Gentil de la Galaisière, Voyage dans les mers de l'Inde, fait par ordre du Roi, à l'occasion du Passage de Vénus, sur le Disque du Soleil, le 6 Juin 1761, & le 3 du même mois 1769. Tome Second. Paris, Impr. Royale, 1781. Available at BNP #O2k85 (2).

Notes: Mr. Le Gentil spent two years at Manila, 1766-68. Parts of his two books have already been translated into English, as Vol. V of the Filipiniana Book Guild (Manila, 1964).

Original text in French

Troisième partie.—Chapitre II. De Manille.—Art. XIV. Du commerce de Manille.

...
 Il n'y a point, à proprement parler de commerce à Manille, ni par conséquent de Marine; aussi, cette ville n'a jamais été riche...

Les Manillois se contentent d'envoyer tous les ans un Vaisseau à Acapulco; & c'est à cela que se borne leur commerce & leur ambition. Ils portent au Mexique des effets de la côte de l'Inde, en-deçà le Gange, des toiles de toute espèce, des mousselines du Bengale, & de la soie de Chine: à la place de tous ces effets, le galion rapporte à Manille des piastres; ces piastres n'y restent pas toutes, une partie en ressort, & va s'enfouir en Chine & chez le Mogol. Les Indiens & les Chinois apportent donc à Manille leurs denrées, en échange de ses piastres qui sont très-estimées dans l'Inde, & c'est la seule monnaie Européenne qui ait cours dans le commerce.

...
 L'Indien des Philippines est fort adroit; mais il est paresseux, comme je l'ai dit, & dépense à mesure qu'il récolte. D'où peut donc venir cette indolence? je crains d'en avoir rencontré la raison en disant que les Espagnols me paroissent la leur avoir communiquée; en effet, l'Espagnol à Manille dépense à mesure qu'il gagne (comme on le verra plus en détail dans l'article suivant), sans penser à un avenir bien éloigné; il a la perspective du galion qui est en route pour Acapulco, & qui lui va rapporter de quoi passer l'année; ainsi, son ambition passe de galion en galion, & se borne là: il voit l'impossibilité où il est de l'élever au-dessus de cet état; il ne pense donc ni à la culture de la terre, ni à aucun autre commerce; le galion fait son bien-être présent, il s'en contente; mais

aussi, si le retour du bâtiment vient à manquer, ce qu'on a vu plus d'une fois, il meurt dans la misère ou végète dans la médiocrité: or tout cela m'a paru venir du despotisme de la Religion; c'est-à-dire, de celui qu'exercent les Ministres de l'Inquisition; car je n'ignore pas que notre auguste Religion porte avec elle tous les caractères de la paix & de l'union. La même cause influe sur les Indiens, & tant qu'elle existera, Manille n'aura ni marine, ni commerce...

Si les Chinois sont reçus à Manille, c'est dans la vue de pouvoir les convertir à la foi Catholique...

A l'égard des Arméniens, ils sont, à la vérité, très-grands commerçans, mais ils ne sont pas marins; & ils n'ont ni établissement, ni vaisseaux à eux.

...

Art. XV. Suite du commerce des Manillois; de leur marine; de la construction des Galions & des Officiers qui en ont la conduite.

Les Manillois n'ont point de marine; ils ont cependant d'excellens charpentiers, & il faut avouer qu'on travaille très-solidement à Cavité, & que les radoub qu'on y donne aux Vaisseaux sont excellens; mais ils coûtent exorbitamment chers.

Les galions du Roi se construisent à Cavité pour l'ordinaire; ils reviennent au Roi à des sommes immenses: une frégate de trente canons lui coûte plus de cent mille piastres (525,000 liv.); un radoub un peu fort, vingt, trente ou quarante mille piastres, c'est-à-dire, cent cinquante à deux cents mille livres; & une carène ordinaire, huit à dix mille piastres, c'est-à-dire, environ cinquante mille livres. Cette cherté devoit être une raison pour avoir soin des Vaisseaux; on n'en a aucun à Manille: lorsque le galion est de retour de la nouvelle Espagne, ils le désarment tout-à-fait, n'y laissant pas même un homme de garde; il reste là comme abandonné, pendant plus de six mois, aux injures de l'air & à l'ardeur du Soleil. On conçoit quel tort doivent faire à un Vaisseau des pluies considérables, des chaleurs excessives qu'il essuie pendant six mois (c'est-à-dire, depuis Juillet jusqu'en Février) à la suite d'un voyage d'un an; & qu'il doit avoir besoin d'une forte réparation pour le remettre en mer: on commence à y travailler en Février.

C'est ici le triomphe du Gouverneur; c'est alors qu'il fait une ample moisson. Il est en même temps Intendant des Finances & de la Marine; il est sollicité de tous les côtés, & de tous les côtés l'or abonde dans ses trésors.

Comme il n'y a point de Marine Royale à Manille, il n'y a point d'Officiers de ce Corps. Le Vaisseau est mené par des Marchands, qui ont à leur tête un homme de leur Corps, qui a le titre de Général de la Mer; mais il n'a ce titre que pour la mer où il navigue. Ce Général est donc un Marchand lui-même; il nomme ses Officiers & ses Pilotes: les Pilotes doivent être véritablement marins; ils le sont en effet, c'est-à-dire, pratiques de ces voyages; & on les tire ordinairement de la nouvelle Espagne. Les frais que le Général est obligé de faire sont fort grands; ils montent au moins à seize mille piastres, c'est-à-dire, à plus de quatre-vingts mille livres: le Roi lui donne quatre mille cinq cents piastres d'appointemens pour le voyage (23625 livres), sur lesquelles il est obligé de nourrir ses Officiers; mais il ne touche point ces quatre mille cinq cents piastres: le

Gouverneur se les approprie pour la peine de l'avoir nommé, & d'avoir signé la patente qui le constitue Général de la Mer: il paye outre cela cinq cents piastres au Secrétaire lorsqu'on lui délivre le decret, &c.

Outre le Général, qui a soin du Vaisseau & de ce qui est dedans, le tout étant à sa charge, il y a un Capitaine; ce Capitaine est, comme chez les Portug[u]ais de Macao, un espèce d'homme de paille, & pis encore, car il est fort difficile de dire au juste quel est son emploi; au reste, c'est la meilleure place du Vaisseau: il donne au Gouverneur trois à quatre mille piastres, & il s'arrange après cela pour ses affaires; il n'a pas d'embarras de faire une table, le Général la faisant pour tout l'État-major.

Il y a encore une troisième personne; c'est le Maestro de plata, le Maître de l'argent; il n'a d'emploi qu'au retour; sa place est bonne, puisque tout l'argent est à sa charge, & qu'il a un demi pour cent pour ne rien faire; cette place lui coûte trois mille piastres (15750 livres): de plus, les particuliers qui veulent faire ce voyage pour leur compte, ne le peuvent sans l'agrément du Gouverneur, qu'on n'obtient guère qu'au moyen de trois à quatre mille piastres. Il suit de-là, que sans sortir de sa chambre, le Gouverneur fait un aussi bon voyage que pas un de ceux qui sont sur le galion; car, outre les soixante mille livres environ, que lui fournit la peine d'avoir fait un Général du galion, un Capitaine & un Maître de plata, s'il a de l'argent, il est assuré qu'on le lui prendra de préférence à tout autre; & l'intérêt de l'argent pour ces voyages, est je le répète, tantôt de vingt-cinq & tantôt de trente pour cent.

...
Dans ce tems-là, en 1743, [du temps d'Anson], avent le marquis d'Ovando, les galions n'avoient point de rôles d'équipages, comme je l'ai déjà remarqué.

...
Lorsque le galion est chargé, on se dispose à le mettre à la voile; il appareille de Cavité & vient à la barre de Manille, le plus près qu'il est possible des murs de la ville: là, étant en panne, il attend la bénédiction; pour cet effet il sort des Pères de Saint-Thomas une Sainte-Vierge, que l'on conduit processionnellement sur le haut des murs, vis-à-vis le galion: on lui donne la bénédiction de cette Sainte-Vierge, après quoi le galion fait servir & s'en va; cependant, on fait des prières dans toutes les églises pour la prospérité de son voyage, & principalement pour qu'il débouque heureusement de toutes les îles, & ces prières durent jusqu'à ce qu'on ait des nouvelles qu'il est entré dans la mer du Sud.

M. Anson a décrit si en détail le voyage des galions dans cette mer, que je n'ai rien à dire de plus sur cet objet. J'ajouterai seulement quelques remarques; savoir, que ces vaisseaux entrent dans la mer du Sud par l'embouchure St.-Bernard; qu'ils remontent dans le Nord pour trouver des vents plus constans de l'Ouest, avec lesquels ils font route en Californie. Autrefois les Espagnols s'élevoient, pour faire cette route, jusqu'au 40e degré de latitude; aujourd'hui, ils se contentent de s'entretenir entre 32 & 34 degrés.

Le galion appareille de Manille en Juillet, ou au plus tard dans les premiers jours d'Août; mais il y a des années, comme je le dirai ci-après, que les vents d'aval sont si constans, qu'il reste quelquefois pendant trois semaines, mouillé auprès des passes de

la Baie sans pouvoir déboucher. Lorsqu'il est une fois hors la Baie, il n'est plus embarrassé; mais il emploie encore environ un mois à se débarrasser de toutes les îles au milieu desquelles il est obligé de passer pour gagner la grande mer...

...
Quand le galion est rentré, chacun prend la part de l'argent qui lui appartient; c'est alors que les bals, les assemblées, les danses commencent: on se réjouit tant que l'argent dure; de cette façon, les personnes qui n'avoient qu'une médiocre pacotille sur le galion, l'ont bientôt dissipée; ils restent alors les mains vides, & sont obligées pour un autre voyage de prendre de l'argent à un très-gros intérêt: c'est ainsi que se comportent les Manillois.

...
Pour revenir à la construction des galions, on doit juger, par ce que j'ai dit de la cherté des carènes, du prix auquel revient un galion.

Le Saint-Charles [i.e. San Carlos], que je vis en 1766, coûtoit au Roi près de cent trente mille piastres (682,500 livres), sur quoi il est bon de faire observer que le Roi a les bois; qu'il n'en achete point, puisque les Philippines en contiennent de superbes, & que la main-d'oeuvre est pour rien à Manille; d'où peut donc venir ce prix énorme & exorbitant de plus de six cents quatre-vingts mille livres pour la construction d'un vaisseau de cinq à six cents tonneaux! Voici un fait dont j'ai été témoin, & qui éclaircira cette affaire.

Art. XVI. Suite du commerce d'Acapulco; histoire de la Sainte-Rose; du Saint-Charles; du voyage de M. de Caseins à Manille, & suite de ce voyage.

*Il n'y avoit en 1766 à Manille, lorsque j'y arrivai, que deux galions, le **Saint-Charles** qui se dispoit à partir pour Acapulco, & la **Sainte-Rose** qui en revenoit.*

Ce dernier galion avoit été construit au Pérou, il y avoit environ trente ans: des Espagnols de cette contrée, résidans pour lors à Manille, me donnèrent pour époque de ce qu'ils m'avancèrent, que ce Vaisseau avoit dans ce temps-là porté M. de la Condamine dans un de ses voyages le long des côtes de l'Amérique. Après la reddition de Manille par les Anglois, le Roi envoya la Sainte-Rose, pour y porter un Lieutenant de Roi qui devoit reprendre possession des Philippines; & comme elles se trouvoient privées de leur commerce, n'ayant point de vaisseaux ni de bois en état, la Sainte-Rose fut destinée à servir au Commerce, en attendant qu'il y eût d'autres galions de construits: ce Vaisseau revenoit en 1766 de faire un premier voyage; mais il n'étoit guère en état d'en entreprendre un second. Selon le devis des Constructeurs de Manille, il lui falloit un radoub de quarante mille piastres au moins, pour le mettre en état de navig[uer] & de faire seulement un voyage; car on se proposoit de le condamner au retour: j'arrivai à Manille sur ces entrefaites. On n'attendoit pas M. de Caseins, & son arrivée surprit beaucoup, comme je le dirai bientôt plus en détail: cet Officier qui avoit autrefois été aux Philippines, qui étoit par conséquent au fait du pays, très-zélé d'ailleurs pour le ser-

vice du Roi, M. de Caseins, dis-je, à ce mot de quarante mille piastres, se récria vivement, & soutint que cela n'étoit pas possible: le Gouverneur, fin & rusé, ne dit mot.

Le 23 d'Octobre (1766), M. de Caseins, avec Don Joseph de Cordova & ses Officiers, fut visiter le Vaisseau; ils furent accompagnés par le Fiscal & le Contador, que le Gouverneur nomma spécialement pour faire la visite. M. de Caseins, qui avoit beaucoup d'amitié pour moi, me mena avec lui; je fus témoin de la grande attention qu'il mit dans son examen, qui dura près de deux jours: enfin M. de Caseins revint à Manille, plus persuadé encore qu'auparavant que tous les travaux du Roi à Manille, lui coûtoient extraordinairement cher; il cria encore plus haut qu'auparavant: en même temps, il assura le Gouverneur que pour dix mille piastres, il s'obligeoit de mettre la Sainte-Rose en état de faire au moins un voyage. Le Gouverneur n'osa pas aller directement contre cette proposition, parce qu'il se doutoit bien que M. de Caseins ne manqueroit pas, à son retour en Espagne, d'informer la Cour de cette affaire; il dissimula donc, & consentit à la proposition de M. de Caseins: il répétoit souvent que M. de Caseins épargnoit au Roi beaucoup d'argent. J'y fus trompé, comme put l'être M. de Caseins; & croyant que ce Gouverneur n'usoit dans cette affaire d'aucun artifice, j'en parlai avec lui bien des fois un peu plus librement (car je passois rarement un soir sans aller lui rendre visite), lui vantant beaucoup le zèle de M. de Caseins, & l'épargne qu'il procuroit à la caisse Royale, &c.

Mr. de Caseins prit donc à sa charge le radoub de la Sainte-Rose, & avec ses charpentiers & l'actif M. de Cordova, qui présida à tout, on commença à dégarnir le Vaisseau & à travailler. Il ne manque à Manille que de bons Constructeurs; car on y travaille admirablement bien les carènes & les radoubs. M. de Caseins se plaignit souvent au Gouverneur de la mauvaise volonté du port de Cavité; mais malgré cette mauvaise volonté, M. de Caseins & Don Joseph de Cordova, vinrent à bout de leur ouvrage. Dans les premiers jours de Février 1767, la Sainte-Rose fut en état de recevoir ses agrès, ses appareils, &c. M. de Caseins dans une lettre qu'il écrivit alors au Gouverneur, & qu'il eut la complaisance de me lire, l'assura que la Sainte-Rose étoit en bon état; qu'il pouvoit compter sur ce qu'il lui disoit, &c. tout le travail n'avoit pas excédé la dépense de huit à neuf mille piastres, au lieu de quarante mille; c'étoit une dépense réduite au cinquième environ. Don Juan de Caseins, bien content & bien satisfait d'avoir fait voir au Gouverneur combien on le trompoit, partit le 12 Février 1767.

...
Les galions, en général, sont fort mal bâtis; ce sont de grosses masses fort lourdes, & ayant trop-peu de bonnes qualités.

*Le **Saint-Charles** nouvellement construit, comme je l'ai dit, étoit prêt de mettre à la voile lorsque j'arrivai à Manille; il alloit faire son premier voyage: avec la plus belle apparence, ce Vaisseau n'étoit point en état de tenir la mer; il avoit essayé de sortir, mais il avoit été obligé de rentrer, dans la crainte qu'on eut à bord qu'il ne soursoubrât [i.e. sombrât] en pleine mer; car il ne portoit point la voile, & on ne savoit à Manille quel parti prendre; preuve évidente de l'état où est la Marine en cette ville. Fort heureusement, M. de Caseins arriva; il vit dans le moment venir à son bord une députation du*

Commerce, pour le prier de voir & visiter le Saint-Charles, & de remédier, s'il étoit possible, à ses défauts. Comme le départ pressoit, on travailla sur le champ à décharger le Vaisseau: M. de Caseins remarqua que ce n'étoit pas dans l'arrimage que consistoit, comme le pensoient les Manillois, le défaut du Vaisseau; que ce défaut venoit au contraire de ses hauts, qui étoient trop chargés de bois & trop élevés: son château de l'arrière sur-tout étoit énorme; il avoit, avec cette grosse poupe, l'apparence d'un Vaisseau de guerre de soixante-quatre canons au moins. M. de Caseins fit abattre ce beau château, & mit le Vaisseau ras comme une Frégate: la saison pressoit, aussi M. de Caseins mit-il la plus grande activité dans son travail, bien secondé par Don Joseph de Cordova, excellent Officier à tous égards.

*Enfin, la frégate le **San-Carlos**, qui, sans M. de Caseins ne fût pas sortie, fut en état le 20 d'Août. M. de Caseins l'essaya dans la Baie, & la fit louvoyer pendant deux jours: on vit que cette frégate pouvoit aller au Mexique; elle partit le 23. Ce Vaisseau fit le voyage fort heureusement, & il se comporta très-bien à la mer; cette épreuve engagea le Commerce de remettre ce Vaisseau à peu-près dans la même forme qu'il avoit lorsque M. de Caseins le fit raser, c'est-à-dire, qu'on lui fit un nouveau château d'arrière, parce que, sans doute, les Manillois ne le trouvoient pas assez commode pour les logemens. Le Père Don Estevan Roxas y Melo, m'écrivit à Pondichéry, que ce Vaisseau avoit manqué son voyage; que pendant un coup de vent qu'il avoit essuyé dans la mer du Sud, il ne fut jamais possible de le faire arriver; qu'il se mit dans le vent, de façon qu'il présentoit la proue à la lame, comme un Vaisseau qui est à l'ancre; on fut contraint de couper non-seulement le mât d'artimon, mais même le grand mât.*

*Tel étoit l'état de la Marine à Manille, en 1768, lorsque j'en suis sorti. Pour achever de donner une idée de cette Marine & de la construction des galions, je ferai remarquer que le galion la **Trinité**, qui étoit un vaisseau de quinze cents tonneaux au plus, tiroit, selon les Espagnols, trente-un à trente-deux pieds d'eau; avec cela, il étoit si mal construit & si enhuché, qu'il ne put résister aux tempêtes, qu'il éprouva en 1762 dans la mer du Sud. J'ai une relation imprimée de tous les désastres de ce Vaisseau; cette relation est intéressante, en ce qu'elle fait voir que la mer du Sud, qu'on a nommée mer Pacifique, ne l'est que de nom, du moins pour l'espace compris entre les Philippines & la chaîne des Mariannes; & qu'on y éprouve très-souvent des coups de vent dans les mois de Septembre & d'Octobre, mois pendant lesquels les galions se trouvent dans ces parages.*

*La **Sainte-Trinité** en essuya trois; elle perdit dans le second ses mâts de hune: elle s'étoit réparée avec ses mâts de rechange, lorsqu'il survint huit jours après, le 2 d'Octobre, un troisième coup de vent des plus furieux, du Nord-est, qui étoit la route que ce galion tenoit: ce vent furieux dura huit jours, & après avoir éprouvé quantité de dommages dans ses hauts, le Vaisseau acheva de démâter, par la latitude de dix-huit degrés un quart, & de dix-neuf degrés à l'Est du cap Espiritu-Santo; ce fut donc aux environs des îles Mariannes. Le Vaisseau se trouva ras comme un ponton, n'ayant pu conserver que son beaupré; il fut obligé de revenir à Manille, mais il rencontra dans l'Archipel un vaisseau Anglois de soixante-quatre canons, & une Frégate, qui le prirent. Ayant vu le*

tirant d'eau de ce singulier Vaisseau, les Anglois n'osèrent jamais le faire passer par le détroit de la Sonde; ils prirent par celui de Malacca, où il y a beaucoup plus d'eau.

On voit, par ce récit, que les galions manquent assez souvent leur voyage, puisque sans parler de ceux dont je n'ai point connoissance, en voilà deux, en six ans d'intervalle, qui sont forcés d'arriver: ces événements doivent causer des dommages considérables au commerce de Manille.

Le Roi gagneroit beaucoup s'il pouvoit avoir à Manille un Constructeur, ou un Officier zélé & expérimenté dans la construction; je dis s'il pouvoit avoir, car il n'est pas bien certain qu'un pareil sujet fût vu de fort bon oeil par les différentes personnes qui peuvent être intéressées dans les affaires des galions: de plus, cet Officier auroit nécessairement des démêlés avec le Gouverneur, qui est trop absolu, & qui, outre qu'il est Capitaine général des Isles, est encore Intendant des Finances & de la Marine. Je sais bien que la Cour a envoyé à Manille depuis que j'en suis sorti, en l'année 1768, un Officier distingué par son savoir, pour présider à la construction des nouveaux galions; car on n'avoit en 1767, à Manille, que le Saint-Charles dont j'ai parlé il n'y a qu'un moment; mais j'ignore en même temps quels sont les travaux dont cet Officier a pu venir à bout dans ce pays; ce que je puis assurer, est que ce jeune Officier que j'ai beaucoup connu à bord du Bon-Conseil, sur lequel il étoit Enseigne en 1766, donnoit alors de très-grandes espérances, par son application continuelle aux Mathématiques & à la construction des Vaisseaux. Nous fîmes ensemble, à bord du Bon-Conseil, plusieurs observations astronomiques, principalement celles qu'enseigne M. Pitot, pour trouver la latitude par le moyen de quelques hauteurs du Soleil, prises avant ou après midi.

Ce sont les Pilotes du galion, qui dirigent sa route. Autrefois, les voyages de Manille à Acapulco n'étoient guère moins que de huit à dix mois: un pilote François les a nouvellement abrégés; il a appris aux Manillois à se servir de leurs voiles qu'ils redoutoient auparavant; & à ne pas aller chercher une si grande latitude, comme on faisoit avant lui: il ne passoit jamais 31 ou 32 degrés; rarement alloit-il à 33 degrés.

Cet homme a été fort utile à la navigation d'Acapulco; il étoit fort estimé, & tous les Espagnols m'en ont parlé avec les plus grands éloges: ce Pilote, dont le nom mérite d'être placé ici, s'appeloit Fraslin; son dernier voyage lui coûta la vie. Le Général, mal intentionné & bourru, le changea dans la route, & par caprice le mit en second; il en conçut tant de chagrin qu'il en mourut; ce fut en 1766: actuellement on le regrette. Le Père Don Estevan Roxas y Melo, mon ami, en faisoit le plus grand cas, & m'en a bien souvent parlé avec éloges.

Cette même année 1766, mourut aussi à Manille un autre François, qui faisoit aussi les voyages d'Acapulco, en qualité de premier Pilote, en sorte qu'ils n'avoient plus de Pilotes à Manille; ils en étoient si dépourvus lorsque je partis en 1768, que pour conduire le galion qui devoit aller cette année à la nouvelle Espagne, ils venoient de nommer pour premier Pilote, un jeune homme qui n'avoit jamais fait ces voyages, & qui,

pour coup d'essai, avoit perdu en 1766 une petite Frégate qu'il conduisoit de Manille aux îles Mariannes, & sur laquelle je pensai m'embarquer.¹

A son retour de cette belle expédition, tous les Pilotes furent consultés pour donner leur avis sur la construction de ce petit Bâtiment; car le Pilote prétendoit que son Vaisseau ne s'étoit perdu que par son défaut de construction: je ne sais ce que répondit le Conseil des Pilotes; mais comme je vis que ce Pilote fut nommé pour le voyage de 1768, je jugeai qu'il avoit gagné son procès. Le vaisseau le Saint-Charles qu'il conduisoit, manqua son voyage.

...

Depuis M. de Caseins, la Cour d'Espagne n'a plus envoyé que des Frégates à Manille; ce fut sur une de ces Frégates, nommée l'Astrée, que j'ai repassé en Europe.

...

Translation

Part 3.—Chapter 2. About Manila.—Art. XIV. Of the Manila trade.

...

Strickly speaking, there is no proper trade at Manila, hence no merchant marine. That is why this city has never been rich...

The Manila people content themselves with the yearly despatch of a vessel to Acapulco, and that is the limit of their trade and of their ambition. They carry to Mexico goods from the coast of India, from this side of the Ganges, textiles of all sorts, muslins from Bengal, and silk from China. In exchange for all of these goods, the galleon brings pesos back to Manila. Not all of these pesos remain there; part of them goes out again and disappears inside China and in the territory of the Moguls [of India]. The people of India and China then bring out their merchandise to Manila in exchange for its pesos that are very esteemed in the Indies, as it is the only European currency that circulates among their traders.

...

The native of the Philippines is very skilful, but he is lazy, as I have said, and spends his money as soon as he earns it. Where can this laziness possibly come from? I fear that I have found out the reason, when I said that the Spaniards seem to have transmitted it to them; indeed, the Spaniard in Manila spends his money as soon as he earns it (as we will see later in more detail in the next article), without thinking much about his future. His outlook is provided by the galleon that is on the way to Acapulco, and that will bring him back enough to spend the year with. So, his ambition relies upon one galleon after another and he does not think beyond that. He considers it impossible for him to aspire to anything higher; he therefore does not care about working in agriculture or in any other trade. The galleon fulfils his present needs and he is happy. However, if the ship should fail to return—something that has happened more than once—he

1 Ed. note: Maybe he is referring to Soroa.

either dies of hunger or survives in mediocrity. Now then, it seems to me that all of this comes from the despotism of religion, that is, the religion practiced by the Ministers of the Inquisition, because I know that our august religion has indeed all the characteristics of peace and union. The same cause has an impact upon the Indians and as long as it will exist, Manila will have no merchant marine and no trade to speak of...

If the Chinese are made welcome at Manila, it is for the purpose of converting them to the Catholic faith...

As far as the Armenians are concerned, they are, it is true, very good traders, but they are not sailors and they have no settlements or ships of their own.

...
[There follows, among other things, a criticism of George Anson's erroneous description of the galleon trade (as written and edited by Walter/Robins). The author then proceeds to explain the true procedures for loading a galleon in Manila. He confirms that the permitted trade was limited to 500,000 pesos in exports and 1 million in imports; that the number of pieces, or standard-size bales, was limited by the capacity of the ship, and the distribution system was negotiated at a meeting of the Municipal Council; that "the galleon **San Carlos** which sailed in 1766, while he was there, carried over 1 million pesos' worth of merchandise, way over the permission allowed by the King;" that the traders had a real surprise when they met with the Marquis de Croix' nephew at Acapulco; that he (LeGentil) was present when the galleon arrived back at Cavite in July 1767; that the nearly 30-year-old former Peruvian frigate **Santa Rosa** had been modified to change her capacity from 500 tons (good for 550 pieces) to one able to carry 762 pieces; that the money spent on such modifications was wasted, in view of the new severity applied at Acapulco.]

Art. XV. The trade of Manila, continued. Its merchant marine. The construction of the galleons and the officers in charge of it.

The Manila people have no merchant marine, though they have excellent ship carpenters. One must admit that very good work is being performed at Cavite and that the ship repairs done there are excellent, but they are extremely expensive.

The King's galleons are normally built at Cavite. They cost the King some huge sums; for instance, a frigate of 30 guns cost him over 100,000 pesos (525,000 [French] pounds); an overhaul costs 20, 30 or 40,000 pesos, that is, from 150 to 200,000 pounds, whereas an ordinary carenage costs from 8 to 10,000 pesos, that is, about 50,000 pounds. Such high costs should be a good reason for taking good care of the vessels, but there is no such thing at Manila. When the galleon is back from New Spain, they completely unrig her, and do not even leave a watchman on board her. She just lies there, as if she had been abandoned, for more than six months, exposed to damages from the rains and the hot sun. One can well imagine the damage done to a ship exposed to considerable rains, and excessive heat for a period of six months (that is, from July to February) at the end of a voyage that lasted one year, and that there must be

important repairs to be done to her to make her seaworthy again. Refitting is begun in February.

This is when the Governor has his opportunity to make an ample harvest, since he is also Minister of the Finance and Naval Departments. He is solicited from all sides, and from all sides gold flows into his [own] coffers.

As there is no Royal Navy at Manila, there is no navy officers as such. The vessel is controlled by the merchants, who are led by a man belonging to their corporation, and who has the title of General of the Sea, but his title is valid only for the sea that he sails upon. This General is therefore a merchant himself; he appoints his own officers and his pilots who must be real seamen. They are indeed so, that is, they are experienced pilots of this run and they generally come from New Spain. The expenses that the General must make are very great; they reach at least 16,000 pesos, that is, over 80,000 pounds. The King pays him 4,500 pesos in salary for the voyage (23,625 pounds), out of which he must feed his officers, but he never touches these 4,500 pesos, because the Governor appropriates this money, to compensate himself for his trouble in appointing him, and for having signed the letter appointing him General of the Sea. In addition he pays 500 pesos to the Secretary when the decree in question is handed over to him, etc.

In addition to the General, who is responsible for the vessel and everything in it, there is a Captain. This Captain is, as among the Portuguese of Macao, a sort of straw man, and worse, because it is very difficult to say exactly what his role is; besides, it is the best position aboard the vessel. He gives from 3 to 4,000 pesos to the Governor and he then takes care of his own business. He does not have to worry about food, because the General provides it to his whole staff.

There is yet a third person, called Master of the Silver. He has a job to do only on the return voyage. His position is a good one, since all of the money is in his care, and he receives half of one percent for doing nothing. This position costs him 3,000 pesos (15,750 pounds). Furthermore, the individuals who wish to make this voyage on their own account cannot do so without the approval of the Governor, which is given only by paying from 3 to 4,000 pesos. Consequently, without leaving his office, the Governor makes a better voyage than anyone on board the galleon, because, besides the 60,000 pounds or so that he got for his trouble in appointing a General for the galleon, a Captain and a Master of the Silver, if he has money to loan, it will have precedence over anybody else's and the interest derived from these voyages, as I have said, is sometimes 25% and sometimes 30%.

...

In those days, in 1743 [at the time of Anson], before the Marquis of Obando, the galleons did not have a crew list, as I have already said.¹

[There follows an analysis of the battle between Anson's **Centurion** and the Spanish galleon **Covadonga** in 1743.]

...

1 Ed. note: This is not strickly true.

As soon as the galleon is loaded, she is made ready to sail. She sets sail from Cavite and comes to the bar at Manila, as close as possible to the walls of the city, where she lies to, awaiting the blessing. To this effect, some [Dominican] Fathers come out of Santo Tomás with a [statue of the] Virgin, that is carried in procession to the top of the walls, facing the galleon. She receives the blessing of this Virgin, after which the galleon hauls away and is gone. However, some prayers are made in all the churches for the success of her voyage, specially so that she will make it through the Embocadero of these Islands. Such prayers last until news is received that she has made it successfully into the South Sea.

Mr. Anson has described the voyage of the galleons in such great details that I have nothing to add to this topic. However, I will only add a few remarks, to wit, that these vessels enter the South Sea through the Embocadero of San Bernardino, then they go northward in order to find some constant westerly winds, with which they sail toward California. Formerly, the Spanish used to go up as far as 40° of latitude to make this voyage, but today, they content themselves with staying between 32 and 34 degrees.

The galleon sails from Manila in July, or at the latest, during the first days of August; however, in some years, as I will mention below, headwinds blow constantly in the channels out of the Bay and she cannot go out. But once she is out of [Manila] Bay, she is no longer restricted, but may take one more month to wiggle her way through the inter-island passage to reach the open sea... The galleon arrives back at Manila in July...

...
When the galleon is back, everyone takes the share of the silver that belongs to him. Right away, the balls, the parties, the dances begin. Everyone rejoices as soon as the money lasts. That is why those who had invested very little on the galleon are soon without money again; they remain empty-handed and are forced to borrow money at a high rate of interest for the next voyage. That is how the Manila people behave.

...
To go back to the construction of the galleons, one gets an idea, from what I have already said about the costs of carenage, of the price of a galleon.

The **San Carlos** that I saw in 1766 cost the King about 130,000 pesos (682,500 pounds), but one must point out that the King already owns the wood, that he does not have to buy lumber, since the Philippines contain some superb trees and that manual labor costs [almost] nothing at Manila. Hence, one can say that this price is huge and exorbitant, over 680,000 pounds for the construction of a ship with a capacity from 500 to 600 tons. So, this is a fact that I can vouch for, one that will clarify this business.

Art. XVI. The Manila trade, continued. History of the Santa Rosa, of the San Carlos, of the voyage of Mr. Caseins to Manila, and of the continuation of his voyage.

When I arrived at Manila in 1766, there were only two galleons there: the **San Carlos** that was about to leave for Acapulco, and the **Santa Rosa** that had just come back.

The latter galleon had been built in Peru some 30 years before. Some Spaniards from that country, then living at Manila, told me, to prove what they were saying, that this ship had at that time carried Mr. de la Condamine in one of his voyages along the coasts of America. After the surrender of Manila by the English, the [Spanish] King sent the *Santa Rosa*, to carry a King's Lieutenant who was to take back the possession of the Philippines. And since they were without their trade, and were without a ship or even any lumber at hand, the **Santa Rosa** was destined to serve the trade, until other galleons could be built. This ship had just come back from its first [round-trip] voyage in 1766 but she was in no condition to undertake a second voyage. According to the estimates of the Manila ship-builders, she needed an overhaul of at least 40,000 pesos to make her seaworthy enough for just one more voyage, because the idea was to condemn her upon her return. I arrived at Manila while this was going on. The arrival of Mr. Caseins was not expected, and it caused much surprise, as I will soon explain in more detail.¹ This [navy] officer who had formerly been in the Philippines was, of course, familiar with the country, and besides very zealous in the service of the King. Mr. Caseins, say I, objected strongly when he heard the words "40,000 pesos" and declared that it was "not possible." The Governor, smart and cunning as he was, said not a word.

On 23 October (1766), Mr. Caseins, with Don José de Córdoba and his officers, went to inspect the vessel; they were accompanied by the Fiscal and the Treasurer, specially appointed by the Governor to carry out this inspection. Mr. Caseins, who was friendly with me, took me along; I witnessed the great care that he applied in his inspection, that lasted almost two days. Finally, Mr. Caseins came back to Manila, more convinced than before that all the works done for the King at Manila were costing him much too much. He made a greater outcry than before. At the same time, he offered his services to the Governor, for 10,000 pesos, saying that he could refit the **Santa Rosa** for one more voyage. The Governor did not dare oppose this proposal head-on, because he had reason to suspect that Mr. Caseins would inform the Court at Madrid about this affair upon his return to Spain. So, he dissembled and accepted the proposal of Mr. Caseins; thus, he would often say that Mr. Caseins was saving much money to the King. I was deceived by him, and perhaps also Mr. Caseins, when I believed that this Governor was acting in a righteous manner in this case, and I spoke with him a little too freely (as I used to visit him almost every night) when I praised the zeal of Mr. Caseins too much, and the moneys that he would save to the royal treasury, etc.

So, Mr. Caseins undertook the repair of the **Santa Rosa** and with his carpenters and the active Mr. Córdoba, who supervised everything, they unrigged the vessel, and began their work. Manila lacks only good ship-builders, as the careenages and overhauls are admirably well done. Mr. Caseins would often complain to the Governor about the bad faith of the port of Cavite; however, in spite of this bad will, Mr. Caseins and Don José de Córdoba, completed their project. During the first days of February

1 Ed. note: He arrived directly from Spain, through the Indian Ocean, in command of a ship named *Buen Consejo*, carrying 64 guns.

1767, the *Santa Rosa* was ready to be rigged and equipped once again, etc. Mr. Caseins then wrote to the Governor a letter, which he had the kindness to read to me, to tell him that the **Santa Rosa** was now in good condition, that he could trust what he was saying, etc. The whole project had not cost more than 8 or 9,000 pesos, instead of 40,000; the expenditures had been reduced to about one-fifth [of their original estimates]. Don Juan de Caseins, very happy and well satisfied with having shown to the Governor that he was being cheated, departed on 12 February 1767.

...

[After the departure of Mr. Caseins, the Governor ordered a second inspection of the **Santa Rosa**, and it was found that the repairs done by him were “no good.” The repairs were redone, and the deck raised to increase the lading capacity (as per the original estimates) and the total cost rose to 260,000 French pounds.]¹

...

Generally-speaking, the galleons are very badly built; they are huge, bulky in appearance, very heavy, and not good sailers.

The recently-built **San Carlos** was ready to make sail, as I have said, when I arrived at Manila. She was about to make her first voyage. Though her appearance was very impressive, her condition was not seaworthy; she had tried to get out [of Manila Bay] but had been forced back, as the people on board feared that she would founder in the high sea, because she could not carry a sail,² and the people at Manila did not know what to do—a sufficient proof, if need be, of the obvious state of the merchant marine in that city. Fortunately for them, Mr. Caseins arrived; he was immediately boarded by some representatives of the traders who begged him to make an inspection of the **San Carlos** and, if possible, remedy her defects. As the departure date was fast approaching, work began immediately in unloading the vessel. Mr. Caseins noticed that the problem with the ship did not lie in the stowage, as the Manila people thought, but in the upper structures that were overloaded with wood and too high; in particular, the poop castle was enormous; this big poop gave the ship the appearance of a warship of 64 guns at least. Mr. Caseins had this big castle taken down and he converted the vessel into a flat-deck frigate. The time for departure was near. So, Mr. Caseins applied the greatest of activity in his work, and he was ably assisted by Don José de Córdoba, an excellent officer in every respect.

Finally, the frigate **San Carlos** that would never have left without the help of Mr. Caseins, was ready as of 20 August. Mr. Caseins then gave her a trial in the bay, making her tack during two days. She was judged fit to make the voyage to Mexico, and she therefore departed on the 23rd. This ship completed her voyage very successfully

1 Ed. note: The *Santa Rosa* did make one more complete voyage to Acapulco, but she was not condemned. In the meantime, Caseins made one more voyage with the *Buen Consejo* from Cadiz to Manila, where he arrived in July 1769. He left as commander of the *Santa Rosa* in January 1770, with a load of expelled Jesuits on board. Thus the Peruvian frigate *Santa Rosa de Lima* was probably condemned in Spain, after a history of over 30 years.

2 Ed. note: That is, topsails that might capsize her in a heavy wind.

and she behaved very well at sea. But this trial run convinced the Manila traders to modify this ship again, and to give her about the same shape that she had when Mr. Caseins had her razed, that is, they had a new poop castle built, probably because the Manila people did not find her comfortable enough for their accommodations. Father Estevan Roxas y Melo, wrote to me from Pondichéry that this vessel had turned back [in 1769], that after she had been hit by a blast of wind in the South Sea, they had been unable to make her point in the right direction. In fact, she swung around with her bow pointing at the waves, as a ship at anchor would do. They had to cut not only her mizzen-mast but also her main-mast.

Such was the state of the merchant marine at Manila in 1768 when I left. To complete my description of this marine and of the construction of the galleons, I will add a note about the galleon [**Santísima**] **Trinidad**, that was a ship of 1,500 tons at most and, according to the Spanish, had a draft of from 31 to 32 feet. In addition, she was so badly built and so top-heavy that she could not resist the storms that she ran into in the South Sea in 1762. I own a printed account of all the disasters of this vessel.¹ This narrative is very interesting, because it shows that the South Sea, that has been renamed Pacific Ocean, is not so pacific after all, at least in the area bound by the Philippines and the Marianas, and that some blasts of wind are encountered there during the months of September and October, months during which the galleons find themselves in that neighborhood.

The **Santísima Trinidad** met with three such storms. In the second storm, she lost her top-masts. Repairs were made using the spare masts, but eight days later, on 2 October, a third blow occurred; it blew from the northeast, which was a direct head wind. It was a most violent one that lasted eight days. After suffering much damage to her topsails, the ship ended up completely dismasted, at 18°15' latitude and 19° East of Cape Espiritu Santo; therefore, this happened in the vicinity of the Mariana Islands. The vessel had been razed like a hulk, though her bowsprit was left intact. She was therefore forced to return to Manila, but, upon entering the archipelago, she met with an English ship of 64 guns and a frigate, and was captured by them. Having noticed the draft of this special ship, the English [upon taking her to England] did not dare go through the Sunda Strait; they went by the Strait of Malacca, where the water is much deeper.

This account shows that the galleons do not always succeed in making their voyage, since that makes two examples of ships turning back in distress, six years apart; I cannot talk about those that I have no knowledge of. Such incidents must cause considerable damages to the Manila trade.

The King would find it convenient to have a ship-builder at Manila, or a zealous officer with experience in ship-building. I say that he could have one, but I am not so sure that such a person would be appreciated by many persons with an interest in the galleon business. This officer would necessarily clash head on with the Governor, who is

¹ Ed. note: I could not find a reference to this printed document anywhere.

too dictatorial and who, besides, is the Captain General of the Islands, plus Minister of Finance and Naval Affairs. I know very well that the Court did send to Manila, since my departure from there in the year 1768, an officer, outstanding in his knowledge, to supervise the construction of new galleons, because there was only one left, the **San Carlos**, as I have just mentioned, but I do not know what were the works that this officer was in charge of in that country. What I can say is that this young officer, whom I became acquainted with aboard the **Buen Consejo** where he served as an ensign/midshipman in 1766, showed a lot of promise then, by his continual application to mathematics and ship-building. Together, aboard the **Buen Consejo**, we carried out many astronomical observations, mainly those taught by Mr. Pitot,¹ to find out the latitude by the height of the sun, taken in the morning and the afternoon.

The pilots of the galleon are those responsible for their navigation. Formerly, the voyages from Manila to Acapulco lasted at least 8 to 10 months. A French pilot has recently shortened them; he taught the Manila people to make a better use of their sails which they feared to use to advantage before, and not to seek such a high latitude as was the case before him. He never went beyond 31 or 32 degrees, and rarely as high as 33 degrees.²

This man was very useful to the Acapulco run; he was much appreciated and all the Spaniards have talked to me about him with the greatest of regards. This pilot, whose name deserves to be mentioned here, was Mr. Frasin. His last voyage cost him his life. The General, who was a mean and grumpy man, demoted him during the voyage and, on a whim, made him pilot's mate. He took it so badly that he died of grief. This happened in 1766; he is still regretted. Father Estevan Roxas y Melo, my friend, spoke highly of him and would often refer to him with praise.

That same year 1766, there died at Manila another Frenchman who used to make voyages to Acapulco as chief pilot, so that there were no more [French] pilots at Manila then. There was such a shortage of pilots when I left in 1768 that, to guide the galleon that had to go to Acapulco that year, they had just appointed as chief pilot a young man who had never made the voyage and who, in a trial run aboard a small frigate that he piloted from Manila to the Marianas lost his ship; I had planned to be on board her.³

Upon his return from this beautiful expedition, all the pilots were consulted to give their opinion on the construction of this small vessel, because the pilot pretended that his ship had been lost because of a defect in its construction. I do not know what the

1 Ed. note: Henri Pitot (1695-1771), a French engineer who invented the Pitot tube, to measure the speed of fluids, such as the air speed of modern aircraft.

2 Ed. note: Rather than the 37° that had become the norm earlier (see HM1:673).

3 Ed. note: This Mariana patache was also called San Carlos. It was lost on the northern coast of Samar Island (see Doc. 1766C).

resolution of the Meeting of Pilots was, but, since I saw this pilot appointed to the voyage of 1768, I thought that he might have won his case. The galleon **San Carlos** that was under his care turned back in distress [in 1768].

...
Since the time of Mr. Caseins, the Spanish Court has sent only frigates to Manila; it was aboard one of those frigates, named **Astrea**, that I went back to Europe.¹

1 Ed. note: Le Gentil left Manila in 1768 aboard the same Portuguese ship that had brought him there earlier, the *San Antonio*, going back to Pondichéry. In 1770, he boarded the French ship *Dauphin* to go to Mauritius, where the returning Spanish ship *Astrea* took him to Cadiz in 1771.

Documents 1767B

The expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain and her colonies

General sources: 1) Danvila y Collado's *Reinado de Carlos III* (Madrid, 1894), tomes 2-3; 2) Montero y Vidal's *Historia de Filipinas* (Manila), tome 2, chapters v-vii; 3) B&R 50: 269-316.

Specific sources: AHN Clero Jesuitas (ref. Guglieri's index, specially its historical Introduction by Fr. F. Mateos, S.J.), and the book entitled: "Colección General de las Providencias hasta aquí tomadas por el Gobierno, sobre el extrañamiento y ocupación de Temporalidades de los Regulares de la Compañía, que existían en los Dominios de S.M. de España, Indias e islas Filipinas; à consecuencia del Real decreto de 27 de Febrero, y Pragmatica Sancion de 2 de Abril de 1767." (Madrid, Imprenta Real de la Gaceta, 1767-1784).

Note: A manuscript copy of the above book, or "Coleccion General," is to be found in BL Add. mss. 19,259; besides, there is another ms. copy of B1 below in BL Egerton ms. 456, fol. 93-96.

Historical background.

The Jesuit Order was officially created by Pope Paul III in 1542 at the request of its founder, Ignatius of Loyola. At the latter's death in 1556, there were about 1,000 Jesuits working in Spain, Germany, Italy, Portugal and in missions located in Brazil, India and Japan.

By 1710, there were almost 20,000 members of the Order. Being based in Rome and strong supporters of the papacy, the Jesuits came into conflict with politicians all over Europe who fostered nationalism. Their direct attachment to the Pope did not endear them with diocesan bishops either. In France, both the University of Paris and the Sorbonne denounced the Society. Mme. de Pompadour, Louis XV's mistress was refused access to the sacraments by French Jesuits. Eventually, the French king finally ordered the suppression of the Order in France in 1764.

The Order had already been suppressed in Portugal and her colonies, and violently so, under the supervision of the Count of Pombal. **The main cause of their expulsion from Spanish territories is said to have been their interference in the political affairs of the Peninsula.**

In Spain, it was ironically the so-called "riot of Esquilache" (from the name of the Marquis of Squillaci, one of Charles III's ministers and a Sicilian by birth) that took place in Madrid on 23 March 1766, that triggered their expulsion; the King fled to Aranjuez, and came back only after the Jesuits placated the crowds. Nevertheless, the King gave the presidency of the Council of Castile to Pedro Pablo Abarca de Bolea, Count

of Aranda;¹ at that time, the Council had 12 members, and 5 of them were archbishops and bishops. An investigation of the recent riots and actions of the Jesuits was carried out by this Council. Some of these actions involved the publication of numerous tracts; one fake letter even claimed that there was proof that King Charles II was the child of adultery. Here we have the real reason why the king was upset; it is clear that the mutiny had been but a catalyst.

After the King sent an edict to the Council, a set of instructions was issued by the Count of Aranda. The Jesuits were expelled from Madrid on the night of 31 March, and from the rest of Spain on 3 April. Aranda's orders were carried out in Mexico City in the morning of 25 June 1767, but did not reach Manila until the afternoon of 17 May 1768, and Guam until the following year 1769.

The Pope protested the above decisions, but he himself refused to allow the Jesuits into his estates. So, they were deported to Corsica, instead. All the expelled Jesuits were given pensions by Spain. All in all, about 6,000 Jesuits were thus persecuted and suffered immensely for the alleged crimes of a few of their numbers; the health of many was affected severely and they died prematurely.

Pressured by the Bourbon courts, Pope Clement XIV, who had been elected in 1769, hesitated in making this suppression universal. Finally he did so in 1773; there were then 22,589 men in the Order.

Meanwhile, Prussia and Russia refused to accept the Pope's edict and the Jesuits continued their educational activities there. The suppression of the Order did not last long. The Duke of Parma restored them on his territory in 1792. Pope Pius VII allowed them to reorganize in Russia and Lithuania in 1801, and they were allowed to return to Naples in 1804. Complete restoration then took place in 1814. The Pope then granted them full recognition in all countries. In the 1950s, there were over 33,000 Jesuits worldwide.

B1. Royal edict, dated El Pardo 27 February 1767

Sources: Colección General de las Providencias, and BL (see above remarks).

Note: The text of this decree had been suggested by the Council on 29 January 1767.

Original text in Spanish.

Real Decreto de Execucion.

Habiendome conformado con el parecer de mi Consejo Real en el extraordinario, que se celebra con motivo de las ocurrencias pasadas, en consulta de veinte y nueve de Enero proximo [pasadp]; y de lo que sobre ella me han expuesto personas del mas elevado carácter: estimulado de gravisimas causas, relativas á la obligacion en que me hallo constituido de mantener en subordinacion, tranquilidad, y justicia mis Pueblos, y otras urgentes, justas, y necesarias, que reservo en mi Real ánimo: usando de la suprema autoridad económica, que el Todo-Poderoso ha depositado en mis manos para la pro-

¹ For a biography of his military career, see *Revista de Historia Militar*, 86 (1999): 41-88.

*teccion de mis Vasallos, y respeto de mi Corona: He venido en mandar se extrañen de todos mis dominios de España, é Indias, islas Filipinas, y demás adyacentes, á los Religiosos de la Compañia, asi Sacerdotes, como Coadjutores, ó Legos, que hayan hecho la primera Profesion, y á los Novicios, que quisieren seguirles; y que se ocupen todas las temporalidades de la Compañia en mis Dominios; y para su execucion uniforme en todos ellos, os doy plena y privativa autoridad; y para que formeis las instrucciones, y órdenes necesarias, segun lo teneis entendido, y estimareis para el mas efectivo, pronto, y tranquilo cumplimiento. Y quiero, que no solo las Justicias y Tribunales Superiores de estos Reynos executen puntualmente vuestros mandatos, sino que lo mismo se entienda con los que dirigiereis á los Virreyes, Presidentes, Audiencias, Gobernadores, Corregidores, Alcaldes-Mayores, y otras qualesquiera Justicias de aquellos Reynos, y Provincias; y que en virtud de sus respectivos Requerimientos, qualesquiera Tropas, Milicias, ó Paysanage, dén el auxilio necesario, sin retardo ni tergiversacion alguna, só pena de caer el que fuere omiso en mi Real indignacion: y encargo á los Padres Provinciales, Prepositos, Rectores, y demás Superiores de la **Compañia de Jesus** se conformen de su parte á lo que se les prevenga puntualmente, y se les tratará en la execucion con la mayor decencia, atencion, humanidad, y asistencia: de modo que en todo se proceda conforme á mis Soberanos Intenciones. Tendreislo entendido para su exacto cumplimiento, como lo fio y espero de vuestro zelo, actividad, y amor á mi Real servicio; y dareis para ello las Ordenes, é Instrucciones necesarias, acompañando exemplares de este mi Real Decreto, á los quales, estando firmados de Vos, se les dará la misma fé y crédito que el original.*

Rubricado de la Real Mano.

En el Pardo, á veinte y siete de Febrero de mil setecientos sesenta y siete.

Al Conde de Aranda, Presidente del Consejo.

Translation.

Royal Decree for Execution.

In agreement with the opinion of my Royal Council in Extraordinary, in session to resolve past occurrences, in their consultation of the 29th of January last, and the opinions that persons of the highest character have expressed to me, I am moved by very grave reasons, related to the obligation that I have to maintain my peoples in a state of subordination, tranquility, and justice, and by other urgent, just, and necessary reasons that my Royal mind keeps private, to make use of the supreme political authority that the Almighty has place in my hands for the protection of my Vassals, and the respect of my Crown: I have decided to order the expulsion from all my dominions of Spain, and the Indies, Philippine Islands, and other nearby, of the Religious of the Society, not only priests but also Coadjutors, or Lay Brothers, who have made the first profession, and the Novices who might wish to follow them; and the occupation of the temporal properties¹ of the Society in my Dominions; and, for a uniform execution in all

1 Ed. note: The word "temporalidades" meant all properties, not just real estate.

of them, I delegate full and confidential authority to you; and in order for you to write the necessary instructions and orders, as we have discussed them, and as you might esteem for a most effective, timely, and smooth execution. And I wish that not only the Superior Judges and Tribunals of these Kingdoms obey your orders, but that the orders that you will also sent to the Viceroys, Presidents, Audiencias, Governors, Town Magistrates, Provincial Mayors, and any other Justices in those Kingdoms and Provinces be obeyed; and that any troop of soldiers, active or in reserve, or citizen, is to give necessary assistance to them to carry out their respective Demands, without any delay or quibbling, under penalty of running afoul of my Royal indignation. And I order the Fathers Provincial, Directors, Rectors, and other superiors of the **Society of Jesus** to do their part to comply with such orders promptly, but they are to be treated during said execution with the greatest decency, attention, humanity, and assistance, in such a manner that my Sovereign intentions shall be respected in everything. You are to take the above under advisement for full compliance, as I trust and hope from your zeal, activity, and love of my Royal service, and you shall give the necessary Orders, and Instructions for it, enclosing copies of this my Royal decree. Such copies, once signed by You, shall be given the same faith and credibility as the original.

Countersigned by the Royal hand.

In El Pardo, on the 27th of February 1767.

To the Count of Aranda, President of the Council.

B2. Secret despatches from the Count of Aranda to the Governor of the Philippines, dated 1 March 1767

Sources: Col. Prov. (as above); partly translated in B&R.

Note: A letter, written during March, enclosing two sets of instructions, both dated 1 March 1767, was addressed to the Governor through the good offices of the Viceroy of New Spain, who secretly despatched Captain Estorgo to Manila (see Doc. 1768E). A duplicate despatch file was entrusted to Pedro Santillan, the King's courier, who went to Holland to catch a ship to Manila, by way of Batavia, where he was to charter a ship, if necessary.

Original texts in Spanish.

Dentro de la adjunta carta del señor Marqués de Grimaldi, Secretario del despacho de Estado, reviviré usted otra del Rey nuestro Señor, en que S.M. se digna autorizarme para el asunto de que trata este despacho, el cual se reduce al extrañamiento de todos los Reales dominios, del Orden de la Compañía de Jesús, en el modo y forma que concibe el Real decreto que incluyo impreso.

La misma particular honra que el Rey hace á usted de su Real puño, le persuadirá la importancia, el secreto y la decidida voluntad de S.M. para el más exacto cumplimiento.

Tocante á la ejecución arreglada para España y por la adición aplicada para Indias, usando de ambas á fin de apropiarse lo más adaptable de cada una.

La reflexión de la distancia de esos países con éste y de su diferencia de Gobierno, me determina á deponer en usted toda facultad arbitrable para variar ó añadir circunstancias, como se logre el efecto con aquel complemento que tan grave asunto requiere.

Concibo que la perspicacia y madurez de usted dispondrá tranquilamente la obediencia de la Real determinación, sin desampararla, no obstante, de aquella custodia y auxilio de fuerza moderado para no aventurarlo; pero en todo caso, si, contra lo regular, hubiese resistencia en los mismos religiosos interesados á en sus adictos se experimentase inclinación ó resolución á oponerse, usará usted de la autoridad y vigor de las armas, como en caso ya de rebeldía.

Importará que en los pueblos donde hubiese colegio ó casa de la Compañía se practique (apenas se les hubiese intimado el Real decreto) la diligencia de hacer entender á las otras Ordenes religiosas y al clero de ellos que la disposición de S.M. se limita á los religiosos jesuitas, siendo muy propio de todos los demás eclesiásticos seculares y regulares el concurrir con sus persuasiones á que generalmente se veneren los decretos de la Majestad, por deberse considerar siempre fundados en graves y justas causas.

El Rey nuestro Señor tiene la mayor confianza de la fidelidad y talento de usted, y á ella es consiguiente la mía; sólo, pues, deseo el total desempeño de usted, y que se entienda conmigo para irme noticiando las resultas, sin preguntar duda alguna, pues si le ocurriese tendrá usted que resolvirla por sí, gobernándose por el espíritu é idea que el todo del Real decreto é instrucciones de sí producen.

Dios guarde á usted muchos años.

Madrid 1º de Marzo de 1767.

Translation.

Instructions for the measures to be taken by the persons commissioned to carry out the banishment of the Jesuits in Spain and the Indies, and to take possession of their goods and estates...

Inside the annexed letter from the Marquis of Grimaldi, Secretary of the affairs of state, you will receive another from the King our Lord, in which his Majesty deigns to confer authority on me for the purpose of which this despatch treats—which, in short, is the banishment of the order of the Society of Jesus from all the royal dominions, in the manner and form provided in the royal decree, of which I enclose a printed copy. The very fact of the special honor which the King confers on you of a copy bearing his own signature will convince you of the importance of the matter and of the need for secrecy, and of the King's resolute determination for the most punctual fulfilment.

As for its execution, you will be guided by the instructions framed for Spain and by the additional ones that apply to the Indies, availing yourself of both, to the end of selecting from each that which is best adapted to your purpose. As I have taken into consideration the distance of those countries from this one, and the difference in their mode of government, I have decided to entrust to you all discretionary power [necessary] to change or add details of circumstance, so that the [desired] result may be attained with that completeness which so important a matter requires. I think that your clear-sight-

edness and prudence will peaceably bring about obedience to the royal decision—without, however, neglecting guards and the use of moderate force, in order not to risk the failure of the enterprise; but in any event if, contrary to what is usual, you should encounter resistance from the religious concerned in this, or find among their adherents any inclination or resolution to oppose you, you will employ the authority and force of military power, as you would in case of rebellion.

It will be important that in the villages where there is a college or house of the Society measures be taken (as soon as the royal decree has been made known to them) to inform the other religious orders and the secular clergy of those places that the decree of his Majesty is limited to the Jesuit religious; for it is very proper that all the other ecclesiastics, both seculars and regulars, contribute with their persuasions, so that the people generally shall reverence the decrees of his Majesty, since they must be considered as always based on important and just grounds. The King our Lord has the greatest confidence in your fidelity and ability, and consequently I have the same. I only desire, therefore, complete fulfilment on your part, and that you write to me to keep me informed of the results, without making any inquiries on doubtful points; for if these should arise you must decide them for yourself, being governed by the sense and idea which the royal decree and instructions themselves, as a whole, produce.

May God preserve you many years.

Madrid, 1 March 1767.

Editorial notes.

In the file containing the *residencia* of Governor Raón, the following story was revealed. He had received the royal mail on 17 May 1768. The next day, he “sold” this information to the Jesuits, allowing them to hide their moneys and valuables.¹ He had appointed Judge Manuel Galvan y Ventura, an Audiencia member, as Commissioner, but on that day, he was allowed to visit only one the College of San Ildefonso, thus giving 3-5 days of warning to all other Jesuit houses in the Philippines. Raón died before the end of the legal proceedings against him, but he was proven guilty. Nevertheless, he had reported compliance with his orders, as follows. Meanwhile, in Mexico, the Viceroy himself had issued a proclamation dated 24 June 1767; a French translation is in Croix’ Correspondance (Nantes, 1891), pp. 255-256.

1 Ed. note: It is even said that they burned some incriminating papers, but this point was not proven.

B3. Letter from Governor Raón to the King, dated Manila 23 July 1768

Sources: Archivo de Simancas, Estado, legajo 5,062, fol. 33; published by Montero y Vidal (op. cit.); translated by B&R.

Original text in Spanish.

Señor:

*Luego que leí, sellé con mis lavios y puse sobre mi caveza la Real respetable carta orden de V.M. relativa á la expulsion de los Jesuitas raticados en todos estos dominios de V.M. y ocupación de Temporalidades, puse en práctica los medios, que ocurrieron á mi lealtad y celo para el acierto y desempeño de este grave negocio, y en su consecuencia van embarcados en el Navio nombrado **San Carlos Borromeo** sesenta y quatro Individuos, con los principales de este continente, é Isla de Marinduque, y para la remocion de igual número de Misioneros de las Islas Bisayas, estan empleadas quatro Embarcaciones mediante el concurso de las demas Sagradas Religiones á ocupar provisionalmente aquellos Ministerios como de todo informo á V.M. con mas extension por conducto del Conde de Aranda.*

*Nuestro Señor guarde la R.C.P. de V.M. como necesitan estas remotas regiones.
Manila y Julio 23 de 1768.*

*Señor: A los reales pies de V.M.—
Don Joseph Raon.*

Translation.

Sire:

As soon as I read, pressed to my lips, and placed on my head the respected royal letter of your Majesty giving orders relative to the expulsion of the Jesuits who were settled in all these domains of your Majesty, and the seizure of their goods, I employed the means that occurred to my loyalty and zeal for the accomplishment and fulfilment of this important business. In consequence, there are sailing as passengers on the ship named **San Carlos Borromeo** 64 individuals, including the principal Jesuits of this mainland [of Luzon] and the island of Marinduque; and for the removal of a like number of missionaries from the Visaya Islands 4 vessels are employed. Meantime, I have the aid of the other religious orders in occupying temporarily the ministries there—as I fully informed your Majesty in greater detail through the Count of Aranda.

May our Lord preserve the royal Catholic person of your Majesty, as these remote regions need.

Manila, 23 July 1768.

Sire, [I kiss] your Majesty's royal feet.
Don Joseph Raón

Editorial notes.

Extensive inventories of the properties, including papers, seized from the Jesuits were made by the first commissioner, Judge Galvan, by the second, Judge Basaraz. The valuation of the assets was completed by the third commissioner, Juan Francisco Anda, the nephew of Governor Anda, who succeeded Raón. The seized material assets in the Philippines reached a total value of 2 million pesos, excluding, of course, the cash and precious valuables that had been hidden.

In the Marianas, as in other remote provinces, things proceeded with less formality. At the arrival of the Recollects in 1769, there was adjudged to the royal treasury a drugstore and the estate of Tachoña, which was 11 leagues in circumference, with cattle, house, and outbuildings; and the college of San Juan de Letrán, with all that pertained to it, was handed over to the Recollect Fathers with the same informality.¹

In fact, Father Francisco Xavier Stengel, S.J. who was minister of Agaña, Pago, Agat, and Rota, was replaced by Father Andrés de San José; and Father Rafael Canicia, S.J. who was minister of Umatac, Merizo and Inarajan, was replaced by Father Antonio de la Concepción.²

1 Ed. note: See B&R 50: 304.

2 Ed. note: As noted in the extensive final report by Gregorio Buenvecino, dated Manila 12 September 1785.



Documents 1767C

The second voyage of HMS Dolphin, Captain Wallis, in 1767**C1. The narrative of Captain Samuel Wallis**

Source: John Hawkesworth (ed.). An Account of the Voyages... (London, 1773).

Introductory note.

Captain Wallis was sent from England to discover the elusive Antarctic continent, rather Terra Australis, as it appeared on the fanciful maps of the period. However, after he rounded South America, he headed northwest and reached the Tuamotu Archipelago, as Captain Byron had done before him, aboard the same ship, but Wallis diverted southward from there and was the first white man in Tahiti. He then resumed his course and sailed to Tinian. He must have skirted the Gilbert Islands in the process, since he crossed the equator at 187°24' W., sighting birds, drifting coconuts and leaves... On 3 September 1767, Wallis discovered Rongerik and Rongelap in the Marshall Islands.

He had the ship **Swallow**, Captain Carteret, in company until they exited the Strait of Magellan. Carteret made an independent voyage through the South Pacific and visited the islands south of Palau.

(Facing page:) **HMS Dolphin at Tahiti in 1767.** (*From Hawkesworth's Voyages, Plate 21.*)

Extract from Hawkesworth's narrative of Captain Wallis' Voyage Round the World.

1767. August.

...

We also saw several plantain leaves, and cocoa-nuts, pass by by the ship.

Saturday 19.

On Saturday the 29th, about two o'clock in the afternoon, being in latitude 2°50' N. Longitude 188° W. we crossed a great rippling, which stretched from the N.E. to the S.W. as far as the eye could reach from the mast-head. We sounded, but had no bottom with a line of two hundred fathoms.¹

September. Thursday 3.

On Thursday the 3d of September, at five o'clock in the morning, we saw land bearing E.N.E. distant about five miles: in about half an hour we saw more land in the N.W. and at six, saw in the N.E. an Indian proa, such as is described in the account of Lord Anson's voyage. Perceiving that she stood towards us, we hoisted Spanish colours; but when she came withing about two miles of us, she tacked, and stood from us to the N.N.W. and in a short time was out of sight.

At eight o'clock, the islands which I judged to be two of the Piscadores, bore from S.W. by W. to W. and to windward, from N. by E. to N.E. and had the appearance of small flat keys. They were distant about three leagues; but many others, much farther off, were in sight. The latitude of one of those islands is 11° N. longitude 192°30' W.; and the other 11°20' N. longitude 192°58' W.²

Monday 7.

On the 7th, we saw a curliu [i.e. curlew] and a pewit [i.e. the phoebe], and on the 9th we caught a land-bird, very much resembling a starling.

Thursday 17.

On the 17th, we saw two gannets, and judged the island of Tinian to bear West, at about one and thirty leagues distance; our latitude being 15° N. and our longitude 212°30' W.

Friday 18.

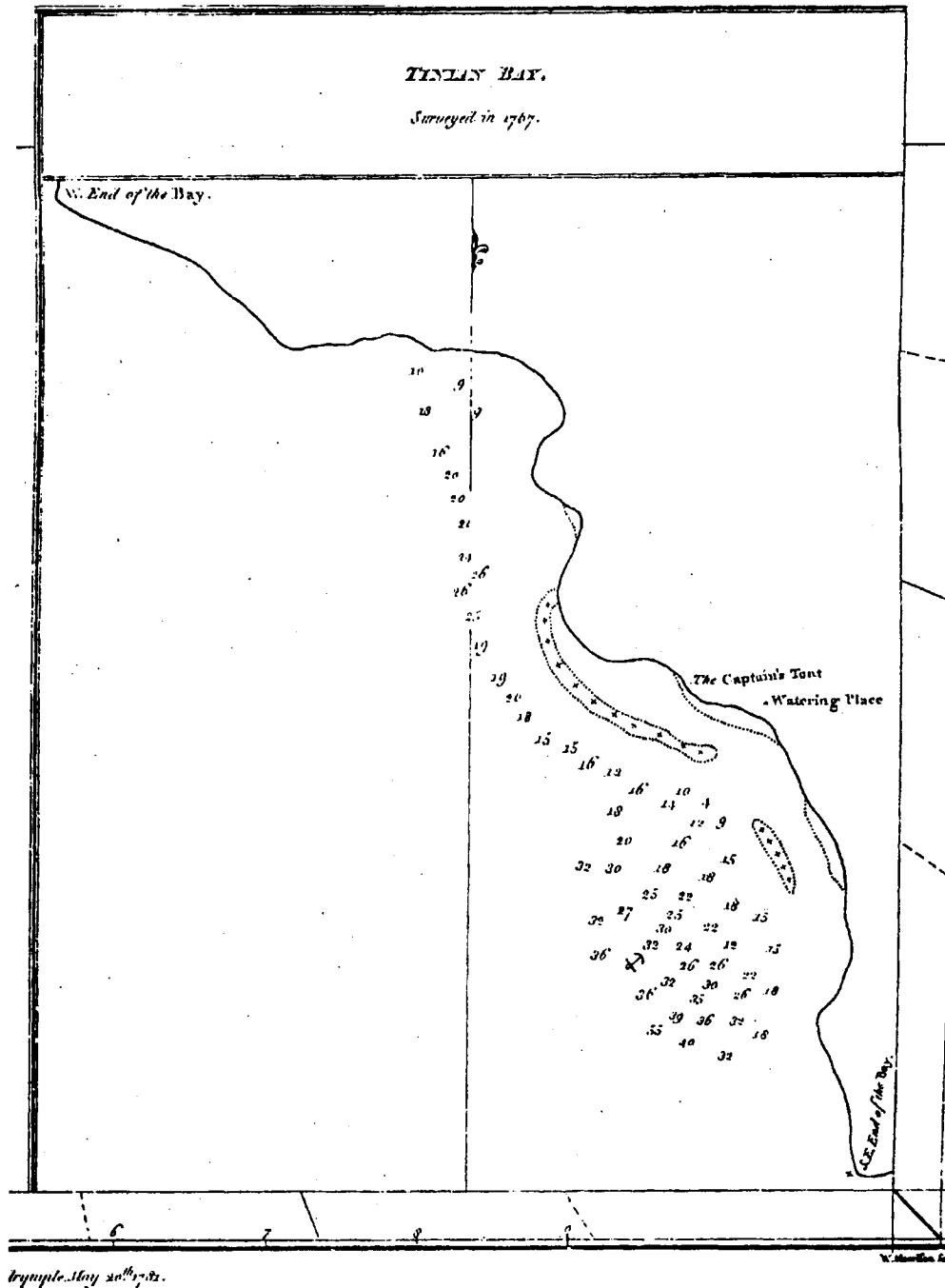
At six o'clock, the next morning, we saw the island of Saypan, bearing W. by N. distant about ten leagues. In the afternoon, we saw Tinian, and made sail for the road, where,

1 Ed. note: As H.E. Maude says (JPS, op. cit., p. 75), he must have been within about 50 miles of Kuria and Butaritari then.

2 Ed. note: Therefore, Wallis passed between Rongerik and Rongelap. Wallis was the discoverer of both of these islands. Sharp (in *The Discovery of the Pacific Is.*) was wrong, however, in saying that Rongelap had been previously discovered by Saavedra.

Saturday 19.

at nine o'clock in the morning, of Saturday the 19th, we came to an anchor in two and twenty fathom, sandy ground, at about a mile distant from the shore, and half a mile from the reef.



Sungharon Roads, Tinian Island, surveyed by Wallis in 1767. (Part of a chart published by Alexander Dalrymple in 1781).

CHAP. XI. Some Account of the present State of the Island of Tinian, and our Employment there; with what happened in the Run from thence to Batavia.

As soon as the ship was secured, I sent the boats on shore to erect tents, and bring off some refreshments; and about noon they returned, with some cocoa-nuts, limes, and oranges.

In the evening, the tents being erected, I sent the Surgeon,¹ and all the invalids on shore, with two months provisions, of every kind, for forty men, the smith's forge, and a chest of carpenter's tools. I then landed myself, with the First Lieutenant, both of us being in a very sickly condition, taking with us also a mate, and twelve men, to go up the country and hunt for cattle.

Sunday 20.

When we first came to an anchor, the North part of the bay bore N. 39° W. Cocoa Point N. 7° W. the landing-place N.E. by N. and the south end of the island S. 28° E.; but next morning, the Master² having sounded all the bay, and being of opinion that there was a better situation to the southward, we warped the ship a little way up, and moored with a cable each way.

At six in the evening, the hunters brought in a fine young bull, of near four hundred weight: part of it we kept on shore, and sent the rest on board, with bread-fruit, limes, and oranges.

Monday 21.

Early the next morning, the carpenters were set at work to caulk the ship all over, and put every thing in repair as far as possible. All the sails were also got on shore, and the sail-makers employed to mend them: the armourers at the same time were busy in repairing the iron-work, and making new chains for the rudder. The number of people now on shore, sick and well, was fifty-three.

In this place we got beef, pork, poultry, papaw apples, bread-fruit, limes, oranges, and every refreshment that is mentioned in the account of Lord Anson's voyage. The sick began to recover from the day they first went on shore: the air, however, was so different here from what we found it in King Geroge's Island [i.e. Tahiti], that fresh meat, which there kept sweet two days, could here be scarcely kept sweet one. There had been many cocoa-nut trees near the landing-place, but they had been all wastefully cut down for the fruit, and none being grown up in their stead, we were forced to go three miles into the country before a single nut could be procured. The hunters also suffered incredible fatigue, for they were frequently obliged to go ten or twelve miles through one continued thicket, and the cattle were so wild that it was very difficult to come near them, so that I was obliged to relieve one party by another; and it being re-

1 Ed. note: His name was John Hutchinson.

2 Ed. note: This was George Robertson.

ported that cattle were more plenty at the North end of the island, but that the hunters being quite exhausted with fatigue when they got thither, were not able to kill them, much less to bring them down, I sent Mr. Gore,¹ with fourteen men, to establish themselves in that part of the island, and ordered that a boat should go every morning, at day-break, to bring in what they should kill. In the mean time, the ship was laid by the stern to get at some of the copper sheathing which had been much torn; and in repairing the copper, the carpenter discovered and stopped a large leak under the lining of the knee of the head, by which we had reason to hope most of the water that the vessel had lately admitted in bad weather, came in. During our stay here, I ordered all the people on shore by turns,

October. Thursday 15.

and by the 15th of October, all the sick being recovered, our wood and water completed, and the ship made fit for the sea, we got every thing off the shore, and embarked all our men from the watering-place, each having, at least, five hundred limes, and there being several tubs full on the quarter-deck, for every one to squeeze into his water as he should think fit.

Friday 16.

At break of day, on Friday the 16th, we weighed, and sailed out of the bay, sending the boats at the same time to the North end of the island, to bring off Mr. Gore and his hunters. At noon, we received them and their tents on board, with a fine large bull which they had just killed.

While we lay at anchor in this place, we had many observations for the latitude and longitude, from which we drew up the following table:

| | |
|---|----------------------------|
| Latitude of the ship, as she lay at anchor... | 14°55' N. long. 214°15' W. |
| Latitude of the watering-place | 14°55' N. |
| Longitude of the body of Tinian | 214° W. |
| Longitude of Tinian Road... .. | 214°8' W. |
| Median of longitude, observed at Tinian... | 214°7'[W]. ² |

Wednesday 21.

We continued a westerly course, incliing somewhat to the North, till the 21st, when, Tinian bearing S. 71°40' E. distant 277 leagues, we saw many birds.

Thursday 22.

And the next day, saw three resembling gannets, of the same kind that we had seen when we were within about thirty leagues of Tinian.

1 Ed. note: John Gore was then a misdhipman. He had already gone around the world in this ship, under Capt. Byron. He later took part in Cook's third voyage.

2 Ed. note: The correct longitude of Sungharon Road is actually 145°36' E, i.e. 214°24' W of Greenwich. Therefore, Wallis and his officers were only 17 minutes off, extremely good for a longitude reading.

Friday 23.

On the 23d, we had much thunder, lightning, and rain, with strong gales and a great sea. The ship laboured very much, and the rudder being loose again, shook the stern as much as ever.

Saturday 24.

The next day, we saw several small land birds, and the gales continuing, we split the gib and main-top-mast-sail; the wind increased all the remainder of the day, and all night.

Sunday 25.

On Sunday it blew a storm. The fore-sail and mizen-sail were torn to pieces, and lost; and having bent others, we wore and stood under a reefed fore-sail, and balanced mizen. We had the mortification to find the ship admit more water than usual. We got the top-gallant masts down upon the deck, and took the gib-boom in; soon after which a sea struck the ship upon the bow, and washed away the round-houses, with all the rails of the head, and every thing that was upon the fore-castle; we were, however, obliged to carry as much sail as the ship would bear, being, by Lord Anson's account, very near the Bashee Islands, and, by Mr. Byron's, not more than thirty leagues, with a lee-shore.

[The storm was not yet over and the Dolphin suffered much more damage. The ship was repaired at Batavia, and was back in England in the summer of 1768.]

...

C2. The logbook kept by Robert Molineux

Source: BL Add. Mss. 47,106 (Egmont Papers, Logbook 157, now marked 1076C).

Note: It is labelled as follows: "Log of H.M. Ship Dolphin, on her voyage round the world, from July 8, 1766 to May 19, 1768; kept by Robert Molineux, Mate of the said ship." However, the real title given by the author follows.

The transactions of His Majestys Ship Dolphin Samuel Wallis Esq, Commander, in the years 1766, 1767, 1768, By Robert Molineux, Mate of the said Ship.

...

From King George the 3rd Island towards Tinian.

...

Saturday August 1st 1767

... Departed this life William Welch Seaman. His death was occasioned by a fall from the main yard at 6 o'clock this morning. Lat. in. 16°43' S.

...

Wednesday September the 2nd 1767

... These 3 days past the water has been remarkably smooth & the weather pleasant. Read the Articles of War to the ships company. Lat. in. 10°32' S [rather N].

Thursday September the 3rd 1767

The breeze & weather as yesterday[,] the people employed working up junk & shifting the fore hold.

A.M. At daylight saw the Land making in several low islands bearing ENE 3 or 4 leagues[.] 1/2 past 5 saw more Land bearing NW[.] at 7 saw an Indian Proa standing towards us but on hoisting Spanish Colours she stood in for the Land, same time the Land bore from SW b W to West distance 3 or 4 leagues.

...

Tuesday September 13th 1767

Light airs & hot sultry weather.

Observed by the bright star Lyræ in 15°00' N.

At 3 p.m., squally with thunder, lightning & rain. At midnight, little wind & cloudy. At 4 a.m., ditto weather with lightning all round. At 6, variation by Amplitude 7°48' E. At 8, caught 2 bonitos & saw some tropick birds.

...

Friday September 18th 1767

Light winds & cloudy saw some large birds at a distance. At 6 a.m. saw the Island of Saypan bearing WbN distance 9 or 10 leagues. Bent the best bower cable & bounded the small bower 18 fathoms from the anchor. At 8 saw the Islands of Tinian & Aguigan. At 10 the South end of Tinian West 5 or 6 leagues & the South end of Saypan WbN.

A noon, the extremes of Saypan from N35°20' West to North 78° West distance off shore 3 leagues[.] Tinian from S66°15' W to West distance from the South end 5 leagues. The middle of Aguigan S59°W dist. 6 or 7 leagues.

P.M. Variation per Azimuth 7°40' E.

Id. per Amplitude 6°41' E.

A.M. Variation per medium of 3 azimuths 6°10' E.

Lat. in. 15°00 N., Longitude 140° W [sic]¹

Saturday September 19th 1767

At one, squally with rain. At 4 the South end of Tinian S59°W the Northernmost point in sight N72°W the extremes of Saypan from S29°W to N8°W dist. from the nearest part 3 leagues, Aguigan S52°W.

At 6 light airs inclineable to calms, the extreme of Tinian from S52°W to S83°W dist. 3 leagues, Saypan from N58°W to North distance 2 leagues[.] at 10 the high part of Saypan NNW and the South end of Tinian WSW. At midnigh rain, calms, & light airs with close cloudy weather with lightning. At 2 the high land of Saypan NNW and the South end of Tinian W1/4N[.] at 5 the South end of Tinian West 3 or 4 leagues, made sail. At 3 squally with rain. At 9 anchored in Tinian Road with the small bower in 22 fathoms, veered to a whole cable the Northernmost end of the Bay N39°W, the Landing Place NEbN, the Southernmost end of the Bay S38°E, the extremes of Aguigan from S14°W to S29°W distance 5 miles distance from a reef within us 3/4 of a mile & from the Land-

1 Ed. note: From Cape Pillor which then lied to S61°E 279 leagues.

ing Place 1-1/4 miles. Got down top gallant masts & yards & got the spritsail topsail yard in.

Remarks on Board His Majestys Ship Dolphin at Tinian.

Pacifick Ocean Sunday Sept. 20th 1767

The most part moderate breezes with showers of rain[,] the people & boats employed landing the tents & sick with provisions & stores of all kinds.

Monday the 21st

This first part squally with rain[,] the middle more moderate[,] the latter moderate & fair[.] This day the Master sounded the Bay & found the ground more clear farther to the Eastward[,] in consequence of which weighed & warped according to his directions where we moored a cable each way.

Tuesday the 22nd

Moderate breezes & fair with squalls of wind & rain[,] a hunting party being appointed we are supplied with fresh beef & ground wheat is boiled for breakfast as usual[,] the people employed wooding & watering, brooming & the carpenters employed caulking the ships sides. Found the tide to rise 4 feet perpendicular the flood from the Eastward & the ebb from the Westward sometimes at the rate of 3 knots per hours [sic].

Wednesday the 23rd

Moderate breezes & fine pleasant weather with some showers of rain[,] Employed wooding, watering & stowing the hold[,] served limes to the ships company[,] the carpenter employed as before.

Thursday the 24th

Ditto weather. Employed as before. P.M. set the fore rigging up. A.M. fluted the dead eyes of the main rigging[,] got the sheet anchor over the side & bent the cable[,] served fresh beef to the ships company.

Friday the 25th

Ditto weather. Employed as before. A.M. struck the main topmast to fix new try-sail trees[,] at noon swayed the topmast up again.

Saturday the 26th

Ditto weather[,] Washed the ship between decks. Received on board some wood & water. On shore read the Articles of War & punished William Omen Seaman with a dozen lashes for theft.

Sunday the 27th

Moderate breezes & cloudy with some shower of rain[.] Employed on board overhauling the rigging[.] On shore hunting for beef.

Monday the 28th

The first part moderate breezes & cloudy with flying showers of rain[,] the remainder mostly light winds with some squalls & dark cloudy weather with much thunder & lightning. P.M. cleared hause [=hawse]. A.M. received on board fresh pork for the ships company.

Tuesday the 29th

Moderate breezes & cloudy with some strong squalls of wind & rain[.] Employed as before on board & ashore.

Wednesday the 30th

Moderate breezes & clear weather[,] the boats employed bringing on board wood & water[,] the carpenters employed caulking and the boatswain completing the rigging.

Thursday the 1st [October 1767]

Moderate breezes & clear weather. P.M. cleared hause[,] the boats & people employed as before[.] Served fresh beef as usual.

Friday the 2nd

Light airs & clear weather. P.M. employed as before. A.M. hove short in order to look at both cables[,] found them in good order & veered away as before.

Saturday 3rd of October 1767

Ditto weather Employed as before. A.M. cleaned the ship between decks[,] the coopers employed setting up water casks. A.M. cleared hause[,] condemned the old fore topsail & bent a new one. Served fresh beef.

Sunday the 4th

Moderate breezes & clear weather[,] the boats employed bringing on board wood & water. Served fresh beef.

Monday the 5th

Moderate breezes & pleasant weather[,] the people employed occasionally. The carpenter employed caulking & the sailmaker employed repairing the sails. A.M. cleared hause & served fresh beef.

Tuesday the 6th

Ditto weather. Employed as before. A.M. Loosened sails to dry & served fresh beef.

Wednesday the 7th

Ditto weather. Employed as before[.] The boats brought on board wood, water, limes & bread fruit which with fresh beef was served to the ships company. This day the carpenters finished caulking[.] Scraped & cleaned the ship fore & aft.

Thursday the 8th

Fresh breezes & clear weather with some passing showers of rain. Served fresh beef & fruit to the ships company & boiled ground wheat as usual for breakfast.

Friday the 9th

The first part moderate & clear weather[.] the middle part moderate & cloudy[.] the latter part squally with heavy rain. Variation 5°37' E.

Saturday the 10th of October 1767

Ditto weather with thunder[.] lightning & rain. The carpenter employed caulking between decks[.] Served fresh beef as usual.

Sunday the 11th

Moderate & cloudy weather with frequent squalls of thunder, lightning & rain. A.M. cleaned the ship between decks. The Master employed sounding the Bay[.] Served fresh beef as usual.

Monday the 12th

Fresh breezes & squally with frequent showers of rain. Employed as before.

Tuesday the 13th

Fresh breezes & pleasant weather. P.M. at 3 found the small bower cable parted[.] Hove it in & found a rock had cut it about 20 fathoms from the anchor[.] Hove up & down on the best bower but found it in good order. A.M. bent a new cable to the spare anchor & shifted it for a small bower & bounded the cable 18 fathoms from the anchor.

Wednesday the 14th

Mostly fresh breezes with some squalls of wind & rain. P.M. loosened sails to dry. A.M. carried out the stream anchor to ride the ship by while we hove up the best bower. Hove apart & stranded the messenger & veered away to 2/3rd of a cable. Brought on board the stream anchor.

Thursday the 15th

Fresh breezes & squally[.] all the boats employed getting every thing from the shore & people in getting refreshments as limes & other vegetables[.] At noon every thing was on board.

Friday the 16th

Ditto weather. At daylight weighed & came to sail out of Tinian Bay[.] sent a boat to the Northward for the hunting party.

Pacifick Ocean Saturday October 17th 1767

Moderate breezes & pleasant weather. The boats being returned with the hunters hoisted them in & made all sail.

The extremes of Saypan from ENE to East distance 8 or 9 leagues, the extremes of Tinian from S74°E to S55°E distance 6 or 7 leagues and the body of Aguigan S34°E distance 9 or 10 leagues.

Fresh breezes & pleasant weather...

Variation per Azimuths 5°40' W [sic]

Lat. obs. 16°10' N., Long. 2°40' W [sic]¹

...

¹ Ed. note: They were already 153 miles from Tinian at noon.

Documents 1767D

The voyage of HMS Swallow, Captain Carteret, in 1767

Introductory note.

Captain Philip Carteret, after parting with Captain Wallis at the western end of the Strait of Magellan, made a crossing of the South Pacific on his own. He discovered Pitcairn Island and many of the Solomons, among others, and sailed past the islands south of Palau: Mapia, Tobi, Helen Reef, Pulo Ana, and Sonsorol, all islands that had been discovered by others before him.

Sharp, in his book on the Discovery of the Pacific Islands, has noted that Carteret's longitudes are several degrees east of their true positions.

D1. The text edited by Hawkesworth

Source: John Hawkesworth (ed.), An Account of the Voyages (London, 1773): vol. 1, pp. 607+

...

Chap. VII.

The Passage from Saint George's Channel to the Island of Mindanao, with an Account of many Islands that were seen, and Incidents that happened by the Way.

...

[Mapia Islands]

1767 September

Friday 25

On the 25th, we saw land ahead, which proved to be three small islands; and before it was dark, we got pretty near them. Several canoes soon came off, filled with the natives, who, after making signs of peace, came on board without the least appearance of fear or distrust: they had nothing with them but a few cocoa-nuts, which they sold with great joy for a few pieces of an iron hoop; we soon found that they were not unac-

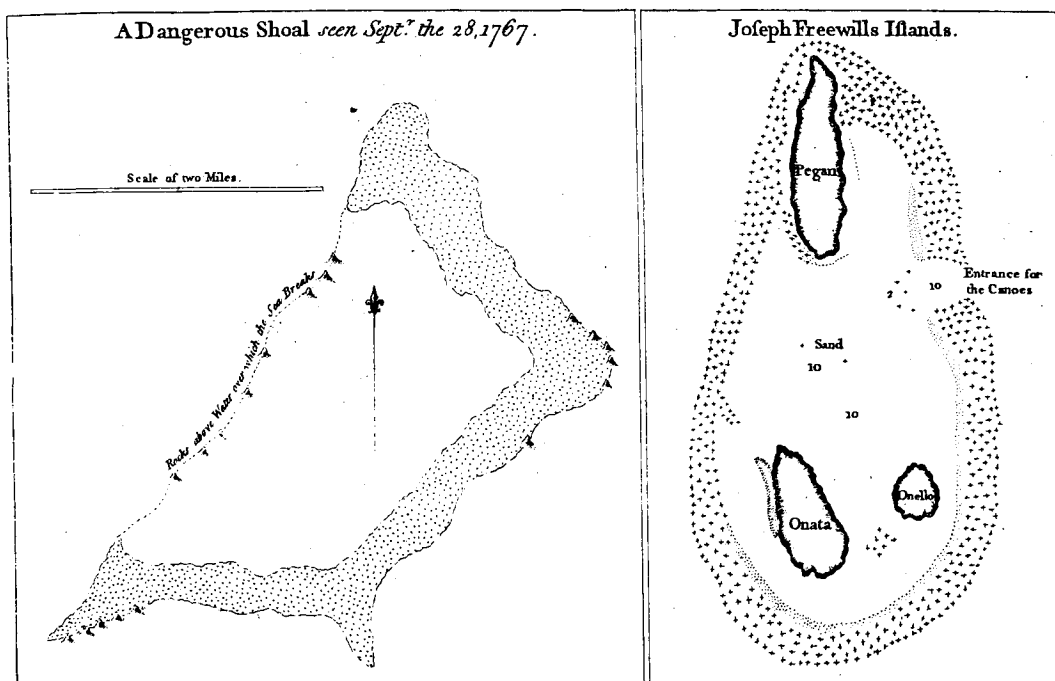
quainted with that metal, which they called *Parram*,¹ and they made us understand, by signs, that a ship like ours sometimes touched at their islands for refreshment. I gave one of them three pieces of an old iron hoop, each about four inches long, which threw him into an extasy little short of distraction: I could not but sympathize in his joy, nor observe, without great pleasure, the changes of countenance, and extravagance of gesture, by which it was expressed. All these people indeed appeared to be more fond of iron than any we had seen before, and I am sure, that for iron tools, we might have purchased every thing upon the islands which we could have brought away. They are of the Indian copper colour, the first of that complexion that we had seen in these parts, with fine long black hair, and little beards, for we observed that they were continually plucking the hair from their chin and upper lip by the roots. Their features are pleasing, and their teeth remarkably white and even: they were of the common stature, but nimble, vigorous and active in a surprising degree, running up to the mast-head much faster than our own people. Their disposition was free and open, they eat and drank whatever was given them, went without hesitation into every part of the ship, and were as familiar and merry with the crew as if they had been of long and intimate acquaintance. They were not, like the people on all the other islands that we had visited, quite naked, though they had only a slight covering for the waist, which consisted of a narrow piece of fine matting. Their canoes were very well and neatly made, having a hollow tree for the bottom, and planks for the sides, with a sail of fine matting, and an outrigger: their ropes and netting were also very good. They urged us strongly to go on-shore, offering to leave an equal number of their own people behind, as a pledge of their safe return; and indeed I would gladly have consented if it had been in my power, but a strong westerly current hurried me to so great a distance, that I had no opportunity to seek for anchorage, and night coming on, we pursued our course. When our visitors perceived this, one of them insisted upon going with us, and, notwithstanding all that I and his companions could say or do, obstinately refused to go on shore. As I thought it possible that this man might be the means of our making some useful discovery, I did not put him ashore by force, but indulged him in his desire: we learnt from him that there were other islands to the northward, the inhabitants of which he said had iron, and always killed their countrymen when they could catch them out at sea. It was with great concern that I perceived this poor fellow, whom I called Joseph Freewill, from this readiness to go with us, become gradually sickly after he had been some time at sea: he lived till I got to the island of Celebes, and there died.

As the islands from which I had taken him were very small and low, the largest being not more than five miles in compass, I was surprised to see with how many of the productions of Celebes he was acquainted with; beside the cocoa-nut and palm, he knew the beetle-nut and the lime, and the moment he got a bread-fruit, he went to the fire and roasted it in the embers. He made us understand also, that in his country they had

1 Ed. note: *Paarang* in Carolinian still means steel, iron, heavy metal (ref. Jackson & Mark, 's Carolinian-English Dictionary, UHP, 1991).

plenty of fish, and turtle in their season. It is however very probable, notwithstanding the number of people who subsist upon these islands, that they have no fresh water but what falls in rain: how they catch and preserve it, I had no opportunity to learn, but I never met with a spring in a spot so small and low, and in such a spot I believe no spring was ever found. The largest of these islands, which the natives call Pegan, and to which I gave the name of Freewill Island, lies fifty minutes north of the line and in $137^{\circ}51'$ east longitude. They are all surrounded by a reef of rocks. The chart of these islands I drew from the Indian's description, who delineated them with chalk upon the deck, and ascertained the depth of water by stretching his arms as a fathom.

I now steered N.W. by N. to get from under the sun, and had light winds at E.S.E. with which almost any ship but the **Swallow** would have made good way, but with every possible advantage she went at a heavy rate. We now found our variation begin again to decrease...



Helen Reef and Mapia Islands, seen by Carteret in 1767. As published by Alexander Dalrymple in his Collection of 1796.

...

[Helen Reef]
Monday 28.

On the 28th, being in latitude $2^{\circ}53'$ N., longitude $136^{\circ}10'$ E., we fell in with a very dangerous shoal, which is about eleven or twelve milew in circuit, and surrounded with small stones that just show themselves above water. We found here a strong northerly current, but could not determine whether it inclined to the east or west.

In the evening, we discovered from the mast-head another island to the southward of us: the east end of it seemed to rise in a peak, and had the appearance of a sail, but we did not go near enough to see any thing of it from the deck. I suppose its latitude to be about $2^{\circ}50'$ N., and its longitude, east of London, about $136^{\circ}10'$ E.

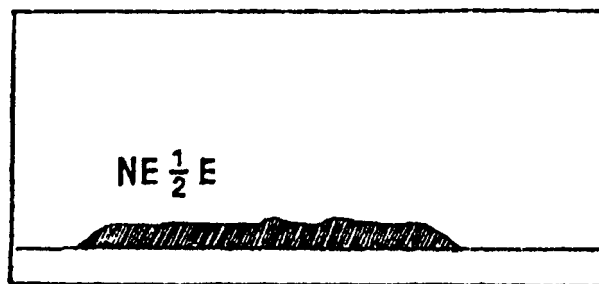
October

Monday 5.

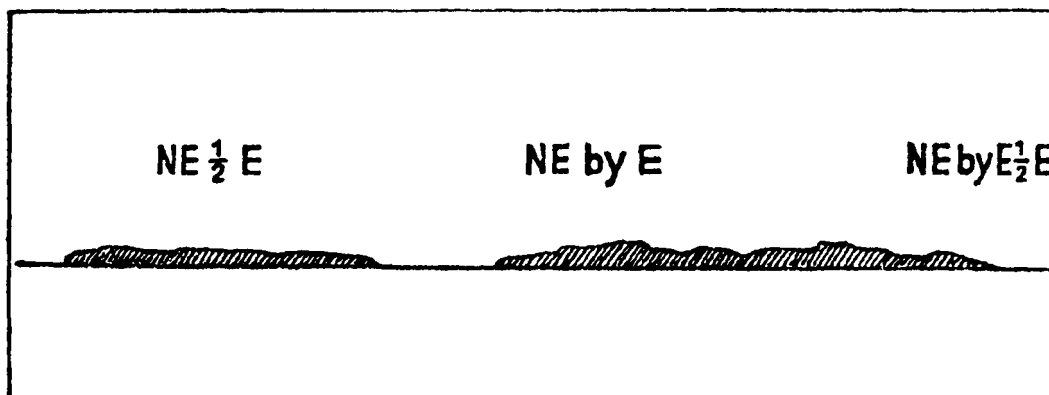
We continued to have a current to the northward, till Monday the 5th of October, when, being in latitude $4^{\circ}30'$ N. I found it southerly, and very strong. I had, among other deficiencies and misfortunes, no small boat on board, so that I could not try these currents, which I had a great desire to do; but I am of opinion, that when the current set southward it inclined to the east, and that when it set northward, it inclined to the west.

[Pulo Ana and Sonsorrol]

Monday 12.



Profile of Pulo Ana, 12 Oct. 1767.



Profile of Sonsorrol Is. seen by Carteret on 13 Oct. 1767.

On Monday the 12th, we discovered a small island with trees upon it, though scarcely bigger than a rock, and I called it Current Island. It lies in latitude 4°40' N., longitude 14°24' W of Queen Charlotte's Fore-land. The next day, we discovered two other small islands, which I [rather are] called Saint Andrew's Islands: they lie in latitude 5°18' N., longitude 14°47' W of Queen Charlotte's Island. I called the small island Current island, because we had here a southerly current so strong that it set us from twenty-four to thirty miles southward every day, besides the difference it might make in our longitude. The wind was now variable, blowing by turns from every point in the compass, with much rain, and hard squalls.

Tuesday 20.

On Tuesday the 20th, being in latitude 8° N. it blew with such violence that we were obliged to lie to sixty-four hours. This gale, which made a very great sea, I supposed to be the shifting of the monsoon, and notwithstanding the southerly current, it drove us, while we lay to, as far as nine degrees northward.

...

D2. The text edited by Helen Wallis

Source: Helen Wallis (ed.), Carteret's Voyage Round the World, 1766-1769 (Cambridge, Hakluyt Soc., 1965).

A voyage round the Globe in the years 1766, 67, 68, & 69, by Philip Carteret commander of his majesty's Sloop the Swallow.

...

[Mapia Islands]

25th September.

We got near three small Islands from which came several Canoes.¹ These People readily came on board. They had a few Coco Nutts which we got for pieces of Iron hoops, I really believe for Iron tools we might have bought most everything they had in their Islands. It is amazing to see how immoderately fond they are of Iron which they called *Parram*. I thought one of them would have gone mad on my having given him three pieces of an old Iron hoop, each piece about 4 Inches long. I suppose he thought himself as rich as any body in the world. He jumped about, and laught so very hearty with such a happy contenance, that I could not but sympathize with him, in his joy and I took a great deal of pleasure in observing the strong emotions of his contenance particularly when any body offer'd to take it away from him.

These People were of a free open'd disposition, not mistrustfull, went about in all parts of the ship eating and drinking what ever was given them, where as merry and familiar with our people as if they had been of a long acquaintance, wanting some to go onshore offering to leave others on bond, in lieu. I intended to have stopped at these

¹ Named by Carteret Joseph Freewills Islands, from the name he gave to the friendly islander who joined the ship. They are the Mapia Islands, 0°49' N (south point), 134°16' E.

Islands, if there had been anchorage but the strong westerly current could not fetch them and night coming on, we keep on our Course. Two of these Islands re scarce better than Rocks. It is surprising how so many people can find subsistence on such small Islands. They can have no fresh water but what they get by ye Showers of Rain, for their can be no spring in so low land. They lie in 50 minits to ye Northward of ye line 12°06' West of New Hanover or 136°30' East of London, and called by ye Inhabitents **Piggan**.¹

These People are Indien Copper Colour'd (first of the Kind we have seen in these parts) fine long black hair, little beards which they pull out by the roots, have fine white Teeth, go naked except the Privy parts [which] they cover slightly with a narrow piece of fine matting, well made & featured of ye common stature, very nimble and active. Many of them went up to our masthead faster and nimbler than our people could do.

Their Canoes well & neatly made fine matts for sails, their rope & fishing Netts well made.

One of their People would need stay with us notwithstanding all we & his Camrades could persuade him to the Contrary. I therefor kept him as it was a free Act of his & called him Joseph Freewill. I was in hopes some thing serviceable might have been discovered by him, but he afterwards grue sickly from being so long at sea and died at the Island of Celebes.² I suppose they must have on those Islands besides ye Coco Nutts & Palm Trees, Beedle [Betel] Nutt tree, Bread Fruit and lyme trees from his knowing of these fruits when he saw them at Celebes and the instant he got ye bread fruit went and rosted it in the Embers. He seemed to make us understand that they had plenty of Fish and Turtle in ye Season and that a Ship & People like us at times one a year or one in 2 years on her way to ye Westward touched at their Islands for refreshments, and that there was some more Islands to the Northward of them. The People of which had Iron and were very traitorous to them.

The 28th September.

[Helen Reef]

We fell in with a very dangerous Shoul in ye Lat. 2°53' North, 136°16' E. of London & is about 11 or 12 miles round surrounded with small stones which just sho themselves above water.³

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- 1 Ed. note: Pegan, or Pegun, is the largest and most southerly of the three Mapia Islands, also known as St. David and Freewill. It had already been reported to the Admiralty by the ship Warwick in 1761. The other islets are named Onata (Fanildo), and Onello (Bras). The Grijalva expedition had named them Os-Guedes in 1537. Carteret's error in longitude at this point was over 2° E.
 - 2 Joseph Freewill is entered as No. 111 in the muster-book; aged 22, AB [= able-bodied seaman], joined 25/9/67, died 11.2.68 at Bonthain.
 - 3 Helen Reef, 2°58' N, 131°49' E. Carteret called it "Bad mens shoal" and drew a sketch in the margin of his log (Log IA, 28 September 1767).

[Tobi]

That Evening saw & other Island, from our Masts Heads. I judge it might be in about Lat. 2°50' North, 136°34' E of London.¹ We had now ye Weather very unsteady winds variable Squally & hard Rain.

Since our sailing from Nova Hibernia we had a fine Easterly breeze smouth water and a strong Westerly Current which has been the chief mains that we go so far on, for it is amazing and increditable how extreemly ill the ship now goes particularly in these light winds. Her bottom being now so very foul makes her quite unmanageable, meeting here the winds variable with uncertain currents setting some time one way & some time another, we could get no ground to ye Westward,. While we had a fair wind we did pretty well with her (only longer about it than other Ships would) but when it is Contrary it is impossible and beyond all the Art of Men to make her do anything to ye purposse like an other Ship, and all tho we may have good slants this will more clearly appear from the length of time we was from here getting as far as Macassar about 400 leagues.

[Pulo Ana, and Sonsorol]

On 12th of October, we got near two Small Islands (uninhabited, I believe) their Latitude 4°40' North, 14°24' West of Queen Charlotts Foreland New Hanover.² We had here very strong Southerly Currents. The 20th Instant had terrible hard gale of wind from ye SW quarter which obliged us to lay too for 64 hours with everything made as snugg as we could make it. The 26th saw the NE part of the Island Mindanao.

...

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- 1 Tobi Island, 3° N, 131°10' E. It is named "Hummock Island" in Log IA, 29 September 1767. Carteret's longitude for Hummock I. was over 5° too far east, as storm weather affected his dead reckoning.
 - 2 Carteret discovered three islands on 12-13 October. At 5 a.m. on 12 October he discovered in 4°40' N, 134°03' E, a small island which he called Bird Island. At 9 a.m. on 13 October he saw two other small islands close together in 5°18'N, 133°40' E.

Document 1768A

The ordinances of Governor Raón for good government

Sources: B&R 50: 227-264, where other published sources are quoted.

Notes: Two Royal decrees, dated 4 and 23 December 1760 had ordered the revision of the previous ordinances for good government, issued by Governor Arandía in 1758 (no copies extant). The next revision was ordered in 1797, and again in 1838. Since such regulations had a minimum impact on the Marianas, this chapter will only be offered as a brief synopsis.

Royal ordinances formulated by the superior government and Royal Audiencia of these Islands, on 26 February 1768, for the proper direction of the governor, provincial mayors and magistrates of their provinces, the relief of the natives, and the observance of the laws...

...

[Extracts from some of the ordinances]

3. Regarding the treatment of the Indians, the judges or anyone else are to strictly adhere to the laws in Title 10, Book 6 of the *Recopilación*, or Code of Laws for the Indies.

5. The tribute shall be collected only when due, and to the proper amount, both in kind and in money, according to the instructions issued by the Royal accountant's office.

7. If it is necessary to collect in money what ought to be collected in kind, an additional charge of five percent must be made, in order to cover the storage cost to the government.

10. The Indians were to pay the tribute in kind in their own villages, while the cost of transportation to the chief cities of the provinces was to be met by the royal treasury.

11. Products necessary for the royal service: The rations that are given to the troops or crews of vessels in the various provinces shall be computed also in money, at the price established in each province.

12. The factor of the royal treasury shall make a chart of the products of each province and their official prices, as well as the freight, or transport charges, depending on distances and the risk involved in transportation.

14. The payment of the stipends for the curates and missionaries shall be made by the mayors of the provinces, according to the instructions of the royal officials.

15. The payment of the above stipends is advised to be paid in money, rather than in kind.

17. The Indians are to have the administration, teaching, and instruction necessary, but are not to be molested and vexed unjustly by the curates and missionaries. They must not be assessed anything, or else such assessment shall be discounted from the stipends of the curates and missionaries.

20. Seminaries [sic] for Indians of both sexes ought to be established in each province for the education and secular and Christian instruction of the natives.

24. All churches having a curate or missionary shall have two sacristans and one porter, paid from the communal funds the customary amount of rice annually, namely 4 bushels of unhusked rice of 48 gantas each.

25. Each village should have good teachers to instruct the Indians in the Spanish language.

27. No Indian servants shall be provided to the curates, missionaries, mayors, or any other person, except those mentioned in ordinance 24. Those serving as cooks and servants shall not be exempt from tribute, pool tax, or personal services; nor shall they serve against their will. They shall receive the pay fixed by law, and accustomed to be paid to private individuals, according to law.

28. If the curates and missionaries need rowers for the administration of the sacraments, and the mayors for matters of the royal service, they shall not pay the Indians for such services (they were to be assigned to such work in turn, or else paid half a real per day plus ration).

30. Girls and women must not be employed in the missions in pounding rice among the men; neither shall they be employed to sweep the cemeteries of the churches, or the houses of the curates and missionaries; for this results often in great sin, and is contrary to the laws of the kingdom. Those suitable for such duties are the old and crippled who have been exempted from tribute, and the schoolboys (of whom the curates may make use freely so long as they are schoolboys, but not beyond). Mayors shall not employ women; and gobernadorcillos shall not make use of the service of schoolboys to the detriment of their instruction.

31. The Indians shall not be required to supply the curates, missionaries, or mayors with fish.

32. When curates and missionaries are unable to find volunteer cooks and servants, the gobernadorcillos may assign them, and from the stipend of the curates and missionaries, they shall be paid one real per week, and be given their food.¹

40. This ordinance forbids mayors, justices, gobernadorcillos, and officials of the villages to impose any tax on the Indians.

¹ Ed. note: It is noted that the price then current at Manila for one hen was 1-1/2 reals.

41. No tax shall be imposed on the Indians such as has been the custom, for taking clay from any common place with which to make vessels, or for the manufacture of salt, or as annual payment for owning the beasts or trees that they own.

44. Because of the great losses resulting from loans to Indians, all loans in excess of five pesos are prohibited. Contracts involving the mortgaging of lands are declared null and void. Law 27, Title 1, Book 6 prohibits the Indians from selling their land.

45. It is also against the law to have Indian slaves, and any so-called by usage shall be set free.

46. In collecting money for religious festivities, because the Indians generally believe that the holy sacrament of penance can be bought (as the priests often deny them absolution until such payment is made), it is decreed that in future the collection of such fees is to be done by mayors, not by the priests themselves.

48. Investigations shall be made of those said to practice the native religion, cases of idolatry, *manganitos*, and other such sins, and if found guilty, shall be severely punished.

49. Provincial mayors shall not allow public houses for gambling in their jurisdiction. Games of chance are forbidden by the law. Penalties are prescribed in the form of whippings, fines and/or prison terms.

51. Manufacturers, sellers, and owners of the equipment used in the manufacture of *aguardiente*, or brandy, shall receive 200 lashes and be thrust into the galleys for five years, for the first offence, etc. Their goods shall also be confiscated.¹

53. The territory within native reductions and villages is declared communal. At the time of the erection of any village, lands must be apportioned to the Indians, according to law, and no land-tax, or rent, can be levied against such lands. These lands may not be sold without permission. If claim is made to the lands in question by any Spaniard or half-breed, or any secular or regular member of the clergy, they shall prove their claims within a short time before the Provincial mayor, who shall forward the records to the Royal Audiencia for a decision. Lands belonging to Indians who die intestate shall revert by law to the king, but lands that had been allotted to conquerors, colonists or settlers, cannot be sold to ecclesiastical communities or persons, under penalty of being confiscated and allotted to others.² Communal lands are to be cultivated for the common benefit, and the products of which are to be incorporated in the com-

1 Ed. note: Only brandy from sugarcane was prohibited, as brandy from other sources was in fact encouraged (B&R, quoting Del-Pan).

2 Ed. note: When Jesuit plantations, cattle, sugar-mills, etc. were expropriated at this time, although they had been bequeathed by former conquerors and benefactors of their Society, the government often judged such properties as belonging to the descendents of such conquerors, and settlers. In Guam, there is no record of anyone having inherited or bought the Jesuit plantation at Tachoña; I presume that it became and remained Crown property, after 1769, unless the Recollects were allowed to take possession of it.

munal fund, from which roads can be repaired, bridges built, royal buildings maintained, etc.

54. Indians employed on any of the public works shall labor only from sunrise to sunset, with from 1-1/2 to 2 hours of rest at midday.¹ The rest of the time they must be made to work diligently.

56. The Indians are prohibited from wearing gold and silver ornaments on their clothes, unless the gold and silver is wrought by a goldsmith, or by a silversmith.

64. Provincial mayors shall go to Manila withing three months of the end of their *residencia* [management audit] in order to present their accounts of the royal revenues.

67. Provincial mayors or their agents shall not buy houses, lands, or ranches in the territory of their jurisdictions during their term of office. They shall not build nor allow to be built any boat for transportation without the express permission of the superior overnment; and the work of Indians thereon shall be paid at the rate of the tariff.²

68. Provincial mayors and other officials are allowed to trade in their provinces by reason of a permit bought from the government, by a royal decree of 17 July 1751. However, they shall not injure the trade done by others, not extract from them any payments. Nor shall they be allowed to buy at rates lower than the others.

70. Inter-provincial trade of the various products shall not be prohibited. The Indians may cut timber in accordance with Law 14, Title 17, Book 4.

71. The products best suited for each province are to be especially encouraged, whether of useful trees, wheat, and other grains, vegetables, cotton, pepper, etc., or domestic cattle. Each Indian shall have at least 12 hens and one cock, and one sow for breeding purposes. Provincial mayors shall strive to wipe out the vice of laziness—which is the chief vice among the Indians, and the origin of all their other vices—by mild means, but if necessary by harsh ones, as this is so important for the general good, in accordance with Law 21, Title 1, Book 6. Those who do not, within two years, work in their fields and gardens and cultivate their lands shall lose them.

73. To prevent idleness, it is ordered that all Indians engage in some work, either the cultivation of land or the breeding of cattle. Lazy Indians shall be forced to labor at the public and royal works of the province, for a period to be determined by the mayor. Lands of the villages allowed to lie uncultivated for one year shall be taken from their owners, and given to other Indians who are more industrious, in accordance with Law 11, Title 12, Book 4.

76. By the new order contained in the royal decree of 27 April 1766, all the so-called Catholic Chinese who committed excesses during the time when the English occupied Manila shall be expelled from the Philippines, only true Christians being allowed to remain, according to Law 8, Title 18, Book 6.

1 Ed. note: In the tropics, with 12 hours of daylight each day, this meant a schedule of 10 hours of work per day.

2 Ed. note: In Guam, such work was usually done by the Pampango soldiers, already paid (albeit badly) by the king.

77. Old ordinances prohibiting Spaniards from taking residence in the villages are repealed. Spaniards are to be permitted to live among the Indians, so long as they live as good Christians, because experience has shown that their presence in the provinces is advantageous for the instruction of the Indians in the Spanish language, for the cultivation of their products, and for the encouragement of their trade. Provincial mayors are to forbid residence therein only of those who are vicious and mischievous.

79. Elections of *governadorcillos* shall be held at the beginning of each year, in the royal buildings, and nowhere else. The voters in the elections shall be the 12 senior heads of *barangays*, or wards. If there are not enough heads of *barangays*, the number of 12 shall be completed from the senior notables of the village. The candidates must be able to read, write, and speak Spanish. The ballot shall be secret. The other officials necessary shall be appointed as heretofore.

83. Since the houses of the Indians are so scattered, and there is so great lack of zeal in reducing them “under the bells,” as is ordered by the laws and by many royal decrees,¹ many spiritual and temporal wrongs are caused the Indians. For they do not attend church, and it is impossible often to attend the sick and give them the sacraments, so that many of them die without the consolation of religion. It is impossible to learn the sins committed, or the exact number of those who should pay tribute. Under penalty of being punished as enemies of the State, provincial mayors are ordered to reduce the natives into villages. They shall not allow any house to be more than one-half league from a church; and, on the other hand, shall not allow them to be built so close together that there is danger of fire. The ecclesiastical superiors are requested (in accordance with Laws 2 & 3, Title 3, Book 6) to order their subjects to lend all the aid possible in the reduction.

85. To obviate the harm resulting from the Father ministers meddling in concerns of temporal government (contrary to Law 66, Title 14, Book 1), provincial mayors are ordered not to allow any usurpation of their office. All measures advocated by the Father ministers on behalf of the Indians, spiritually and temporally, shall be presented to the provincial mayor and other magistrates in a respectful manner, and shall receive respectful consideration, so that the Indians may receive a good example thereby, and pay the proper respect to each one. The Father ministers shall, on their side, present grievances against the mayors and other justices who do not attend sufficiently to their recommendations for the spiritual and temporal welfare of the Indians, to their superiors, if they do not wish to do so directly to the government, who shall take the matter up with the proper authorities. Observance of this ordinance is urged on the secular and regular superiors.

87. Mayors are also ordered to see that the *governadorcillos* are treated respectfully by the Father ministers, “and shall not allow the latter to lash, punish, or mistreat them, nor leave them standing, or cause them to leave their baton at the street-door when they

1 Ed. note: The Jesuits are not, therefore, to blame for the reductions effected in the Mariana Islands.

go to see the Father curates or missionaries, as this is contrary to the honor and respect of justice.

88. On their part the mayors, while preserving the necessary respect toward justice, must maintain due respect for the priestly office, and seek always to promote good relations with the Father ministers.

91. A new ordinance, derived from the Royal decree of 18 June 1767, prohibits the construction of missionary buildings of stone and mortar in provinces where there is a danger of enemies.¹

92. While there is great excess in the sumptuousness of the houses of the missionaries, there is a corresponding degree of ruin and dilapidation in the royal buildings throughout the [Philippine] Islands. All villages, specially the capitals of the provinces, are ordered to erect suitable royal buildings, in accordance with plans that will be issued by the superior government. These shall be kept in repair, and in them the gobernadorcillos shall hold their courts and shall have their prisons.

93. It is strictly ordered that the provincial mayor request the Father ministers to exert themselves, so far as it concerns them, to establish school-masters in all villages, who shall teach the Indians to read and write in Spanish, and the Christian doctrine and other prayers, in accordance with the royal decree of 5 June 1574.

...

All the above ordinances shall be observed and complied with by the governors, provincial mayors and magistrates of the provinces of these Islands, and by each of the persons mentioned therein...

Given in the city of Manila, and the royal court of the Audiencia thereof, on 26 February 1768.

Don José Raón
Francisco Enriquez de Villacorta
Manuel Galván y Ventura

1 Ed. note: The English had used such buildings as ready-made entrenchments in the previous war.

Documents 1768B

Documents about the Jesuit expulsion from the Philippines

Source: AHN Clero Jesuitas 242.

Note: The book entitled "Coleccion General de las Probidencias" referenced in Doc. 1767B contains many more general circulars, and specific instructions, issued by authority of the King during the years 1767-69. The emphasis on recovering Jesuit assets is evident.

B1. First case file opened by Judge Commissioner Domingo Blas de Basaraz

Note: Judge Basaraz replaced Judge Galvan.

Summary.

Cover page: Year of 1770.—Execution of the Royal Decree of expulsion of the Regulars of the Society and seizure of their real assets.—Record of proceedings in the expulsion of the Regulars of the Society concerning various goods and effects which are found in the Warehouses.

Judge Commissioner: Mr. Domingo Blas de Basaraz, Senior Member of the Royal Audiencia. Notary: Mr. Martin Dominguez Zamudio, Notary Public and Royal Notary in the Indies.

On 7 August 1769, the goods collected in the Royal warehouses in Manila were evaluated by an Armenian merchant, named Bautista Pablo, on behalf of the Spanish authorities. Such goods are described as wool garments, Chinese cloth of all types, cotton goods from India, windows and lamps from China, The textiles had already been damaged by insects of all types, and humidity.

Many other goods had also been stored there on someone else's account at the same time, by the previous Judge Commissioner, who had died on 8 June 1769 before completing the task, Manuel Galvan, articles such as spices, oil, rice, sea biscuits, powder, balls, and even cannon. Unfortunately, Galvan had sailed away aboard the **San Carlos** (the second departure) and taken away the keys, and no-one in Manila knew the whereabouts of the inventory of confiscated goods. It was urgent for such goods to be sold to the public, because the government needed the money to pay for the despatch of the frigate **Santa Rosa** which was taking some of the Jesuits home. The 1768 papers

were found and examined. It was found that the original valuations were dismally inadequate, grossly undervalued (without consulting experts) and improperly tagged, listed, etc.

The original 1768 inventory of the goods seized in the Procure, which had been located in the **College of San Ildefonso** in the suburb of Santa Cruz, is reproduced. All goods had come from the Jesuit warehouse, including the gun-powder; there were also rifles and pistols, clocks, tortoise shells, ship's compasses and telescopes, tar, Chinese tea, ink, soap from Mexico, as well as paper, holy images and crucifixes. The inventory was made in a hurry; goods were catalogued in the order they appeared, for example: cinnamon, pens, paper, oil from Spain, weighing scales, sugar, cacao, mats, curtains, wine, flasks, various jars, coconut oil, and Chinese and local trade goods (mostly cloth); then copper, old iron, plaster. The values assigned were not tallied.

The 1768 inventory of goods seized at the **College of San José** is similarly reproduced. There too were found items such as: paper, Chinese and local trade goods, old and new iron, sugar, coconut oil and butter, tea, ivory balls, wax, oil from Spain (possibly olive oil), 11 woolen hats, tobacco, glassware, cutlery sets, tiles, copper, Chinese and local pottery and jars, bed sheets and table linen, then valued at over 45,000 pesos.

The 1768 inventory of the goods seized in the main **College of San Ignacio** is also reproduced. Such goods had been taken from the pharmacy, print shop, the church, and other quarters. There were barrels of all sizes, for water, salted meat, oil, tar; there were bricks, Capiz shells for window panes, paper from China and from Spain, bottles and flasks, wax, old and new iron in various shapes, jars of various sizes, tea sets, ink, clock, tiles, glass goods from dining sets, chinaware plates and dishes, copper in various shapes, lead, oil and grease, paints. The total estimated value is not given.

Major Tomás Gomez de Angulo and Don Fernando Calderón were named as evaluators on 5 September 1669.

B2. Second case file opened by Judge Commissioner Basaraz

Summary.

Cover page: Year of 1769-70.—Execution of the Royal Decree of expulsion of the Regulars of the Society and seizure of their real assets.—Record of proceedings in the evaluation of the goods and effects found in the Royal Warehouses from those seized from the Regulars of the Society.

Judge Commissioner: Mr. Domingo Blas de Basaraz, Senior Member of the Royal Audiencia. Notary: Mr. Martin Dominguez Zamudio, Notary Public and Royal Notary in the Indies.

The entire file is a valuation of assets.

B3. Third case file opened by Judge Basaraz

Summary.

Cover page: Year of 1770.— Execution, etc.—Record of proceedings in which, according to the inventory and valuation, the goods and effects seized from the Regulars of the Society were sold [at auction] at the Royal Warehouses of this Capital where they had been held in storage.

Notary: Gregorio Buenvecino, Deputy Chief Notary of the Superior Government.

The goods are again listed, with the prices realized, and the names of the buyers, for each category of items. For instance, the ship's compass sold for 15 pesos, and a clock for 30 pesos.

Comments: This file is of interest to historians of the Philippines, because of the names of the residents of Manila, the prices of goods there at that time, and the fact that many of the goods were acquired by other religious orders, among other facts that can be gathered from it. Even the printed images of St. Ignatius found buyers.

The rest of the file is taken up with matters of collections of moneys and certifications. For follow-up in 1771, see Doc. 1769E & F, and 1771D.

Document 1768C

The voyage of the French Viscount Pagès around the world, via Guam and Samar in 1768

Sources: Pierre-Marie-François, Vicomte de Pagès. Voyages autour du monde et vers les deux poles, 1767-1771, 1773-1774 et 1776 (2 vols., Paris, Moutard, 1782 & 3 vols., Berne, 1783); translated into English and published in London by J. Murray in 1793, which is partly reproduced in the Guam Recorder of November 1927, and also in Vol. XIX of the Filipiniana Book Guild (Manila, 1971).

Note: Pierre Pagès was Captain in the French Navy, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, and Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences at Paris.

Voyage around the world. Vol. I

Original text in French.

...

[Departure of the galleon Santa Rosa from Acapulco]

Foire d'Acapulco, cargaison de retour du galion, & mon embarquement pour Manilla.

Les marchandises qu'on onleve toutes à Mexico, étoient parties, & cette Foire étoit réduite à quelques petits Marchands, qui venoient vendre les denrées nécessaires aux Commis & Officiers du commerce de Chine. On avoit embarqué trois millions de piastres, prix de la cargaison du galion & de l'entretien des Isles Philippines; enfin, ayant vu embarquer environ cent passagers, dont quarante étoient des Moines, je me rendis à bord.

Chapitre VIII. Traversée d'Acapulco à Manilla, aux Isles Philippines, avec mon séjour à l'Isle de Guam, une des Isles Mariannes, à l'Isle de Samar; qui est le plus à l'est des Philippines; un petit voyage dans cette dernière Isle, & mon séjour à Manilla.

Départure de la Nouvelle-Espagne, le 2 Avril 1768.

Nous mîmes à la voile d'Acapulco pour Manilla, le 2 Avril 1768, par la brise du nord-ouest, & nous gouvernâmes dans le sud & sud-sud-ouest. Il est difficile d'exprimer l'embaras qui regne dans ce vaisseau. L'on me dit cependant qu'il étoit très-dégagé pendant cette traversée, en comparaison de celle de Manilla pour Acapulco. Ce vaisseau-ci

n'étoit que de cinq cents tonneaux; il portoit, outre son équipage, des Bannis, des Femmes, des Moines, des Marchands, des Officiers de tout grade, tant Militaires que de Justice, beaucoup de commis, & un grand nombre d'Officiers du vaisseau. Ces Officiers ne sont point marins, leurs places s'achatant à chaque traversée pour en retirer les appointemens, qui sont très-forts, & pour faire un grand commerce. Les seuls Pilotes, qui ont grade d'Officiers-Majors, entendent la navigation; ils commandent la manœuvre & dirigent la route. Je m'arrangeai pour manger avec un d'eux, quelques jours après notre départ, n'ayant pas eu le temps de faire mes provisions à Acapulco, comme les autres; car dans ce vaisseau chacun embarque ses vivres, son eau, & mange à part; l'équipage même n'a pas de chaudiere commune, & quelquefois un seul homme en a une particulière. Cela cause une confusion étonnante par le nombre de serviteurs, qui est plus grand que celui des maîtres, y ayant des matelots qui en ont jusques à deux.

Lorsque nous fûmes par les treize degrés de latitude, nous mîmes le Cap à l'ouest sud-ouest; nous avions les vents à l'est & est-nord-est très-petits, ils faisoient à peine gonfler les voiles; mais ils étoient pesans, & nous faisons bonne route. L'horizon est toujours épais dans ces parties, de même qu'à Acapulco, & la chaleur est pesante. Nous avions souvent, pendant la nuit, des éclairs & quelquefois du tonnerre. Ayant atteint les dix degrés de latitude, nous nous y maintînmes en variant des neuf aux onze degrés, & nous fûmes plus de quinze jours sans toucher une manœuvre. Ensuite les vents fraîchirent dans la même partie de l'est, l'horizon étoit plus clair, & le chemin considérable par le plus beau temps & les plus belles mers du monde.

Reconnaissance des bancs à l'est des Isles Mariannes.

Vers le 15 de Mai, nous commençâmes à voir des poissons volans, qui avoient les ailes rougeâtres, au lieu que ceux que j'avois déjà vus les avoient blanchâtres. Après le 20, nous vîmes des oiseaux. Du 20 au 30, les éclairs, le tonnerre, & quantité d'oiseaux nous donnerent connoissance des bancs & islots qui sont à quatre cents lieues à l'est des Isles Mariannes ou des Larrons.

Les premiers jours de Juin, nous nous mîmes par la latitude de douze à treize degrés; enfin, le 9 du même mois, les vents toujours est & est nord-est depuis notre départ, nous découvrîmes les montagnes qui sont dans l'est nord-est de l'Isle de Guam; c'est la seule des Isles Mariannes qui soit fréquentée par les Espagnols. Nous y conduisions un nouveau Gouverneur, & nous mouillâmes le lendemain dans la partie du sud de cette Isle par les trente brasses.

Relâche à l'Isle de Guam.

Nous étions à la portée du canon de terre, & vis-à-vis d'un petit fort & d'un village Indien. Cet endroit est éloigné de trois lieues par terre du chef-lieu, qui est situé à l'ouest de l'Isle, & est la résidence du Gouverneur & de la plupart des Espagnols; le chef-lieu est assez considérable, & sur le bord d'une petite riviere, à l'embouchure de laquelle il y a une rade qui est assez bonne pendant la belle saison. Le mouillage que nous occupions étoit plus sûr, & à l'abri des vents du nord-ouest qui régnoient alors; car le temps des pluies étoit arrivé. Nous avions dans l'est-nord-est [sic] une petite Isle, couverte de cocotiers; elle étoit séparée de la grande terre par des bas-fonds blanchâtres, qui s'étend-

ent aussi un peu au large d'elle. Il y avoit huit ans que ce pays n'avoit eu communication avec personne, malgré l'usage ordinaire d'y envoyer de Manilla un bâtiment tous les deux ou trois ans.

Portrait des Habitans.

Les Habitans sont grands & bien faits, ils ont la physionomie ouverte, & sont extrêmement généreux; ce sont les premiers à qui j'ai vu mâcher du bétel, qui consiste en une feuille d'un arbuste ou liane nommée Betle, qu'on enduit de chaux éteinte. On plie dans cette feuille une parcelle d'une espece de châteigne ou de noix, que produit un arbre nommé Areca; l'on mâche sans avaler ce tout, qui produit un picotement au palais, & excite une salivation qui se colore de rougeâtre; c'est une grande sensualité chez les Indiens, & certains s'en sont fait une nécessité, comme nous du tabac à raper. D'autres sont plus sensuels, & y mêlent du tabac, de l'opium [sic], des comines, & autres drogues fortes. Le bétel, après avoir été mâché, exhale un doux parfum pour celui qui l'a dans la bouche & qui se fait un grand plaisir de le répandre à ses voisins. C'est une grande marque d'intimité ou de faveur, lorsqu'un homme reçoit d'une femme ou d'un ami, un peu de sa mastication de bétel. Pour moi, outre la cuisson & la brûlure qu'on ressent les premiers jours qu'on mâche cette drogue, & le désagrément de paroître cracher un sang visqueux & verdâtre, je ne trouvois aucune sensation agréable à cet usage, & je ne pus jamais m'y accoutumer.

Eau-de-vie de cocotier.

Je bus dans cette Isle de la très-bonne eau-de-vie, faite avec la sève fermentée du cocotier; j'en avois bu de pareille à la Nouvelle-Espagne, mais qui étoit faite avec la sève du maguey ou celle d'une espece d'aloès. Les fibres de ces deux dernieres plantes servent aussi au lieu de fil, & sont très-forts.

Les Habitans des Philippines assurent que ceux des Mariannes sont une de leurs Colonies; ils peuvent être au nombre de dix mille, distribués en sept à huit villages.

Productions du pays, & fruit du pain.

Le sol est fertile, produisant du riz, du maïs, & beaucoup de légumes. Il s'y trouve quantité de volailles, quelques vaches, & différens fruits, entr'autres un que je n'ai vu dans nul autre pays, & qu'on nomme Rima ou fruit du pain. Il est de la forme & grosseur du Jacre, c'est-à-dire d'environ cinq pouces de diametre; il a une peau très-rude, comme du chagrin grossier; il est formé d'une chair jaunâtre & spongieuse, comme le masepain, mais plus solide. Le goût en est très-bon, & on le fait rôtir sous la cendre, après l'avoir fait bouillir; les bois en sont pleins, de même que de cocos & de figes bananes. Le sol est formé par de hautes collines couvertes de bois, & par des vallons cultivés; le chef-lieu est dans la partie du nord-ouest, à quatre lieues dans les terres, & sur le bord d'une riviere assez considérable. On peut mouiller à son embouchure, mais la rade n'est pas excellente.

Après avoir fait de l'eau, pris des rafraîchissemens, laissé à terre le nouveau Gouverneur, & embarqué son prédécesseur, nous mîmes à la voile le 15 du mois de Juin, & nous quittâmes avec plaisir les pluies qui régnoient à terre. Nous gouvernâmes ouest & ouest 1/4 nord-ouest, les vents étant très-petits à l'est. Le 20, ils varierent dans la partie du

nord, & nous eûmes quelques calmes. Vers le 25, nous eûmes des calmes plus fréquens, & les vents varioient davantage du côté du nord-ouest; le Ciel étoit nébuleux, & nous avions de temps en temps des orages. Nous n'étions cependant pas à cent lieues des Philippines, & nous avions eu une belle traversée; mais le 30, les vents se déclarerent au nord-ouest & ouest-nord-ouest frais; le temps se chargea tout à fait; les nuages étoient très-bas, & les orages fréquens. Nous gardions l'amure à stribord [sic] avec peu de voile, & notre vaisseau, mauvais boulinier, gagnoit très-peu. Le 8 de Juillet, le vent venant gros, frais, & orage sur orage, on amena les mâts de hune & les basses vergues, en laissant la seule misaine, à la cape de laquelle nous avions mis dans la nuit. Elle étoit doublée & fortifiée par des bandes en carré, de distance en distance. Elle pouvoit s'emmenner à mi-mât, ayant à mi-chute deux fausses relingues, qui permettoient de soustraire la moitié de la chute de la voile, à la façon des cache-marées.

Les vents avoient sauté au sud-ouest, & nous avions l'amure à bâbord; ils soufflèrent violemment dans cette partie pendant sept jours, & nous cassâmes une barre de gouvernail; j'avois vu autant de vent, mais non pas si continu dans une égale force, ni un ciel & une mer si courroucés; enfin, le 17 de Juillet, le temps s'étant un peu calmé, nous guindâmes nos mâts de hune & nos vergues; le vent varia à l'ouest nous avoit jetés dans le nord. Nous mîmes l'amure à stribord, & le 24 nous découvrîmes la terre; nous crûmes que c'étoit celle de l'Isle de Samar, mais dans la partie du détroit de San-Juanico. Nous nous trouvions donc au sud du Cap du Spiritu-Santo, sur lequel nous comptions faire route; il y avoit d'ailleurs un mois que nous n'avoions pu prendre hauteur. Lorsque nous fûmes près de terre, le vent varioit de l'ouest sud-ouest à l'ouest-nord-ouest; il faisoit quelquefois calme plat, & d'autres fois des orages, & le courant nous portoit rapidement dans le sud-sud-ouest. Nous voulûmes, pour ces raisons, conserver l'amure à bâbord, & perdant la terre de vue, le vent fraîchit encore considérablement dans le sud-ouest. Nous amenâmes dans le sud-ouest. Nous amenâmes nos mâts de hune une seconde fois; mais cette bourasque ne fut pas si violente que la première, & ne dura que cinq jours. Le sud-ouest nous avoit relevés, le nord-ouest maniable lui succéda; nous découvrîmes le Cap du Spiritu-Santo, & nous gagnâmes la terre bord sur bord. Cette saison étoit celle des vents d'ouest ou d'aval, & il nous restoit encore cent lieues dans cet aire de vent pour arriver à Manilla; la route étoit à travers d'un archipel, qui, dans cette saison de vents forcés, rendoit la navigation dangereuse.

Hivernage à l'Isle de Samar.

Il fut résolu de relâcher à l'Isle de Samar, & d'y hiverner. En conséquence, le 1er. d'Août nous mouillâmes par sept brasses fond de vase dans une vaste rade, formée par trois Isles à l'embouchure d'une riviere nommée Palapa, qui prend son nom d'un village voisin.

...

Translation.

...
The principal part of the galleon's cargo having been forwarded to Mexico, the annual fair of Acapulco, which happens during this season, was confined to the little articles of a few pedlars who had been used to supply the officers and clerks in the China trade with certain necessaries for the voyage. We had three millions of piasters [i.e. pesos] on board partly destined to purchase the galleon's next cargo, and partly to defray the expenses of government in the Philippine Isles. In short, having seen no fewer than a hundred passengers embark, at least forty of whom were monks, I went on board the galleon.¹

Chap. IX. A voyage from Acapulco to the Philippine Islands—A visit to Guam, one of the Marian Isles—An excursion of the most easterly of the Philippines...

We set sail from the road of Acapulco, on our passage to Manilla, the 2d of April 1768, with the wind in the north-west, steering towards the S. and S.S.W.— One must have had the mortification to be a passenger on a Spanish galleon, in order to have an idea of the horrid confusion which now presented itself, and yet I was assured her present condition was every thing that is quiet and orderly, compared with her crowded and tumultuous plight on her last voyage from Manilla. Though a vessel of only five hundred tons, she carried, besides the ship's company, convicts, monks, women, merchants, officers civil and military, with a large detachment of clerks. The emoluments of an officer in the service of the galleon, exclusive of the advantages of trade, are very considerable; and his place, saleable at the end of each voyage, is often vested in a person who has not the smallest pretensions to the character of a sailor. The pilots alone are entrusted with the sailing of the ship, and have the rank of major in the king's service. I found it was a regulation on board that each person should lay in his own water and stores, and eat apart by himself. The crew were not even provided in a common kettle, whilst certain individuals had each one for his own particular use. As a common sailor on board the galleon may have a couple of servants to attend him, our domestics were more numerous than their masters, and being without all order and discipline, gave occasion to intolerable uproar. Not having had it in my power to purchase provisions for my passage at Acapulco, some days after our departure I made an agreement, in consequence of which I messed with one of the pilots.

Having reached the thirteenth degree of latitude, we stood W. and S.W. with a faint breeze at E. and E.N.E. the wind was scarce in sufficient quantity to fill our sails, but what little we had was steady, and we made considerable way. In those regions, as at Acapulco, the horizon is constantly hazy, and the heat of the atmosphere close to op-

¹ Ed. note: The rest of the translation is taken from the first English edition of 1791, which is slightly different than the second edition text that was reproduced in the Guam Recorder.

pressive. We had frequent lightning during the night, accompanied with loud claps of thunder. Having arrived at the tenth degree of northern latitude, we continued our course, varying between the ninth and eleventh, and were upwards of fifteen days without touching a sail. The wind freshening a little in the same quarter of the east, the sky became perfectly serene, and the rate of our going was accelerated with the finest weather, and the most beautiful sea in the world.

On the 15th of May we began to observe flying-fish, with wings with a reddish colour, whereas the wings of such as I had hitherto met with were of a dusky white. On the 20th we saw several kinds of sea-fowl; and from the 20th to the 30th we were admonished by thunder, lightning, and flocks of small birds, to be on our guard against certain rocks and sand-banks situated about four hundred leagues east of the Marian or Ladrone Islands.

Standing for some days between the twelfth and thirteenth degree, on the 9th of June, with the wind always E. and E.N.E. we discovered mountains in the E.N.E. on the island Guam. This is the only one of the Marian isles on which the Spaniards have a settlement, and their new governor being in the galleon,¹ we came to anchor the following day south of the island, in thirty fathoms water. We lay at the distance of a cannon-shot from land, opposite to a small fort, and a village of Indians.² This fort is only three leagues from the principal town, which is the ordinary residence of the governor, as well as of the greater part of the inhabitants. It is of a certain extent, and stands on the border of a little river, at the mouth of which is a road for shipping, tolerably safe during the summer months. The place, however, where we dropped anchor being protected from the north-west winds, which, as the rains had begun to fall were now prevalent we deemed still more secure. In the E.N.E. [rather WSW], we saw a little island covered with cocoa-trees, and separated from the mainland by a large shoal of a whitish colour. It had been usual to send a vessel from Manilla to this island once in two or three years; but owing to some accident it was now eight since the inhabitants had seen a stranger on shore.³

The natives of Guam are tall and well made, and, as far as one is warranted to judge from the expression of the face, are of an open, confidential and generous character. It was here I first met with the custom of chewing *betel*, which is the leaf of a shrub of the same name. This leaf, when smeared over with slaked lime, and wrapped around a parcel of a species of chestnut obtained from a tree named *areca*, is placed in the mouth, and after being chewed for some time produces an irritation on the palate, and a reddish saliva. It affords the Indian a very sensible degree of pleasure; and the use of it to many in those regions becomes equally necessary as that of snuff to an European. The more coarse and sensual among the people mix it up with tobacco, opium [sic, caraway],

1 Ed. note: Nary Lieutenant Olavide y Michelena was on board the Santa Rosa.

2 Ed. note: Umatac.

3 Ed. note: In other words, he says that no Mariana patache came from Manila since 1760. True, the last patache had brought Gov. Soroa to Guam in 1759, and that of 1766 had been shipwrecked in Samar.

and other rank drugs; but in the mouth of the Indian this composition exhales a very grateful odour, which he has much satisfaction in imparting to his companions; and when a woman chooses to favour her admirer with a portion of her masticatd betel, he receives it as a pledge of peculiar intimacy and friendship. For my part, besides its extreme heat and pungency on the palate of a novice, and the disgusting effect of perpetually spitting a kind of reddish viscous matter, it never gave me the smallest pleasure, nor do I believe I should ever be able to acquire the habit of using it. We met here with an excellent kind of brandy, manufactured from the fermented juice of the cocoa-tree. I remember to have seen brandy of an equally good quality in New Spain, made with the sap of [the maguey or that of] a species of aloes, whose fibres are strong and useful to the natives for the purposes of thread.

The natives of the Philippine Isles pretend, that the inhabitants of Guam, and the other Marian Islands, are originally descended as colonies from them; an opinion which I think by no means improbable. The Indians on this island may be in all about ten thousand,¹ and are distributed into seven or eight villages. The soil is extremely fertile, producing rice, Indian corn, and vegetables in abundance. They have some cows, plenty of poultry, and many different kinds of fruit. The only species, however, of this last I was not acquainted with before, is in this country named *rima*, or the fruit of the bread-tree. The bread-fruit is between five and six inches in diameter, has a rough skin like the coarsest shagreen, and consists internally of a yellowish substance, which the Indians prepare for their use by boiling, and afterwards roasting on the embers. The bread-tree, the cocoa, and fig-banana, are very common in the woods of Guam, and the face of the country presents numberless beautifully diversified landscapes, consisting of lawns, high woody hills, and vallies in excellent cultivation. This principal town, at the distance of four leagues in the country, is situated on the north-west of the island, on the border of a considerable river, at the mouth of which ships may come to anchor, but the road is by no means one of the best.

Having taken in fresh water and provisions, and received the late governor on board,² the 15th of June we again put to sea; and as it was now the season of unremitting rain, we quitted Guam with little regret. We stood west and a quarter north-west, with a gentle breeze from the east, but on the 25th the wind changed to the north, accompanied with frequent calms. We had hitherto enjoyed an excellent passage, and we were now only a hundred leagues from the Philippine Isles; but here the sky became suddenly overcast, and the weather rough and tempestuous. On the 30th the wind blew with increasing violence, the squalls became more frequent, and the atmosphere appeared everywhere loaded with low black clouds. Early on the 8th of July the wind shifted to the south, and for the space of seven days a furious storm blew, in the course of which we lost part of our rudder and suffered considerable damage in other respects. I have been exposed to winds of equal violence on other occasions, but in my experi-

1 Ed. note: His estimate was at least three times too high.

2 Ed. note: Navy Lieutenant José de Soroa.

ence as a seaman I never saw them convulse the elements in the same sublimely great and awful manner. On the 27th the storm abated, and the weather cleared up; we found that we had been carried far to the northward of our course. Having regulated our course in the best manner we could (considering the state of the atmosphere),¹ on the 24th we discovered land which we took for the island Samar, where it borders on the straits of San Juanico.

It was now a month since we had been able to take an observation of the sun; and we perceived were considerably to the South of Cape Espiritu Santo, after which we intended to have directed our course. Upon our approaching land we had at one time a dead calm, at another a perfect storm, the current meanwhile hurrying us rapidly towards the south southwest. The weather becoming violently tempestuous again, we were obliged to stand out to sea, and contend with a second storm, which, however, lasted only five days and was not to be compared with the former. Having at last come in view of Cape Espiritu Santo, we made towards the shore; and as the boisterous west winds now prevailed and we were still a hundred leagues from Manilla, across a dangerous Archipelago, it was thought inadvisable to attempt this navigation so late in the season. It was therefore resolved to put in and winter on the island of Samar; accordingly, on the 1st of August, having entered a spacious road formed by three islands at the mouth of a river which is named Palapa, from an adjacent village, we came to an anchor in seven fathoms of water.

...
[After the galleon **Santa Rosa** reached Samar, bad weather forced her to winter at Palapag. The King's order for the expulsion of the Jesuits had already reached the Philippines by this time. What Viscount Pagès had to say about the Jesuits in Samar Island is therefore interesting, in view of his knowledge of European politics; there are other reasons also: it has already been published in the Guam Recorder, and the description of Jesuit practices in Samar may have been current in the Marianas as well.

The Jesuits of the Philippines just before their expulsion—The comments of Viscount Pagès

...
From the arrival to the departure of the galleon, my time was chiefly spent at Catarman, Lawan, or Palapa, which, like all the other villages in those islands, have each a little fortress, including the church, so that upon the first appearance of the Moors, the inhabitants, with their most valuable effects, may resort thither for safety.² The natives,

1 Ed. note: Note that the original English translator has carefully avoided having to translate the very precise sailing maneuvers described by Captain Pagès.

2 Ed. note: The Jesuits he met, therefore, were: Fr. Joseph Brémont in Catarman, Fr. José Anda, and Fr. Roque Corbinos respectively, according to the list officially made at the expulsion of the Jesuits (e.g. Fr. Costa's History, Appendix B).

especially such as reside on the sea coast, were formerly Mahometans;¹ but the missionary Jesuits having converted them to the religion and allegiance of Spain, now exercise over them an authority almost unlimited. For the most trivial offences, without distinction of rank, age, or sex, are subjected to the discipline of the whip; and the ascendancy acquired by the clergy over the minds of the people in their respective parishes is such, that the Indian, after receiving his punishment with humble submission, thanks the Jesuit for his good offices, and departs fully satisfied of the necessity of a bastinado, which nothing but a zeal for his welfare could have induced the priest to inflict. The censure of the Church is in general attended with real penitence on the part of the offender; who, as I was assured, is rarely known to relapse into the same fault. Punishment is always executed in public; and every one being aware that from human frailty he is equally liable to discipline, flagellation stamps no disgrace on the character of the delinquent.

The Jesuits are at great pains to instruct the people in matters of religion; and hence, besides the ordinary festivals of the Church, two days of the week are set apart for service, in which the Indian celebrates the praises of his creator with such melodies, unction, and ingenuous simplicity, as bestow real sublimity on the exercises of his devotion. I was present at the parochial feast, which was observed with much apparent piety by the Indians, though in a manner consonant to the genius of the Spaniards. In the morning the banners of the Virgin, St. Ignatius, and St. Francis were displayed from the bastions of the castle, and saluted at the rising and setting of the sun by a discharge of artillery. On this occasion it had been formerly customary to give the Indians a ball in the church, but this religious dance having been found to terminate sometimes in irregularities, it was now abolished—I return to the character of the parochial clergy.

The Jesuit, by means of confession, has access to the most secret thoughts of the Indian, who, in the simplicity of his heart, submits, not only his offences, but everything that is either the object of his hope or fear, to the ear of the pastor. Advice and admonition on the part of the priest, are always accompanied with some small present, consisting of wine, medicine, liquor, or animal food; and thus, by mingling kindness with severity, and rewards with punishments, the natives are gradually reclaimed from their ignorance and misconduct. Like good children, they learn to regard the missionary as one sent from Heaven to conduct them, by the paths of peace and innocence, to temporal as well as eternal happiness. He acquires in their minds all the rights and consequence of an earthly parent, whom nature authorizes to establish the principles of virtue and good order in his family. Hence, in situation of common danger, he is their leader by sea and land; and on account of his superior wisdom and courage, is looked up to as a strong tower against the invasion and inroads of the Mahometans.

It is the prerogative of each missionary in his own parish to issue orders for building or repairing the fort, for providing it with cannon and ammunition, and for the construction of war canoes, which he frequently commands in person. He appoints all

1 Ed. note: This was true only of southern Filipinos.

subordinate officers, presides over the discipline of the militia, regulates the number of guards, and even directs the sentinel to his proper post. Lastly, the clergy of Samar are the friends as the pastors, the temporal as well as the spiritual leaders of their flocks and **among them I was unable to discover either the imperious bigot, or the lost Levite** who earns the emoluments of his profession by a studied accommodation of his life to the taste and humor of his superiors.

I am no friend to the exorbitant power of the Church; but whatever may be the ultimate views of monastic policy, good perhaps, in some respects, and bad in others, I must say, that on this island it seems to have a happy influence on the real interests of the people. The maxims the Jesuits observe in their conduct here, seem, in matters both of a civil and spiritual nature, much to resemble those exercised by their brethren in the missions of Paraguay, though the product of the people's industry being permitted to remain in their own hands, and at their own disposal, is a circumstance much to the credit of the former.

I cannot conclude my encomium on those men, without observing, that in a situation where this extreme attachment of the natives to their pastors might with little encouragement have given occasion to all the evils of violence and insurrection, I saw them meet the edict for the abolition of their Order with the deference due to civil authority, but at the same time with a strength and firmness in mind truly manly and heroic. There now [in late 1768] only remain in the dominions of Spain the Jesuits of the Marian Isles, whom he had no authority to molest and in America, those in California, whom the natives, under different pretences, had hitherto contrived to remain in the country. As to such as were formerly scattered over the other parts of New Spain, they had long since taken their passage for Europe.¹

...

¹ Ed. note: The galleon left Palapag on 7 October and reached Cavite on 15 October. Pagès spent five months in Manila, then returned to Europe by way of Batavia. After further travels, he finally retired from the French Navy, just before the French Revolution of 1789. He retired in Santo-Domingo to write about a second, but fictitious, voyage (see Doc. 1789B)..

Documents 1768D

The round-trip voyage of the frigate *Santa Rosa* in 1767-1768

D1. Letters written upon arrival at Acapulco:

Sources: AGN; photocopies at MARC.

—Letter from Governor Enrique Olavide y Michelena to the Marquis of Croix, dated off the coast of Navidad 31 December 1767.

Note: He announces that he comes from the Philippines as the new Governor of the Marianas in replacement of José de Soroa. Enclosed is a list of the crew of 181 aboard the frigate Santa Rosa.

—Letter from unnamed person to the Marquis of Croix, dated Acapulco 27 January 1768.

Note: He requests that no religious or ministers be sent on this voyage, because there is no room to accommodate them on board. The Governor of the Marianas is aboard.

—Letter from I. Cavallero Delvo to unnamed person, dated Acapulco 29 January 1768.

Note: He sends the papers containing the charge made against the Governor of the Marianas, Enrique Olavide y Michelena, and against José Delgado.

—Letters from Governor Olavide to the Marquis of Croix, dated Acapulco 26 February 1768.

D2. Arrival of Governor Olavide y Michelena at Umatac in June 1768

Sources: AHH Mexico, Marina, vol. 28, folio 175; photocopy at MARC (pp. 1856-57).

Summary note: He announces his arrival at Guam and that he has taken over the government of the garrison of the Marianas.

Letter from Governor Enrique de Olavide y Michelena to the Marquis of Croix, dated Umatac 9 June 1768

Your Excellency,

To comply with the wishes I have of pleasing Y.E., I do not omit to notify my having taken possession of the government of this garrison and Mariana Islands, to which I enclose some orders that I hope will meet with the approval of Y.E., in order to show my blind obedience.

May God preserve Y.E.'s important life in excellent condition for many years, in accordance with my desire.

Umatac, 9 June 1768.

...

Henrique de Olavide y Michelena.

[To] the Marquis de Croix, Lieutenant General of the Royal Armies, his Viceroy, Governor and Captain General of New Spain, President of the Royal Audiencia of Mexico.

D3. Letter from Domingo Blas de Basaraz to the Marquis of Croix, dated Palapa[g] 11 August 1768

Source: AHH Mexico, Marina, vol. 28, folios 180-182; photocopy at MARC (pp. 1858-1863).

[To] His Excellency.

My dear Sir:

As far as the Marianas, although we had some calms near the San Bartolomé Shoals, the crossing was successful. However, from those islands, where we took on water, and which we left on the 10 of June, it has been very laborious although we finally made it.

The vendavals [monsoon winds] have been strong this year...

...

D4. Letter from the King to the Governor of the Philippines, dated El Pardo 27 January 1774

Source: AGI Fil. 334, libro 18, fol. 357v-358v, pp. 792-794.

Note: Similar letters with almost the same contents were sent to the Viceroy and to the Royal officials of Manila on the same date.

Original text in Spanish.

*Al Gobernador de Philipinas participandole averse aprobado la licencia que dió su antecesor para que la Fragata **Santa Rosa** condugese al Gobernador interino de las Islas Marianas, y los efectos que se remitian para socorro de ellas y previniendole lo demas que se expresa.*

El Rey.

Don Simon de Anda y Salazar Gobernador y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas y Presidente de mi Real Audiencia de ellas, que reside en la Ciudad de Manila.

*En carta de 6 de Julio del año de 1771 disteis cuenta con documentos de que hallandose las Islas Marianas en urgente necesidad de utensilios, y con precision de remitirlos igualmente que à su Gobernador interino Don Henrique de Michilena, y Olavide provisto por Don Josef Raon, Vuestro antecesor en esos cargos sin que à la sazón se hallara embarcacion prompta en que egecutarlo, dispuso el mismo Raon que en la Fragata **Santa Rosa**, que en el año de 1767 viajaba al Reyno de la Nueva España, se remi-*

tiesen 16 caxas Artilleras, 8 cajones, 6 tancales, 50 picos de fierro, y algunas erramientas todo libre de derechos, à fin de que el referido Olavide los condugese à las nominadas Islas Marianas en la propria Fragata para que tocando a su ingreso en ellas quedasen en parte provehidas por entonces con este socorro como havia exemplares anteriores de iguales casos. Que verificado el arribo de la expresada Fragata al Puerto de Acapulco, y hechoso manifestacion por el expresado Michilena de los enunciados efectos al Castellano, y Oficiales Reales de el, determinaron depositarlos en los Reales Almacenes, y participar esta novedad al Virrey de la Nueva Esp^a quien providenció se permitiese por entonces el transporte de los nominados efectos advirtiéndole al interesado que en adelante no se concederia igual permiso, de cuya resolucioⁿ os notici^ó el Ministerio de Acapulco, y considerando que esta determinacion era en perjuicio de vuestros Privilegios por privaros con ella la libertad economica Guvernativa de socorrer en lo subcesibo en las urgencias y necesidades que se puedan ofrecer à las referidas Islas Marianas sin detrimento de mi Real hacienda ni de ese comercio determinasteis con presencia de lo expuesto por los Oficiales Reales de esas Cajas, y el Fiscal de esa Audiencia remitir testimonio al referido Ministerio de Acapulco, con inclusion de las Reales Cédulas en que tenga prevenido se socorra al Presidio de las Marianas por quantos medios se proporcionen à fin de que enterado de su contexto no embarazase en lo subcesibo el curso de las providencias dirigidas à su cumplimiento en asuntos de esta gravedad lo qual poniais en mi Real noticia para que me dignase aprobar lo practicado en el particular, y mandar expedir à este fin al Virrey de la Nueva España la Real Cedula correspondiente.

Y visto lo referido en mi Consejo de las Indias con lo que en su inteligencia y de lo informado por la Contaduria general de él, expuso mi Fiscal, ha parecido aprobar la licencia que dió el enunciado vuestro antecesor mediante la falta de embarcacion que se experimentaba, y lo practicado en el asunto por el insinuado Virrey de la Nueva España reprovando à esos Oficiales Reales la falta de formalidad del registro que no hubo; y preveniros (como lo executo) observeis puntual, y efectivamente las ordenes ultimamente dadas para socorrer desde esas Islas las de las Marianas directamente por el Patache establecido à este efecto. Entendiendo de que por despachos separados de este dia se participaba lo combeniente à los nominados—Virrey, y Oficiales Reales. Por ser asi mi voluntad, y que de este se tome razón en la enunciada contaduria general.

Dada en el Pardo à 27 de Enero de 1774.

Yo el Rey.

*Por mandado del Rey, nuestro Señor,
Don Pedro Garcia Mayoral.*

Translation.

To the Governor of the Philippines, to let him know of the approval of the permission that his predecessor gave for the frigate **Santa Rosa** to convey the interim Governor of the Mariana Islands, and the effects that they were remitting for their succor, and to give him other advices.

The King

Don Simón de Anda y Salazar, Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of my Royal Audiencia residing in the City of Manila.

In a letter dated 6 July of the year 1771, you reported, along with documents, that the Mariana Islands had been in urgent need of armaments, and that with the necessity also of sending their interim Governor, Don Enrique de Michelena y Olavide, as provided for by Don José Raón, your predecessor in that post, but that a vessel was not readily available, so, the same Raón arranged for the frigate **Santa Rosa** which was making the voyage to New Spain in 1767, to transport 16 boxes for the artillery, 8 crates, 6 “tancales”, 50 iron pikes, and some tools, all duty-free, so that the above-mentioned Olavide could take them along to said Mariana Islands aboard said frigate, to enable him to dispose of this succor overthere, as done in previous cases. That, once the above-mentioned frigate arrived at the port of Acapulco, and said Michelena had declared the above-mentioned effects to the Warden and Royal officials there, they decided to store them in the Royal warehouses, and to let the Viceroy of New Spain know about this novelty. The latter then decided to let the above-mentioned effects be forwarded, but warning the interested party that in future such a permission would not be granted. You were advised of such a resolution by the Minister of Acapulco.¹ However, because you thought that this decision was prejudicial to your Privileges, since you would then be deprived of the administrative freedom to make economic decisions in future with respect to emergencies and necessities that might offer regarding the above-mentioned Mariana Islands, without any detriment to my Royal treasury, nor of that trade. You added the opinion expressed by the Royal officials of that treasury, and by the Fiscal of that Audiencia, that a record of proceedings be remitted to the above-said Minister of Acapulco, including [copies of] Royal decrees dealing with the succor of the Garrison of the Marianas by any means available, so that in future he, once so advised, should not impede the course of the provisions directed to their compliance, in matters of such gravity. All of which you placed at my Royal notice, so that I may be pleased to approve what had been done in this particular, and to order the despatch of a corresponding Royal decree to the Viceroy of New Spain.

And this matter having been seen in my Council of the Indies, along with my Fiscal's opinion, written after he had consulted its Accounting Office, I have decided to approve the permission that your predecessor gave, in view of the lack of vessel at the time, and what was done in this matter by the above-said Viceroy of New Spain, disapproving the Royal officials overthere for the lack of formality in the manifest that was missing; and to advise you (as I do now) to observe exactly and effectively the orders recently given for succoring the Marianas from those Islands directly with the patache established for that purpose. You are to understand that separate despatches have been issued on this date to the above-mentioned: Viceroy, and Royal officials.

So is my will. The Accounting Office is to take note.

¹ Ed. note: He was the Viceroy's nephew, Teodoro de Croix.

Made at El Pardo, 27 January 1774.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Pedro García Mayoral.

Documents 1768E

The voyage of the schooner *Sonora*, Captain Estorgo, in 1768

Sources: AGI Mexico 1369 and 1858; also NLA ms. 1341; chart of his voyage both AGI files and in MP Fil. 64.

Note: Estorgo was commissioned to carry, from America to the Philippines, the royal despatches ordering the expulsion of the Jesuits.

Introductory notes.

The schooner **Nuestra Señora de la Soledad, alias Sonora** was a 36-foot boat with a crew of 15. It was called *Sonora* because it was plying the waters of Sonora and California, when it was requisitioned by the Viceroy to carry emergency secret orders to Manila. The schooner departed from the port of San Blas on 24 December 1767 and had to be beached upon arriving in the Philippines, on 12 March 1768. Estorgo reached Manila aboard another vessel and gave the mail to Governor Raón on 17 May 1768. The Governor despatched the galleon **San Carlos** to New Spain; Estorgo and his crew were on board her. However a storm forced her back to the Philippines after she was dismasted. Estorgo did not get back home until 1770.

E1. First letter from the Viceroy of New Spain, Marquis de Croix, dated Mexico 28 February 1770

Source: AGI Mexico 1369.

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Señor

Mui Señor mio y mi mas venerado Dueño.

En apreciable desempeño de lo que V.E. me tiene prevenido à cerca de lo agradable que ha sido a S.M. la honrosa resolucion, valor, y buena conducta de Don Francisco Xavier Estorgo en el importante y reservado asunto de su ultimo viage à Manila. No puedo dexar de repetir mui particularmente a V.E. mis recomendaciones en beneficio de este buen Vasallo, y Servidor del Rey, à quien desseo por tan dignos motivos que logre lo correspondiente para acavar sus dias decentemente donde y como apeteze, por

tener repetidas experiencias de que el Temperamento, y clima de Filipinas es el unico que acomoda à su salud.

Con estas consideraciones, y dando cuenta puntual al Exmo. S. Conde de Aranda de la moderada Asignacion que hè hecho, y se ha dado à Estorgo del Fondo de los bienes ocupados à los Regulares de la Compañia, hago tambien a V.E. la misma atenta Suplica; y espero mediante la alta proteccion de V.E., que logre el premio á que le regule acreedor, y sea mas del soberano agrado del Rey.

Renuevo a V.E. mi atento reconocimiento é ingenuo afecto, con el que quedo à su disposicion para quanto guste mandarme, y sea de su obsequio, y rogando à Dios guarde a V.E. los muchos años que desseo.

Mexico 28 de Febrero de 1770.

P.D. de 4 de marzo 1770.

Exmo. Señor

Dirigo a V. Ex^a el diario y plan de la navegacion que hizo Don Francisco Xavier Estorgo desde el puerto de San Blas a Manila a que acompaño otro de dicha Ciudad, que me aseguran es Bueno, y me alegrare que sean unos y otros del Gusto de V. Ex^a

...

*B.I.m. de V. Ex^a su menor y mas seguro servidor,
el marques de Croix*

[Al] Exmo. Sor. B^o Fr. Don Julian de Arriaga.

Translation.

Your Excellency.

My dear Sir and most venerated Lord.

Y.E. and H.M. will be pleased to hear about the honorable resolve, courage and good conduct of Don Francisco Xavier Estorgo in the important and confidential matter of his last voyage to Manila. I cannot but repeat here, most particularly to Y.E., that I recommend this good vassal and servant of the King, and I would be pleased to hear that he had been rewarded for such worthy services and was able to spend the rest of his days decently, where and how he wishes, given that he has had many experiences with the weather of the Philippines, the only one that suits his health.¹

With these considerations, and reporting promptly to His Excellency the Count of Aranda about the moderate allowance that I have granted to Estorgo, and that was given him, out of the Fund of the occupied properties of the Regulars of the Society, I direct to Y.E. the same sincere request: I hope that through the high protection of Y.E. he will indeed receive the prize that he really deserves, one that will meet with the sovereign approbation of the King.

¹ Ed. note: He eventually got his wish, and a grant of the property of three gold mines in southern Luzon.

I take this opportunity to repeat how grateful I am to Y.E. and that I am truly yours, to do whatever you may be pleased to order me to do, and I pray God to save Y.E. for as many years as I wish.

Mexico, 28 February 1770.

P.S. 4 March 1770.

Your Excellency.

Please find enclosed the logbook and chart of the voyage which Don Francisco Xavier Estorgo made from the port of San Blas to Manila, plus a map of said City which, I am told, is a good one, and I would be pleased if they meet with the pleasure of Y.E.

...

Your last but sincerest servant, who kisses the hand of Y.E.,

Marquis de Croix.

[To] His Excellency Bailiff Fray Julian de Arriaga.

E2. Second letter from the Viceroy of New Spain, Marquis de Croix, dated Mexico 28 February 1770

Source: AGI Mexico 1858.

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Sor.

Muy Sor. Mio. Habiéndose restituido á esta Capital Don Francisco Xavier Estorgo y Gallegos de las Islas Filipinas á donde fue destinado en Diciembre de 67 con el importante y serio encargo de conducir los Pliegos, y Reales Ordenes respectivas al Estrañamiento de los Regulares de la Compañía y Ocupacion de sus Temporalidades; y héchome presente sus deseos de pasar á esa Corte en solicitud de sus justas pretensiones, y principalísimamente por manifestar á V.E. su atencion y digno reconocimiento por las honras que le ha dispensado: me ha parecido conveniente, y aun debido á sus distinguidos servicios, acceder á su solicitud.

Al mismo tiempo, y para subvenir en parte á los crecidos gastos que ha sufrido, y á los atrasos en que se halla, he regulado igualmente, consiguiendo á sus instancias y mérito, disponer que se le liquide la cuenta, con presencia de las antecedentes, de la que el mismo ha formado, y de la que me han remitido los Oficiales Reales de Manila de los suplementos hechos por aquellas Caxas al nominado Estorgo y á los demas sujetos de la dotacion de la Goleta con que hizo dicho viage, para proceder con atencion á todo á hacerle la correspondiente asignacion ó ayuda de costa, suficiente á que pueda con economía, y sin mendigar, tener lo preciso á su susistencia [sic], dexando á la soberana Piedad del Rey, y á la justificacion de V. Ex^a, la que sea mas propia.

Por las indicadas consideraciones, en el explicado concepto y digna confianza que dexo manifestada, he mandado se conduzca en la Flota de cuenta de la Real Hacienda el nominado Estorgo, y expedido las correspondientes Ordenes á Veracruz. Y respecto á que el propio hará presentes á V. Ex^a sus pretensiones, sobre que anteriormente le

tengo suplicado se sirva atenderle, me prometo el buen éxito que le ofrecen, y espera del alto influxo y apreciable concepto que han merecido á V.E. sus fatigas, conducta y valor en desempeño del encargo que se confió á su fidelidad.

Dios guarde á V.Ex^a los muchos años que deseo.

México 28 de Febrero de 1770.

Exmo. Señor

*B.I.m. de V. Ex^a su menor y mas seguro servidor
el marques de Croix.*

[Al] Exmo. Sor. B^o Fr. Don Julian de Arriaga.

Translation.

Your excellency.

My dear Sir:

With the return to this Capital of Don Francisco Xavier Estorgo y Gallegos from the Philippine Islands where he was sent in December 1767 with the important and serious task of carrying the mail, and Royal Orders, regarding the Expulsion of the Regulars of the Society and the Occupation of their temporal properties; and his desires to go on to that Court in order to present his own just claims, but specially to express to Y.E. his full gratitude for the honors bestowed upon him: it seemed to be proper, and even my duty, to grant him his request, given his distinguished services.

At the same time, and to defray him in part for the huge expenses that he has made, and the back pay to his credit, I have also granted his requests in this regard, and ordered that his account be balanced, in view of the detailed claim that he has submitted, and of the papers remitted by the Royal Officials of Manila regarding the advances made by that treasury to the above-said Estorgo and to the other individuals of the crew of the schooner that he used to make the voyage; furthermore, I have allotted him an extra sum, or special allowance, but only enough for his travel expenses, without having to beg along the way, and I leave the rest to the discretion of Y.E., and the sovereign largesse of the King.

For the above considerations, based on the above explanations and worthy expectation that I have expressed, I have ordered that the above-said Estorgo be given accommodation with the Fleet, on the account of the Royal Treasury, and have issued the respective Orders to Veracruz. As for the requests that the man will present to Y.E. in person, I have already given you my recommendations, and I beg you to please attend to them. I hope that he will be successful, something I am sure he will get, with the powerful help of Y.E., given the high merits that he has accumulated as a result of his hardships, conduct, and courage while undertaking the task that was entrusted to his loyalty.

May God save Y.E. for as many years as I wish.

Mexico, 29 February 1770.

Your Excellency.

Your last but sincerest servant, who kisses the hand of Y.E.

Marquis de Croix.

[To] His Excellency Bailiff Fray Julian de Arriaga.

E3. Letter from Captain Estorgo to the Count of Aranda, dated Manila 16 November 1768

Source: NLA ms. 1341.

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Sor.

Hallandome empleado en el Reino de la Nueva Esp^a de capitán comandante de marina para una expedición que (de orden del Exmo. Sor. de aquel Reino, Marques de Croix) se avia de executar a la Sonora, recivi orden de dho Exmo. Sor. para que apromptare una embarcación de mi satisfaccion a efecto de conducir unos pliegos de S.M. y de summa importancia al Governador de las Islas Philippinas.

*En este tan grave empeño, y constituido por mi honor como leal vassalo à exponer mi vida para el monarca despreciando quantos imposibles seme presenciaran, ciega mi obediencia (como en todas ocasiones) determiné, (como practico en la carrera) atendiendo desde tan gran servicio y a el de que por mi salida, y falta de vagel, que me havia de conducir no se tuvo nave [sino] el de dha expedicion de la Sonora, y Californias, elegí para mi transporte a las Islas Philippinas una goleta nombrada **la Sonora** de solo treinta y seis pies de quilla, doce de manga, siete pies y doce puntos de puntal, pero tan mal equipada y construida, que solo mi facultad y practica en aquellos mares, pudieren haver echo concepto del vencimiento de un viage tan dilatado, y penoso, y mal si se considera que del tamaño de la embarcacion no se da caso igual de haverse transportado otra de Cadiz a la Habana siendo viage de menos gravedad.*

Bien es verdad Señor, que en el discurso del viage se me ofrecieron xarcios viejos con peligro de ver naufragio asi por los contratiempos de los vientos riesgos e incomodidades, como otros acasos, que se ofrecen pues con solo quince hombres de tripulacion me ofrecio a tan dilatado (y unico) viage que venci con felicidad en el tiempo tan corto, que se compone desde veinte y quatro de diciembre de 1767, que salí del Puerto de Matanchel hasta 12 de Marzo de 768 que tomé Puerto en estas islas, por causa de que la persecucion de los Moros en este continente que el General Yargas [Vargas?] considerando el evidente peligro a que exponía mi direccion(?) pliegos de S.M. y demas anexos, hube de continuar rumbo en atencion a no considerarme con fuerzas suficientes, para mi defensa y asi lograndose mi concepto a fuerza de muchos trabajos conseguí la entrega de los Reales pliegos en manos del Presidente Governador Don Joseph Raon, el día 17 de Maio del mismo año con tanto sigilo, y reca que el día 21 del mismo, fue executada la comision de ellos en los Padres Jesuitas a satisfaccion de no haverseles traducido cosa alguna, cuió hecho de esta execución dará à V.E. mas veridicas pruebas de mi verdad por los testimonios que incluío.

No devriendose despreciar la fidelidad de la gente de mi comando, pues siendo sabidora del caso por lo que sucedia en el Reyno de la Nueva España a mi menor insinua-

ción de silencio fueron tan fieles, que aun estando entre las Yslas no se tradició cosa alguna y se logró la execución segun la mente de V.E. de quien mi insuficiencia espera por este tan exp[ecia]l servicio y otros que le tengo repres[enta]dos su gracia, solo con que V.E. de los haga prestar.

*En este estado conclura mi comi[sion], y yo a las ordenes de este Governador D. Joseph Raon se dispusó despachar al navío **San Carlos** al Reino de la Nueva España con los pliegos de S.M. y por su Real situado en el que me embarque de transporte con la gente de mi tripulación por orden de dho Sor. Governador y al efecto de reconocer mi departamento donde a mi destino pero como la fortuna siempre misa ventura al paso que constante en mis trabajos y aflicciones no dió lugar a que se cumpliera mi feliz suerte. Un recio temporal que nos sobrevinó en el que perdimos los palos, y despues de ser felices en no ser naufragos, arribamos a esta capital de Manila donde me hallo hasta el año proximo venidero en donde siguiendo mi destino prosiguiré mi embarque. Hara satisfacion al servicio como si fueran premiados, mis meritos al tanto de lo executado, que espero continuarlos solo por mi lealdad al soberano.*

Dios guarde la importante vida y Persona de V.E. dilatados años para amparo de leales.

*Manila y Nov. 16 de 1768, à mi Ill. Señor
B.L.M. de V.E., su mas obediente subdito,
Fran. Xavier Estorgo Gallegos.
[Al] Exmo. Sor. Conde de Aranda.*

Translation.

Your Excellency:

I was being employed in the Kingdom of New Spain, as naval Captain in charge of an expedition that was to be carried out to Sonora, by order of His Excellency the Marquis of Croix, Viceroy of that Kingdom, when I received an order from said Lordship, to make ready a vessel of my satisfaction to carry some extremely important royal mail to the Governor of the Philippine Islands.

For this serious enterprise, and obligated by my honor as a loyal vassal to risk my life for the king, depreciating whatever obstacles that might present themselves to me, with blind obedience (as on all occasions), I decided, as an experienced pilot of the run, that I should carry out this great service. However, there was a lack of vessel that I could go out with, except that meant for the expedition to Sonora and the Californias. For my voyage to the Philippines, I selected a schooner named **Sonora** that was only 36 feet in length of keel, 12 feet in breadth, and 7 feet and 7 points in depth of hold, but so badly equipped and built that it was only because of my skill and experience in those seas that it might be thought possible that I would succeed in making such a very long and arduous voyage, a bad one indeed, if one considers the size of the vessel; there is not even a record of such a small boat having made the much shorter voyage from Cadiz to Havana.

It is indeed true, Sir, that during the course of the voyage the old rigging that had been provided me almost caused a shipwreck, on account not only of the bad weather from contrary winds and rough seas, but also of other incidents that happened; in fact, I took part in such a long voyage with only 15 crewmen, but I successfully completed it in record time, from 24 December 1767, when I departed the port of Matanchel, to 12 March 1768 when I made port in these Islands. Because of the persecution of the Moros in this continent that General Yargas(?), considering the obvious risk affecting my delivery(?) of H.M.'s mail, I had to continue my route, since I did not consider myself with sufficient strength for my own defence, but so it is that at the end of many efforts I managed to deliver the Royal mail into the hands of the President and Governor, Don José Raón, on the 17th of May of the same year, with so much secrecy and security that on the 21st of said month, the "commission" that was among the papers was carried out against the Jesuit Fathers, satisfactorily, since they were taken by surprise. By the certification that I enclose, Y.E. will get authentic proof of the execution of this commission.

The loyalty of the men under my command must not be doubted; indeed, they were not unaware of what was happening in the Kingdom of New Spain, but at the slightest insinuation on my part that they should keep silent, they were so faithful that, while we were travelling among these Islands, not one word leaked out and the commission was as successful as the mind of Y.E. had planned it to be. My shortcoming does not prevent me from hoping to get the favor of Y.E. for this special service and others that I have represented and that Y.E. may yet entrust me with.

Thus was concluded my commission and I placed myself at the orders of this Governor, Don José Raón, who arranged for the despatch of the ship **San Carlos** to the Kingdom of New Spain with the royal mail and to get the Royal subsidy. I boarded said vessel as a passenger, along with my crew, by order of said Governor, for the purpose of reintegrating my Department where I work, but, as luck would have it, as usual I met with bad luck, hardships and grief, and I was unable to meet with success. A brisk storm hit us, in which we lost our masts, and although we were lucky in that we were not shipwrecked, we turned back to this capital of Manila where I find myself until the coming year, when I will resume my intended voyage and board the ship again. I will satisfy the service, as if my merits had already been rewarded for what I have accomplished, and I hope to continue doing so, because my only concern is to be loyal to my sovereign.

May God save the important life and person of Y.E. for long years to come, for the protection of loyal servants.

Manila, 16 November 1768.

To His most Excellent Lordship.

Your most obedient subject who kisses the hand of Y.E.,

Francisco Xavier Estorgo Gallegos.

[To] His Excellency the Count of Aranda.

E3. Logbook of the voyage made by Estorgo from San Blas to Manila

Sources: AGI Mexico 1369; copy in Mexico 1858.

Original text in Spanish.

Diario exacto del viaje, que con el Divino favor, boy à hazer en la Goleta Nuestra Señora de la Soledad (alias) la Sonora, de 36 Pies de Quilla, 12 de Manga, y 7 pies y 2 puntos de Puntal, en la que boy de Comandante y Piloto de derrota à conducir de orden del Exmo. Sr. Virrey Marques la Croix, los Reales Pliegos de S.M. à entregar en manos propias, y a solas, al M. Y. Sr. Governador de Manila, y con el recivo de su entrega, dia y hora, bolver à Mexico, a dar quenta a dicho Exmo. Sr. para este hazerlo al Monarcha; Haviendo de salir de este Puerto, y nuevo Presidio de San Blas.

Dotacion de dicha Goleta

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>Comandante y Piloto mayor</i> | <i>Don Francisco Estorgo</i> |
| <i>Pilotin</i> | <i>Don Joseph Arangoyte, y Argamanzilla</i> |
| <i>Contra Maestre</i> | <i>Vicente Casaña</i> |
| <i>Carpintero y Galafate</i> | <i>Juan Noguera</i> |
| <i>Dispensero</i> | <i>Francisco Herrera</i> |
| | <i>Salvador Carrera</i> |
| | <i>Ygnacio Morillo</i> |
| <i>Idem murio</i> | <i>Joseph Rayales</i> |
| <i>Marineros</i> | <i>Ramon Puente</i> |
| | <i>Joseph Jurado</i> |
| | <i>Lazaro Juan</i> |
| | <i>Eduardo Antonio</i> |
| | <i>Gabriel Lucio</i> |
| | <i>Jacinto Figueroa</i> |
| <i>Cosinero</i> | <i>Francisco Castellon</i> |
| <i>Paje</i> | <i>Joseph Maria de la Trinidad</i> |
| <i>Su arboladura de Palo Maria, maior trinquete Baupres, Botavara Cangreja, Mastelero, y Botadin todo nuevo.</i> | |
| <i>Sus tablas de Xarcia, y demas Cavos de labor, todo al pié tramado, y bien acondicionado.</i> | |
| <i>Una esquifacion de todas Velas de media vida La mayor, y Trinquete de Loneta, los Foques redondos, y escandalosas de Cotense, y un Trinquete de Manta de respecto.</i> | |
| <i>2 Anclotes de Bronze ensepadados de peso de 3 a 4 quintales.</i> | |
| <i>2 Gandaletas para dar fondo el uno ya servido.</i> | |
| <i>2 Baldes.</i> | |
| <i>2 Tinas.</i> | |
| <i>1 Embudo de Palo.</i> | |
| <i>2 Calderas de Cobre.</i> | |
| <i>1 Tacho Chico.</i> | |

La Bomba guarnecida con dos Moteras de respecto.
Un poco de Tauazor(?), Tachuelas[,] estopa[,] Zebo y calg..s tachuelas.
1 Vandera, y dos Gallardetes con Armas Reales.
2 Minuterros.
2 Ampolletas la una de hora y la otra de media hora.
2 Sondaletas, la una chica y servida.
2 Escandallos.
1 Veta delgada alquitramada.
1 dicha sin alquitrar.
Varios pedazos servidos para orinques.
2 Escandalosas de Cotense usadas.
1 Redonda servida Ydem.
4 Motones de Gancho.
1 Polea.
5 Motones de Gaza.
80 Barriles. [for water supplies]
2 Almahasenes de Barril.
1 Fogon aforrado en oja de Lata.
1 Canoyta Chica.
3 Caxones con 21 Cartuchos[,] desatajor(?) de Polvora con sus correspondientes
Balas de 13-1/2 y 12 onzas.
1 Caxon de Vtencilla de Rasimos con 21 Saquillos de Bala de Plomo.
2 arrobas de Polvora suelta por saludar, y señas.
100 Lanza fuegos.
1000 Estopines.
2 Punzones.
2 Chifles.
1 Cartucho de oja de Lata.
1 Tercio de Cuerda mecha.
3 Atacadores con su Lanada mal hecha.
3 Cucharas con sus sacatrapos.
1 Hacha.
1 Zuela [i.e. hachuela].
1 Zierra chica.
3 Barrenas, chicas, y otra de alinea.
1 Martillo.
1 Formon.
1 Gurbia.
Masa Chica.
4 Cañones de Bronce de Calibre de a 3 [libras].
4 Cureñas con todo su herrege.
1 Bosina.

Día 24 de Diciembre [1767]

*Como a las 4 de la tarde, me leve del Puerto y Precisio de San Blas, con el viento no mui fresco por el N.U. marreado todo trapo, pase por la popa del **San Carlos**, que estaba en franquia, para ir à Guaymas, con la Tropa del Comando del Sr. Coronel Don Domingo Elisondo, y mandé gobernar à Lonje de Costa al S.U. con el viento variable del NNU al NNE, y al salir el Sol, me demorava la Ysla de Jalt..ma E.S.E. distancia de 4 Leguas y la Punta mas al S que forma el Cavo de Corrientes al S.S.E. y la Maria S.E. de la 3, al U1/4NU distancia de 7 a 8 Leguas, y el Zerro de Zaranguanguey al NE 5° N.*

...

Día 4 de dicho y 15 de Luna.

Nota. Esta madrugada murio el Marinero Joseph Rayales, y no se le encontro ropa ninguna de que hazer inventario, y solo sí, le encontraron a poder del Contra maestre 28 pesos 4 tomins: de lo que me hize Yo cargo.

...

Día 7 de dicho y 18 de Luna.

Nota. Ayer tarde me bolvio mui recia la Calentura, con principio de Delirio, y por fin con una Navaja, de Plumas, el desterrado que bà se atrevio a que me sangraria, y lo logro pero al cavo de barios piquetes, y me saque como 11 o 12 onzas de sangre, con lo que me alivie algo, y por la mañana por la misma Fisura me saque otras 8 o 10 onzas. Y lo que mas siento ès que si fallesco no se que serà de otros Pobres por el Pilotin, no es capaz de conducir ni gobernar derrota alguna, pues ni es Marinero, ni es Piloto, solo un corto principiante...

Lat. observada 14 g. 42 m.

Long. desminuida 96 g. 9 m.

Día 8 de dicho y 19 de Luna.

Nota. Estos dias hemos echo algunas promesas y Yo en particular.

Hé comensado à sentir algun alivio[,] menos del Estomago, pues desde el segundo dia salido a la Mar, no tomo sino arroz, caldo, y Chocolate, y me abrazo Vivo.

Día 9 de dicho y 20 de Luna.

Nota. Desde oy hà comensado à hacer la embarcacion alguna Agua, aunque no pasa de 4 a 6 puntos por singladura, pues es mucho lo que trabaja, aunque procuro darle el descanso que se puede asi en el gobierno como con las seguras de la maior.

Nota. Todavia hasta ahora ban endeble los dos otros Marineros chinos, y como son pocos nos hazen notable falta.

Longitud desminuida 92 grados 30 minutos ... Latitud observada 14 grados 38 minutos.

Día 10 de dicho y 21 de Luna.

Nota. Estos dias con los continuos golpes de Mar, que nos hàn entrado, que a beses nos hàn avierto senos, hàn ahogado las mas Gallinas, Guajolotes, y Guajolotas que lle-

vava en la Canoa, y fuera de ella, y me h  quedado sin Puerco fresco alguno, y aun los que havia matado, y salado en un Barril, le a entrado tanta Mar que se h  perdido.

Nota. Me hallo algo aliviado, pero muy endeble, y como para qualquier faenita, o jugada me es presiso levantarme, y estarme aunque sea a la Puerta de la Camara, haver, y mandar lo que se deve hazer para la ympericia del Pilote, no me  s dable combaleser, ni tener sosiego.

Longitud desminuida 90 grados 27 minutos ... Latitud observada 14 grados 4 minutos.

Dia 11 de dicho y 22 de Lunar.

Nota. Conociendo, y viendo por experiencia que no puedo por lo chico de la embarcacion orzar quando quiero, sino donde la mar me diere lugar, tengo por conveniente seguir mi derrota por los 15 y 16 grados y no por lo 12 grados 30 minutos como  s practica por ser este paralelo segun me demuestra la Carta mas limpio que el otro.

...

Dia 13 de dicho y 24 de Luna.

Nota. Con estos malos tiempos casi me h  quedado fresco, y como boy enfermo tan endeble lo extra o mucho.

Longitud desminuida 84 grados 50 minutos ... Latitud observada 15 grados 22 minutos.

...

Dia 19 de dicho y 30 de Luna.

Nota. ... A los primeros dias estaba my Octante parejo con el Quadrante del Pilotin, pero en estas 3 ultimas observaciones hemos tenido 25 a 30 minutos de diferencia...

Longitud desminuida 79 grados 17 minutos ... Latitud observada 14 grados 32 minutos.

Dia 20 de dicho y 1 de Luna.

Nota. Me   caydo otro Marinero, muy enfermo, y lo concedo de estar de dia y de noche mojados, y sin abrigo ninguno. Oy se me acabaron de morir las Gallinas, y empeze a comer tasajo, como qualquier triste Marinero...

Longitud desminuida 78 grados 9 minutos ... Latitud fantacia 14 grados 83 [sic] minutos.

Dia 21 de dicho y 3 de Luna.

Nota. Anoche tambien enferm  el Catalan Puente, y est  bastante malo, y ay que ardia que solo ay dos hombres...

...

Dia 22 de dicho y 4 de Luna.

Nota. Me an buel las Calenturas, y en la Garganta una especie de garrotillo, obre Dios...

...

Dia 24 de dicho y 6 de Luna.

Nota. Hasta el Cosinero à caydo enfermo, y todo la gente, à excepcion de dos, bà bien endeble, y no tengo para ambas guardias mas que dos Timoneles...

Longitud desminuida 70 grados 49 minutos ... Latitud fantazia 15 grados 5 minutos.

...

Dia 27 de dicho y 9 de Luna.

Nota. Oy fue menester quitarle a mis Baules las esteras que lo podrido que estavan, y la mas de mi Ropa de Galon perdida hasta el uniforme grande[,] todo tomado...

...

Dia 28 de dicho y 10 de Luna.

Nota. Ayer despues de corregido mi punto, y Latitud hallandome como 10 Leguas de los bajos de Villalobos, y con solo 33 minutos de diferencia Latitud Sur, y que asi estos como los mas que nos demuestran las Cartas de esta navegacion, no se encuentran bien situadas, como lo hân verificado otros Pilotos modernos, y aun Yo en mis viages, desconfiandome de esto quise darle mas resguardo...

...

Dia 31 de dicho y 13 de Luna.

Nota. De los tres Marineros enfermos, solo el uno à combalesido algo.

...

Dia 1 de Febrero y 14 de Luna.

Uno, ò dos Pajaros Bobos...

...

Dia 2 de dicho y 15 de Luna.

Nota. Quatro, ò cinco Bobos Dominicis. Ayer cogimos un Dorado, y tubimos con el un gran fandango como cosa fresca...

Longitud desminuida 61 grados 23 minutos ... Latitud observada 15 grados 51 minutos.

Dia 3 de dicho y 16 de Luna.

Nota. Sea [=se ha]reconocido irse el Viscocho que viene en el Pañolito de Popa como quatro sacos que venian en la Bodega que sea empesado a picar, y gorgojar, lo que mean [sic] desconsolado mucho...

Dia 4 de dicho y 17 de Luna.

Nota. Oy se mea contristado mucho la Gente, en especial los Enfermos (y a mi no mea dejado de hazer mella, pues solo tengo de los nueve hombres de tripulacion cinco buenos, ò sanos, y los dos son Marineros, y solo tengo un Timonel en cada guardia, pues los otros tres estan con Calenturas, y uno que se murio) deber que los otros dos tercios de frijoles que quedan son como los dos que se tiraron al Agua, que no ay remedio humano de ablandarlos, y el Pan de Corra que benia en 6 Costales algo blando, al ir ayer a sacar un Costal, se vido estava malo, y oy se acavo de reconocer, y apartar alguno que todavia puede pasar para gastarlo, hè ir reservando el que està en el Pañoli-

to de Popa, que no està tan malo; Por lo que de mis dos Barriles de Aguardiente que llevo lo estoy ya dando a la Gente, para ayuda del tasajo asado. e Yo no hago mas de una Comida al dia, y aun de mis Jamones para almo[r]sar.

...

Dia 6 de dicho y 19 de Luna.

*Nota. Desde ayer, ni Yo ni los oficiales comen mas que una Comida caliente de Mi-
niestra, al dia y un poco de tasajo asado y Jamon frito...*

Latitud observada con el Quadrante 15 grados 6 minutos.

Latitud observada con el Octante 16 grados 7 minutos.

Dia 7 de dicho y 20 de Luna.

*Nota. Anoche solo tenia de toda la Gente buena tres Marineros, el Paje y el Dester-
radof.] lo que me aflijo mucho es esto de los vientos tan flojos, y variables, y no tener
con que alimentarlos, y mui poca Leña y Agua[.] obre Dios &c. Por querer observar el
Pilotin con mis Quadrantes lo quebro la principal mira.*

...

Dia 10 de dicho y 23 de Luna.

*Nota especial: El tiempo, en expecial la noche pero el Viento muy fresco, y la Mar
tan picada del E. y NE. que nos hà atormentado muchisimo la Embarcazion y siempre
con la mayor en risos, y arriandola muchas beses por el rezelo de romper la Botabara,
ò descabezar el Palo, y la Goleta, à comenzado à hazer un poco de agua con lo mucho
que trabaja con tan crecida Mar, y son tantos los continuos cuidados, y sobresaltos que
pasamos con los tiempos tan irregulates que hè experimentado en toda esta Luna; que
no los hè visto [en] otros viages ni hè leydo, ni oydo y como la Embarcazion es tan chica,
que à haverlo imaginado en tierra juro bajo la Palabra de honor que aunque me hu-
vieran dado 20 mil pesos por el viage no lo huviera emprehendido.*

...

Dia 13 de dicho y 26 de Luna.

*Nota. Oy por la poca Leña que me queda desbarate una tina grande, y un Cajon mio
de Cagetas, y otro de Candelas para conservar siquiera una Comida Caliente...*

*Longitud desminuida 44 grados 24 minutos... Latitud observada mía 13 grados 46
minutos. Latitud Pilotin 13 grados 57 minutos.*

Dia 17 de dicho y 30 de Luna.

...

*Especial Nota. Hallandome oy con esta bonanza de tiempo, y la Mar serena entre
las 8 y 9 de la mañana, hize subir quantos Baules, y Cajas llevaban el Pilotin, y oficiales
de Mar, como asi mismo los Emboltorios de ropa de la Gente de Mar, sin dezir para
que efecto, y teniendola toda à mi vista, lo fui registrando, y no habiendo àllado Carta
alguna, les recombine en nombre del Rey Nuestro Señor que si trahian alguna mala
manifestasen, pues si despues se aberigua seria declarado por traidor à ambas Mages-
tades como tambien si acaso en qualquiera Puerto de los que yo tomase aunque fuera*

el de Manila, dijese por escrito, ò de palabra, nada de quanto havia acaesido con los P.P. de la Compania en el Reyno de la Nueva España, y dandoles a entender como los Pliegos que llevavamos, hera por areglar al Comercio de aquellas Yslas, sobre un pie fijo: a que todos quedaron enterados, y dijeron no traer Carta ninguna por dichas Yslas, ni para otra parte.

Dia 18 de dicho y 1º de Luna.

Nota. Oy me fue presiso mandar quemar mi Caja de bateria de Cosina por ayudar a las pocas Rajas de Leña que nos quedan, y que estas hagan fuego pues ès la Leña de tan mala calidad que toda se consume en tison y humo...

...

Dia 19 de dicho y 2 de Luna.

Nota. Desde ayer, cayo enfermo el Contramaestre, unico Hombre de Mar, que tengo lo que mea contristado bastante, pues no tengo otro a quien descuidar, ni en quien descansar...

Longitud desminuida 35 grados 56 minutos ... Latitud observada mía 13 grados 31 minutos. Latitud Pilotin 13 grados 42 minutos.

Dia 20 de dicho y 3 de Luna.

Nota. Oy empese a quemar las Duelas de los Barriles de Agua, como un Barril...

Dia 21 de dicho y 4 de Luna.

Nota. Desde ante ayer sea reconocido hazer bastante agua la Goleta. Ayer sele sacaron 14 Valdes de Agua, y oy 18.

Dia 22 de dicho y 5 de Luna.

Nota. Se bio un Golfín [rather Delfin] y muchos Pardelas. El Contramaestre yaa esta bueno...

Longitud desminuida 32 grados 3 minutos ... Latitud observada mía 13 grados 24 minutos. Latitud del Pilotin 13 grados 26 minutos.

Dia 23 de dicho y 6 de Luna.

Nota. Se conose que la Goleta cada dia haze agua, y a trabajado todos estos dias no baja de 20 à 25 Baldes grandes, lo que haze por singladura achicando mañana y tarde...

...

Dia 26 de dicho y 9 de Luna.

Nota. Hè reconocido que el agua que hà echo estos dias la Goleta à deser de algunos Barriles que se deven de haver cogido con su mucha Broma, pues yà no haze mas agua que antes.

El tiempo sereno, y mui claro, pero la Mar mui picada, el viento entro del E. 1/4N.E. y E. 1/4S.E. no muy fresco... Es mi cognato haver mantenido la Latitud que tenia por ser la de Marianas, pero los Timoneles son malos, y el cuidado ès poco.

*Longitud desminuida 25 grados 46 minutos ... Latitud obsrvada mía 13 grados 37.
Latitud del Pilotin 13 grados 48.*

...

Dia 28 de dicho y 11 de Luna.

Nota. Con estas Calmas, y Ventolinos, se me à afligido mucho la Gente, y en especial los Enfermos y mas que ya no ay sino unas frijoles que darles pues de tasajo ya son quesos [sic = guesos?] los que ay, y ayer, y oy les he dado unas Migas con Jamon.

Dia 29 de dicho y 12 de Luna.

Nota. Con la bonanza de anteayer, ayer hize escrutioño de la Bodega, y Pañolitos de la Goleta, para reconocer la Aguada, y Viveres que tenia, y alle mas de un tercio de Carne hedionda de pura guesos, y que en la que quedava, con la heconomia que estos dias tendrè solo para 130: 15 dias de frijoles como para 15 dias de aguada, con mui corta racion como para 18 à 20 dias y de Leña como para 7 a 8 dias, lo que à encontrando [sic] mucho a mi Gente, y a mi no mea dejado de desconsolar...

*Longitud desminuida 23 grados 16 minutos ... Latitud observada mía 13 grados 15.
Latitud del Pilotin 13 grados 25.*

Dia 1º de Marzo y 13 de Luna.

Nota. Ayer descubri una Broma al lado de estribor en la segunda tabla del costado que parecia un barrenof.] la mande tapar con un bujon que pasa hasta fuera del costado...

Nota. Ayer tarde me dio el Pilotin, su punto por escrito y segun su Papeleta, ayer despues de observar, y corregir su Punto, le faltavan para la Ysla de Guajan en Marianas 10 minutos E.-U.

Longitud desminuida 21 grados 13 minutos ... Latitud observada mía 13 grados 11 minutos. Latitud del Pilotin 13 grados 21 minutos.

Dia 2 de dicho y 14 de Luna.

Nota. Esta mañana cumplio el Pilotin su Longitud por la Papeleta que me dio ayer. Ayer se quemó por ayudar a la poca leña, un Caxon en que venia mi Chocolate, y si dura será menester quemar la Canoa...

...

Dia 3 de dicho y 15 de Luna.

Nota. Ayer con toda sumicion, se me quejo la Gente, y oficiales no poder comer la Carne tasajo, por lo rancio y hediondo, la que reconosí, y vi que tenian justísima causa y motivo, por lo que oy seles ha dado unas pocas de Calandracas de masamorra con Azucar de la mia, lo que me hà alfigido muchísimo. Y mas al ber que oy se nos acabo por mala la Leña, sin quedar otra accion que quemar la Canoa, y los Bariles pero estos me ès perjudicial, pues los mas los hè rrellenado de agua salada, para contrapeso en lugar de Lastre, y lo prinzipal de que depende esto ès de haver sido tan chica la Embarcacion, que aun por muchas cosas que traya mías en el Combes dava horror a todos

que lo navegara con ellas la Cinta prinzipal todo bajo del agua. Dios nos consuele; y mas con una Embarcacion tan porroza....

Longitud desminuida 18 grados 9 minutos. Faltando Marianas 19 minutos ... Latitud observada mia 13 grados 17. Latitud del Pilotin 13 grados 31.

...

Tierra.

Dia 7 de dicho y 13 de Luna.

Nota. Luego que la Gente apercivio, que me pasava de largo en demanda del Embocadero, en virtud de la Superior Orden, se me contristò mucho, pero procurè consolarlos en el mejor posible contentandolos con un trago, y Jamon asegurandoles lo bonancible de esta Mar, y que en breve cojeremos tierra firme.

El tiempo bonansible el horizonte claro, y el viento muy flojo por el E.N.E. manteniendome deste ayer al U. 1/2S. U. 6 grados S. U. y navegue hasta salir el Sol 32 millas con buena guardia, y luego que fue rayando, y aclarando el dia vimos la Tierra que no demorava al N.N.U. y luego que me sersiore ser Tierra, con el poco viento que havia mande gobernar à ella, y segun mi Latitud deve ser la Ysla de Zarpana.

A las 10 del Dia; se descubrio del Tope la Ysla del Gobierno de Marianas, nombrada Aguan, y nos demorava al U.S.U. distancia como de 10 Leguas.

A medio dia me demorava dicha Ysla de Zarpana Sur, mediania al N.N.O. 5 grados O. y la punta del N.E. al N.N.O. 5 grados N. y la del Sur al N.O. 3 grados N. distancia de 8 à 9 millas.

Latitud observada mia ... 13 grados 50 minutos.

Latitud del Pilotin ... 13 grados 55...

Nota. Cinco dias hà que no han visto Rabiahorcas quando ningun dia descubre que salimos de San Blas los hemos dejado de ver.

Dia 8 de dicho y 20 de Luna.

Nota. Proseguì costeano dicha Ysla de Zarpana, como a distancia de 3 a 4 Leguas, y como a las 4 de la tarde reconosi bien la Ysla de Yguan, donde esta el Governador pero a distancia de mas de 9 Leguas, y a poner el Sol, me demorava la mediania de la Ysla de Zarpana al N. 5 grados N. U. distancia de 3 a 4 Leguas, y la mediania de la Ysla del Governador al S. U1/4 Sur distancia de 8 à 10 Leguas, la punta de Umata al S.S.O. y la punta de los Amantes al S. U.

...

Oy me vide obligado a desbaratar la Canoa que llavava por si quiera tener Leña para la una Comida caliente que comemos.

Longitud meridional de Zarpana 18 grados 30. Longitud desminuida 17 grados 26 ... Latitud observada mia 13 grados 54. Latitud del Pilotin 13 grados 58.

Dia 9 de dicho y 21 de Luna.

Nota. Oy se a visto dos Cocos viejos, y secos...

...
Dia 17. Nos halamos dentro de la Bahia, montada la Ysla del Corregidor, y ya unos Bordos dimos fondo serca de Manila, al meter el Sol, con la panga del Capitan del Puerto, avise al Sr. Governador y con el Bote, y Guardia que se me remitio me desembarque con solo los Pliegos de mi cargo, y como a las 9 de la Noche cumpli con mi Comision en los Terminos que se me prevenia, y devia y me quede en Palacio hasta el 19 que dicho Ylustre Senñor dio yà las ordenes correspondientes para asegurar, y arrestar a los Jesuitas, poniendo la correspondiente Tropa en sus Collegios.

[1/2 line missing] *corregido por mi diario Original.*

Mexico 22 de febrero de 1770 años.

Francisco Xavier Estorgo Gallegos.

Translation.

Faithful logbook of the voyage, which I am about to make, with Divine help, with the Schooner Nuestra Señora de la Soledad, alias la Sonora, with a keel measuring 36 feet in length, a breadth of 12 feet, and a depth of hold of 7 feet 7 point, of which I am the Commander and Pilot, by order of His Excellency the Viceroy, Marquis of Croix, to carry the Royal mail of H.M., and to deliver it in person and in secret to the Most Illustrious Governor of Manila, and, with the proof of said delivery, immediately return to Mexico to report to His Excellency, for him in turn to report same to the King. I must leave from this port, and new Garrison, of San Blas.

Crew of said Schooner

| | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Commander and Chief Pilot | Francisco Estorgo |
| Pilot's Mate | José Arangoyte y Argamanzilla |
| Boatswain | Vicente Casaña |
| Carpenter and Caulker | Juan Noguera |
| Steward | Francisco Herrera |
| | Salvador Carrera |
| | Ignacio Morillo |
| Idem, died | José Rayales |
| Seamen ¹ | Ramon Puente ² |
| | José Jurado |
| | Lázaro Juan |
| | Eduardo Antonio |
| | Gabriel Lucio |
| | Jacinto Figueroa |
| Cook | Francisco Castellon |
| Ship's boy | José María de la Trinidad |

1 Ed. note: At least two seamen were Chinese (see below).

2 Ed. note: He was a Catalan (see below).

Her masts, made of Palo María: main-mast, fore-mast, and bowsprit mast, Spanier-boom, [main] topmast, and jib-boom(?), all new.

Her shrouds and other ropes for running gear, all well woven and well made.

One set of complete sails, half-worn, the main-sail and foresail made of light canvas, the square jibs and the staysails of cotton, and one spare foresail made of heavy canvas.

2 bronze kedge-anchors weighing 3 to 4 quintals.

2 heavy anchors, one in used condition.

2 buckets.

2 [wooden] vats.¹

1 funnel to install masts.

2 copper kettles.

1 small tin sheet.

The pump provided with 2 spare pistons(?)

Some ..., tacks, oakum, tallow and ... nails(?)

1 flag, and 2 pennants with the Royal coat-of-arms.

2 minute sand-glasses.

2 other sand-glasses, one measuring one hour, the other half an hour.

2 sounding lines, one small and used.

2 sounding leads.

1 thin cable, tarred.

1 idem, not tarred.

Various pieces of used ropes, for use as buoy ropes.

2 cotton staysails, used.

1 cotton square sail, used.

4 blocks, hook-type.

1 Pulley.

5 blocks, hole-type.

80 barrels [for water supplies].

1 fireplace, lined with tin sheets.

1 dinghy.

3 crates with 21 cartridges, [one] powder measure, and with their respective balls of 13-1/2 and 12 ounces.

1 crate with cluster moulds, and 21 small bags full of lead balls.

2 arrobas of loose powder, to salute or give signals with.

100 flame throwers.

1,000 quick-matches.

¹ Ed. note: In this case, the "tinas" were not jars, but made of wood, subsequently used as firewood (see below).

2 awls.
 2 powder-horns [to load cannon].
 1 cartridge, of tin sheet.
 1 load of match cords.
 3 bore-hole cleaners, with their cord badly made.
 3 spoons with their rag-pullers.
 1 axe.
 1 hatchet.
 1 small saw.
 3 augers, small, and 1 other, a gimlet(?)
 1 small hammer.
 1 [large] chisel.
 1 "gurbia." [= small chisel?]
 1 small sledge hammer.
 4 bronze guns, 3-pounders.
 4 gun carriages, with all of their iron accessories.
 1 voice horn.

24 December [1767]

At about 4 in the afternoon, I sailed from the port and garrison of San Blas with a light wind from NW, with all sails. I passed close to the poop of the **San Carlos** that was making ready to go to Guaymas¹ with the soldiers under the command of Colonel Domingo Elisondo, and I ordered the course to be set SW to sail along the coast, as the wind was variable, from NNW to NNE. At daybreak the Island of Jalt..ma [= Jaltemba?] bore ESE distance of 4 leagues, the point further south which forms Cape Corrientes bore SSE, the southernmost María Island bore W1/4NW distance 7 to 8 leagues, and the peak of Zaranguanguey bore NE5°N.

...

4th of said month [January 1768] and 15th day of the Lunar Month.

Note. In the early morning died José Rayales, Seaman, and nothing was found in his possession worth making an inventory, but the Boatswain kept 28 pesos 8 tomins that belonged to him, of which I took charge.

...

7th of said month and 18th Lunar.

Note. Yesterday afternoon my fever returned with a vengeance, with the beginning of some delirium, and finally, making use of a pen-knife, the exile on board dared to bleed me, and he did so, but only after he had tried many times. This morning, through the same fissure I took out 8 to 10 more ounces from me. What I am most sorry about is that, if I die, I don't know what would happen to the other poor men on board,

¹ Ed. note: Further north along the coast of Mexico.

because the Pilot's Mate is not able to lead or follow any course; in fact, he is not a sailor, nor a pilot, just a raw beginner...

Lat. obs. 14°42' [N.]

Long. decreasing 96°9' [E. of Cape Espiritu Santo]

8th of said month and 19th Lunar.

Note. These days we have made some promises, and myself in particular.

I have begun to feel some relief, with less diarrhea; indeed since our second day at sea, I have eaten nothing except rice, broth, and hot chocolate. I have become so skinny.

9th of said month and 20th Lunar.

Note. Beginning today the boat has begun to leak a little, though no more than 4 to 6 points per daily run; in fact, it labors very much, although I try to avoid this as much as possible, not only by [judicious] steering but also by securing the main sail.

Note. The other two Chinese sailors are still weak, and as there are few sailors on board, their absence is much felt.

Longitude decreasing 92°30' ...

Latitude observed 14°38'

10th of said month and 21st Lunar.

Note. These days the high waves that have been sweeping over the deck have found all recesses, so that most of the chickens and turkeys that were kept inside and outside the dinghy have drowned. I have no more fresh pork either, and even those that I had butchered, and whose meat I kept salted in one barrel, had been soaked by so much seawater that has been lost.

Note. I find myself somewhat relieved, but very weak, and given that I must get up for any small task, or game, and stand by the door of my cabin, to watch and give the required orders, on account of the uselessness of the pilot, it is not possible for me to convalesce, or to rest.

Longitude decreasing 90°27' ...

Latitude observed 14°4'

11th of said month and 22nd Lunar.

Note. Recognizing by experience that the boat is too small to allow me to tack when I want, but only where the sea lets me, I think it advisable to continue my voyage by following 15 or 16 degree parallel and not by the 12°30' which is the normal practice, on account of the former parallel being clearer of dangers, according to the chart.

...

13th of said month and 24th Lunar.

Note. With this bad weather the wind has remained almost fresh, and given that I am sick and so weak, I miss it very much.

Longitude decreasing 84°50' ...

Latitude observed 15°22'

...

19th of said month and 30th Lunar.

Note. ... At the beginning my Octant gave results equal to the Quadrant of the Pilot's Mate, but during the last 3 days we have differed by anywhere from 25 to 30 minutes...

Longitude decreasing 79°17'...

Latitude observed 14°32'

20th of said month and 1st Lunar.

Note. I have had another sailor fall very sick, and I admit that it is because they are continually wet day and night, without any shelter. Today the remainder of my chickens died, and I began to eat jerk beef, as any of the other sad sailors...

Longitude decreasing 78°9'...

Latitude estimated 14°83' [sic]¹

21st of said month and 3rd Lunar.

Note. Last night another man fell sick, Puente the Catalan, and this is rather bad, and things are coming to a head, as there are only two [sea] men left...

22nd of said month and 4th Lunar.

Note. My fevers have returned, and I have a throatache. May God help me...

...

24th of said month and 6th Lunar.

Note. Even the Cook has fallen sick, and all of the men, except two, are very weak. I have only two helmsmen for the two watches...

Longitude decreasing 70°49'...

Latitude estimated 15°5'

...

27th of said month and 9th Lunar.

Note. Today it became necessary to remove the mats that I had inside my trunks, because they were all rotten, and most of my formal clothes as well, even my best uniform, all ruined...

28th of said month and 10th Lunar.

Note. Yesterday after correcting my point, and latitude, finding myself at about 10 leagues from the Shoals of Villalobos [i.e. Taongi], they being only 33 minutes away toward the South, and given that they are not very well situated on most charts, as other modern Pilots have found out, and even I during my voyages, being distrustful, I decided to give them some sea room...

...

¹ Ed. note: Transcription error in the copy of the logbook, probably for 53 minutes.

31st of said month and 13rd Lunar.

Note. Out of the three sick sailors, only one has somewhat recovered.

...

1st of February and 14th Lunar.

One, or two Boobies...

...

2nd of said month and 15th Lunar.

Note. Four, or five Dominican Boobies.¹ Yesterday we caught one Dorado [fish], and we had a great feast with it, it being some fresh meat...

Longitude decreasing 61°23'...

Latitude observed 15°51'

3rd of said month and 16th Lunar.

Note. It has been recognized that the biscuit stored in the small pantry at the poop is disappearing. About 4 bags of it that were stored in the hold have begun to rot, and become wormy; this had saddened me very much...

...

4th of said month and 17th Lunar.

Note. Today I have been saddened very much by the plight of my men, specially the sick (something which has had an effect on me too; indeed, out of 9 crewmen I only have 5 in good health, and only 2 of whom are sailors, with only 1 helmsman per watch, as the other 3 have fevers and one has died). Indeed, the two bags of beans that remain are like the other two that were thrown overboard, and there is no human remedy to make them palatable, and the common bread that was kept in 6 burlap bags, somewhat palatable, well, upon taking out one bag yesterday, it was found to be bad, and today the rest were checked, and some of it was put asides for current use, to save that which is stored in the pantry at the poop, which is not so bad. As for my two barrels of brandy that I brought along, I am now dispensing it to the men, to help them cook the dried beef, and I myself have no more than one meal a day; I still have some ham for lunch.

...

6th of said month and 19th Lunar.

Note. Since yesterday, neither I nor the officers eat more than one hot meal per day, consisting of vegetables with a little dried beef and fried ham...

Latitude observed with the Quadrant 15°6'

Latitude observed with the Octant 15°7'

7th of said month and 20th Lunar.

Note. Last night the only good men I had were three sailors, the ship's boy and the Exile. What afflicts me very much is this about the winds being so slack, and variable, and that I have nothing to feed them with, and very little wood and water. May God

1 Ed. note: Like Dominican Fathers, these birds must have had black bodies with white wings.

provide, etc. In trying to make an observation, the Pilot's Mate broke the main sight of one of my Quadrants.

...

10th of said month and 23rd Lunar.

Special Note. The weather, specially during the night, with the wind very fresh, and the waves coming in so high from E and NE, have tormented the boat very much. We always kept the main topsails furled, and the main sail lowered at times, on account of the fear of breaking the Spanier-boom, or the topmast. The schooner has begun to leak a little, because she labors so much in this heavy sea. We have had to be continually on our guard against mishaps during the whole of this Moon; I have never seen anything like it during my other voyages, nor read about or heard anything like that. Plus the fact that this boat is so small. If I had just imagined ashore what was to happen, I swear on my word of honor, that I would not have undertaken this voyage, even if they had given me 20,000 pesos.

...

13th of said month and 26th Lunar.

Note. Today, because I have so little wood left, I dismantled a large vat, and one crate of mine where I kept my "cajeta",¹ and another that had contained candles, in order to maintain on hot meal [per day] at all costs...

Longitude decreasing 44°24'...

Latitude observed: mine 13°46' and that of the Mate 13°57'

...

17th of said month and 30th Lunar.

Special Note. As I found myself with favorable weather today, and with a serene sea, between 8 and 9 this morning, I had all of the trunks and boxes belonging to the Pilot's Mate, and to the sea officers, brought up on deck, as well as the bundles of clothes of the sailors, without telling anyone why. While I had it all before me, I checked it all, and not having found any [hidden] letters, I entreated them in the name of the King our Lord to tell me if they carried any mail with them; indeed, if any were to be discovered later on, they would be declared traitor to both their Majesties. This applied also for any port we might visit, even one far from that of Manila; they were not to write, or say, anything about what had happened with the Fathers of the Society in the Kingdom of New Spain. But I let them know that the documents that we were carrying were to arrange the trade of those Islands on a permanent basis. Everyone declared that they had been warned, and carried not one letter for said Islands, nor for anywhere else.

18th of said month and 1st Lunar.

Note. Today I had to order the burning of the box that had contained my cooking utensils, in order to help save a few of the remaining sticks of wood, while cooking meals; in fact, our wood is of such a bad quality that it all ends up in cinders and smoke...

1 Ed. note: This "cajeta" is caramelized milk, a good spread still used throughout Mexico.

19th of said month and 2nd Lunar.

Note. Since yesterday, the Boatswain, the only [real] seaman whom I got, had fallen sick. This has made me rather sad, as I have no-one else to relieve me, nor in whom to trust...

Longitude decreasing $35^{\circ}56'$...

Latitude observed: mine $13^{\circ}31'$, that of the Mate $13^{\circ}42'$

20th of said month and 3rd Lunar.

Note. Today I began to burn the staves of the water barrels, from about one barrel...

21st of said month and 4th Lunar.

Note. Since the day before yesterday, we have noticed that the schooner is leaking noticeably. Yesterday they bailed out 14 buckets of water, and today 18...

22nd of said month and 5th Lunar.

Note. A dolphin was sighted, and many "pardelas" [birds?]. The Boatswain is now well...

Longitude decreasing $32^{\circ}3'$...

Latitude observed: mine $13^{\circ}24'$, that of the Mate $13^{\circ}26'$

23rd of said month and 6th Lunar.

Note. It is a fact that the schooner is leaking, and has labored during the last few days, as they bail out from 20 to 25 large bucketfuls morning and afternoon for every daily run...

...

26th of said month and 9th Lunar.

Note. I have realized that the water that the schooner has made these last few days must have come from some rotten barrels, perhaps they have been attacked by ship-worms; indeed, it no longer leaks as much as before.

The weather is serene and very clear, but the sea running high, the wind coming from E1/4NE to E1/4SE not very fresh... It is my intention to maintain the present latitude, as it is that of the Marianas, but the helmsmen are bad, and their care is little.

Longitude decreasing $25^{\circ}46'$...

Latitude observed: mine $13^{\circ}37'$, that of the Mate $13^{\circ}48'$

...

28th of said month and 11th Lunar.

Note. With these calms, and light airs, my men have become disconsolate, and specially the sick, and the more so when there are only a few beans left to give them; indeed, the dried meat that is left is like cheese(?), and yesterday, and today, I have given them some crumbs with ham.

29th of said month and 12th Lunar.

Note. With the good weather we had since yesterday, yesterday I made a survey of the hold, and the pantries aboard the schooner, to find out how much water and food supplies it had, and I found more than one bag of stinking meat, just bones, left, but with the remainder, by applying the same economy of these last few days, I will have enough for 130 [rations], that is, 15 days of beans, about 15 days of water, and with a short ration, enough for about 18 to 20 days, and wood for about 7-8 days. This has contraried the men very much, and has left me disconsolate...

Longitude decreasing 23°16'...

Latitude observed: mine 13°15', that of the Mate 13°25'

1st of March and 13th Lunar.

Note. Yesterday I discovered a worm hole through the second board of the star-board side. It looked like a hole made with a drill. I ordered it to be plugged with a peg, which came right through the side...

Note. Yesterday afternoon the Pilot's Mate gave me his [estimated] point in writing, and according to his notes, yesterday, after he had observed and corrected his point, he needed only 10 minutes E-W to reach the Island of Guajan in the Marianas.

Longitude decreasing 21°13'...

Latitude observed: mine 13°11' and that of the Mate 13°21'

2nd of said month and 14th Lunar.

Note. This morning the longitude according to the notes that the Pilot's Mate gave me yesterday has been passed. Yesterday, to save the little wood left, we burned one crate that had contained the chocolate. We might end up having to burn the dinghy...

3rd of said month and 15th Lunar.

Note. Yesterday, the men and the officers presented a complaint, with all due respect, saying that they could not eat the dried meat, on account of it being rancid and stinking. I checked it and found that they were completely right and had a very just reason to complaint. That is why today I have given them a few scrapings and bread-dust with some of my sugar, something that has afflicted me not a little, the more so when I saw that today the bad wood has run out. There is nothing left but to burn the dinghy, and the barrels, but this is prejudicial to me, since I had had them filled with seawater to act as ballast, and the reason for this that the boat had been so small, though there had been so many things of mine on deck that one was horrified just to look at the waterline, below the water. May God take pity on us, and the more so with a boat so full of holes...

Longitude decreasing 18°9'. There are 18 minutes left before the Marianas...

Latitude observed: mine 13°17', that of the Mate 13°11'

...

Land!

7th of said month and 13th Lunar.

Note. After the men found out that I would not stop and head directly for the Strait, by virtue of the Superior Order, they were very much saddened, but I tried to console them as best as I could, giving them a drink and some ham, and assuring them that, with the good seas that we were having, we would reach the mainland in a short time.

The weather was beautiful, the horizons clear, but the wind very slack from ENE, Since yesterday I have maintained myself heading W1/2SW 6° SW and I covered 32 miles before daybreak, while keeping a good lookout. At daybreak, in the early morning light, Land was seen. It bore NNW. As soon as I recognized it to be land, I ordered the bow pointed at the land with the little wind that we had. According to my Latitude, it must be the Island of Zarpana [i.e. Rota].

At 10 o'clock, from the top was seen the Island where the Governor of the Marianas resides, named Aguan [sic], and it bore WSW distance of about 10 leagues.

At noon the center of said Island of Zarpana bore NNW 5° W and its NE pont NNW 5° N, and the South point NW 3° N distance from 8 to 9 miles.

Latitude observed: mine 13°50', that of the Mate 13°55'...

[There is a small profile view of Rota inserted here, showing the island trending from South to NE.]

Note. For five days we have not stopped seeing frigate birds, whereas before that we had not seen one since leaving San Blas.

8th of said month and 20th Lunar.

Note. I coasted along said Island of Zarpana at a distance of about 3 to 4 leagues. At about 4 in the afternoon, I recognized very well the Island of Yguan, where the Governor resides, but at a distance of over 9 leagues. At sunset, the center of the Island of Zarpana bore N5°NW distance 3-4 leagues, and the center of the Island of the Governor SW1/4S distance 8-10 leagues, the point of Umatac SSW, and Two Lovers Point SW [sic].

...

Today I saw myself obliged to dismantle the dinghy, as otherwise there would not have been a hot meal.

Longitude of the south part of Zarpana 18°30' Longitude decreasing 17°26'...

Latitude observed: mine 13°54', that of the Mate 13°58'

9th of said month and 21st Lunar.

Note. Today two old, and dry, coconuts were seen...

...

[So it is that the Captain chose not to stop in the Marianas, although he was in great need of everything. Strange to say, he stopped complaining about this in his logbook.

Luckily they sighted the Philippines on the 19th. They were a little north of San Bernardino. In turn, they passed all the landmarks, for instance, Capul, the Naranjos, then Ticao Island. They made for the port of San Jacinto, to find relief, but his own boat was not much serviceable. On the 22nd, a *Banca*, or large canoe, was sent to Sorsogon to get food supplies but returned empty-handed. Meanwhile, two small bronze falconets were installed on the poop of the *Sonora*, for better defence against marauding Moros. On the 28th, they were sailing past Masbate, Zibuyan and in sight of Burias. The 29th was Tuesday of Holy Week, and they were sailing day and night. The next day, they were in the mouth of the river leading to Capiz, but they could not enter it without great risk, when they sighted two canoes of Moors headed their way. Captain Estorgo veered off to look for Puerto Seguro in the Island of Romblon. On Holy Thursday, they could only shoot guns to get attention. On Good Friday, 1st of April, they finally got the help of 5 canoes with 45 men to tow them into port, but this was not accomplished fully until Saturday 3rd. The crew finally got to eat a good meal of pork and rice. The local priest advised Captain Estorgo to wait for an armed trading ship to come by, and go in her company to Manila. However, Captain Estorgo found a sloop full of rice and lightly armed in that same port. He approached her Captain, Bernardo Gomez of Manila, and ordered him in the name of the King to accompany him back to Manila, agreeing to arrange for her crew to be paid their expenses by the royal treasury. The next day, Easter Sunday, they added boards to raise the gunwales of the schooner by one cubit, while the sloop was being unloaded of her freight and loaded with ballast. The weather became so bad that the two vessels could not leave port until the 9th of April. However, the bad weather continued and Captain Estorgo soon decided to leave his schooner behind (for reasons that he does not fully explain, except to say that she was a bad sailer in bad weather) and continue his voyage aboard the Manila sloop. They took some equipment off the schooner to reinforce the sloop, although she was half-rotten. They were not making much progress; by the 22nd they were only off Banton Island, and Guimaras, and Marinduque. They could not find any better vessel along the way, until they reached the Island of Cobrador, where they found a boat of 36 cubits that the local priest had almost finished building. They put 25 local men to work to finish her. Meanwhile a local canoe was sent to Tayabas, with a message for the Governor General, to send an armed escort. On the 26th, they began to careen both his schooner and the sloop. Finally, on 11 May 1768, a three-masted Navy Packet commanded by Captain Andrés Nava and Lieutenant Bernador Sebollino arrived. Estorgo received an order to go aboard this packet with the royal mail and make haste towards Manila, abandoning his schooner to the local port authorities, and transferring his crew also. They sailed for Manila on the 13th, and soon reached Manila Bay.]

...
17th. We found ourselves within the Bay [of Manila], past the Island of Corregidor, and after a few tacks we anchored near Manila. At sunset, I sent a message to His Lordship the Governor, with the small boat of the Port Captain, and with the boat and sol-

diers that he sent me, I disembarked, carrying only the mail under my care, and at about 9 in the evening complied with my commission, in the terms that had been imposed upon me, which I had to obey. I remained in the Palace until the 19th when His Illustrious Lordship gave the corresponding orders to arrest and detain the Jesuits, by placing the required number of soldiers in their colleges.

[1/2 line missing: Copied and] corrected from my original logbook.

Mexico, 22 February 1770.

Francisco Xavier Estorgo Gallegos.

E5. Letters from Estorgo to Bailiff Arriaga, dated Mexico 22 July 1770

Source: AGI Mexico 1858.

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Sor.

Señor: Con el debido rendimiento participo à V.E. mi arribo à esta en la presente flota de Orden del Exo. Sor. Virrey Marqués de Croix esperando merecer à V.E. lo haga presente à S.M. para que su Real Piedad se digne mirar y atendre à este Pobre aunque leal Vassallo, destinandome en quanto conduzga à su Real servicio, sin embargo de mi abanzada edad, y poca salud, y por si esta no me permite passar à esa Corte, incluyo con todo respecto la de dicho Exmo. Sor. Virrey.

Dios guarde la importante vida de V.E. muchos años.

*Abordo de la Capitana **Santiago la España** 22 de Julio de 1770.*

Exmo. Sor.

El menor de V.E. su mas rendido servidor,

Francisco Xavier Estorgo Gallegos.

[Al] Exmo. Sor. B^o Don Fr. Julian de Arriaga.

Exmo. Sor.

En el Registro de Plata de la Capitana de esta Flota, traygo manifestados Quatro mill pesos pertenecientes à mis devengados sueldos pagados por las Reales Cajas de la Nueva España de los bienes ocupados de los Regulares de la Compañia, y como de estos he de sufragar los socorros subministrados durante tanto tiempo à mi Esposa y familia en Sevilla, espero del Piadoso zelo de V.E. se interese, à fin de que la Real Piedad me dispense sus Reales Derechos.

Dios guarde la importante vida de V.E. muchos años.

*Abordo de la Capitana **Santiago la España** 22 de Julio de 1770.*

Exmo. Sor.

Attento de V.E. su mas rendido subdito.

Francisco Xavier Estorgo y Gallegos.

[Al] Exmo. Sor. B^o Fr. Don Julian de Arriaga.

Translation.

Your Excellency.

Sir: With all due respect I inform Y.E. of my arrival at this [port] with the present Fleet, by order of His Excellency the Viceroy, Marquis of Croix, and I hope that Y.E. will do me the favor of presenting to H.M. this poor, though loyal, vassal of his, and that H.M. will deign to consider me for anything that has to do with his Royal service, although I am already old and not much healthy. Should the present not be sufficient to get me the permission to proceed to that Court, it is with complete respect that I enclose the letter from His Excellency the Viceroy.

May God save the important life of Y.E. for many years.

Aboard the flagship **Santiago la España**, 22 July 1770.

Your Excellency.

The last but most obliging servant of Y.E.,

Francisco Xavier Estorgo Gallegos.

[To] His Excellency Bailiff Fray Julian de Arriaga.

Your Excellency.

On the silver manifest of the flagship of the Fleet, there are registered to my credit 4,000 pesos pertaining to my back pay and paid out by the Royal treasury of New Spain from the occupied properties of the Regulars of the Society. Since I must pay the debts contracted by my wife and family in Seville during my long absence, I hope to obtain from the generous zeal of Y.E. that the Royal favor will be done me of a dispensation from paying his Royal duties.

May God save the important life of Y.E. for many years.

Aboard the flagship **Santiago la España**, 22 July 1770.

Your Excellency.

The most devoted servant of Y.E.,

Francisco Xavier Estorgo y Gallegos.

[To] His Excellency Baififf Fray Julian de Arriaga.

Editor's note—What happened to the Sonora?

It was incorporated in the King's fleet in the Philippines. There was a royal order issued to that effect. This order was acknowledged in Letter #2 from the Governor of the Philippines, dated 27 December 1776 (mentioned in the index of correspondence in AGI Fil. 390).

Documents 1769A

The frigate **San Carlos** took the first batch of 21 Jesuits to Mexico in 1769

A1. List of the 21 Jesuits aboard the **San Carlos**, commanded by Felipe Ceraín

Official source: AHN Clero Jesuitas, Legajo 278, doc. n° 6.

Jesuit source: ARSI Phil. 3, fol. 373-387.

Introductory note.

At the time of their expulsion, there were 143 Jesuits in the Philippines, not counting 3 in the Marianas, and 8 on overseas assignments. Of these:

—**21 (listed below) sailed via the Pacific Ocean aboard the galleon San Carlos in 1769** (although 2 died during the first attempt in 1768);

—68 sailed via the Indian Ocean aboard the frigate **Santa Rosa** in 1770;

—24 sailed via the Indian Ocean aboard the warship **Venus** in 1770;

—9 sailed via the Indian Ocean aboard the warship **Astrea** in 1771; and

—the rest were either declared too sick to travel and allowed to remain in the Philippines (19-21 of them), or else, like Fr. Esandi at Capul Island, they were taken captive in Moro raids and martyred.

The **San Carlos** sailed through the Northern Marianas where she encountered a storm, and arrived at the port of Navidad on 13 December 1769, and at Acapulco on Christmas Day. This group of missionaries reached Veracruz on 17 February 1770.

Names, hometowns, and ages

1. Fr. Superior Francisco Xavier Puch, from Pio, Diocese of Urgel, born 5 February 1720;¹

¹ Ed. note: His name in Catalan was Puiz. Born on 5 February 1720, joined the Jesuit Order in 1738, went to the Philippines in 1750, and died at Cesena, Italy, on 13 February 1782.

2. Fr. Ignacio Frisch, from Opavia, Diocese of Olmutz in Germany [sic],¹ born 18 February 1722;
3. Fr. Ignacio Gosner, from Styria, Diocese of Milestad in Germany [rather Austria], born 21 November 1715;
4. Fr. Tomás Montón, from Cazarasvela, Diocese of Málaga, born 6 Septiembre 1723;²
5. Fr. Juan Miguel (de la) Cuesta, from Minglanilla, Diocese of Cuenca, born 19 August 1719;³
6. Fr. Fernando Ibañez, from Torremormojon, Diocese of Placencia, born 5 March 1726;
7. Fr. Salvador Busque, from Barcelona, born 6 May 1728;
8. Fr. Bartolomé Avillan [rather Abellán], from Tomilla, Diocese of Cartagena, born 30 March 1733;
9. Fr. Juan Antonio Tornos, from Librancon, Diocese of Sigüenza, born 6 November 1727;⁴
10. Fr. Antonio Urtezabel, from S. Sebastian, Diocese of Pamplona, born 3 September 1736;
11. Fr. Pedro Zía, from Mangeru, Diocese of Pamplona, born 13 March 1731;
12. Fr. Francisco Ortiz, from Torralba, Diocese of Calahorra, born 19 January 1733;
13. Fr. Joaquín Romero, from Zaragoza, born 2 December 1735;
14. Fr. Ricardo Calasan [rather Callaghan], from Dublin in Ireland, born 25 September 1728;
15. Fr. Luis Lopez, from Galaxoca, Diocese of Seville, born 30 April 1735;
16. Fr. Luis Secanell, from Tarrocha, Diocese of Salzona, born 1 April 1736;
17. Fr. Juan Miguel Lazorda, from Pamplona, born 14 August 1740;
18. Fr. Miguel Alutziza, from Muntiloa, Diocese of Pamplona, born 14 November 1737;
19. Brother Joaquín [or Juan] Dicastillo, from Mangeru, Diocese of Pamplona, born 19 March 1719;
20. Br. Miguel Marcos, from Millena, Diocese of Valencia, born 16 October 1723;⁵
21. Br. José Rodriguez, from Treveler, Diocese of Granada, born 8 April 1737.

1 Ed. note: The German Province of the Jesuits, but located in Moravia, in the Czech Republic. Fr. Frisch had been serving in Guiuan, Samar.

2 Ed. note: He had been serving in Maasin, Ilongos (Visayas).

3 Ed. note: He last served in Palo, in NW Mindanao.

4 Ed. note: See different bio-data and his note in Doc. 1770B.

5 Ed. note: He was a surgeon, with a M.D. degree, who arrived at the Philippines with the mission band of 1752 headed by Fr. San Cristóbal. Upon arriving back at Acapulco in 1769, there was a flu epidemic raging there and he gave care to the Governor of Acapulco, Teodoro de Croix (nephew of the then-Viceroy of New Spain, and himself future Viceroy of Peru, see Doc. 1766B). In 1774, he was living at Bagnacavallo, Italy (ref. Burrus, op. cit.)

A2. Extract from the diary of Fr. Puiz, when passing by the Northern Marianas

Sources: Anonymous [sic] ms. HM4101 in the Huntington Library in California; edited by Fr. Ernest J. Burrus and published in AHSI 20 (1951): 269-299.

Note: The author, though unspecified in the document, can be easily identified, as he was the Superior and was Catalan. The ship was forced back in distress in 1768, but resumed the voyage in 1769.

Original text in Spanish.

...
Día 19 ya amanecimos fuera de las gargantas de dicho embocadero, y prosiguiendo el mismo viento con frescura hasta el día 28; en este día se consideraban ya los pilotos a distancia de unas 30 ó 40 leguas de las Islas Marianas sobre la latitud septentrional de 17 grados. Calmónos el viento y por la noche observamos un grande cometa que vimos por muchas noches, y discurso le huviéramos observado antes a no haver estado nublado el cielo. Por dos semanas estuvimos parte con calmas parte dando bordos con vientos contrarios, sin avanzar nada; mas antes atrasándonos por las corrientes, que nos llevaban a los mares del Japón y China. En uno de estos bordos tubimos un comopetente susto por havernos hallado de improviso sobre un baxo no conocido ni demarcado en carta laguna, y, temiendo bajar, con pronta maniobra nos hicimos fuera de él.

Movíase por fin un viento mediamente favorable, y con él pasamos el día 14 de septiembre las Islas Marianas entre una isleta situada de 21 grados de latitud septentrional, que los españoles llaman Farallón de Pájaros por la multitud de aves rarisimas que se acojen a ella, y otra llamada Urracas, distante de la primera como 10 leguas a la banda del su[r]jeste. Una y otra descubrimos; pero estando navegando entre las dos ese día se nos armó una tempestad de truenos y rayos tan formidables que llenó de terror y espanto a todos los de la mar. Añadíamos cuidado el ver que se nos havían cerrado todos los horizontes, abatidas las nubes hasta la superficie del mar, y amagándonos con negras cejas con otro huracán como el que havíamos padecido el año pasado, y de hecho se prepararon para ello los pilotos mandaf[n]do aferrar velas y calar masteleros. Los vientos en lo bajo no eran excesivos, mas en lo alto parecía que luchaban fuertemente, de donde se originaba que las nubes abatidas nos disparassen tan cerca los truenos y rayos que parecía salían del mismo tope de los palos de la nave y con tanta copia y continuación que sin ponderación podía llamarse lluvia de rayos y centellas, que caían por todo el rededor de la nave, y cruzaban por entre sus palos y vergas de modo que temíamos que nos incendiasen el navío.

Por dos veces nos acometió aquel día la tempestad; la primera empezó mucho antes de amanecer y duró por 4 horas, y la otra por la tarde por dos horas. Recurrimos a Dios con la oración y con los exorcismos de la santa Iglesia, conjurando el temporal con un Lignum Crucis que pudimos salvar de nuestra expolio, con la confianza en el Señor Crucificado que en el aquel día en que la santa Iglesia celebraba la Exaltación de su santa Cruz no había de permitir que triunfasen de nosotros las aéreas potestades. En

efecto Dios por su misericordia nos libró de todo daño en medio de tan vivo fuego como nos[?] hacían aquellos nublados, y nos quiso dar este nuevo argumento de la dependencia y necesidad que tenemos en todas partes de su auxilio y protección Divina.

Día 15 de septiembre nos movió un viento sureste fresco y constante por tres semanas, con el cual navegamos con la proa de nordeste con bastante ligereza; y más de las muchas leguas de longitud que grangeamos, nos pusimos con los 35 grados de latitud septentrional.

...

Translation.

...

At daybreak of the 19th, we had already left the channels of said Embocadero and we were pursuing our voyage with the same fresh wind until the 28th. On this day the pilots already considered themselves within 30-40 leagues of the Mariana Islands at a latitude of 17 degrees North latitude. The wind became calm and that night we observed for the first time a large comet, which we also saw for many nights afterwards. We might have seen it earlier, but the sky had been cloudy. During the next two weeks, we were either becalmed or tacking back and forth with contrary winds, without making any progress. Rather, we were going backward, on account of the currents that were pushing us toward the seas of Japan and China. On one of those tacks, we were given a real shock when we found ourselves on top of an uncharted shoal; we feared that we would run aground on it, but a quick maneuver took us off it.¹

Finally, a rather favorable wind arose and with it we passed the Mariana Islands on the 14th of September, between an islet situated at 21 degrees of latitude North, which the Spanish call Farallón de Pájaros, on account of the multitude of very rare birds that gather there, and another one called Uracas, distant 10 leagues from the former, south-east of it.² We sighted both of them, but, as we were sailing between them on that day, there arose a storm with thunder and lightning so formidable that they filled all of the seamen with terror. We became more cautious when we saw that the horizon all around us was closing in, the clouds coming down to the water surface, and had black caps that were bad signs of a typhoon brewing up, like the one that hit us last year. In fact, the pilots made ready for it by ordering the sails furled and the topmasts taken down. The winds at deck level did not seem so excessive, but up above they seemed to struggle so strongly, and the low clouds carried the thunder and lightning down to us, such that the flashes seem to originate from the very masts of the ship, so strongly and continuously that without exaggeration the effect could be called a shower of bolts and sparks

-
- 1 Ed. note: The position of this shoal, baptized San Carlos Shoal, is given as extending from 17°20' to 17°50' west of Alamagan on a 1793 Spanish chart. It corresponds to the modern Zealandia Bank, whose least depth is 11 fathoms, and real latitude is 16°53' N.
 - 2 Ed. note: The two names he gives apply to the same island; what he saw to the SE was Maug.

that hit all around the ship and criss-crossed her masts and yards, so that we feared that the ship would burst on fire.

Twice that day we were attacked by the storm; the first time it began before day-break and lasted for four hours, and the second time in the afternoon for two hours. We had recourse to God with prayers and the exorcisms of the Holy Church, conjuring the storm with a relic of the Holy Cross that we had saved from confiscation, and trusting in the Lord Crucified whose exhaltation was celebrated by the Holy Church on that day, as He could not possibly permit the aerial forces to triumph over us. In effect, God took pity of us and freed us from any damage amid such a lively fire as those clouds were spitting on us, as He wished to let us know that we depend upon and need His divine protection and assistance, wherever we are.

On 15 September, a southwest wind began to blow fresh and constant, and lasted three weeks, with which we sailed easily with the bow pointing northeast; we covered so many leagues that it placed us in 35 degrees of latitude North.¹

1 Ed. note: See also Doc. 1770B for another similar narrative by Fr. Juan Antonio Tornos.

Documents 1769B

The rest of the Jesuits expelled from the Philippines went directly to Spain

Sources: AHN Clero Jesuitas, Legajo 242, doc. 4-8, Leg. 243, doc. 16 et seq., and Legajo 278, doc. 7 & 8.

Note: These Jesuits were transported aboard the warship Venus and the transport ship Santa Rosa in 1770, and the warship Astrea in 1771.

B1. Summary of Bundle 242, Document 4:

First letter from the Royal official, Don Fernando Carauco Bolaño regarding the embarkation of Jesuits aboard the frigate Buen Consejo, and Venus, dated Manila 30 October 1769.

Carauco was commissioned to arrange the passages directly with Spanish Navy Commanders Don Juan de Casens, and Don Manuel Gonzalez Guiral. There were then 90 Jesuits to be accommodated in these two warships. The two ships could not accommodate more than 72 Jesuits. It was suggested that the frigate [Santa] Rosa, normally belonging to the Manila-Acapulco run, could be crewed with personnel borrowed from the two frigates and the rest of the Jesuits taken on board her.¹

Second letter from Carauco, dated 17 November.

He resigns his commission, for alleged health reasons.

B2. Summary of Document 5:

Report to the King by Don Antonio Andrade, dated 26 December 1769, regarding the remittal to Europe of the Regulars by way of the Cape of Good Hope.

He sends a copy of the case file opened on the matter. He comments on the opinion expressed by the Fiscal, which he reproduces in the covering letter.

The Jesuits are to be taken to the Port of Santa María, i.e. Cadiz, Spain. There is a list of potential Jesuit passengers for the Venus as given by their superior. Captain Guiral sent word that he was ready to leave Manila Bay. Everything was ready on 19 January 1770.

¹ Ed. note: The Buen Consejo was later replaced by another warship, the Astrea.

B3. Summary of Document 6:

The final list of passengers aboard the *Venus*, and their particulars, is as follows:

- 1. Fr. Superior Padre Baeza, from Cadiz, date of birth 3 August 1700;
- 2. Fr. Procurator General Juan Francisco Romero, from Burgos, born 24 June 1729;¹
- 3. Fr. Joseph Molo, from Cremona, Italy, born 26 March 1701;
- 4. Fr. Pedro Patelani, from Milan, Italy, born 1 January 1702;
- 5. Fr. Joseph Berenguer, from Alicante, Diocese of Orihuela, born 26 June 1706;
- 6. Fr. Gerónimo Ketten, from Vienna, Austria, born 6 November 1703;
- 7. Fr. Eugenio Carrion, from Malagon, Diocese of Toledo, born 2 February 1714;
- 8. Fr. Roque Corbinos, from Zaragoza, born 5 January 1715;
- 9. Fr. Gabriel Oliverio, from Macaraque, Diocese of Toledo, born 21 May 1710;
- 10. Fr. Alonzo Ximenez, from Xerez, Diocese of Seville, born 16 October 1714;
- 11. Fr. Bernardo Martin, from Palazuelos, Diocese of León, born 28 July 1721;
- 12. **Fr. Luis Kenap [sic],² from Rhenofelden, Diocese of Barcelona [sic], born 1 April 1720;**
- 13. Fr. Joseph Silvestri, from Pumbia, Diocese of Nobar, Italy, born 1 April 1721;
- 14. **Fr. Miguel Roldán,³ from Arévalo, Diocese of Ávila, born 27 September 1728;**
- 15. Fr. Francisco Polo, from Arias, Diocese of Segorve, born 17 November 1732;
- 16. Fr. Andrés Borrego, from Ecija, Diocese of Seville, born 18 February 1734;
- 17. Fr. Vicente Alemán, from Chobada, Diocese of Valencia, born 18 May 1729;
- 18. Fr. Sebastian Sanz, from Buitrago, Diocese of Osma, born 20 January 1734;
- 19. Fr. Juan Menserreg, from Estatela, Diocese of Lerida, born 20 June 1734;
- 20. Brother Joseph Ascon, from Venasque, Diocese of Balvastro, born 20 January 1728;
- 21. Br. Antonio Torres, from Albacete, Diocese of Cartagena, born 15 March 1729;
- 22. Br. Alonzo Gonzales, from Montejo, Diocese of Madrid, born 13 February 1730;

1 Ed. note: Fr. Romero had officially resigned from the Jesuit Order, on 16 October 1769, in a last-ditch effort to keep Jesuit property in his hands, but the Fiscal and the Governor ruled this action legally inadmissible.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Knapp had served in the Marianas from 1752 to 1757 (see Doc. 1750C).

3 Ed. note: Fr. Roldán has served in the Marianas from 1752 until an unknown date.

- 23. Br. Pedro Marin, from Barcelona, born 28 June 1732;
 —24. Br. Plácido Lampurlanes, from Aren, Bishopric of Urgel, born in 1732.¹

[Comments: Attached to the next document below is a certificate on file signed by Commander Guiral himself, stating that Lampurlanes was one of those who were then aboard the **Venus** in the Bay of Cadiz, on 10 August 1770. Fr. Baeza died on 8 June 1770. Fr. Molo died on 1 August 1770. Fr. Keten, died in what must have been almost in sight of Europe, on 6 August 1770. Fr. Oliverio had died on 17 July 1770.]

B4. Letter from Commander Gonzalez de Guiral to the Count of Aranda, dated Cadiz 10 August 1770

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Sor.

Mui Señor mio:

*En la Fragata del Rey la **Venus** de mi mando, hè transportado veinte y quatro Regulares de la Compañia y quatro criados, que le sirven; este motivo me obliga à molestar la atencion de V.E. participandole mi llegada à este Puerto el 10 del pressente mes, con la falta de los Padres Pedro Baeza, Gabriel Oliberio, Josseph Molo, y Geronimo Ketem, que fallecieron en los dias, que manifiesta la adjunta Relacion de dichos Religiosos que passo à. manos de V.E. cuia superior comprehension advertirà. en su examen que no hà sido poca fortuna la sola perdida de quatro, quando sus edades, y achaques de los mas pressentes davan bastante causa para un evidente riesgo, agregandose el dilatado viage de 6 messes, y 22 dias, que traigo, como la mutacion de tantos, y distintos climas, que ès forzoso passar; vien que con la corta mansion de diez dias, que hice al passo en la isla de Santa Elena, logrè con el beneficio de las carnes frescas, y verduras, que comprè, restablecer à todos los Padres, especialmente à los mas ancianos, que se hallaban y en mui mal estado.*

*Desde la citada Ysla, viene vajel de mi Comboi el Theniente de Navio Don Joseph Soroz, que conduce sessenta y ocho Jesuitas en la Fragata de su mando la **Santa Rosa**, cuio poco andar hà dilatado mi viage mas de 15 dias, pero atendiendo à su indefensa, para el recado sobre las costas de España, le hè hecho la mas prolix [5-cm hole] en esta Bahia.*

Creo à V.E. impuesto à la fecha de esta, de los motivos, que dimanaron para que el Governador de Manila Don Josseph Raon despachase la expressada Fragata con los

¹ Ed. note: This proves that Br. Lampurlanes was not the Jesuit brother who chose to remain in Guam. The only remaining possibility is Br. Loraque, whose name does not appear on any list of expelled Jesuits. AHN Clero Jesuitas, Legajo 891, doc. n°3, reaffirms that Br. Lampurlanes was indeed sent home aboard the Venus, whereas the other two from the Marianas, Fathers Stengel and Canicia, were aboard the Rosa. Those were the only Jesuit priests in the Marianas at the time of the expulsion.

Regulares de la Compañía, sin haver querido atender à las propuestas hechas por el Capitan de Navio Don Juan de Cassens, y por mí, à que el embio de estos Religiosos se hiciese en los Buques del Rey, con menos costo à S.M. mas breve, y con otra seguridad; no los repite à V.E. solo sí, que por Don Juan de Cassens y por mí, hemos dado à aquel Governador todos los auxilios, que nos fueron dables hasta el dessatenter en algun modo, los obgetos de nuestro principal destino para el logro de la Comission de Jesuitas, que V.E. le tenia cometida.

Si merezco al ref[er?] y justificar el proceder de V.E. su aprovacion, sera tanta mi complacencia, como se deviese al especial favor de V.E. sus apreciables ordenes, para emplearme en su obsequio.

Nuestro Señor guarde à V.E. muchos años como desseo.

A Bordo de la Fragata Venus en la Bahía de Cadiz à 10 de Agosto de 1770.

Exmo. Sor.

Señor

B.L.M. de V.E. su mas rendido i maior serbidor,

Manuel Gonzalez de Guiral

[A] Exmo. Sor. Conde de Aranda

Translation.

Your Excellency:

My dear Sir:

Aboard His Majesty's Frigate **Venus** under my command, I have carried 24 Regulars of the Society and 4 servants attending them. This is the reason why I must bother Y.E. and report my arrival at this port on the 10th of the present month, and the disappearance of Father Pedro Baeza, Gabriel Oliverio, José Molo, and Gerónimo Keten, who died on the days stated in the attached list of said Religious which I forward to Y.E., whose superior understanding will not fail to realize that we have been lucky in losing only four of them, given their ages, and the precarious state of their health that was enough to place them in an obvious risk, plus the long voyage of six months and 22 days that it took me, as well as the travel in so many different climates, that it was necessary to pass through. However, with the short stopover of 10 days that I made at St. Helena, and the fresh meat and vegetables that I bought there, I succeeded in re-establishing all the Fathers, specially the oldest ones who found themselves in very bad condition.

From said Islands, I had in company Navy Lieutenant José Soroa, who brings 68 other Jesuits aboard the frigate under his command, the **Santa Rosa**,¹ whose slowness has delayed my voyage by over 15 days, but given her lack of defence, for her security along the coasts of Spain, I have given her the longest of [5-cm hole in ms.] in this Bay.²

I attach another message addressed to Y.E. on this date, giving the reasons, that originated with the need for the Governor of Manila, Don José Raón, to send the above-mentioned frigate with the Regulars of the Society on board, and his disregard for the proposals made by Navy Captain Juan de Casens and myself, for sending these Religious aboard warships, at lower cost to H.M. and more speed, and with more security. I do not reproduce them here, except to say that both Don Juan de Casens and myself gave to that Governor all the assistance that were feasible to give, even to the extent that we had to leave unattended somewhat the objectives of our main voyage, in order to benefit the success of the Jesuit Commission that Y.E. is in charge of.

If Y.E. may deign to grant me your approbation, I would be very pleased, and would consider it a special favor from Y.E. I stand ready to obey any orders you may have and would be much obliged.

May Our Lord save Y.E. for as many years as I wish.

Aboard the frigate **Venus** in the Bay of Cadiz, 10 august 1770.

Your Excellency:

Sir:

Your most humble servant who kisses the hand of Y.E.,

Manuel Gonzalez de Guiral.

[To] His Lordship the Count of Aranda.³

B5. Bundle 243, document n° 16—Final report to the King

Note: Anda was the third Judge Commissioner appointed to the case.

Original text in Spanish.

[Endorsement:] *Manila 16 de Julio de 1772.—Don Juan Francisco de Anda.—Da cuenta con un Cuaderno de varios documentos de haverse remitido à Cadiz en varias ocasiones 121 Regulares de los 143 que havia al tiempo del extrañamiento, de los quales han fallecido 15 y quedan 7 enfermos en aquella capital.*

Señor

-
- 1 Ed. note: The list of the 68 Jesuits taken home aboard the Santa Rosa is given in AHN Clero Jesuitas, Legajo 278, doc. 7. Three of them died in route. Two who survived were Fr. Rafael Canicia and Fr. Francisco Stengel from the Mariana Mission; their names are given in a certified list, signed by Navy Lieutenant José de Soroa (who knew them personally) and dated aboard the frigate **Santa Rosa de Lima** in the Bay of Cadiz, 10 August 1770.
 - 2 Ed. note: One officer aboard the Santa Rosa will later appear in connection with the piloting of French ships from Guam to Manila. He was Second Lieutenant Agustín Ibarra.
 - 3 Ed. note: Document n° 8 is a copy of the case file originated at the time of embarkation in Manila, including a duplicate list of the 24 Jesuits in question.

*El numero de Religiosos de la Compañia, que componian los que residian en estas Yslas al tiempo de la execucion del Real Decreto de su estrañamiento, ascendia al de ciento quarenta y tres, cuios nombres, apellidos, lugar de su Residencia, y salida de estas Yslas se demuestra por la razon general, que acompaña señalada con la Letra A. De los quales veinte y uno salieron para España embarcados en la Fragata **San Carlos**, que en el año de 1769 emprehendió su viaje para el Puerto de Acapulco al comando de Don Phelipe Cerain: sesenta y ocho en la Fragata **Santa Rosa**, que en el año de mill setecientos y setenta se despachó para el puerto de Cadiz comandado por Don Josseph Soroa: viente y quatro en la **Venus** su Capitan Don Manuel Guiral, que tambien salió para el Puerto de Cadiz en el mismo año de 1770. Y ocho en la Fragata **Astrea** su Capitan Don Josseph de Cordova, que salió de regreso para el mismo Puerto en el año pasado de 1771: segun manifiestan los Cathologos formados para las remisiones, que hasta ahora se han hecho cuios duplicados acompaña desde el numero 1 à 4: señalados con la Letra B.*

Doze han fallecido en esta Capital: dos en la mar, y uno se dà por muerto à manos de lo Moros en la Provincia de Catbalogan de la Ysla de Samar, como consta por las diligencias de fee de muerte del Padre Francisco Buchelt, y los dos Testimonios del fallecimiento, y entierro de los Padres Phelipe Solis, y Manuel Miguel Catarroja, que juntos con los otros once Testimonios de la misma naturaleza, que acompaña a los autos de ocupacion, è inventarios formados en la Provincia de Tondo, y Jurisdiccion del Puerto de Cavite, y intimacion en las Provincias Bisayas, con que separadamente doy quenta à V.M. componen el numero de catorce piezas, entre originales, y Testimonios.

Y los siete restantes, han quedado por enfermos depositados en esta Ciudad, y sus extramuros; à saber, el Padre Juan Condestabile en el Convento de Santo Domingo; el Padre Francisco Xavier Ybero, y el Hermano Matheo Rubin en el de San Juan de Dios, y los Padres Miguel Quesada, Juan Fernandez, Andres Rodriguez, y el Hermano Josseph Ambrosio en la Casa de Convalecencia titulada de San Andres de Religiosos de San Juan de Dios sita en termino del Pueblo de San Miguel como consta por el adjunto Testimonio, con que doy quenta à V.M. cuya C.R.P. guarde Dios dilatados años con las mayores felicidades para nuestro consuelo, y aumento de la Christiandad.

Manila 16 de Jullio de 1772.

Señor

A los Reales Pies de V. Magd.

Juan Francisco de Anda.

Translation.

[Endorsement:] Manila, 16 July 1772.—Don Juan Francisco de Anda.—He reports, enclosing a notebook containing various documents, as having remitted to Cadiz on various occasions 121 Regulars, out of the 143 existing at the time of the expulsion, of whom 15 have since died, with 7 sick ones remaining in that capital.

Sire:

The number of Religious of the Society who were members of it and resided in these Islands at the time of the execution of the Royal decree of their expulsion, totalled 143, whose names, family names, place of residence, and departure from these Islands are shown on the general list (attached), marked with the Letter A. Out of this, 21 left for Spain aboard the frigate **San Carlos** that in 1769 made her voyage to the port of Acapulco under the command of Don Felipe Ceraín; 68 went aboard the frigate **Santa Rosa** that was despatched to the port of Cadiz in 1770 under the command of Don José Soroa; 24 were aboard the **Venus**, Captain Manuel [Gonzalez de] Guiral, that also left for the port of Cadiz, also in 1770; and 8 aboard the frigate **Astrea**, Captain José de Córdoba, that made her return trip to the same port last year 1771. That is in accordance with the Catalogs created for the remittances, done so far, whose duplicate copies are enclosed, under numbers 1 to 4, marked with the Letter B.

Twelve have died in this capital: two at sea, and one is given up for dead at the hands of the Moros in the Province of Catbalogan in the Island of Samar, as shown by proceedings attesting to the death of Father Francisco Buchelt, and the two declarations about the death and burial of Fathers Felipe Solis and Manuel Miguel Catarroja, which, in addition to the other 11 declarations of the same nature, annexed to the proceedings of the occupation and inventories made in the Province of Tondo, and jurisdiction of the Port of Cavite, and the notifications that took place in the Visayan provinces, about which I send a separate report to Y.M., there is a total of 14 appendices, including original copies and records of proceedings.

As for the seven remaining in this city, within and outside its walls, they are all sick, to wit: Father Juan Condestabile, in the Convent of Santo Domingo; Father Francisco Xavier Ibero, and Brother Mateo Rubin, in that of San Juan de Dios; and Fathers Miguel Quejada, Juan Fernandez, Andrés Rodriguez, and Brother José Ambrosio, in the Hospice for convalescents named San Andrés run by the Religious of St. John of God, that is situated within the town of San Miguel, as shown in the attached declaration, which is part of this my report to Y.M. whose Catholic and Royal person may God save for many long years, with the best of happiness, for our consolation, and the progress of Christendom.

Manila, 16 July 1772.

Sire:

At the Royal feet of Your Majesty,
Juan Francisco de Anda.¹

1 Ed. note: The case file records the death of Brothers Ambrosio and Rubin in 1775, that of Fr. Condestabile in 1778, and that of Fr. Ibero in 1784.

Documents 1769C

Schooner Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe sent to Guam to fetch the expelled Jesuits

Source: AHN Clero Jesuitas, Legajo 242, doc. 9-11.

Note: The same ship carried the Recollect replacements to Guam.

C1. Covering letter from Governor Raón to the King, dated Manila 17 January 1770

Original text in Spanish.

El Governador Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas

Da quenta a V.M. con Expediente Original seguido sobre la expedicion de un Barco a las Islas Marianas; para que conduxese los Religiosos, que removieron a los Regulares de la Compañia que administraban Doctrina en ellas, y conduxese estos en el retorno para su reducion a la Casa General de Manila.

Señor

Para que enteramente pudiesen verificarse las ordenes de V.M. relativas al extrañamiento de estas Islas de todos los Regulares de la Compañia existentes en Ministerios de Doctrina en las Yslas Marianas, y conduxese en su Retorno a la Casa General de esta Ciudad a los que efectivamente hubiese en ellas: propuse este assumpto en Junta General de Hacienda y en efecto se resolvió en ella la expedicion de un Barco, que porpusieron estos Officiales Reales. Lo que manifiesta el adjunto expediente original: con que, en cumplimiento de mi obligacion doy quenta a V.M.

Cuia C.R.P. pido a Dios guarde los muchos años que la Christiandad necesita para su defensa y propagacion.

Manila y Henero 17, de 1770.

Señor

A los r[eales] pies de V.Mgd.

Don Joseph Raon.

Translation.

The Governor Captain General of the Philippine Islands.—He reports to Y.M., enclosing the original case file that was created regarding the despatch of a ship to the

Mariana Islands, to transport the Religious who replaced the Regulars of the Society who were administering the doctrine overthere, and carry the latter back, for their reduction to their Headquarters in Manila.

Sire:

To make possible the verification of Y.M.'s orders regarding the expulsion from these Islands of all of the Regulars of the Society living in the ministries of the doctrine in the Mariana Islands, and to bring to their Headquarters in this city those who were indeed overthere, I placed this matter on the agenda of a General Meeting of the Treasury. In effect, the despatch of one ship did take place, as proposed by the Royal Officials, and as shown in the original case file, enclosed. Thus, to comply with my obligation, I report same to Y.M.

Whose Catholic and Royal person I pray God to save for as many years as Christendom needs for its defence and propagation.

Manila, 17 January 1770.

Sire:

At the royal feet of Your Majesty,
Don José Raón.

C2. Document 9: Year of 1769.—Literal copy of the file opened by virtue of a meeting of the Treasury Committee

Original text in Spanish.

Manila y Junio veinte de mil setecientos sesenta y nueve:

*Movido este superior Gobierno de su eficazísimo deseo de cumplir exatadamente las ordenes de su Magestad relativas al extrañamiento de estas Yslas de los Regulares de la Compañía que se hallan en los parajes suxetos a el, y estimulado de algunas insinuaciones verbales del Señor Fiscal de su Magestad dirigidas a la remocion de los **tres Religiosos de dicha Religion que se hallan en Administracion de Doctrina en las Yslas Marianas**: passo a dar algunas previas disposiciones sobre facilitar que fuese una embarcacion en derechura desde esta Bahía a dichas Yslas con el fin de remover y conducir a esta Capital los mencionados Religiosos: en las quales disposiciones se puso desde luego la dificultad de que su Magestad no tiene a la sazón en estas Yslas barco capaz y a proposito para ejecutar el mencionado viaje en cuya concequencia habiendose procedido a Inquerir los Particulares del Comercio de esta Ciudad que tuviesen barco a proposito para el expresado viaje se ha averiguado que solo ay dos de esta clase el uno perteneciente a Don Antonio Pacheco y el otro a Don Vizente Cayetano;*

Y habiendose exatado con el ultimo de los terminos de ajuste en que se convendria afanquean el suyo para el enunciado destino, se reduxo à que: o se le comprase en la cantidad de dose mil pesos, o se le tomase a flete pagandole veinte y cinco pesos por cada un dia de los que estuviere ocupado de Real quenta: y que en caso de que se perdiere se le havia de satisfacer por su valor: siendo ademas de quenta de su Magestad ó de la de los vienes ocupados a dichos Regulares el costo de su carena para dicho viaje,

que hasenderia a mill y quinientos pesos poco mas ó menos en cuya vista, y advertiendo: el cresido costo, que tendria este expedicion, se ha resuelto el que el asumpto de ella se lleve a junta general de Real Hazienda; para que alli se gradue la necesidad de hacer dicha expedicion con la escasas de fondos, que padecen las caxas Reales, y la de dichos vienes ocupados: y con respecto a uno y otro: oyendo al dicho Señor Fiscal sus representaciones a este fin: se resuelva lo devido practicar en semejante casso, y circunstancias para dar quenta a su Magestad con lo que se determinare en el proximo despacho.

Rubricado de su Señoria.

Cossio.

Translation.

Manila, 20 June 1769.

This Government, moved by its most efficient desire to comply exactly with the orders of His Majesty regarding the expulsion from these Islands of the Regulars of the Society to be found in the territories under its jurisdiction, following a verbal request by the Fiscal of His Majesty, for the purpose of removing the **three Religious of said Order who are administering the doctrine in the Mariana Islands**, began to make the required arrangements to send a vessel directly from this Bay to said Islands, for the purpose of removing and bring back said Religious to this Capital. While making these arrangements, there arose the difficulty that His Majesty did not then have a big enough ship, suitable to make said voyage. Consequently, after inquiries were made among the individual members of the trade of this City who might have a suitable ship for the above-mentioned voyage, it was found out that there were only two of this category: one belonging to Don Antonio Pacheco, and the other to Don Vicente Cayetano.¹

Negotiations were then undertaken with the latter to come to terms, if he wished to offer his ship for the above-said voyage, the result was that, either it should be purchased for the sum of 12,000 pesos, or it should be chartered by paying 25 pesos for each day that it would be employed in the service of the King and, in case of it being lost, its value had to be satisfied. In addition, since the cost of its carenage before said voyage was to be at the expense of His Majesty, or taken out of the assets taken from said Regulars, which would amount to about 1,500 pesos more or less, hence, realizing that the high cost involved in the planned expedition, the matter was submitted to a general meeting of the Treasury, so that the need to make said expedition would be weighed against the shortage of funds in the Royal treasury, and in the special fund for said occupied assets. Regarding either possibility, the Fiscal was heard. It was decided in accordance with the standard practice in similar cases, and circumstances, to report the outcome to His Majesty in the next despatch.

Countersigned by His Lordship, Cossio.

¹ Ed. note: Captain Pacheco traded with China (B&R 49:144). As for the second man, the names given seem to be first names only.

[A Navy Lieutenant wrote from Cavite to say that he was ready to go to Guam with the Zambales boat. In the meeting, some insinuations were made against the Pilot who dared not go off his regular run, apparently. Finally the decision was made to charter another vessel, the **Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe**. The Treasury was then asked to report on the actual costs of the operation.]

C3. Expenditures made to send a chartered ship to the Marianas

Note: By old Spanish reckoning, 1 peso was worth 8 reals, and 1 real was worth 12 granos. One quintal weighed 4 arrobas, with 1 arroba weighing 25 pounds, whereas 1 pico weighed 5-1/2 arrobas, or 137-1/2 pounds.

Original text in Spanish.

*Los ofiziales Reales de la Real Hazienda y Caxa de estas Yslas en conformidad de lo prevenido por el superior Decreto que se halla a la buelta de esta foxa hacen constar los gastos que ha ocasionado el despacho a Marianas del Barco nombrado **Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe** para la remocion de los tres Religiosos Regulares de la Compañia que se hallan en ellas con inteligencia de que dicha constancia es de los efectos que se consideran consumibles en la forma siguiente:*

Socorros de los ofiziales y Tripulacion.

—*Para el avio de dicho Barco se socorrieron a los ofiziales y Tripulacion con dos mill setecientos noventa y un pesos* 2,791p

Generos y Peltrechos de guerra y otros efectos que se consideran consumibles en el discurso del viaje de los que se proveyron de los Reales Almacenes del Puerto de Cavite para el havió y respecto de dicho Barquito:

Recivido por le Contramaestre:

—*Por quatro orinques nuevos de a veinte y cinco brazas y de a treinta hilos que pesaron ocho arrovas y dies libras a dies reales arrova, dies pesos y quatro rreales:* 10p 4r

—*Por tres calabrotos de xarcia de abaca nuevos el uno de ciento y sesenta hilos y los dos de a ciento y veinte para amarrar que pesaron doscientos treinta y cinco arrovas y una libra a dies reales arrova, doscientos noventa y tres pesos seis reales quatro granos y quatro quintos* 293p 6r 4-4/5g

—*Por uno dicho de media vida de setenta hilos en* 9p

—*Por quatro mazetas de Palo a dos granos* 8g

—*Por doce Bureles, un grano* 1g

—*Por doce Toletes a tres granos, tres reales* 3r

—*Por dos Balzos a un real y seis granos, tres reales* 3r

—*Por setenta y cinco Revenques a dos granos, un peso quatro reales y seis granos* 1p 4r 6g

—*Por dos Relingas a quatro reales, un peso* 1p

| | |
|--|----------------|
| —Por cinquenta Badernas a un real y seis granos, <i>nueve pesos y tres reales</i> | 9p 3r |
| —Por tres Fajas de relingas a dos granos, seis granos | 6g |
| —Por quatro Forros de cables a seis granos, dos reales | 2r |
| —Por treinta y dos Estrovos para la lancha a un grano, <i>dos reales y ocho granos</i> | 2r 8g |
| —Por dos Ovillos de meollar a dos pesos, quatro pesos | 4p |
| —Por doze Abujas [i.e. agujas] de Bejucos a dos granos, dos reales | 2r |
| —Por quatro Lampazos a tres granos, un real | 1r |
| —Por quatro brazas de Cable de quatro cientos hilos viejos en dos <i>pedazos para meollar a quatro reales braza, dos pesos</i> | 2p |
| —Por veinte y dos Saguales de caña ordinarios para estivar a <i>seis granos, un peso y tres reales</i> | 1p 3r |
| —Por dos libras y media de Estoperoles a un real libra, dos reales <i>y seis granos</i> | 2r 6g |
| —Por trescientas piezas de Mantas de Ilocos de a seis varas a <i>quatro reales pieza, ciento y cinquentta pesos</i> | 150p |
| —Por tres arrovas de hilo de algodón en madejar (?) embuelto en un <i>petate grande este por un real y el algodón a veinte pesos quintal, quinze pesos y un real</i> | 15p 1r |
| —Por tres arrovas de hilo a carreto de China, en otro petate dicho <i>este por un real y el hilo a carreto a veinte y ocho pesos pico, quinze pesos tres reales y dos granos</i> | 15p 3r 2g |
| —Por quatro arrovas de zebo neto en una tinaja de Pasí este por <i>dos reales y el zebo a un peso arrova, quatro pesos y dos reales</i> | 4p 2r |
| —Por dos serradas de la tierra a un peso, dos pesos | 2p |
| —Por ocho libras de zera en pan a treinta pesos quintal de ciento <i>y dies libras, dos pesos y un real cinco granos y dos quintos</i> | 2p 1r 5-2/5g |
| —Por ciento y siete arrovas veinte y tres libras de xarcia de abaca <i>en varias piezas a dies reales arrova, ciento treinta y quatro pesos siete reales dos granos y dos quintos</i> | 134p 7r 2-2/5g |
| Recivido por el Piloto Maior: | |
| —Por una Corredera de hilo de Castilla nueva que peso tres libras, <i>dos pesos y quatro reales</i> | 2p 4r |
| —Por dos dichas de hilo de algodón teñidos que pesaron seis libras <i>a dos pesos y quatro reales, cinco pesos</i> | 5p |
| —Por tres piezas de Guinuley azul de a diez varas pieza para <i>grimpolas a seis reales, dos pesos y dos reales</i> | 2p 2r |
| —Por dies y nueve varas de Elefante blanco, a dos reales vara, <i>quatro pesos y seis reales</i> | 4p 6r |
| —Por dos onzas de hilo blanco de Macan a siete reales libra, dies <i>granos y dos quintos</i> | 10-2/5g |

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| —Por dies abujas [sic] chicas de coser a un real el ciento, un grano y un quinto | 1-1/5g |
| —Por una pieza de xarcia de abaca, de ocho hilos que peso dos arrovas y seis libras para sondalezas a dies reales arrova, dos pesos y seis reales quatro granos y quatro quintos | 2p 6r 4-4/5g |
| —Por otra dicha de seis hilos que peso una arrova dies y ocho libras y media, a lo mismo, dos pesos un real quatro granos y quatro quintos | 2p 1r 4-4/5g |
| —Por una dicha de hilo de Castilla de media vida en un peso | 1p |
| —Por ocho libras de zebo de baca en media banga a un peso la arrova, dos rreales seis granos y tres quintos | 2r 6-3/5g |
| —Por una libra y media de hilo a carreto de China para empalomar a veinte y ocho pesos pico, dos rreales y cinco granos y tres quintos | 2r 5-3/5g |
| Recivido por el Calafate: | |
| —Por doce arrovas de fierro labrado en clavazon en varias menas en un caxon este por quatro rreales, y el fierro a dies y seis pesos y seis reales pico, treinta y siete pesos quatro granos y un quinto | 37p 0r 4-1/5g |
| —Por seis Abrazaderas que pesaron onze libras y media a dies y seis pesos y seis rreales pico, un peso tres reales dos granos y dos quintos | 1p 3r 2-2/5g |
| —Por siete Argollas pequeñas que pesaron quatro libras, a seis granos argolla, tres rreales y seis granos | 3r 6g |
| —Por tres fierros de Guindolas que pesaron cinco libras a un rreal fierro, tres rreales | 3r |
| —Por dies Casingayes que pesaron quatro libras a nueve granos casingay | 7r 6g |
| —Por quatro Chapas y quatro Sunchos de Tragantes que pesaron ocho libras a dies y seis pesos y seis rreales pico, siete rreales nueve granos y dos quintos | 7r 9-2/5g |
| —Por veinte y dos sontrosos de Cabrestantes que perdieron [sic = pesaron] dies y seis libras y media a lo mismo, dos pesos y quatro quintos | 2p 0r 4/5g |
| —Por un macho y una hembra de timon que pesaron una arrova y quince libras a lo mismo, quatro pesos seis rreales onze granos y tres quintos | 4p 6r 11-3/5g |
| —Por un suncho en quatro pedazos para el timon que peso onze libras y media a lo mismo, un peso trs rreales dos granos y dos quintos | 1p 3r 2-2/5g |
| —Por un macho y una hembra para la barca que pesaron seis libras a lo mismo, cinco rreales y dies granos | 5r 10g |
| —Por media arrova de estoperoles a un rreal libra, un peso quatro rreales y seis granos | 1p 4r 6g |
| —Por tres libras de tachuelas a lo mismo, tres rreales | 3r |
| —Por dies y seis piezas de mantas de Ilocos de a seis varas, a quatro rreales pieza, ocho pesos | 8p |

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| —Por quatro libras de hilo de algodón a veinte pesos quintal de cient libras, seis rreales quatro granos y quatro quintos | 6r 4-4/5g |
| —Por quatro libras de hilo al carrito de China a veinte y cinco pesos pico, cinco rreales nueve granos y quatro quintos | 5r 9-4/5g |
| —Por dos libras de zera en pan a treinta pesos quintal de ciento y dies libras, quatro rreales quatro granos y un quinto | 4r 4-1/5g |
| —Por tres Serradas de la tierra a un peso, tres pesos | 3p |
| —Por una arrova y quinze libras de zevo en dos bangas grandes a un peso la arrova las bangas a quatro granos, un peso cinco rreales cinco granos y tres quintos: | 1p 5r 5-3/5g |
| —Por dos arrovas de Bonote escarmenado a dos pesos y quatro rreales pico, siete rreales tres granos y un quinto | 7r 3-1/5g |
| —Por onze arrovas y ocho libras de breá colada en dos caxones estos a quatro reales y la breá quatro rreales arrova, seis pesos cinco rreales tres granos y un quinto | 6p 5r 3-1/5g |
| Recivido por el Condestable: | |
| —Por veinte Planchadas de plomo las ocho grandes para cañones y los doze para falconetes forradas en manta enserrada que pesaron una arrova y dos libras a tres pesos y un rreal arrova, tres pesos y tres rreales | 3p 3r |
| —Por dos arrovas de Cuerda de Bonote a dies rreales arrova, dos pesos y quatro rreales | 2p 4r |
| —Por dos serraduras de la tierra a un peso | 2p |
| —Por cinco piezas de lanotes [=lampotes?] de cinco varas a tres rreales y dos granos pieza de ocho varas, un peso un rreal dies granos y tres quintos | 1p 1r 10-3/5g |
| —Por una onza de hilo blanco de Macan a siete reales libra, cinco granos y un quinto | 5-1/5g |
| —Por dies abujas de coser a un rreal el ciento, un grano y un quinto | 1-1/5g |
| —Por dies libras de zevo neto a un peso arrova, tres rreales dos granos y dos quintos | 3r 2-2/5g |
| —Por media arrova de zera labrada en sesenta y una candelas de a medio rreal, tres pesos seis rreales y seis granos | 3p 6r 6g |
| —Por quatro libras de abaca en hebra a tres pesos y quatro rreales pico, nueve granos y tres quintos | 9-3/5g |
| —Por media arrova de cuerda de Castilla a quatro pesos y cinco rreales arrova, dos pesos dos reales y seis granos | 2p 2r 6g |
| —Por setenta pliegos quebrados de Papel de Castilla a doce rreales resma, un rreal y ocho granos | 1r 8g |
| —Por treinta y dos arrovas y dies libras de Polvora en dies y seis barrilitos estos a dos pesos y la polvora a quatro pesos, y quatro rreales arrova, ciento setenta y siete pesos, seis rreales quatro granos y quatro quintos | 177p 6r 4-4/5g |

Recividos por el Maestro de Raciones:

- Por seis bilaos grandes de caña a seis granos tres rreales 3r
 —Por cinquenta dichos chicos a dos granos, un peso y quatro granos 1p 0r 4g
 —Por una arrova de hilo de algodón a veinte pesos quintal de cient libras, cinco pesos 5p
 —Por tres arrovas de zera labrada en trescientos quarenta y seis Candelas de a medio rreal, en dos lios de petates estos a seis granos, con las candelas, veinte y un pesos y seis rreales 21p 6r
 —Por ciento veinte y dos candelas mas de lo mismo que pesaron una arrova, siete pesos y cinco rreales 7p 5r
 —Por sesenta y quatro gantas de azeite de coco, en quatro tinajas, quatro pesos y dos rreales con el casco: dies y siete pesos 17p
 —Por dies y seis mill y quinientas Rajas de leña a cinco rreales el millar, dies pesos dos reales y seis granos 10p 2r 6g

Bastimentos:

- Por doscientas dos arrovas dies y ocho libras y ocho onzas de **biscocho** nuevo para las raciones de dichos ofiziales y gente de Mar a ocho pesos quatro reales y nueve granos pico, que fueron en quarenta y ocho caxones y estos a siete rreales cada uno, y quarenta y ocho petates de abrigo a seis granos petate, importan las tres partidas trescientos sesenta y un pesos seis rreales y tres granos 361p 6r 3g
 —Por cinquenta y seis cavanos seis gantas y dos ochavas de **arroz** limpio de a veinte y cinco gantas cavan para dicho numero de gente que fueron en veinte caxones abrigados con un petate de Burí cada uno el arroz a un peso quatro rreales y seis granos cavan a siete rreales caxon, y a seis granos petate todo importa ciento seis pesos cinco reales un grano y dos quintos 106p 5r 1-2/5g
 —Por sesenta gantas de **frixoles** a 9 granos, 5 pesos y cinco reales 5p 5r
 —Por ochenta y una arrovas netas de **carne de venado de tapa seca** para dichas raciones a ocho pesos y dos rreales pico que van en nueve caxones a siete rreales cada uno con un petate de abrigo a seis granos, y en un bayon de Burí a lo mismo importa todo 130 pesos 130p
 —Por dies y ocho arrovas netas de **Pescados secos**, en trescientos noventa y tres curbinas grandes a tres rreales cada una, doscientas treinta y dos dichas medianas a dos rreales, dies y siete dichas chicas a un real, y tres rompecandadas medianas a dos reales en tres caxones abrigados a un petate cada uno trincados de bejuco, los cajones a siete rreales, y los petates a seis granos, doscientos onze pesos y seis granos 211p 0r 6g
 —Por veinte y dos cavanos doce gantas quatro ochovas de **mongos** de a veinte y cinco gantas cavan a seis granos ganta en nueve caxones a siete reales abrigados a un petate cada uno claveteados embreados, y trincados, de bejuco a seis granos petate con mas un bayon de burí tambien por seis granos, quarenta y tres pesos cinco reales y tres granos 43p 5r 3g

—Por dies y seis tinajas de **vinagre de tuba** de a dies y seis gantas con las basijas tapadas embreadas, embejudadas a quatro rreales tinaja, con el casco: 8p

—Por doce tinajas de **sal** en grano de a dies y ocho gantas con las basijas tapadas, embreadas y embejudadas a tres reales cavan, y a dos rreales y seis granos tinaja, seis pesos siete rreales y once granos 6p 7r 11g

—Por dies y ocho arrovas netas de **Carne de puerco** las nueve arrovas dies y nueve libras fritas, conservadas en manteca y las ocho arrovas y seis libras restantes en salmuera en quatro tinajas del Passí tapadas, embreadas y embejudadas estas a dos rreales y seis granos y la Carne frita de Puerco a quatro pesos y dos rreales arrova, y la ensalmuera a treinta y quatro onzas por un rreal, importan cinquenta y quatro pesos seis rreales nueve granos y un quinto 54p 6r 9-1/5g

—Por doscientos sesenta y tres **Tollos** mas que pesaron dos arrovas estos a ciento y veinte por cinco pesos en un cajon chico, por siete reales, onze pesos seis reales y ocho granos 11p 6r 8g

De modo que importan estos gastos segun la suma de sus partidas quatro mill setecientos quarenta y dos pesos cinco rreales y dos granos: [Total: 4,742p 5r 2g]

Real Contaduria y Julio veinte y ocho de mill setecientos sesenta y nueve años.

Fernando Carauco Bolaño

Juan Franzisco Romay

Translation.

The Royal officials of the Royal Treasury of these Islands, in conformity with the decision in the superior decree found on the reverse of this folio, reveal the expenditures occasioned by the despatch to the Marianas of the ship named **Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe** for the removal of the three Religious Regulars of the Society living there, with the clarification that said report concerns effects that are considered consumable, as follows:

Wages of the officers and crew.

—For the outfitting of said ship, the wages paid to officers and crew: 2,791p

Goods and equipment for war and other effects that are considered consumable in the course of the voyage, which were provided by the Royal warehouses of the port of Cavite for the outfitting and concerning said small ship:

Received by the Boatswain:

—For 4 new buoy ropes measuring 25 fathoms and containing 30 strands, weighing 8 arrobas and 10 pounds, at 10 reals per arroba: 10p 4r

—For 3 stream-cables of hemp cordage, new, one of 160 strands and two of 120, to moor the ship, weighing 235 arrobas and one pound, at 10 reals per arroba:

293p 6r 4-4/5g

—For one other, half-spent, of 120 strands, at 9 pesos: 9p

—For 4 mallets for masts, 2 grains: 8g

—For 12 wooden-rollers, 1 grain: 1g

| | |
|---|----------------|
| —For 12 tholes, at 3 grains each: | 3r |
| —For 2 bends at 1 real and 6 grains: | 3r |
| —For 75 foxes (or whipping ropes), at 2 grains: | 1p 4r 6g |
| —For 2 bolropes at 4 reals: | 1p |
| —For 50 nippers at 1 real and 6 grains: | 9p 3r |
| —For 3 bands of bolropes at 2 grains: | 6g |
| —For 4 protective cable covers at 6 grains: | 2r |
| —For 32 strops for the launch, at 1 grain: | 2r 8g |
| —For 2 balls of yarn for mending, at 2 pesos: | 4p |
| —For 12 probes of rattan, at 2 grains: | 2r |
| —For 4 swabs, at 3 grains: | 1r |
| —For 4 fathoms of cable of 400 strands, old, in 2 pieces, for mending, at 4 reals per fathom: | 2p |
| —For 22 ordinary cane baskets, for stowage, at 6 grains: | 1p 3r |
| —For 2-1/2 pounds of caulking iron, at 1 real per pound: | 2r 6g |
| —For 300 pieces of Ilocos canvas of 6 yards, at 4 reals per piece: | 150p |
| —For 3 arrobas of cotton thread, in <i>madejar(?)</i> , wrapped in a large mat worth 1 real and the cotton 20 pesos per quintal: | 15p 1r |
| —For 3 arrobas of Chinese spooled cotton thread, in another mat, worth same, and the spooled thread at 28 pesos per pico: | 15p 3r 2g |
| —For 4 arrobas of clean tallow in an earthenware pot, the latter at 2 reals and the tallow at 1 pesos per arroba: | 4p 2r |
| —For 2 locally-made saws, at 1 pesos: | 2p |
| —For 8 pounds of wax in cakes at 30 pesos per quintal, of 110 lbs: | 2p 1r 5-2/5g |
| —For 107 arrobas 23 pounds of hemp cordage in various pieces at 10 reals per arroba: | 134p 7r 2-2/5g |
| Received by the Chief Pilot: | |
| —For 1 log line from Spain, new, that weighed 3 pounds: | 2p 4r |
| —For 2 log lines of cotton, dyed, that weighed 6 pounds at 2 pesos 4 reals each: | 5p |
| —For 3 pieces of blue <i>guinoley</i> [cloth] of 10 yards each, for weather-vanes, at 6 reals: | 2p 2r |
| —For 19 yards of white Elephant [cotton cloth], at 2 reals per yard: | 4p 6r |
| —For 2 ounces of white Macao thread at 7 reals; | 10-2/5g |
| —For 2 small sewing needles at 1 real per 100: | 1-1/5g |
| —For 1 piece of hemp cordage, of 8 strands, that weighed 2 arrobas and 6 pounds, for use as sounding line, at 10 reals per arroba: | 2p 6r 4-4/5g |
| —For another one of 6 strands that weighed 1 arroba and 8-1/2 pounds, at same price: | 2p 1r 4-4/5g |
| —For another made of Spanish thread, half-spent: | 1p |
| —For 8 pounds of beef tallow, half a pot, at 1 peso per arroba: | 2r 6-3/5g |
| —For 1-1/2 pounds of spooled thread from China, to sew the | |

bolrope to the sails, at 28 pesos per pico: 2r 5-3/5g

Received by the Caulker:

—For 12 arrobas of iron in the form of spikes of various shapes in a crate, the latter worth 4 reals and the iron at 16 pesos and 6 reals per pico: 37p 4-1/5g

—For 6 clamps that weighed 11-1/2 lbs at 16 pesos & 6 reals per pico: 1p 3r 2-2/5g

—For 7 small rings that weighed 4 pounds, at 6 grains per ring: 3r 6g

—For 3 irons for a stage, that weighed 5 pounds, at 1 real per iron: 3r

—For 10 *casingays*¹ that weighed 4 pounds, at 9 grains per casingay: 7r 6g

—For 4 eye-bolts and 4 ring-bolts for *tragantes*² that weighed 8 pounds, at 18 pesos and 6 reals per pico: 7r 9-2/5g

—For 22 spokes(?) of windlass that weighed 18-1/2 lbs, same price: 2p 0r 4/5g

—For 1 set of pintle and gudgeon for the rudder, that weighed 1 arroba and 15 pounds, at same price: 4p 6r 11-3/5g

—For 1 ring-bolt in 4 pieces for the rudder that weighed 11-1/2 pounds, at same price: 1p 3r 2-2/5g

—For 1 set of pintle and gudgeon for the rudder of the bark, that weighed 6 pounds, at same price: 5r 10g

—For 1/2 arroba of caulking irons at 1 real per pound: 1p 4r 6g

—For 3 pounds of tacks, at same price: 3r

—For 16 pieces of Ilocos canvas of 6 yards each, at 4 reals per piece: 8p

—For 4 pounds of cotton thread, at 20 pesos per quintal of 100 lbs: 6r 4-4/5g

—For 4 pounds of spooled Chinese thread, at 25 pesos per pico: 5r 9-4/5g

—For 2 pounds of wax in cakes, at 30 pesos per quintal of 110 lbs: 4r 4-1/5g

—For 3 locally-made saws at 1 peso: 3p

—For 1 arroba and 15 pounds of tallow in two large pots, at 1 peso per arroba, the pots at 4 grains: 1p 5r 5-3/5g

—For 2 arrobas of coir, carded, at 2 pesos and 4 reals per pico: 7r 3-1/5g

—For 11 arrobas and 8 pounds of pitch poured into 2 crates, at 4 reals and the pitch at 4 reals per arroba: 6p 5r 3-1/5g

Received by the Master Gunner:

—For 20 sheets of lead, 8 large ones for the cannon and 12 for the falconets, packed in a waxed blanket, that weighed 1 arroba and 2 pounds, at 3 pesos and 1 real per arroba: 3p 3r

—For 2 arrobas of coir cord at 10 reals per arroba: 2p 4r

—For 2 locally-made saws, at 1 peso: 2p

—For 5 pieces of lampotes(?) of 5 yards, at 3 reals and 2 grains per piece of 8 yards: 1p 1r 10-3/5g

1 Ed. note: Obviously a Filipino word, meaning something like spinning tops, perhaps plumbs for plumb lines.

2 Ed. note: This is a square wooden beam, which I fancy was thus fixed crosswise a ship's boat, for use as a working platform.

| | |
|--|----------------|
| —For 1 ounce of white Macao thread, at 7 reals per pound: | 5-1/5g |
| —For 2 sewing needles, at 1 real per hundred: | 1-1/5g |
| —For 10 pounds of clean tallow, at 1 peso per arroba: | 3r 2-2/5g |
| —For 1/2 arroba of wax in the form of 61 candles of half a real: | 3p 6r 6g |
| —For 4 pounds of hemp in thread, at 3 pesos and 4 reals per pico: | 9-3/5g |
| —For 1/2 arroba of cord from Spain, at 4 pesos & 5 reals per arroba: | 2p 2r 6g |
| —For 70 sheets of paper from Spain, at 12 reals per ream: | 1r 8g |
| —For 32 arrobas and 10 pounds of gun-powder in 16 small barrels, the latter at 2 pesos and the powder at 4 pesos & 4 reals per arroba: | 177p 6r 4-4/5g |

Received by the Quarter Master:

| | |
|---|-----------|
| —For 6 large <i>bilao</i> ¹ made of cane, at 6 grains 3 reals: | 3r |
| —For 50 idem, small ones, at 2 grains: | 1p 0r 4g |
| —For 1 arroba of cotton thread, at 20 pesos per quintal of 100 lbs: | 5p |
| —For 3 arrobas of wax in the shape of 346 candles of half a real, in two mat bundles, the latter at 6 grains, with the candles: | 21p 6r |
| —For 122 more candles, idem, that weighed 1 arroba: | 7p 5r |
| —For 74 gantas of coconut oil, in 4 jars at 4 pesos and 2 reals [each] with their lid: | 17p |
| —For 16,500 split logs for firewood, at 5 reals per thousand: | 10p 2r 6g |

Food supplies:

—For 202 arrobas 18 pounds and 8 ounces of **sea biscuit**, recently baked, for the rations of said officers and seamen at 8 pesos 4 reals and 9 grains per pico, that were in 48 crates, and these costing 7 reals each, and 48 mats to protect the whole, at 6 grains per mat, totalling all 3 sub-totals: 361p 6r 3g

—For 56 cabans 6 gantas and 2 ochavas of clean **rice** at 25 gantas per caban for said number of people, that were in 20 crates, each protected by a *buri* [reed] mat, the rice at 1 pesos 4 reals and 6 grains per caban, the crate at 6 reals, and the mat at 6 grains, totalling in all: 106p 5r 1-2/5g

—For 60 gantas of **beans** at 9 grains: 5p 5r

—For 81 arrobas net, of **dried strips of venison** for said rations, at 8 pesos and 2 reals per pico, that are in 9 crates at 7 reals, each with a protecting mat at 6 grains, and inside a *bayon* of *buri* at the same price,² totalling: 130p

—For 18 arrobas net of **dried fish**, i.e. 393 large *corvinas* [=conger eels], at 3 reals each; 232 average-size ones of same at 2 reals each; 17 small ones of same at 1 real each; and 3 average-size *rompecandadas* [lit. padlock-breakers] at 2 reals each, in 3 crates, each protected by a mat, bound with wicker; the crates at 7 reals, and the mats at 6 grains: 211p 0r 6g

1 Ed. note: Filipino word meaning shallow, round-bottomed basket, usually used for winnowing.

2 Ed. note: *Bayon*[g] is a Filipino word, from the Spanish *balón*, meaning a big bag of buri or pandan, in other words a large bale.

—For 22 cabans 12 gantas 4 ochovas of **mong beans** at 25 gantas per caban, at 6 grains per ganta, in 9 crates at 7 reals, each protected by a mat, nailed down, pitched, bound with wicker, at 6 grains per mat, plus 1 *bayon* of buriat 6 grains:

43p 5r 3g

—For 16 jars of **vinegar from tuba** of 16 gantas each with the lids pitched, wrapped in cane, at 4 reals per jar with their lid:

8p

—For 2 jars of **salt** in grain of 18 gantas each, with the lids tarred, wrapped in cane, at 3 reals per caban, and at 2 reals 6 grains per jar:

6p 7r 11g

—For 18 arrobas net of **pork**, 9 arrobas and 19 pounds of which fried, preserved in fat, and the remaining 8 arrobas and 6 pounds salted, in 4 Pasi [earthen] jars, with their lids pitched and wrapped in cane, the latter at 2 reals and 6 grains, and the fried pork meat at 4 pesos and 2 reals per arroba, and the salted pork at 34 ounces for 1 real, totalling:

54p 6r 9-1/5g

—For 273 [pieces of] **jerk beef** that weighed 2 arrobas, these at 120 for 5 pesos, in 1 small crate, for 6 reals:

11p 6r 8g

Hence, total expenses, by summing up the various entries, come to: 4,742p 5r 2g
Royal Accounting Office, 28 July 1769.

Fernando Carauco Bolaño

Juan Francisco Romay

C4. Letter from Governor Raón, dated Manila 1 January 1770

Source: AGI Fil. 684.

Original text in Spanish.

El Governador, y Capitan General de Philipinas.

Nº 42.

La expedicion de Don Joseph Soroa, à las Yslas Marianas, y su evacuacion, con la conduccion de tres Jesuytas.

Exmo. Señor.

Señor.

En Carta de 2 de Agosto ultimo pasado expuse à V.E. el nuevo merito de Don Joseph Soroa, Theniente de Navio (cuyos despachos no le han llegado) de haver pasado à las Yslas Marianas, a conducir tres Padres Agustinos Recoletos, y traer à esta Caja los Regulares Jesuytas, existentes en àquellas Yslas, lo que hà executado con la actividad, y buena conducta, con que siempre ha procedido en el Servicio de S.M. trayendo tres de aquellos Padres, unicos que permanecian en aquel destino, y el particular merito, con que ha procedido en esta Comission no pudo menos de hacerlo presente à V.Ex^a para que se sirva trasladarlo à la noticia de su Real Magestad.

Nuestro Señor Guarde à V.Ex los años, que deseo, y necesito.

Manila, y Enero 1° de 1770.

Exmo. Señor

Señor

B.L.M. de V.Ex^a, su mas atento, y obsequito servidor,

Don Joseph Raon.

[Al] *Exmo. Sor. B° Fr. Don Julian de Arriaga.*

Translation.

The Governor and Captain General of the Philippines.

[Letter] N° 42

The expedition of Don José Soroa to the Mariana Islands, with its transactions, and the transport of three Jesuits.

Your Excellency.

Sir:

In my letter of 2nd of August last, I exposed to Y.E. the recent merit of Don José Soroa, the Navy Lieutenant (whose despatches have not yet arrived), after he has gone to the Mariana Islands to deliver three Augustinian Recollect Fathers, and bring back to this capital the Jesuit Regulars living in those Islands, which he did with speed and good conduct, in his usual manner when in the service of H.M. He brought back three of those Fathers, the only ones who remained in that place. I cannot omit to mention to Your Excellency the special merit that he has earned for having carried out this Commission, for you to bring it to the attention of His Royal Majesty.

May our Lord save Y.E. for as many years as I wish, and need.

Manila, 1 January 1770.

Your Excellency.

Sir.

The most sincere and grateful servant of Y.E., who kisses your hand,

José Raón

[To] His Excellency Bailiff Fray Juan de Arriaga.

C5. Another letter dated 1 January 1770

Source: AGI Fil. 684.

Original text in Spanish.

El Gobernador, y Capitan General de Philipinas.

N° 43.

*El despacho de la Fragata **Santa Rosa** à Cadiz, por las razones de su difuso Expediente.*

Exmo. Señor.

Señor.

*En el difuso Expediente, de su asunto, que dirixio à los Reales Pies de S.M. por el conducto del Exmo. Señor Conde de Aranda, se manifiestan, los motivos que han hecho inexcusable el envio à Cadiz de la Fragata **Santa Rosa**, con setenta Jesuitas, de los recogidos en esta Capital; ciertamente, que estuve consentido en desenbarazarme de este gravisimo cuidado, en los Buques **Buen Consejo**, y **Venus**, pero fallido este recurso, se ha tenido por indispensable esta resolucion, tomada en repetidas Juntas de Hacienda, dirixidas à la minoracion de gastos, y evacuacion, la mas puntual de este gravisimo negocio; y para su execucion he destinado al Teniente de Navio Don Joseph Soroa, de cuià buena conducta, y acreditada inteligencia fio su cabal desempeño por el que, y la evasion [rather evacuacion] que dio a la antecedente Comision, le considero acreedor, à que S.M. le premie con su regular ascenso, dexandolo en Europa, despues de trece años, que ha servido en estas Yslas.*

El primer Piloto Don Joseph Balverde, ha empleado con el maior esmero toda su habilidad, y su cuidado, en el apresto de este Barco, despreciando Sugestiones, opuestas, à esta idea: le tengo por venemérito para que S.M. le remunere este particular Servicio: Don Ygnacio Balzola, que va de Capitan, y los demas ofiziales del Navio, como exercitados en la Carrera de Acapulco, espero que cumplan con su obligacion, haciendose dignos de la Real gracia de S.M., que alguno solicitara para quedarse en España; los demas Pilotos, los Ofiziales de Mar, y toda la Tripulacion, que se ha ofrecido muy voluntaria à hacer este viage, merecen el ser atendidos para su regreso à esta Ysla, en la que hacen notable falta.

*Para la Escolta de esta Fragata, he nombrado al Capitan de Ynfanteria Don Agustín Mazorra, con el Subteniente Don Juan Lozano, con un Sargento, y Veinte, y cinco Soldados Europeos, de los que vinieron à vordo del **Buen Consejo**, y han cumplido el tiempo de sus empeños, y por lo mismo, pretenden sus licencias, que siendo del Real agrado de S.M. podra librarselas el Ynspector General, à quien toque, ò disponer de ellos como sea de su Real Voluntad, y agrado como igualmente de los Ofiziales.*

Este Buque es mui viejo, ha hecho varios viages, Ynterentes à estos Dominios, y si fuere del Real agrado de S.M., podra remudarse con otro de su porte, para que regrese la Tripulacion, que aqui es muy necesaria, y que traiga tropa, aunque sea de los desertores del Exercito, con Cabos, Sargentos, y algunos ofiziales, y los demas efectos, que ordene Nuestro Soberano, à cuya Real Voluntad, quedo Siempre conforme, y sin recelo, de incurrir en su Real desagrado, por que mi deseo havido es, y sera el Norte de mis fieles operaciones, y acertar en su Real Servicio, consultandolas con la prudencia, y madurez que exigen sus circunstancias.

Nuestro Señor Guarde à V.Ex^a muchos años como deseo, y necesito.

Manila y Enero 1^o de 1770.

Exmo. Señor

Señor

B.L.M. de V.Ex^a, su mas atento, y obsequito servidor

Don Joseph Raon.

[Al] Exmo. Sor. B^o Fr. Don Julian de Arriaga.

Translation.

The Governor and Captain General of the Philippines.

[Letter] N° 43.

The despatch of the frigate **Santa Rosa** to Cadiz, for the reasons mentioned in the large confidential file.

Your Excellency.

Sir:

In the large confidential file that I place at the Royal Feet of H.M., through the good offices of His Excellency the Count of Aranda, there are exposed the reasons that made it necessary to sent the frigate **Santa Rosa** to Cadiz, with 70 Jesuits, from those collected in this Capital, Of course I wanted to carry out this very serious undertaking with the ships **Buen Consejo** and **Venus**, but this recourse having failed, this decision was considered indispensable, after repeated Meetings of the Treasury, aimed at reducing the expenses, and transact as fast as possible this very grave business. To execute it, I have assigned Navy Lieutenant José de Soroa, whose good conduct and creditable undertaking have led to its success and fitting accomplishment, for which reason, and the speedy transaction of his previous Commission, I consider him deserving of the reward that H.M. may give him, in the form of a regular promotion, by letting him stay in Europe, after the 13 years that he has served in these Islands.

Chief Pilot José Valverde has applied very well his whole skill and care to make this ship ready, disregarding the suggestions opposed to this idea; I think he deserves a reward from H.M. for this special service. As for Don Ignacio Balzola, who goes as Captain, and the other ship officers, all with experience gained in the run to Acapulco, I hope that they will comply with their duty, to make themselves worthy of the Royal favor of H.M., if any were to solicit to stay behind in Spain. All of the other Pilots, naval officers, and crewmen, have volunteered to make this voyage, and deserve to be assisted to make their return voyage to this Island, where they will be sorely missed.

To guard this frigate, I have appointed Infantry Captain Agustin Mazorra, with Second-Lieutenant Juan Lozano, one Sergeant, and 25 European soldiers, from those who came aboard the **Buen Consejo**, and have completed their tour of duty, and consequently wish their release; perhaps the Inspector General, with whom rests this authority, may do so, if it be of the Royal pleasure of H.M., or he may do with them, as well as with their officers, according to his Royal will, and pleasure.

This ship is very old, she has made many voyages, in the interest of these dominions, and if it be of the Royal pleasure of H.M., he may replace her with another of equal size, for the return of the crew, men who are much required here, and to bring soldiers, thought they be Army deserters, with Corporals, Sergeants, and some officers, plus the other effects sent by our Sovereign, to whose Royal will, I remain as always, obedient and without fear of incurring his Royal displeasure, simply because my wish has been, and will be, to act correctly in all my loyal operations, and to perform well in his Royal service, and consulting when the circumstances require, for greater prudence and maturity.

May our Lord save Your Excellency for as many years as I wish, and need.

Manila, 1 January 1770.

Your Excellency.

Sir.

The most sincere and grateful servant of Y.E., who kisses your hand,

José Raón

[To] His Excellency Bailiff Fray Juan de Arriaga.

Document 1769D

**Inventory of Jesuit possessions in Guam, in
1769**

Sources: Safford's notes in LC Mss. Div., then based on Agaña archives.

Note: The original copy of the inventory of the College of the Mariana Islands is said to be in AHN Temporalidades #3297.

Introductory note.

In July 1769, the expulsion papers went out to the most remote Vice province of the Marianas aboard the schooner **Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe**, commanded by their former Governor, Lieutenant-Commander José de Soroa. The schooner reached Guam on 25 August. The papers were handed over to Governor Olavide who arranged for Fr. Stengel, Fr. Canicia, and Br. Lampurlanes to go to Manila aboard the schooner. Most of their confiscated personal assets, including 547 pesos in cash, were also on board.

Case file transcribed by Lieut. William Edwin Safford, USN**Translated by him, and edited by R. L.****1769, August 25.**

Arrival of the Edict ordering the expulsion of the Jesuits, on the Schooner **Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe**, commanded by Don José de Soroa, Lieutenant-Commander.

At 6 p.m. on 25 August 1769, at Agaña the capital of Guam, Don Enrique de Olavide y Michelena, interim Governor and Lieutenant of Captain-General for His Majesty of these Mariana Islands, opened the sealed orders which came by the schooner **Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe**, which arrived here this same day, 25 August 1769, from the Philippines, whence a letter from the superior Government in the Philippines, dated 1 July 1769 accompanying the order, was sent.

Certified by the Governor, Don Enrique Olavide y Michelena and Domingo Manuel Garrido, Secretary for Administration and War.

August 26.

The Edict [of 1767] was read to the Jesuits at 4 a.m. at their residence, the Governor and the Secretary being accompanied by the Sergeant-Major, Don Antonio Saravia y Villar, Captain Diego de la Cruz, Adjutant José de la Cruz, and Adjutant Juan Anto-

nio de Agüero; all now of the royal garrison, acting as secular witnesses, the Jesuit Fathers [are the following:]

—Father Rafael Canicia, minister of the districts of Umata, Merizo and Inarahan;

—Father Francisco Xavier Stengel, Provost, being absent from here, having gone on 7 August to the Island of Rota, in order that those destitute islanders might confess and take their annual communion;

Father Rafael Canicia and Brother Plácido Lampurlanes said that they would obey promptly, and blindly carry out whatever His Majesty might order in the said royal decree, and signed their names.

The officials took charge of the archives, papers, library, storage rooms, keys of doors of storage rooms and offices, and caused the priests to pass to the college of the native boys in this capital [locking them in as prisoners], where they were to live until embarked for the Philippines. The students in the college were sent to their homes and the imprisoned priests were cut off from communication with the outer world.

They then proceeded to the Farm of the Jesuits called San Ignacio de Tachuña,¹ with soldiers under the charge of Sergeant-Major Manuel José Pereda y Franco, to guard the property; and sent orders to the mayors of the districts of Pago, Agat, Umata, Merizo, and Inarahan, to take charge of the churches and presbyteries, to lock the doors with keys without delay, and to place guards in charge of them.

August 30.

Father Francisco Xavier Stengel, ex-Vice-Provincial of this Mission,² being on the Island of Rota, to confess and give annual communion to the natives of that island, a canoe was sent for him, manned by four natives in charge of Pablo Albay.

September 1.

An inventory of the property of the Jesuits was ordered to be taken by Brother Lampurlanes, under the supervision of Rev. Fr. Preacher Fray Andrés de San José, now Vicar-Provincial and Ecclesiastical Judge of these Islands. Brother Lampurlanes had been acting in the capacity of Coadjutor and Procurator in this capital. Father San José was to audit the inventories.

September 2.

Inventory taken as follows:

—1 church of stone and mortar, with 3 naves, roofed with tiles, and 3 altars;

—1 belfry with 5 bells, 2 medium-size and 3 small;

—6 wooden benches;

—6 wooden confessionals;

—1 table;

—12 oil paintings representing the Passion of Christ with wooden frames;³

—1 pulpit;

1 Tachogña, near Sinahaña and Fonte.

2 He had evidently been replaced summarily by the Augustinian superior who had come to Guam on the same schooner as the edict.

3 Stations of the Cross.

—1 lectern-desk;

In the sacristy:

- 1 crucifix of ebony and silver;
- 20 pictures of Saints (in poor condition);
- 1 small tabernacle;
- 1 baldaquin [canopy] of black damask;
- 1 large chest with 3 divisions;
- 1 small chest with 1 compartment;
- 1 medium-size chest;
- 1 wardrobe, 3 compartments;
- 1 basin and pitcher of stone;
- Various vestments, etc.;
- Chasubles;
- Ornaments of various kinds;
- Baldaquins: white, yellow, scarlet, black, etc.
- 1 banner, scarlet, with its silken cords;
- 2 veils of gold and silver, with silver lace;
- 1 veil of striped silk;
- 1 banner of scarlet *pekum* (?)
- Curtains for covering the altars;
- Pileums, or covers, of different kinds;
- 4 dresses for the statue of Our Lady of Loreto, of all colors;
- 1 curtain for the same statue;
- 1 tunic of purple silk for the statue of Jesus the Nazarene;
- 2 table-cloths, old, white, embroidered with silk;
- 5 towels, embroidered in blue cotton;
- 5 surplices of white linen for the Fathers;
- 12 surplices for the acolytes;
- 6 communion-cloths, embroidered with silk and cotton;
- 1 small key, of gold-plated silver, for the Sacrament, with a blue ribbon embroidered with silver;
- 6 bed-spreads, embroidered with silk, with red cushions;¹
- 3 serviceable missals;
- 3 old missals;
- 1 ritual;
- 43 candle-sticks, of brass;
- 2 fonts for holy water;
- 2 large candle-sticks and a Cross;²

1 Probably for the Holy Internment, and a gift from some devoted persons.

2 Ed. note: All on long poles, for processions.

- bouquets of flowers;
- 16 figures for the representation of the Nativity of Christ;
- 1 statue of Our Lord of the Pillar, 1/2 yard in height;
- 1 statue of the Holy *Ecce Homo*,¹
- 1 statue of Christ Resurrected;
- 4 lanterns with red-cloth screens;
- 2 ivory heads, for statues of Saints;
- 6 wooden heads, for statues of Saints;
- 2 heads, one for the statue of the Virgin and one for St. John;
- 3 irons for making hosts;²
- 1 metal container for hosts;³

Silver articles:

- 1 lamp of 47 *marcos*,⁴
- 3 small lamps, 34 *marcos* and 4 ounces;
- 1 cross and 2 candlesticks;
- 1 monstrance, of gold-plated silver, with its crystals and various precious stones, all of which weigh 11 *marcos* and 2 ounces;
- 2 censers with encensories,⁵ 12 *marcos* and 2 ounces;
- 8 candle-sticks, 16 *marcos* and 1/2 ounce;
- 3 vases and 2 cups, of silver, 17 *marcos* and 4 ounces;
- 4 saucers, or small plates;
- 4 cruets for vinegar and 2 bells, 9 *marcos* and 6 ounces;
- 1 bucket for holy water, with its *aspergillum*, 4 *marcos* and 4 ounces;
- 3 crowns, 4 diadems, and 3 halves, 7 *marcos* and 4 ounces;⁶
- 3 reliquaries, 1 Chrismal, and 1 cross, 6 *marcos* and 3 ounces;
- 4 large cups, 8 *marcos* and 4 ounces;
- 2 smaller cups, 3 *marcos* and 4 ounces.

All of which ornaments and the said jewels, which were found in the said church and sacristy remain in the possession of Rev. Father Preacher Fray Andrés de San José, presently Vicar Provincial and Ecclesiastical Judge of these Islands, who, together with

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- 1 Ed. note: This and the previous statue were probably used during Passion, or Holy, Week.
 - 2 Wafers, to be consecrated.
 - 3 To keep consecrated wafers.
 - 4 One *marco* is 8 ounces, or approximately half a pound.
 - 5 Boat-shaped vessels for holding incense.
 - 6 Ed. note: For decorating statues.

the lay Brother Plácido Lampurlanes and His Lordship the Governor signed and certified same.

Articles in the Residence of the Jesuit Fathers

In the first room, which served as the apartment of the Fr. Vice-Provincial, Francisco Xavier Stengel:

- 1 crucifix;
- 1 copper plate representing Our Lady of Passau;¹
- 1 painting on canvas of the Virgin;²
- 1 wood-cut of St. Francis Xavier;³
- 4 small pictures of various Saints;
- 6 paintings of landscapes;
- 1 little table with a tabernacle and in it an image of Our Lady of the Rosary with head and hands of ivory;
- 8 wooden chairs, with seats and backs of leather;
- 1 unserviceable clock, with chime;
- 1 table with drawers;
- 1 book-case;
- 1 desk, of hardwood;
- 5 writing desks, to be put on the top of a table;⁴
- 1 painting on canvas of Our Lady of Bethlehem;
- 6 small frames with various Saints;
- 1 picture of Our Lady of Guadalupe on black lacquer;
- 1 picture of the Infant Jesus;
- 1 large old chest;
- 1 wooden bedstead;
- 1 brass lamp;
- 1 bottle-holder, without bottles;
- 46 pesos 2-1/2 reals in silver coins, inside a desk.

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- 1 Passau is an ancient town and episcopal see of Bavaria, located at the confluence of the Danube and the Inn Rivers, close to the Austrian border. Ed. comment: A German Jesuit in the Marianas has mentioned in one of his letters home that he had received such an “image” of Our Lady of Mercy, her other name, from Innbruch, where a famous portrait of this “Passauische Hülgs-Mutter” was said to hang in the Jesuit College.
 - 2 Ed. note: If Fr. Stengel had been present, he might have identified it as Our Lady of Passau.
 - 3 The patron saint of Fr. Stengel and of most of the Jesuit missionaries.
 - 4 Ed. note: These were sometimes called portable writing desks.

[Inventory of the Papers of the Jesuits in Agaña, 1769]

—1 small box containing the archives for the Commissariat of the Holy Inquisition;
 —1 medium-size box containing papers referring to this Provincial Vicariate, as follows:

- A letter written by Fr. Francisco Alonzo to Fr. Ignacio Ibarguen, date illegible;¹
- A copy of two clauses of a letter written by Fr. Francisco de Borja y Aragon, Procurator General of the Philippines and Marianas, to the Superior of these Islands, dated Mexico 10 March 1700;
- A memorial addressed to His Majesty (whom may God save) by all the Fathers of the Marianas, dated 20 May 1719;
- Requests made by Sergeant-Major Juan de Bozo y Santiago, dated 5 May 1673 and 2 May 1673;
- Letters from Fr. José Vidal to Fr. Bartolomé Besco, dated Mexico 17 March 1672 and 8 March 1679;²
- Letter from Fr. Gerardo Bouwens to Fr. José Vidal, dated Marianas 24 May 1690;
- Two letters written to the General of the Society of Jesus, Fr. Thirso Gonzalez, dated 10 May 1702;³
- Letter written by Fr. Gerardo Bouwens, dated Saipan 27 September 1700;
- Letter written by Fr. Eduardo ... to Fr. Diego Luís de Sanvitores, dated Mexico 11 January 1688;⁴
- Letter (1 folio) from Fr. General Thirso Gonzalez to the Father Superior of the Marianas, dated Rome 10 September 1687;
- Letter written by Fr. General Juan Paulo Oliva to Fr. Luís de Sanvitores, dated Rome 12 March 1673.

September 4, 1769.

This day an inventory was taken of the cattle, horses, and other animals belonging to the Jesuits.

At the farm called San Ignacio de Tachuña were found 92 cows, 30 heifers, 18 bullocks, 5 bulls, 21 female calves, 23 bull calves, and 40 steers.

At Inarajan, 14 breeding mares, 1 stallion, and some smith's implements.

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- 1 Ed. note: Fr. Ibarguen had served in the Marianas from 1719 to 1730. Fr. Alonzo has served as Provincial from 1715 to 1717.
 - 2 Ed. note: Fr. Vidal was procurator in Mexico and Fr. Besco was Vice-Provincial from 1677 to 1680; this second letter undoubtedly dealt about financial matters.
 - 3 Ed. note: This was probably a draft of Doc. 1702B which I found in Rome.
 - 4 Ed. note: The date was probably 1668 instead.

September 5, 1769.

At 8 p.m., Fr. Stengel returned from Rota in the canoe which had been sent to that island to get him.

September 6, 1769.

In the morning, the decree of banishment was read to him; and with his assistance an **inventory of the College** and everything contained in it was taken.

The building is described as being built of stone and mortar, roofed with tiles, and containing two rooms and two great halls, together with a dispensary.

In the **first room** were found:

- 6 chairs and 2 small tables;
- 7 paintings on canvas of Saints;
- 1 portrait of Queen Maria Ana de Austria;¹
- 1 baldaquin of wood;
- 1 bronze crucifix, 1/4 yard long;
- 1 image of Our Lady of Sorrows;
- 1 crucifix;
- 1 bed;
- 1 sandglass;
- 1 old glass lantern;
- 1 brass lamp;
- 1 clock with a chime;
- 1 mariner's compass.

In the **second room** were:

- 1 small table having a cupboard attached;
- 1 crucifix;
- 1 chair;
- 1 brass lamp;
- 1 bedstead;
- 1 alarm clock;
- 1 painting of Our Lord of the Pillar;
- 1 closet or cupboard with 3 compartments, containing:
 - 1 large soup tureen of Chinaware together with its cover,
 - plates of porcelain and metal,
 - 22 forks and 24 spoons of pewter,
 - grinding stones,
 - carpenter's tools, including iron planes, chisels, augers, 4 axes of Biscay steel,
- tongs or pincers,
- other blacksmith's tools,²

1 Ed. note: Patroness of this College, after whom the Mariana Islands were so named.

2 The list specifies which of these were new and which were used.

- harness and saddles,
- 4 tunics of blue cloth, etc.
- Inside another closet were found:
 - 7 violins with their bows,
 - 3 “soft flutes,”
 - 2 harps,
 - 1 viol,
 - 1 box containing various artificial flowers.¹

—A third closet was empty.

In the **first hall**, there were:

—a gilded frame with 8 canvasses representing the Mysteries of the Virgin, beneath which there was

- 1 table which served as an altar;
- 1 crucifix of ivory with a cross of ebony, 1/3 yard long;
- 1 small tabernacle of Our Lady of the Rosary;
- 1 chalice of silver with paten;
- 1 missal;
- 1 picture of the Descent of the Cross;
- 2 bronze bells;
- 1 brass candle-stick.

[In the **second hall**:]

- 5 tables;
- 1 picture of the Archangel Michael, etc.

In a side-room was a lectern with sheets of music upon it.

In the **first store-room** in the basement,² there was a little lime.

In the **second store-room**, there were 1,000 tiles.

In a small building used for tanning:

- 4 empty jars;
- 2 troughs;
- 2 cow-skins with hair.

In the **third store-room**:

- 1 bronze frame weighing 4 pounds;
- 6 empty jars.

And in the **fourth store-room**:

- 1 mortar for grinding colors for painting;
- 4 hand-saws;
- 2 crow-bars;
- 1 pick-axe;

1 The musical instruments were for the use of the choir-orchestra, which, according to French visitors to the island three years later, played in excellent time and tune.

2 Ed. note: Rather ground floor, as the halls were up a flight of stairs.

—11 pestles for grinding corn.

In the **kitchen** were:

—2 mortars with their pestles;

—2 small tables, old;

—14 empty Pasi [earthen] jars.

In a separate building were found copper kettles, pots, jars, old muskets, fishing nets, seven plows, gun-powder, a jar of cacao, some raw maguey fibre or “pita”,¹ and 2 boat sails of Ilocos canvas.

Upon opening a chest, garments for dancing on feast-days were found.

Inside another one, there were 15 yards of Peking cloth and other stuffs; 2 Cantonese linen shirts embroidered with blue silk; and other garments.

In a third chest, there were 2 iron crosses with a balance of copper; 2 bronze frames, one weighing 8 pounds, the other 4 pounds; and 1 guillotine worked by a screw for cutting books in binding, etc.

In a fourth chest, there were 28 yards of blue cloth from New Spain; 3 yards of black cloth of second quality; 3 new metal syringes; and 3 lots of cotton thread for “pavilos”(?)

In a fifth chest, there were: 9 *fusiños*,² 9 new machetes; 1 arroba and 14 pounds of Coronilla steel.

In a sixth chest were found supplies for the priests and acolytes; church vestments; altar cloths; baldaquins, etc.

In the seventh chest, a lot of old books, catechisms, writing paper, etc; 1 bugle, and an image of St. John.

In a desk, marked n° 9, were: 42 bundles of brass wire; new scissors; gold lace; silver lace, etc.

In box n° 11, 1 arroba and 10 pounds of refined wax.

In box n° 12, a quantity of soap from Puebla [in Mexico] in cakes.

Lying loose were found 226 small cakes of soap; 17 arrobas of Platinilla iron; 115 yards of European canvas; 1 arroba and 15 pounds of cinnamon from Ceylon; 1 bag with 2 razors; several pairs of scissors; and a hone for sharpening; a box containing the **account books** of the College, with dates from 18 July 1731 to 15 August 1769; books were found containing lists of articles sent to [rather by] the Procurator’s offices in Manila and in New Spain; accounts from Fr. San Borja, dated Mexico 1708 & 1709; a letter written by Brother Tomás Ximenez to Fr. Wolfgang Stainbeck;³ 2 bound volumes, quarto size, containing manuscript sermons, 21 in number.

There was also a **henhouse** made of stone and mortar with a tiled roof, with a kitchen of the same materials; and a tiled shed having under it a broken cart.⁴ A patch of corn was growing nearby.

1 Ed. note: The century plant.

2 Ed. note: Chamorro weeding tools.

3 Ed. note: Fr. Steinbeck served in the Marianas from 1734 to 1767.

4 Ed. note: The last two were probably in a lean-to.

Safford's comments.

The foregoing is all that I was able to copy. The Lieutenant-Commander had been ordered to take away the Jesuits in the same schooner that brought the orders for their expulsion, together with all their belongings. He made a statement in writing to the Governor that his vessel was small and had but one deck; that it would take several vessels of two decks much larger than his own to take away all the belongings of the Fathers. The senior Father of the Jesuits had died some time before this.¹ As far as the Brothers were concerned, the King's decree allowed them to stay behind, as civilians, or to follow the priests, as they wished. It was necessary to carry back a certificate of his death and burial, to account for his not coming with the others.

I regret that I did not copy the list of the books of the Fathers. Even the lay brother who acted as procurator had a well-stocked library in his kitchen.

From the foregoing lists it will be seen that the Fathers taught more than the catechism and rosary. The natives were instructed in carpentry, blacksmithing, tanning, and agriculture. The Fathers had introduced cattle and horses, and their farms were found in good condition. They imported fabrics from New Spain as well as from China and the East, spices from Ceylon, and probably corn from Mexico. They also taught the natives to play on musical instruments, and occupied themselves with decorating the church, caring for the farms and animals, preparing festivals, and processions for the practical edification of the natives, made wax candles, vestments, flowers for the altars, images of saints, etc; took care of the sick, dispensed medicines,² and visited the outlying villages, crossing to the Island of Rota in an open canoe, in a region where sudden squalls are liable to spring up without warning, and where there are frequent *baguios*, or hurricanes.

November 2, 1769.

The Schooner **Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe**, which had brought the decree of banishment, sailed away from Guam, taking the Fathers together with as many of their personal effects as she could carry. The Augustinian friars, who had come as passengers in the schooner remained in place of the Jesuits, and continued in the island until it was seized by the United States [in 1899].

After the Jesuits' departure, the farms were abandoned. The cattle, now the property of the Crown, ran wild, and many animals were killed by the natives, as is shown by the records of the trials on file at Agaña.

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- 1 Ed. note: Referring either to Fr. Steinbeck, who had died in 1767, or most probably, to Fr. Reitterberger, whose death had just occurred (which would explain his being listed by the Jesuits in the Philippines as still living in the Marianas).
 - 2 Ed. note: More deplorable, I think, is that he forgot to note the inventory of the pharmacy.

Documents 1769E

Part of a Mexican ranch was owned by the Mariana Mission

Source: AHN Clero Jesuitas, Legajo 891, doc. n° 5.

Note: This Anda was the judge who followed Galván and Basaraz.

E1. Summary by Juan Francisco Anda, dated Manila 2 December 1773

Original text in Spanish.

Censo unico perteneciente à la Mision de Marianas.

Por apuntes de f. 19 à 76:24 y buelta y de f. 31 buelta à 33 del Libro de fincas, rentas, y censos que la Provincia de Philipinas tenia en la Nueva España, consta que desde el año de 1703 empezó a correr un censo de los redimibles de veinte mill el millar de cinco mill y trescientos pesos que el Padre Francisco de Borja, Procurador de dicha Provincia en Mexico impuso sobre la Hazienda de Tescuco perteneciente a la expresada Provincia à favor de la Mision de Marianas.

Por doscientos sesenta y cinco pesos de sus redditos consta del Libro de entregas, del oficio de Provincia averse abonado hasta la ultima que de el hizo en ocho de Noviembre de mill setecientos sesenta, y quatro el Padre Ygnacio Malaga al Padre Juan Francisco Romero.

Sobre raspado: de tiendas a f. 15 buelta. entre rrenglones a ella, a f. 15 buelta valga, testado, de la quales resajados setenta pesos un rreal nueve granos, y un tercio a f. 4 buelta "no vale".

Manila y Diziembre dos de mill setecientos setenta y tres.

Juan Francisco Anda.

Translation.

Single estate belonging to the Mariana Mission.

From the notes recorded beginning on page 19 until n° 76 on page 24 and from the reverse of page 31 to page 33 of the Book of plantations, rents, and other property income that the Province of the Philippines had in New Spain, it appears that as of the year 1703 there began to run a revenue, out of the redeemables of 20,000 per thousand,

of 5,300 pesos that Father Francisco de Borja, Procurator of said Province in Mexico, imposed on the **Texcoco Farm** belonging to said Province, in favor the Mariana Mission.¹

Income from it, i.e. 265 pesos, appears in the Book of transfer payments, of the office of the Province, to have been made, until the last one recorded on 8 November 1764, by Father Ignacio Málaga to Father Juan Francisco Romero.²

Scratched out, but re-instated: in the Book of the stores, on the reverse of p. 15, among the entries there, there is mention of 70 pesos 1 real and 9-1/3 grains, but on the reverse of p. 4, it says “not applicable.”

Manila, 2 December 1773.

Juan Francisco Anda.

E2. List of the possible sources of revenue, formerly assigned to the Mariana Mission

Original text in Spanish.

En cumplimiento de lo mandado por el auto, que antecede hago constar que lo que han producido despues de la fecha de la antecedente relacion los censos comprendidos en ella, es en la forma siguiente:

—El censo primero de Provincia, que es de dos mill pesos de principal, impuestos sobre quatro Casas, que fueron del Capitan Don Augustin Basilio en Cavite: nada ha producido asi por la fallidez de su Albacea Don Diego de Aristizabal, como por hallarse entregadas las dichas casas a parte por el Santuario de Nuestra Señora de la Soledad de dicho Puerto para la paga de los reditos de otro censo, que le pertenece sobre ellas.

—El segundo dicho, que es de dos mil pesos de principal impuestos sobre la Casa que fue de Don Pedro Ortuño de Leon: no há producido asimismo cantidad alguna por haver permanecido desalquilada la dicha cassa.

—El tercero dicho, que es de un mil pesos de principal impuestos sobre una Casa perteneciente à Doña Maria Ysabel Ximenez muger de Don Francisco Estarrona: produjo quinientos y seis pesos siete tomines, y seis granos que se rentaban à deber por los corridos desde diez de Noviembre de setecientos sesenta y dos hasta ultimo de Diziembre de setecientos setenta y tres, como consta por Certificacion de Oficiales Reales su fecha catorce de Septiembre del corriente año acumulada a foxas quince del Expediente seguido para su cobro.

—El quarto dicho, que es de seiscientos y veinte pesos de principal impuestos sobre la Hazienda de S. Francisco Malabon: produjo treinta y un pesos que la expresada

1 Ed. note: Texcoco, from the name of the lake upon which Mexico City was built. Mexico occupied its western shore, whereas Texcoco was then a small town on the east side of the lake. Texcoco is now a suburb of Mexico City, but still has some small agricultural plots of land.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Romero was then Provincial of the Philippines.

Condesa satisfizo por los corridos desde primero de Henero hasta ultimo de Diziembre de setecientos setenta y tres como consta por Certificacion de Ofiziales Reales su fecha veinte y cinco de Enero del corriente año acumulada a foxas quarenta y tres del Expediente de cobranza de alquilera de Casas, y reditos de Censos correspondientes al año de setecientos setenta y tres[;] sobre la Casa morada de Doña Gabriela Josepha Ramos viuda, y Albacea de D. Fernando de Mier y Noriega: produjo doscientos pesos, que dicha Doña Gabriela satisfizo por los corridos desde primero de Enero hasta ultimo de Diziembre de setecientos setenta y tres, como consta por Certificacion de Oficiales Reales de veinte y cinco de Henero del corriente año acumulada a foxas quarenta y cinco de dicho Expediente de cobranzas.

—*El sexto dicho, que es de dos mil pesos de principal impuestos sobre la Casa, que fue de morada de Don Manuel Antonio Ruano: produjo nobecientos quince pesos seis tomines, y ocho granos por los corridos desde el tiempo que se expresa en dicha antecedente relacion hasta ultimo de Diziembre de mil setecientos setenta y tres como consta por dos Certificaciones de Oficiales Reales, la primera de veinte y tres de Junio, y la segunda de catorce de Septiembre acumuladas de foxas quarenta y siete a quarenta y ocho del expediente formado para su cobranza.*

—*El septimo dicho, que es de quatro mil pesos de principal impuestos sobre la dicha Hazienda de S. Francisco Malabon: produjo doscientos pesos que la mencionada Condesa de Lizarraga satisfizo por los corridos desde primero de Enero hasta ultimo de Diziembre de setecientos setenta y tres, como consta por el sobredicho Certificación de veinte y cinco de Enero del corriente año acumulado a foxas quarenta y tres de dicho Expediente de cobranza.*

—*El octavo dicho que es de quinientos pesos de principal impuestos sobre diez quinones de tierra Tubigan, que poseia Don Andres Miguel Pabie en el pago [sic] de Ligais termino del Pueblo de Malolos, Provincia de Bulacan: nada hà producido por hallarse en litigio.*

—*El de ocho mil pesos de principal sobre la Hazienda de Calamba, y tierras de Nagoaha, y los seis restantes, que pertenecian a la Prov^a en España, y Nueva España: nada han producido con motivo de la Ocupazion de Tempor[alidad]es, y se queda recorriendo los papeles que puedan dar razon de las ultimas pagas, que se huviesen hecho de sus reditos, sin que hasta aora se haya encontrado alguna.*

El censo primero del Colegio de San Ygnacio...

...

Y para que conste en cumplimiento de lo mandado por el citado auto pongo la presente en esta Ciudad de Manila a seis de Diziembre de mil setecientos setenta y quatro y de ello doy fee.

Gregorio Buenvecino, Escrivano receptor.

Translation.

In compliance with what is ordered in the preceding writ, I make known the findings of the search that was carried out after the date of the preceding listing of the rental incomes, those included therein are as follows:

—The first income fund of the Province, which has a principal of 2,000 pesos, imposed on four houses that had belonged to Captain Agustín Basilio in Cavite: it has produced nothing, not only on account of the death of his executor, Don Diego de Ariztibal, but also because said houses have become part to the sanctuary of Our Lady of Sorrows of said port, for the payment of the income from another fund that belongs to it, involving them.¹

—The second income fund, which had a principal of 2,000 pesos, imposed on the house that had belonged to Don Pedro Ortuño de León: it has produced nothing either, because said house was never rented.

—The third such fund, which has a principal of 1,000 pesos, imposed on a house belonging to Mrs. María Isabel Ximenez, wife of Don Francisco Estarrona: it produced 506 pesos 7 tomins and 6 grains that were due as rent, from 10 November 1772 until 31 December 1773, as appears in a Certification of the Royal officials dated 14 September of the present year, on page 15 of the case file opened with a view to recover same.

—The fourth fund, which has a principal of 620 pesos, imposed upon the Ranch of San Francisco Malabón: it produced 31 pesos that the above-mentioned Countess² paid for rent from 1 January until 31 December 1773, as shown in a Certification of the Royal officials dated 25 January of the present year, on page 43 of the case file opened for collecting rents from houses, and revenue from investments, corresponding to the year 1773; on the residence of Mrs. Gabriela Josefa Ramos, widow, and executrix of Don Fernando de Mier y Noriega: it produced 200 pesos, that said Doña Gabriela paid for rent due from 1 January until 31 December 1773, as shown in the Certification of the Royal officials dated 25 January of the present year, on page 45 of said File on collections.

—The sixth fund, which has a principal of 2,000 pesos, imposed on the house that was the residence of Don Manuel Antonio Ruano: it produced 915 pesos 6 tomins and 8 grains, for rent from the time shown on the previous list until 31 December 1773, as shown in two Certifications of the Royal officials, the first dated 23 June, and the second 14 September, on pages 47 and 48 of the file opened for collections.

—The seventh fund, which has a principal of 4,000 pesos, imposed on said Ranch of San Francisco Malabón: it produced 200 pesos that the above-mentioned Countess of Lizarraga paid for rent due from 1 January to 31 December 1773, as shown in the above-mentioned Certification dated 25 January of the present year, on page 43 of said File on collections.

1 Ed. note: Clear as mud in the original too.

2 Ed. note: Countess of Lizarraga (see below).

—The eighth fund, which has a principal of 500 pesos, imposed on 10 shares of a group-owned land [in] Tubigan, formerly owned by Don Andrés Miguel Pabie, in the village of Ligais, within the boundaries of the Town of Malolos, Province of Bulacan: it has produced nothing, because of on-going litigation.

—The fund of 8,000 pesos in principal on the Ranch of Calamba, and lands in Na-goaha; and the six remaining ones, that belonged to the Province in Spain, and in New Spain: they have produced nothing as a result of the occupation of material assets, and the search continues through the papers to try and find information as to the last payments that might have been made as rental incomes, but so far none has been found.

The first income fund of the College of San Ignacio...¹

...

And for the record, in compliance with the order contained in the previous writ, I add the present, in this City of Manila on 6 December 1774. In faith whereof,
Gregorio Buenvecino, Notary receiver.

1 Ed. note: Some records seem out of place here, as they did belong strictly to Colleges within the Philippines.

Document 1769F

Account books of the Procure for the Mariana Mission

Source: AHN Clero Jesuitas, Legajo 278, doc. 5, fol. 47v et seq.

Note: Such papers were found in 1769 among the Jesuit papers seized at Manila; they had come earlier from the Philippine Procurator's office in Mexico City.

Contents of Crate N° 5**Original text in Spanish.**

N° 1. En dicho Cajon ay un Libro de à folio, que es de la Entrada, y Limosnas que se dan para la Mission de Marianas desde el año de mil seis cientos sesenta y ocho, y acabò año de mil seis cientos setenta y ocho.—

N° 2. Otro dicho de à folio, que son Memorias de los Generos que se remitian al Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores à las Yslas Marianas, desde este [~~presente~~] año de mil seis cientos sesenta y ocho, y acabò en el de mil seis cientos setenta y nueve.

N° 3. Otro dicho de à folio. Libro de Cuentas de Debe, y ha de Haver entre el Padre Joseph Vidal, Procurador de las Yslas Marianas, y los soldados de el dicho Presidio, desde el año de mil seis cientos setenta y cinco, en que por Cuenta de su Magestad (que Dios guarde) se les dio sueldo en la Caxa Real de Mexico, y corrio la cuenta hasta el año de mil seis cientos setenta y ocho.—

N° 4. Otro dicho de à folio. Libro de Cuentas de Debe, y ha de Haver entre el Padre Balthazar de Mansilla de la Compañia de JESUS, Procurador General de la Provincia de Philipinas en la Ciudad de Mexico, y los Soldados de las Yslas Marianas: corre desde quatro de Henero, de mil seis cientos setenta y nueve, en adelante, hasta el de mil seis cientos ochenta y seis.—

N° 5. Otro dicho de à folio: Libro de Cuentas de Debe, y ha de Haver, entre el Padre Magino Sola de la Compañia de JESUS Procurador General de la Provincia de Philipinas en la Ciudad de Mexico, y el Governador y Campo de las Yslas Marianas: empieza à correr la de el Señor Governador desde el año de mil seis cientos ochenta y cinco, y acabò en el de mil setecientos y tres [1685-1703]. Y la de el Sargento Mayor Don Joseph de Quiroga Lozada, que empezo en el de mil seis cientos noventa y uno, y acabò en el de mil setecientos veinte y quatro.—

Nº 6. *Otro dicho de à folio. Libro de Cuentas de Debe, y ha de Haver, entre el Padre Magino Sola de la Compañia de JESUS Procurador General de la Provincia de Philipinas en la Ciudad de Mexico, y la Mission de los Padres de las Yslas Marianas: corre desde el año de mil seis cientos ochenta y cinco, y ha seguido hasta el presente de mil setecientos sesenta y siete, con la Resulta que se previene en la Razon que se dà de el Estado en que quedò la Procuraduria General de dicha Provincia de Philipinas.—*

Nº 7. *Otro dicho de à folio. Libro de Cuentas de Debe, y ha de Haver, entre el Padre Magino Sola de la Compañia de JESUS, Procurador General de la Provincia de Philipinas en la Ciudad de Mexico, y la Mission de los Colegios de Niños, y Niñas de las Yslas Marianas. Empezo à correr desde el año de seis cientos ochenta y cinco, y ha seguido hasta el presente de mil setecientos sesenta y siete, con la Resulta que se previene en la razon de el Estado en que quedò la Procuraduria General de dicha Provincia.—*

Nº 8. *Un cuaderno manuscrito de treinta y nueve foxas utiles, de las Diligencias, que en virtud de dos Cedula Reales, que la una es fecha en doce de Agosto, de mil seis cientos setenta y uno; y la otra de diez de Octubre de dicho año. Se corrieron ante el Illustrisimo y Excelentissimo Señor Virrey Arzobispo Don Fray Payo; para el efecto de cobrar el Situado de las Reales Caxas de Mexico, assi para los Soldados de el Presidio, como para los Padres Misioneros, y Colegios de dichas Yslas.—*

Nº 9. *Un cuaderno en diez y siete foxas. Copias de las Reales Cedula, y diligencias originales, pertenecientes à las Yslas Marianas, que passaron, ante Manuel Silvestre Lopez de Loiz, escrivano publico, en la Ciudad de Manila, fecha en diez y siete de Diciembre, de mil setecientos quarenta y nueve.—*

Nº 10. *Otro dicho. De Cartas de el Venerable Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores, y de otros Venerables Padres Martires de la Provincia de Philipinas.—*

Nº 11. *Otro dicho. Ynformacion de el **Non cultu**, hecho al Siervo de Dios, Padre Luis de Sanvitores de la Compañia de JESUS, muerto en las Yslas Marianas por Nuestra Santa Fee: Juezes los Señores Venerable Dean, y Cavildo de la Santa Yglesia Metropolitana de Manila, Governador en Sede Vacante de su Arzobispado. Secretario el Racionero Bachiller Don Domingo de Valencia. Año de mil seis cientos setenta y siete.—*

...

Translation.

Nº 1. In said crate, there is a bound folio-size Book, ruled, used to record the alms received on behalf of the Mariana Mission, from the year 1668 and ending with the year 1678 [1668-1678].—

Nº 2. Another similar one, containing lists of goods sent to Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores in the Mariana Islands, from this [word crossed out] the year of 1668 and ending with the year 1679 [1668-1679].—

Nº 3. Another similar one: Book of Accounts Receivable and Payable, between Father José Vidal, Procurator of the Mariana Islands, and the soldiers of said Garrison, from the year 1675, when their salaries were paid out of the Royal treasury of Mex-

ico, on behalf of His Majesty (whom may God save), and ending with the year 1678 [1675-1678].—

Nº 4. Another similar one: Book of Accounts Receivable and Payable, between Father Balthazar de Mansilla of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General of the Province of the Philippines in the City of Mexico, and the soldiers of the Mariana Islands, from 4 January 1679 forward, until the year 1686 [1679-1686].—

Nº 5. Another similar one: Book of Accounts Receivable and Payable, between Father Magino Sola of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General of the Province of the Philippines in the City of Mexico, and the Governor and soldiers of the Mariana Islands; that of the Governor begins with the year 1685 and ends with 1703 [1685-1703]. And that of Sergeant-Major José de Quiroga y Losada runs from 1691 to 1724 [1691-1724].—¹

Nº 6. Another similar one: Book of Accounts Receivable and Payable, between Father Magino Sola, of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General of the Province of the Philippines in the City of Mexico, and the Mission of the Fathers of the Mariana Islands, which runs from the year 1685 until the present [sic] year of 1767 [1685-1767], with the outcome noted in the final Balance Sheet for the Procure General of said Province of the Philippines.—

Nº 7. Another similar one: Book of Accounts Receivable and Payable, between Father Magino Sola of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General of the Province of the Philippines in the City of Mexico, and the Mission of the Colleges for Boys and Girls of the Mariana Islands, which runs from the year 1685 until the present [sic] year of 1767 [1685-1767], with the outcome noted in the final Balance Sheet for the Procure General of said Province of the Philippines.—

Nº 8. One copybook with 39 useful pages: recording the steps taken by virtue of two Royal decrees, one dated 12 August 1671 and the other 10 October of said year, before the Most Illustrious and Excellent Archbishop, Don Fray Payo,² for the purpose of collecting the subsidy from the Royal treasury of Mexico, not only for the soldiers of the Garrison, but also for the Missionary Fathers, and the Colleges of said Islands.—

Nº 9. One copybook with 17 pages: copies of the Royal decrees and original measures pertaining to the Mariana Islands, that were passed before Manuel Silvestre Lopez de Loiz, notary public, dated 17 December 1749.—

Nº 10. Another similar one: copies of Letters from the Venerable Father Diego Luís de Sanvitores, and from other Venerable Fathers, martyrs of the Province of the Philippines.—

Nº 11. Another similar one: Investigation of the *Non cultu* made to the Servant of God, Father Luís de Sanvitores of the Society of Jesus, who died in the Mariana Islands for our Holy Faith; Judges: their Lordships the Venerable Dean, and Municipal Chap-

1 Ed. note: The exact date of the death of Major Quiroga is not known, but the year can be ascertained by this entry.

2 Ed. note: Then Viceroy of New Spain.

ter of the Holy Metropolitan Church of Manila, acting as Governor of the Archdiocese. Secretary: the Bachelor Don Domingo de Valencia, Prebendary. Year of 1677.—¹

...

Partial contents of other crates

Crate N° 8, item N° 2. Two folio-size books, bound in leather, containing old accounts (unspecified) that this Office has had with the Missionary Fathers, and Seminary Colleges for Boys, and Girls, of the Mariana Islands.

Crate N° 9, item N° 9. Another folio-size book, bound in leather, containing accounts that this Office has had with Missionaries who have passed to the Province of the Philippines.

Editor's notes.

The books of receivables of the Procure included at that time 4,360 pesos and 2-1/2 reals, owed by the Hospice of San Francisco de Borja to the Missionary Fathers of the Mariana Islands.

The book of receivables of the Procure included at that time 10,600 pesos and 6 reals, owed to the account of the College for Boys in the Marianas.

Another outstanding debt of 1,130 pesos was due by the heirs of Don Fernando Estanislao de Agüero, who had lived in the Mariana Islands.

¹ Ed. note: See reproduction of the original cover page, and comments, in Doc. 1676E3.

Note 1769G

The French explorer Surville technically visited Micronesia in 1769

*Published source: John Dunmore (ed.). The Expedition of the **St-Jean-Baptiste** to the Pacific, 1769-1770. From Journals of Jean de Surville and Guillaume Labé (London, Hakluyt Society, 1981).*

Manuscript sources: Originals in ANP(?) Complete texts of both journals available as Typescripts at the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington, New Zealand.

Summary of the voyage.

Source: Review by R. O. Norris, in the Mariner's Mirror, Vol. 68 (1982), p. 345.

In March 1769, Captain Jean de Surville sailed from Chandernagore, India, in the ship **St-Jean-Baptiste** on a voyage of trade and exploration to the Pacific. The expedition sailed via the Malacca Straits to the east coast of Malaya. It then crossed the China Sea to the Bashi Islands off the northern tip of the Philippines. **He passed through the western Carolines without sighting any land** in September 1769.

The ship reached the Solomon Islands on 7 October, and later went to New Zealand, before heading for Peru, where Surville died and the ship was seized and kept by the Spanish authorities for three years.

Document 1769H

**The EIC ship Ponsborne, Captain John Payne,
via Sonsorol and Palau**

Source: Log 462B, India Office, London.

**Extract from logbook kept by Martin Waghom, Chief Mate
Ship Ponsborne, Capt. Payne, from Batavia towards China.**

...

Courses NNW, etc., Winds NE, fresh gales, squally, etc.

Monday February 13th 1769

The first and latter parts fresh gales & squally with hard rain[.] the middle part light airs & calm with fair weather[.] sounded in the night and kept a good look out for the St. Andrews Islands. At 10 a.m., saw one of them bearing NE by E 1/2 E 5 or 6 leagues.

At Noon Cadacopuei the Southernmost of the St. Andrews Islands East distance about 7 leagues just in sight from the Main top.¹

From the Northernmost of the Providence Islands or Thelay to the above Island I make the course N7°W dist. 94 leagues[,] is by a good observation 4°16' N and Lon: indif. to ye Land 0°33' W.

Latt. Obs. 4°16' N.

Courses NNW1/2W, etc., Winds NE, fresh gale & hazy weather, etc.

Tuesday February 14th 1769

At 2 p.m. saw an island from the masthead bearing N by W about 6 leagues[,] low and level and full of trees but not so large as that seen yesterday.²

At 4 saw the above island from the deck N3/4W 4 leagues.

At 8 bore NE 10-11 miles and about 1/4 past 9 it bore East about 4 leagues. It is inhabited as we saw fires made on it.

A.M. got the end of the sheet cable up[,] clapt Parselin on it so far from the end as to come in board to the after bitto [sic].

1 Ed. note: From the given position, it was Merir.

2 Ed. note: From the given position, it was Pulo Ana.

From the island seen yesterday to this island seen today I make ye course NW1/2 W dist. 11 leagues by good observation is in Lat. 4°37' N. & 0°96 M. to the Westward of ye other island.

Latt. Obs. 5°10' N.

At Noon ye Northernmost of Pulo Meriere's [sic] X51°E distance 20 leagues.

Courses NW by N, etc. Winds NE by N, etc.

Wednesday February 15th 1769

Major part a brisk gale & cloudy weather. Variously employed.

At 6 a.m., saw two small low islands.¹ The southernmost bore from S72°W to S78°W, the northernmost from S83° to S85°W dist. about 3 leagues.

At 8 o'clock we could but just discern them for the mizzen topmast Shipands(?) tho not more than 5 leagues distant[,] they are so very low and level.

These are the St. Andrew Islands and very nearly North & South from each other about 1 quarter of a mile asunder[,] the southernmost island is about 1/2 mile long from North to South[,] the northernmost not so long[,] we passed about 3 miles to the northward of them before daylight and saw nothing of them[,] they are so very low[,] they are situated in 5°20 North and by my account 0°50 to the northward of ye northernmost Pulo Meriere [sic].

Latt. Obs. 5°19' N.

Courses E by N, etc., Winds N by E, etc.

Thursday February 16th 1769

...

Latt. Obs. 5°16' N.

At Noon St. Andrews N87°W dist. 25 leagues.

...

Saturday February 18th 1769

...

Latt. Obs. 5°45 N.

At Noon St. Andrews S75°W dist 32 leagues.

Courses NW by N, etc., Winds NE by N, etc.

Sunday February 19th 1769

Light breezes and mostly cloudy weather. Sounded in the night and kept a good lookout for the Palos Islands.

A.M. Divine Service performed.

Latt. Obs. 6°06 N.

At Noon St. Andrews S61°W 39 leagues.

1 Ed. note: These two islands can only be Sonsorol.

[Palau Islands]

Courses E by N, etc., Winds N by E, etc.

Monday February 20th 1769

... Kept sounding lead going & good lookout in the night.

Latt. Obs. 6°30' N.

At Noon St. Andrews S43°W dist. 32 leagues.

Courses NNW1/2W, etc., Winds NE, etc.

Tuesday February 21st 1769

Moderate breezes with some passing squalls & rain[.] Tradesmen and people employed as yesterday.

At 1/2 past 5 a.m., saw a low island from the masthead bearing NNW1/4W 5 or 6 leagues. At 6 saw another to the westward of it bearing NW1/2W about the same distance and three small ones to the eastward of the first bearing about N by W. Kept the lead going and a good lookout in ye night.

At 11 a.m., saw the island we made at 1/2 past 5 last night. At Noon bore N1/2W 6 or 7 leagues seen from the masthead.

These islands I take to be the southernmost of the Palos Islands & lay from St. Andrews Islands N28°E dist. 34 leagues[,] is by observation in Latt. 6°50 N. 0°48 E. Long. from St. Andrews[,] they are very low & covered with trees.

Latt. Obs. 6°30' N.

Courses NW by N, etc., Winds NE by N, etc.

Wednesday February 22nd 1769

A brisk breeze and mostly cloudy weather. At 4 p.m., the northernmost of the islands seen yesterday (which we take to be one of the Palos Islands) bore from the masthead N by E1/2E 6 leagues. At 5 tacked to the eastward[,] kept the lead going & a good lookout in the night[,] Tradesmen and people employed as before.

Latt. Obs. 6°20' N.

At Noon Palos Islands N59°W dist. 19 leagues.

[Thursday February 23: Lat. obs. 6°27' N.]

[Friday February 24: Lat. obs. 7°01' N.]

[Saturday February 25: Lat. obs. 8°26' N.]

Courses WNW, etc., Winds SE by E, etc.

Sunday February 26th 1769

A pleasant breeze & fair weather. Sounded in ye night as per Log and kept a good lookout for the New Carolines.

Latt. Obs. 9°.27' North.

At Noon Palos Island SSW1/4W dist. 58 leagues.

...

Document 1769I

The San Carlos Bank discovered in the Northern Marianas

Source: MN 96, fol. 209-210v.

Note: This shoal was later re-discovered and is now better known as the Zealandia Bank.

Original text in Spanish.

Extracto del Diario de uno de los Pilotos de la Nao San Carlos en su travesía del Estrecho de San Bernardino al Farallon de Paxaros, en la qual habistaron un plazer à que dieron el nombre del Buque, y se halla situado en las Cartas de los Navegantes Españoles de Filipinas como un Baxo, año 1769.

...

“Dia 28 [de Agosto].

... “Latitud observada 18°38’ N. Longitud llegada meridiano de San Bernardino 19°34’ E.

“Dia 1° de Septiembre: A las 11 se noto en el agua color de fondo y al mismo tiempo cantidad de peses[.] inmediatamente nos pusimos à la Capa y repitiendo la sonda hallamos 15: al punto mareamos, y viramos por abante en buelta del NNO y continuando la sonda por 15 y 18 brazas[.] viendo que baxaba à 15 se trato variar de rumbo pero poco despues bolvio à 16 y fue aumentando à 18, 22, y 30 brazas la misma calidad, despues no se pudo alcanzar fondo con 50 brazas, à este tiempo que era casi el medio dia quedamos safos de este nuevo plazer que se puede llamar de San Carlos, pues no havia sido conocido hasta ahora: Su Caveza N se halla entre 18°19’ y 18°20’ de Latitud N que es la misma que se observò, y la Longitud, la misma en que me hallaba hoi hasta que avistemos algunas de las Yslas Marianas de donde se podra situar mejor.

“Latitud de Estima 18°20’ Latitud observada 18°19’ N

“Longitud de San Bernardino ... 21°21’ E.

Nota

“De las 11 à las 12 el rumbo fuè NNO distancia 1-1/2 millas.

“Dia 14: A las 9 de la mañana haviendose aclarado un poco, vimos el Farallon de Paxaros al NO5°N distancia de 5 à 6 Leguas.

“Latitud de Estima del Farallon de Paxaros N20°51’ NO hubo observacion y segun las Cartas Modernas N20°30’. Longitud entre San Bernardino oy el Farallon Estima E26°31’.

Nota

Siendo la Longitud del Farallon de Paxaros segun las Cartas Modernas de 21°32’ al E de San Bernardino resulta un diferencia al O de 4°59’ que ès la misma que ha experimentado este Buque en 17 dias de navegacion contados desde el 28 del pasado que cesò la colla y reinaron vientos variables.

Situacion del Placer segun estos Datos.

Longitud del Buque el 1° de septiembre 21°21’ E de San Bernardino.

Parte proporcional por la diferencia al O correspondiente à 4 dias à 18’ por dia ... 1°12’ O

*Luego Longitud del placer al E de San Bernardino ... 20°99’
y Latitud de la Caveza N ... 18°19’*

Nota

Este placer debe correr NO SE 3/4 de Legua que fue la extencion que reconocio este Buque, pues quando se hallaron en èl y en 20 brazas governaban al SE y aunque viraron al NNO el abatimiento y corriente que conocieron al NO quando con el Bote fueron à reconocer su Caveza N no lo verificaron por las corrientes que tiraban con fuerza al NO.

Translation.

Extract from the Logbook of one of the Pilots of the galleon San Carlos during her crossing from the Strait of San Bernardino to Farallon de Pajaros, in which they sighted a shoal to which they gave the name of the ship, and it is placed on the Charts by Spanish navigators as a Shoal, 1769.

...

28th [of August]

... Latitude observed 18°38’ N. Longitude with respect to the meridian of San Bernardino 19°34’ E.

1st of September.

At 11 a.m., there was noticed in the water the color of the bottom and at the same time a quantity of fishes. We immediately lyled to and took many soundings and found 15 fathoms. We immediately set sail and veered to the NNW, while continuing to sound, finding 15 and 18 fathoms. Seeing that it down to 15, we thought of changing the course, but it soon returned to 16, then increased to 18, 22, and 30 fathoms, same type of bottom. Afterward we could not find bottom at 50 fathoms. At this time, which was almost noon, we were clear of this new shoal, which can be called San Carlos Shoal, because it had not been known before. Its northern head is found between 18°19’ and 18°20’ Lat. N. which is the same as the latitude observed for this day, but its Longitude

could not be determined until we sight some of the Mariana Islands when we can calculate it better.

Latitude estimated $18^{\circ}20'$ Latitude observed $18^{\circ}19'$ N.

Longitude from San Bernardino ... $21^{\circ}21'$ E.

Note

Between 11 a.m. and 12 noon, we covered a distance of 1-1/2 miles to the NNW.

14th.

At 9 in the morning, the weather having cleared a little, we sighted Farallon de Pajaros [i.e. Bird Island, or Uracas]. It bore $NW5^{\circ}N$ distance 5-6 leagues.

Latitude estimated with Farallon de Pajaros bearing $N20^{\circ}51'NW$. An observation was taken but, according to modern charts it is $20^{\circ}30'$ N. Difference of Longitude estimated today between San Bernardino and Farallon $26^{\circ}31'$

Note

Since the longitude of Farallon de Pajaros, according to modern charts is $21^{\circ}32'$ E of San Bernardino, there results a difference westward of $4^{\circ}59'$, which is the same that was experienced by this ship during 17 days of navigation, counting from the 28th of last month when the blast from the monsoon ceased and variable winds began to prevail.

Situation of the Shoal, according to these data.

Longitude of the ship on 1 September: $21^{\circ}21'$ E of San Bernardino.

Proportion given for the difference westward that corresponds to 4 days at $18'$ per day: $1^{\circ}12'$ W.

Therefore, the Longitude of the Shoal: $20^{\circ}09'$ E of San Bernardino, and

Latitude of its northern point: $18^{\circ}19'$ N.

Note

This shoal must run NW-SE over $3/4$ league, which was the extension recognized by this ship; in fact, when they noticed that they were over it, and in 20 fathoms, they were heading SE and although they veered to NNW, the drift and current which they found to flow NW when they went with the boat to survey the northern point, they were unable to determine its size, on account of the currents pushing them strongly to the NW.

Note 1770A

Discourse on the handling of the Manila galleons at Acapulco, by Carrera and Portugués

Source: NYPL Lenox Spanish-American Collection: A manuscript book, bound quarto of some 400 pages; cited in B&R 53: 356.

Manuscript by Estevan de la Carrera and Manuel Alonso Portugués**Summary of this book.**

Familiar and interesting conversation (divided into 4 periods) regarding the new plan and method to be observed at the arrival and despatch of the galleons from the Philippines, in accordance with the laws of the Indies, the regulations and latest dispositions of the superior Government of Mexico taken with the agreement of the Tribunal of the General Visitor of New Spain, between Don Estevan de la Carrera, of the Order of Calatrava, proprietary Treasurer, and Don Manuel Alonso Portugués, Interim Accountant, both royal officials of the royal City and Port of Acapulco. [ca. 1770]

Synopsis by Robertson.

I. Description of Acapulco; its tribunal of the royal treasury and dependencies; and notice of the first preparations for the despatch of the vessels for the Philippines. II. Arrival of the Philippine galleon; her unloading; investigations of its preparation; and formality of the manifest of the cargo for her return to Manila. III. Various notices in regard to the proprietary employees and agents of Acapulco; of the stronghold, garrison, and artillery of this port, and of the careening of the Philippine vessels. IV. Acapulco fair; commerce in general; confiscation; exaction of royal duties; and various points of information, both in regard to the manner of collecting them from certain branches of the royal treasury, and in regard to various important points. The dialogue is opened by Portugués, who is also the last to speak. Contains some useful economic matter.]

...

Document 1770B

Description of the Carolines and Marianas, by Fr. Tornos

Source: RAH, ms. 9/4906, fol. 127-140.

Note: Fr. Tornos had visited Guam on his way to the Philippines in 1755 (see Doc. 1753A). Fr. Tornos was born in Liestas, in the diocese of Taragona on 6 November 1721, and joined the Society of Jesus in the province of Toledo. After arriving at the Philippines, he was captured by the Moros in his village of Poro. He had an intimate knowledge of many parts of the Philippine Islands. He became a companion of Fr. Puiz aboard the galleon San Carlos Borromeo in 1768, and 1769. His death occurred in 1801.

Synopsis by Robertson.

Written in Italy, whither the author had gone after the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Philippines. Report sent to Antonio Porlier, Secretary of Grace (i.e. Religion) and Justice at Madrid, who had requested, through the Spanish government agents in Italy, all the meritorious documents written by the Spanish ex-Jesuits who had been in the Indies. In it the author corrects errors made by other historians, rebuts the slanders of various foreign writers (probably Le Gentil is meant), and gives an accurate description of the Philippines and various data regarding it. Consists of 37 chapters, some of which treat of the British conquest.

There is a supplement to this work entitled: "Supplement in which is given a brief relation taken from the most believable historians of the discovery, conquest, and more memorable events of all those islands."

Appendix on the Caroline, or Palaos, Islands

Original text in Spanish.

Retrato Geografico, Historico, Apologetico de las Yslas Filipinas. Con un Apendice de las Yslas de Palaos, ó Carolinas, y de las Marianas: escrito por Don Juan Antonio Tornos en 1789.

...

Apendice.

Capitulo unico en el que se demuestra la existencia de las Yslas Carolinas, ô de Palaos; aunque se ignora la precision posicion de casi todas: como tambien el numero de ellas: y se da razon de sus habitantes.

Algunos an dudado de la existencia de las Yslas Carolinas, ô de Palaos: ô Nuevas Filipinas, que es nombre, que algunos modernos les an impuesto. Pero ya no se puede dudar de ellas, despues que el Jesuita **Padre Cantova** pasò à ellas desde Manila por los años 1736 [rather 1731] para enseñar la ley Evangelica à sus moradores Idolatras: los que en pago de su Apostolico zelo, pasados algunos meses, lo mataron à traicion, con las personas que lo acompañaban; à excepcion de un Indio Filipino criado del mismo Padre, al qual reservaron la vida, por asemejarse à aquellos barbaros en la fisonomia, y en varios usos.

Al Padre Cantova acompañò en su viage el Coadjutor Hermano **Levino**; pero esse se bolvió à Manila en la misma embarcacion, que les avia conducido y yo lo alcanzè, y lo tratè en el Colegio de aquella Ciudad. Y vi tambien copia de la Carta Hidrografica, que hicieron los Pilotos de aquel viage; aunque no me acuerdo de la latitud, ni longitud en que colocaban las pocas, y pequeñas Yslas, que vieron, y demarcaron.

El Indio Filipino, que los Idolatras reservaron de la muerte, logro ocasion de huirse, acompañado de algunos isleños (que por ventura se avían echo Cristianos), y pasado algun tiempo llegò felizmente à Manila, en donde refirió lo sucedido al Padre Cantova. Y despues se confirmò esto mismo, por relacion de Otros Palaos gentiles que en varias ocasiones, y tiempos llegaron à las Costas Orientales de la Ysla de Samar, arrojados, y forzados de las corrientes de mar, y de vientos contrarios.

[Carolinian drifters, 1765]

Yo tuve ocasion de tratar algunos de estos Palaos, echos ya Cristianos, y establecidos en los pueblos de Guiguan, y de Borongan, situados en la Ysla de Samar. Particularmente examine varias vezes en 1765 a uno de ellos mui racional, establecido tiempo hacia en Borongan, è inteligente de la lengua de aquel pais, y de èl me informè de varios usos, y costumbres de sus paisanos Idolatras: y de la calidad de las Yslas, que el viò, ô de que tuvò noticia. Y por èl supé, que dichas Yslas son muchas, aunque èl no anduvò sino algunas; pero que casi todas son pequeñas: y solas las de mediana extension estan habitadas. Que ay grandes corrientes de mar entre ellas. Que abundan de palmas de coco, y de su fruto. Que sus habitantes dan al Sol adoracion, inclinandose à reverenciarlo; aunque no podia afirmar, si reconocen alguna deidad, ô Espiritu vital en dicho Astro. Que no tenian templos, ni Sacerdotes, ni sacrificios. Que algunos nobles de su nacion tenian el gobierno de todos. Que el color, y fisonomia de los hombres era como la suya (y la de este Palao era semejante à la de los Indios de Filipinas). Que las casas en que habitaban, eran de leña, ô de troncos de coco, y cubiertas, ô techadas con hojas de esta misma palma, ô con otros semejantes, à manera de cabañas. Que para educacion de la niñez tenia cada pueblo dos casas grandes, con separacion de ambos sexos; y en ellas criaban à muchachos, y muchachas con la direccion de Maestros, y Maestras;

*pero el mantenimiento lo subministraban sus padres: y allí estaban detenidos hasta que llegaban à edad de casarlos, y los esposaban mui Jovenes. Que en aquellos Seminarios, ô Escuelas enseñaban à los muchachos las artes de navegar, de pescar, y de hacer sus lanzas, las que no son sino un hasta ô palo con una punta de hueso: pues no tienen hierro, ni otros metales, de que hacerlas. Y à las niñas les enseñaban el gobierno, y portamiento, que deven tener en sus casas, y con sus maridos, quando lleguen à casarse. Que los hombres andaban desnudos: y en los bailes, y fiestas, se pintaban el cuerpo, y se adornaban con plumas, ojas, y flores. Que las mugeres desde que empezaban à conocer la malicia, se cubrian desde los riñones hasta medio muslo con una tela de coco, û otra cosa equivalente. Que así hombres como mugeres, se abrian grandes agujeros en las orejas, y los ensanchaban con arte, para colgar de ellos sartas de flores, de Ojas, y de adornos semejantes. Que su comida, por lo comun, era pescado, algunas frutas, y varias especies de raizes, y de estas el **Palavan**¹ era la mas usual, y apreciada. No tenían animales quadrupedos. El arroz no lo conocian; como tampoco otros granos, ni menestras, ô legumbres.*

*Pero por los años 1755, ô 56 llegaron 3, ô 4 Palaos desgarrados à la Ysla de Samar, y fueron à dar al Pueblo de Palapag: y aunque àlli fueron bien recibidos, y tratados; no obstante eso, amando mas sus parientes, y su pais, (aunque miserable), que habitar en tierra extraña, se empeñaron en bolver à su patria: y pasados algunos meses, y estando el tiempo en bonanza, y el mar sosegado, se embarcaron llebando consigo algun arroz, con intento de sembarlo en sus paises. Esta relacion la tuve del **Padre Ygnacio Zapata**, que entonces se hallaba en el pueblo mencionado. No quiero àlargarme à referir otros casos, y otras pruebas, para confirmacion de la existencia de aquellas Yslas; por que lo dicho es mas, que suficiente, para no tener duda de ellas.*

De lo que hasta aqui è referido, conjeturo yo, que algunas de las Yslas de Palaos no distan de las Filipinas, sino algun centenar de leguas (ô acaso menos) àzia el Oriente de Samar, y de Mindanao: por quanto algunos gentiles de aquellos paises en poquisimos dias, y en diferentes ocasiones; como ya è dicho antes; an llegado desgarrados, ô perdidos à la Ysla de Samar, arrojados de corrientes, y vientos contrarios: por mares alborotados, y tempestuosos: con embarcaciones, que no son mas, que el tronco socabado de un arbol de mediana grandeza, con unas cañas gruesas, que la ponen à un lado, para que no se buelque facilmente; y con escasisima provision de comida.

1 Tratando de las raizes de Filipinas, è explicado lo que es el palavan vease el Capitulo 27: "Las hojas que echan son tan grandes, que con una se cubre una persona la cabeza, y los hombros. El color de esta raiz, quando esta limpia de la corteza, es entre blanco, y pajizo. Es muy solida, y de buen gusto, y mantiene como el arroz, y el pan de trigo. Para comerla, la parten en pedazos bastante grandes, y la cuesen en agua, ô la asan en rescoldo, ô entre guijarros encendidos: y de este ultimo modo es mas gustosa, que de ningun otro."

*Otra conjetura, que tengo, para juzgar, que los Palaos no distan de Filipinas mas de lo que è dicho es, por que en algunas ocasiones, en que iban los Bisayas del pueblo de **Guiguan**¹ à la Ysla de **Soloan**² distante como 20 leguas àzia el Leste del citado pueblo, fueren arrebatados de rapidas corrientes, y viento contrario, que los echo mar àfuera, y llegaron à descubrir distintamente la Ysla de San Andres, que es de Palaos, y la primera, ô de las mas inmediatas à las Filipinas: y solamente tardaron 4, ô 5 ô los que mas 7 dias, en llegar à reconocer aquella Ysla, y bolverse con bonanza de tiempo à la de Soloan. Esto lo oi contar en diferentes ocasiones à los moradores de Guiguan. Y tambien los oi decir, que algunos Indios del mismo pueblo, y de otros paises de la Costa Oriental de Samar, se avian desgaritado en otros tiempos mas antiguos, sin averse tenido noticia de ellos: de lo que inferian mui bien: ô que perecieron en el mar; ô que fueron à dar à las Carolinas, y alli se quedaron à la manera, que se quedaban en Samar los Carolinos, que alli llegaban. Estas conjeturas me obligan à creer, que algunas de las Yslas Palaos; ô Carolinas no estan mui distantes de las Filipinas.*

Tambien me persuado, que ay otras Yslas Carolinas poco distantes de la de Guajan, que es la mas Meridional de las Marianas: porque en diferentes ocasiones an llegado à aquella Ysla algunos Palaos, en breve tiempo, y sin provision para mantenerse: y no obstante los vientos Lestes, que reynan casi siempre en aquellas mares, y favorecen mas la navegacion para Filipinas, que para Marianas, por caer estas al Norte de los Palaos.

Estas Yslas Carolinas, ô de Palaos, estan situadas al Norte de la Nueva Guinea, y al Oriente de Filipinas, y al Medio dia de las Marianas: y se van siguiendo unas à otras (como una cadena de montes) de Leste à Oeste, por largo espacio de mar, con intervalos desiguales: como tambien ellas son de desigual extension, y grandeza. Pero exceptuando algunas pocas, que an sido reconocidas, y demarcadas por Pilotos, que las an visto; la restante multitud de ellas, no se sabe aun la precisa posicion, y lugar sitio en que se hallan: ni quantas son; quando no seamos tan credulos, que queramos dar credito à relaciones inciertas, y à informes de aquellos ignorantes Isleños exageradores de sus paises.

Pero por quanto nos faltan luces ciertas de la verdadera posicion, y del numero de aquellas Yslas: referire la relacion, que de ellas hizò el citado Padre Cantova en 1721, hallandose entonces en las Misiones de las Yslas Marianas, en donde tuvò oportunidad de informarse de algunos Palaos, que alli se hallavan. Esta relacion la è traducido fielmente del Anonimo Frances moderno repetidas veces citado, el qual dice, que la traslado de la del dicho Padre Cantova.

...
Hasta aqui la relacion del Padre Cantova: que cada uno puede juzgar con ojo critico el credito, que merece, estrivando su verdad, ô su contenido en puros informes de

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- 1 Guiguan està en la punta mas Austral de la Ysla de Samar, en poco mas de 11 grados de latitud septentrional.
 - 2 Soloan es Ysla despoblada, pero llena de palmas de coco, de cuyo fruto se aprovechan los Indios de Guiguan, para sacar azeyte, que trasportan à Manila.

gente inculta, y ignorante, y barbara; aunque no dudo, que da muchas luces, de las quales careciamos antes.

...

Hasta aqui dicho Anonimo. Yo no salgo por fiador de quanto refieren estas relaciones: pero demuestran la existencia, y poblacion de aquellas Yslas. A lo que yo añado las siguientes reflexiones:

1ª Que las dichas Yslas probablemente se an poblado por gentes de diferentes naciones, como lo indican los colores diferentes de sus habitantes: la diferencia de sus lenguas, ô dialectos: y la diversidad de sus costumbres, usos, gobiernos, y creencias.

2ª Que verisimilmente an concurrido à poblar parte de aquellas Yslas algunos Indios de Filipinas, como lo hacen casi demostrable las pruebas siguientes: primera, porque muchos usos, y costumbres de aquellos Isleños, son las mismas, que tuvieron los Bisayas de Filipinas en tiempo de su gentilidad: v.g. el andar desnudos, pintarse el cuerpo, gobernar familias nobles, &ª; segunda, porque el color, fisonomía, y lineamentos de muchos Palaos, son semejantes à los de los Indios Filipinos. Tercera, porque los Palaos, que an llegado à Filipinas, con facilidad, y en breve tiempo an entendido, y hablado bien la lengua de los Filipinos, por la semejanza, que tienen aquellos idiomas en la syntaxi[s], y artificio, y en muchas palabras, como dialectos de una lengua madre. Quarta, porque, como ya dije antes, algunos Bisayas an sido transportados en diferentes ocasiones de vientos contrarios hasta alguna Ysla de Palaos: y de varios, que asi fueron arrebatados, no se tuvò noticia alguna: y se cree, que no todos perecieron en el mar; sino que algunos llegaron à Palaos, y alli se establecieron: y es creible, que esto mismo aya sucedido varias vezes en los tiempos mas antiguos; aunque esto no lo afirmo como una prueba infalible.

3ª Reflexion. Tambien pudo suceder, que algunos Palaos concurriesen à poblar algunas Yslas Filipinas, especialmente las que menos distan de ellos. Pero parece mas probable, que las Yslas Filipinas fueron pobladas antes, que las de Palaos, por la mayor inmediacion, que aquellas tienen à Borney, y à las Molucas ô Macasar, y à otras Yslas grandes, proximas al continente del Asia; aunque no niego, que de esas mismas Yslas pudieron pasar algunos pobladores à las Carolinas, ô Palaos al mismo tiempo, que pasaron otros à Filipinas. En tales emigraciones, no pudiendo sentar cosa fija para dar razon segura, por falta de documentos; es licito adivinar con razones de congruencia: por eso è echo estas reflexiones, que si bien no pasan de conjeturas; pero se halla algun fundamento de verisimilitud en ellas.

Capitulo unico. Descripcion de las Yslas Marianas: y del origen, costumbres, y usos &ª de sus habitantes en el tiempo de su gentilidad, antes de estar devajo del dominio de los Españoles.

Las Marianas, asi llamadas en honor de Doña Mariana de Austria, viuda de Felipe IV, y Regente de la Monarquia de España, en cuyo tiempo las sujetaron los Españoles à su dominio, cerca del 1670; fueron antes llamadas Yslas de Ladrones, por aver robado sus moradores algunas cosillas à Hernando Magallanes, que arrivo à ellas. Son mu-

chas, y forman una Cadena, que se alarga de Sur à Norte desde 13 hasta 22 grados de latitud Septentrional, desde **Guahan**, que es la mas meridional, hasta **Uvac** [sic], que es la mas septentrional. Estan situadas àzia la extremidad del Mar Pacifico, cerca de 400 leguas distantes de las Filipinas. Al Norte de dichas Yslas se sigue una cordillera de Otras Yslas, que llegan cerca del Japon; pero parece, que casi todas estan despobladas: y si algunas ay habitadas, se ignora aun quienes son habitantes de ellas.

A la mitad de Junio de 1668 llegò à la Ysla de Guahan el Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores, con otros 5 Jesuitas, para enseñar la ley de Jesu Cristo, y convertir à nuestra Santa religion Catolica aquella ciega Gentilidad: y para su defensa quedaron 31 Soldados Españoles, y Filipinos. (corto numero, si tuvieran puesto su confianza en solas las fuerzas humanas, contra 50 mil [sic] almas, que tenia aquella Ysla sola). Al año siguiente descubrieron otras 12 Yslas bastantemente pobladas, caminando àzia el Norte: y el Sanvitores les sustituyò nombres de Santos, à los propios, que tenian, llamandolas: San Juan à la de **Guahan**: à **Zarpana** Santa Ana: à **Aguivan** [sic] Santo Angel: à **Tinian** Buena Vista Mariana: à **Saypan** San Joseph: à **Anatayan** [sic] San Juachin: à **Sarigan** San Carlos: à **Guñan** [sic] San Felipe: à **Alamagan**. la Concepcion: à **Pagan** San Ygnacio: à **Agrigan** San Francisco Xavier: à **Asongsong** la Ascencion: y à **Maug** San Lorenzo. En los tiempos posteriores se an descubierto otras Yslas, de las cuales hare luego mencion.

El Clima de aquellas Yslas es saludable, y templado. El terreno es montuoso, y atravesado de pantanos: y lleno de arboles, y de hierbas espinosas. Tienen varios rios, y algunos de estos con pezes. No ay culebras, ni animales venenosos. No se hallavan en ellas otros animales, que perros, y gatos: y se creia, que los dejò el navio la Concepcion, que alli avia fracasado en 1638, y aun vivia un Español, llamado Pedro, que alli se avia quedado despues del naufragio, y fuè, acompañado de un hijo suyo, à recibir al Sanvitores. No se à hallado mineral de metal alguno en aquellas Yslas. Y si algunos de sus naturales tenian algunas cosillas de hierro, era por que se las avian dado los Españoles, que bolvian de Acapulco, y alli hacian escala; y en cambio les daban los Isleños algunas conchas de tortuga. En sòla la Ysla de **Guahan**, ò **Guàjan** se hallavan 7 Puertos, y dos bellos rios. Esta es la mayor, y principal de todas aquellas Yslas. Està en 13 grados de latitud, y tiene de circuito como 30 leguas. En ella se halla el Presidio, y Puerto de Agaña, que es Capital de las Marianas: y alli [sic] se detienen las Naves, que buelven de Nueva España, à tomar algun refresco: y dejan un situado de plata, que es dotacion de la Reyna Doña Mariana de Austria, para mantener las Yglesias, y Misioneros, y un Seminario, para la educacion de la Juventud de aquellos paises, en el qual la instruyen sus Misioneros en la religion, y buenas costumbres, y enseñan à los muchachos à leer, y escribir, y un poco de musica eclesiastica.

Desde la Ysla de Guahan caminando azia el Norte, se hallan sucesivamente, **Zarpana**, ò **Rota**, que tiene 15 leguas de circuito, y en ella ay hasta el presente algunos centenares de habitantes; de los que cuida un Misionero. A esta se siguen **Aguigan**; y **Tinian**; en esta Ysla quedaron algunas bacas, puercos, y gallinas, quando los Españoles trasladaron à la de Guahan los pocos habitantes, que quedavan en ella, por que

no fueron todos consumidos de una epidemia, que padecian. Y aquellos animales procrean, y se multiplican en aquella tierra desierta: y una, ô dos veces al año va alguna gente de Agaña à hacer matanza de ellos, y lleban sus carnes saladas [sic] para provision del Presidio. En la misma Ysla estuvò el Almirante Jorge Anson en 1742, antes de apresar el navio de Filipinas, que bolví con tres millones de Acapulco para Manila.

Desde Tinian prosiguiendo la derrota àzia el Norte se hallan, **Saypan, Anatayan, Guñan; Alamagan, Pagon, Agrigan, Asongsong, Maug, ó Tunas, y Urac.** Las 9 [sic] ultimas se llaman **Gani.** Ademas de estas, hace mencion Carreri de tres bolcanes, y de las Yslas de **Patos, Desconocida, Malabrigo, y Guadalupe,** y de las tres Yslas de Tula [sic].

En 20 grados de latitud està el bolcan grande, por cuya banda del Sur la iba montando ô costeando el navio San Carlos, en el qual yo bolvia à Europa en 1769, y à 14 de Septiembre nos descargo tal tempestad de trueños, y rayos, que temimos quedar abrasados, y sepultados en las ondas. Pasada la tormenta descubrimos el Farallon de pajaros, y la pequeña Ysla de **Urracas** por la banda del Sur, entre la qual, y el farallon pasò el navio. Antes de llegar à dicho bolcan notamos varias corrientes de mar: unas, que tiraban para el Sur: y otras àzia el Oeste, y llebaban algunos cocos, y palos, de las Yslas vizinas, y desiertas. Tambien es de advertir, que desde el Estrecho de San Bernardino, por el qual se entra en las Filipinas, hasta pasadas las Marianas, se observa extraordinaria, è inconstante variacion de la Aguja, ô Rosa Nautica.

Todas las Yslas referidas estavan tan pobladas al tiempo, que los Españoles se fijaron en ellas, que sola la de Guahan contaba 50 [sic] mil almas, segun afirma el escritor de la Vida del Padre Sanvitores: y segun el Padre Gobien, historiador de las Marianas, tenia 30 mil [sic]: y à esta proporcion estavan habitadas las demas Yslas, con division de pueblos; bien que pequeños; pues los mayores contenian cien casas echas de troncos de cocos, ô de un arbol llamado [Palo] **Maria,** y cubiertas, y techadas con ojas de los mismos cocos. Y aquella multitud de habitantes desapareciò en pocos años, y quedaron las Yslas casi desiertas; no por motivo de guerra, ô de matanza, que hiciesen los Españoles, ni por violencias, û opresiones, que les obligasen à abandonarlas; sino por que aquellos gentiles inconstantes, y volubles, acostumbrados à vivir sin ley, sin religion, sin gobierno, ni sujeccion alguna, se imaginaron, que entraban en una dura esclavitud, aviendose puestos devajo del dominio Español, y se les hacia insoportable el vivir en obediencia; ô con ley alguna, que se quisiese imponerles. Por lo que unos se fueron de aquellas Yslas, buscando asilo en otras mas remotas; y algunos se mataron à si mismos; y las mugeres, con no se que bebidas, ô cosas, se hicieron esteriles; ô abortaban las criaturas, por no ver à sus hijos esclavos de forastares [sic], como falta, y erroneamente pensaban.

Dampier dice, que en 1687 no hallò en aquellas Yslas sino un centenar de Indios nacionales. Siendo asi, que en 1670 escribiò el Padre Sanvitores à su General, diciendole, que él, y sus compañeros avian, ya bautizado 30 mil almas, en solos dos años que allà llebaban. Y en 1672; poco antes que lo martirizaron; bolviò à escribir al mismo General, afirmando, que avian bautizado en aquellas Yslas mas de 50 mil almas [sic], como con-

staba de los catalogos, que tenian echos; no obstante las reveliones, y fieras persecuciones, que avian movido contra ellos, en diferentes ocasiones.

Lo que puedo asegurar es, que en 1755 estuve en el Puerto de Agaña detenido 4 dias, en tanto, que tomaba refresco el navio en que yo pasè à Filipinas: y trate con los Misioneros de Guahan, y entre otras cosas les pregunte, que poblacion tenian aquellas Yslas? Y me afirmaron, que tenian à su cargo tresmil almas: pero que 300 de estos vivian en la Ysla de Rota, y las demas estaban en la de Guahan. Y en 1770 volvi à ver, y tratar à los Misioneros Jesuitas, que avian salido de aquellas Yslas, y me dijeron, que se aumentaba siempre la poblacion de ellas.

En quanto al Origen de los Marianos, sospecharon algunos, que descendian del Japon. Otros juzgaron, que traian su origen de los Egypcios. Pero reflexionando bien à su color, lenguaje, y usos, se conjetura con mayor probabilidad, que descenden de Indios de Filipinas. El color de ellos es olibastro. Por lo comun son gordos, y no mal dispuestos de cuerpo. Casi todos se rasuzaban, ò rapaban la cabeza, excepto un poco de pelo, que dejaban en medio de ella. Pero las mugeres llebaban su cabello largo, y con diferentes baños hacian, que se bolviese el pelo blanco, y esto lo tenian por hermosura. Tambien apreciaban por belleza el ponerse negros los dientes. Los hombres andaban desnudos; pero las mugeres se cubrian las partes vergonzosas. Vivian muchos años, por la parsimonia con que se mantenían, comiendo frutas, cocos, platanos, cañas de azucar, raizes, y pescado: y en algunas fiestas comian un poco de arroz, como el mayor regalo que tenían. No bebian vino; sino agua pura. Y asi conocian pocas enfermedades, fuera de la ydropesia. Nada sabian de ciencias, ni artes. Solo se delectaban en la poesia: y los Poetas, que se hallaban entre ellos, los admiraban como un prodigio de ciencia, y de todos eran estimados.

Los forasteros, que no conocian el genio de aquellos gentiles, los juzgaban à los principios simples, sencillos, y buenos; pero despues los experimentaban dobles, engañadores, fingidos, traidores, vengadisos, y mas volubles, è inconstantes. Se dice que ab{r}orrecian el homicidio; y con todo eso se vengaban de sus enemigos, aunque fuese con una traicion. Se asegura, que no rebavan cosa alguna; y no obstante eso hurtaron hurtaron algunas cosillas à Magallanes, y à otros estrangeros, que alli arribaron. Se afirma, que no eran avaros, ni crueles; sino antes bien corteses, y liberales con los forasteros. Y que no conocian otros vicios, que la desonestidad: y que esta dominaba solo en los jovenes, los quales tenian mugeres prostitutas à ese fin. Pero que rara vez se oia entre ellos un pecado de adulterio. No ay que marabillar de esto ultimo; por que asi hombres, como mugeres eran libres para divorciarse quando les parecia, y pasar à otras nupcias, que mas les agradasen.

*Los nobles, que se llamaban **Chamorros**, no se esposaban jamas con muger inferior à ellos, y si alguno llegaba à hacerlo, se reputaba por una infamia. No reconocian los Marianos Rey, Señor, ni gobierno. Y aunque los nobles eran muy respetados de la plebe; pero no tenian autoridad, ni dominio sobre ello. Quando tenian algunas asambleas, ò juntas, para determinar cosas de importancia; bien que todos veneraban el parecer de los nobles; no por eso se obligaban à seguirlo, sino en quanto à cada uno le parecia. En*

los pleitos particulares, cada uno se hacia la justicia por si mismo. Pero si los pleitos, ô discordia eran de un pueblo con otro, se determinaban con la guerra: y salian à pelear unos contra otros: y las armas eran piedras, y lanzas con puntas de huesos humanos, cuyas heridas eran incurables. Pero estas guerras, ô combates duraban pocos dias, y sin mucho derramamiento de sangre, se pacificaban, y acomodaban los partidos contrarios.

Aquellos Isleños se divertian, matejandose unos à otros alegre, y jocosamente: y en bailes de hombres, y mugeres: en correr, luchar, tirar la lanza, y en otros juegos, en que se exercitan las fuerzas. Y tambien se delectaban mucho en contar historias fabulosas: y en regalarse con los comestibles mas apetecidos. Eran mui exactos en observar muchas ceremonias de cortesia, que se usaban entre ellos.

Pigafetta dijo, que los Marianos no conocian el fuego hasta que alli fueron los Europeos. Me parece esto un dicho burlesco; ô se engañò, si hablò de veras.

*En la Vida del Sanvitores, y el Padre Gobien en su historia de Marianas dicen, que los habitantes de aquellas Yslas no tenian templos, idolos, sacrificios, ni sacerdotes. Y que solo creian una confusion, y mezcla de fabulas y de errores. Tambien daban gran credito à ciertos **Macanes** [sic], que eran falsos profetas, y engañadores, los quales para sacar su utilidad, y provecho de aquella ciega gente, que los consultaba, les prometian la sanidad, la lluvia, la pesca abundante, y cosas semejantes.*

Con todo eso reconician la inmortalidad del alma. Y creian un Paraiso, en el que abundavan las frutas, y regalos, que ellos apreciaban, como tambien confesaban, que avia un infierno con un horno de fuego; pero que solo ivan à el las almas de los que morian con muerte violenta. Y aunque Alvaro de Mindana [sic] dice en su relacion, que adoraban el Sol, la Luna, y algunos pezes, à los quales creian, que pasaban las animas de los difuntos: y por eso solian dar de comer à esos pezes. Yo creo mas bien al Sanvitores, y à Gobien, que trataron de espacio à aquellos gentiles, y se informaron de su creencia, usos, y costumbres; y no dicen de ellos tal cosa, que juzgo no la callarian, si fuese cierta: y à Mindana pudieron engañarlo.

Asimismo tenian aquellas gentes gran piedad con sus difuntos. Luego que moria alguno, le ungian el cuerpo con azeyte oloroso: lo lloraban con exceso; y solian ayunar por èl 6, û 8 dias: cantaban lugubrementemente al re[de]dor de su tumulo, y lo adornaban con flores. Y si el difunto era un noble, las exequias eran solemnes, y se aumentaba la pompa, con convites, y con adornar las calles con ojas de palma, y rosas, y con formar arcos triunfales: y por demostracion de mayor sentimiento, quemaban la casa en que viviò, y despedazaban sus canoas: y con versos afectuosos esprimian el vivo dolor de su muerte. Por ultimo guardaban en sus casas las calaberas, ô craniums de sus difuntos, para que estos viviesen en su memoria, teniendolas à la vista.

Entre las ocupaciones de los hombres, la principal era la pesca. Sus embarcaciones no eran mas, que el tronco de un arbol, echo canoa: igual en la proa, y en la popa: y asi apta à gobernarse por ambas partes: y para que no se rebolcase facilmente, le ponian por un costado una ala de cañas gruesas, que servio de contrapeso: y no obstante este

embarazo, caminaban ligeramente. Esta especie de embarciones los usan aun al presente: y yo las vi en Marianas [en 1755].

E referido la creencia, ceremonias, usos, y costumbres de los Indios de Marianas, en el tiempo que eran gentiles, y vivian en su libertad. Pero los pocos, que an quedado, despues que se hicieron Catolicos, y estan devajo del dominio Español, an abandonado las costumbres, y usos gentilicos, y se an civilizado, en el modo que estan los Indios de Filipinas.

Las Yslas Marianas; aunque no dan utilidad à la España, por su escasa poblacion; son de gran ventaja, por su situacion, para el comercio de Manila con Nueva España: el qual podria peligrar, si estuvieran en manos de otra potencia. En ellas hacen escala, y toman algun refresco (como ya è dicho) las naves que buelven de Acapulco à Filipinas. En su terreno se producen excelentes melones, y sandias, cuya simiente la llebaron los españoles, y se criarian otros frutos, si hubiera gente, que los cultivara. Pero en la Ysla de Guahan se halla una plaga de ratones, que hacen mucho daño à los sembrados, y no ay modo de exterminarlos. El mar abunda de pezes. Y tambien arroja à sus playas algunos pedazos grandes de un ambar esquisito.

Translation.

Geographic, historic and apologetic description of the Philippine Islands with an appendix on the Palao or Caroline Islands and on the Marianas, by Don Juan Antonio Tornos in 1789.

...

Appendix.

Sole chapter in which the existence of the Caroline, or Palaos, Islands is demonstrated, although the precise position of almost all of them is unknown, as well as their number, and notice is given of their inhabitants.

Some people have doubted the existence of the Caroline, or Palaos, or the New Philippines, a name that some modern persons have imposed upon them. However, no-one can seriously doubt their existence, after the Jesuit **Father Cantova** went there from Manila in 1736 or thereabouts [rather 1731], in order to teach the Gospel to their idol-worshipping inhabitants, the same people who, in payment of his apostolic zeal, after a few months, killed him treacherously, along with the persons who accompanied him, except for one Filipino Indian, a servant of the Father, whose life they spared, because he was similar to those barbarians in physiognomy and in various customs.¹

¹ Ed. note: We have here a typical statement of interpretation, instead of fact. The man was not the only brown man in the company; in fact, he was a mere boy who had been adopted as a son by a chief, and was thus protected from harm on both of these counts.

The Coadjutor Brother **Levino** [Schrebel] accompanied Father Cantova in his voyage,¹ but the latter returned to Manila in the same boat that had brought them in, and I have myself met with him and spoken with him at the College of that City.² I have also seen the navigation chart that the pilots of that voyage made, although I do not remember the latitude nor the longitude which they had assigned to the few and small islands that they had sighted, and charted.

The Filipino Indian whom the idol-worshippers had spared from death, managed to escape, in company with some islanders (who by chance had become Christians) and, after some time had passed, made it successfully to Manila, where he recounted what had happened to Father Cantova. And afterwards this fact was confirmed by the accounts of other heathen Palaos who arrived on the east coasts of Samar Island on various occasions and at various times, after being tossed by sea currents and forced by contrary winds to divert there.

[Carolinian drifters]

I had an opportunity to meet with a few of these Palaos, already Christian, and settled in the towns of Guiguan, and Borongan, situated in Samar Island. For example, in 1765, I interviewed one of them who had lived for some time in Borongan. He was very rational and knew the language of that country well. From him I learned of the various manners and customs of his heathen countrymen, the particulars of the islands that he had himself seen, or heard about. And I learned from him that said Islands are numerous, though he has visited only a few of them, but that almost all of them are small, and that only those of a certain size are inhabited. That there are strong sea currents between the islands. That coconut trees are numerous, and so are the nuts themselves. That their inhabitants worship the sun, bowing to it to show their reverence, although he could not affirm whether or not they recognize some deity in it, or some life force, in said star. That they have no temples, no priests, and no sacrifices. That some nobles of his nation had control over everyone. That the color and physiognomy of the men was like his (and that of this Palao was similar to that of the Indians of the Philippines). That the houses in which they lived were made of wood, or coconut-tree trunks, and covered or roofed with the leaves of the same palm, or of other similar ones, and looked like huts. That every village had two large houses for the education of the youth, one for each sex, and boys and girls were raised there under the supervision of teachers, male and female, respectively; however, the food was provided by their parents, and they were kept there until they were old enough to get married, and they did get them married while very young. That in those seminaries, or schools, they taught the boys the skills for navigation, fishing, and making spears, which are simple sticks with a bone at the tip; indeed, they do not have any iron, nor other metal to do other-

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- 1 Ed. note: Rather Father Victor Walter, who took him along in his second voyage to check on his companion, Fr. Cantova.
 - 2 Ed. note: He met Br. Lewin Schrebel, after his own arrival at Manila in 1755. Schrebel had accompanied Fr. Walter on a rescue mission, over 20 years earlier.

wise. And the girls are taught to keep house and how to behave at home and with their husbands, when they will get married. That the men walk around naked, and in the dances and feasts, they paint their bodies and adorn them with feathers, leaves, and flowers. That the women, upon reaching the age of puberty, cover themselves with a coconut mat, or something similar, from the kidneys down to half the thigh. That both men and women make large holes in their ears, and enlarge them skilfully, in order to hang from them bunches of flowers, leaves, and similar adornments. That their food usually consists of fish, some fruits, and various species of root crops, the most common, and esteemed, of which was the **Palavan**.¹ They had no four-legged animals. They had no knowledge of rice, or of any other cereals, not even peas, or vegetables.

However, in about 1755, or 1756, there arrived 3 or 4 Palaos drifters at Samar Island, and they ended up at the town of Palapag. Although they were made welcome there, and well treated, they nevertheless endeavoured to return to their motherland, out of love for their own relatives, and for their own country (miserable as it is); indeed, after a few months, once the weather became favorable and the sea no longer rough, they departed, taking along some rice, intending to sow it in their islands. I have gotten this story from **Father Ignacio Zapata** who was then at the above-mentioned town. I do not wish to lengthen my narrative by mentioning other cases, and giving other proofs, to confirm the existence of those Islands, because what I have already said is sufficient to remove any doubt about it.

From what I have said so far, my understanding is that some of the Islands of the Palaos are not far from the Philippines, perhaps one hundred leagues (or perhaps fewer) to the east of Samar, and of Mindanao, inasmuch as some heathen from those island countries have drifted in on different occasions and in very few days, as I have already said, or lost their way and arrived at the Island of Samar, pushed by contrary currents and winds, through stormy and rough seas, aboard canoes that are no more than the hollowed trunk of a tree of medium size, plus some big canes that they place on one side to prevent it from capsizing easily, and with very little in the way of food supplies.

Another reason that I have for thinking that the Palaos are not far from the Philippines, besides what I have already said, is that on some occasions that the Visayan

1 While writing about the root crops of the Philippines, I have explained what *palavan* is (see Chapter 27). Ed. comment: It is **giant taro**, described in Chap. 27 as: "Its leaves are so large that a person can cover his head and shoulders with one of them. The color of this root, when its skin has been removed, is between white and straw-colored. It is very solid and tastes good, and keeps like rice and wheat-type bread. To eat it, they cut it into large pieces and cook it in water, or they roast it over embers, or among red-hot cobble-stones. Cooked in the latter way, it is tastier than in any other way."

people of the town of **Guiguan**¹ were going to the Island of **Soloan**,² a distance of about 20 leagues [south-] eastward of said town; they were carried off by rapid currents and a contrary wind that pushed them to the ocean. They ended up making a clear sighting of the Island of San Andrés,³ which is part of the Palaos Islands, either the closest, or one of the closest ones to the Philippines, and they took only 4 or 5, and at most 7, days to get in sight of that island, and to return with favorable weather to that of Soloan.⁴ This I have heard recounted on different occasions by the residents of Guiguan. And I have also heard some Indians of the same town, and others from other parts along the east coast of Samar, say that others had drifted off in former times, without ever being heard of again; by this, they indeed implied that, either they perished at sea, or they reached the Carolines, and remained there, the same way that Carolinians who arrived at Samar remained there. Such speculations force me to believe that some of the Palaos, or Caroline, Islands are not very distant from the Philippines.

I am also convinced that there are other Caroline islands not far from that of Guajan, which is the southernmost of the Marianas, because on different occasions some Palaos have arrived at that island, in a short time, and without food supplies on board, and in spite of the easterly winds that almost always prevail in those seas, and that make a voyage to the Philippines easier than one to the Marianas, since the latter lie north of the Palaos Islands.

These Caroline, or Palaos, Islands are located to the north of New Guinea, east of the Philippines, and south of the Marianas, and they lie one after another (like a mountain chain) from east to west, through a large expanse of ocean, with unequal gaps, just as they are themselves of unequal sizes, and extent.⁵ However, with the exception of a few of them, that have been examined, and charted by pilots, who have seen them, the great many that have not been seen have uncertain positions and relative neighborhoods. Nor do we know how many there are, unless we give credence to the uncertain reports and notices from those ignorant islanders, who might have exaggerated their countries.⁶

However, inasmuch as we lack certain knowledge of the true position and exact number of those islands, I will refer to the narrative of them made by the above-mentioned Father Cantova in 1721, who was then in the missions of the Mariana Islands, where he had the opportunity to get information from some Palaos who were also there. I have faithfully translated this account, published by the anonymous Frenchman whom

1 Guiguan is at the southernmost point of Samar Island, a little over 11 degrees of latitude north.

2 Soloan is uninhabited, but full of coconut trees, from whose nuts the Indians of Guiguan would extract oil, that they then carried to Manila.

3 Ed. note: Sonsorrol Island.

4 Ed. note: From similar stories, I suspect that many such sailors reached only the island of Siargao, northeast of Mindanao.

5 Ed. note: The author has in mind the picture of atolls.

6 Ed. note: We now know that they had not exaggerated anything.

I have quoted many times before, who says that he had himself translated it from that of said Father Cantova.¹

...
So far the account of Fr. Cantova. Anyone can judge for himself, with a critical man, whether the contents of such reports from savage, ignorant and barbaric people, can be given credence, or deserves to be believed, though they stress credulity. As for me, I have no doubt that they shed much light on things that we did not know before.

...
End of quote of said anonymous author. As far as I am concerned, I do not trust much of the information of these reports, but they demonstrate the existence and population of those Islands. I will add the following remarks:

1. That said Islands were probably populated by peoples from different nations, as shown by the different skin colors of their inhabitants, the difference of their languages, or dialects, and the diversity of their customs, manners, governments, and beliefs.

2. That it is very probable that part of those Islands were colonized by some Indians from the Philippines, as can be almost demonstrated by the following proofs: firstly, because many manners and customs of those islanders are the same as those of the Visayans of the Philippines when they were still heathen, for instance, the walking around naked, the tattooing of the bodies, the government by noble families, etc.; secondly, because of the color, physiognomy, and features of many Palaos are similar to those of the Filipino Indians; thirdly, because the Palaos who have arrived at the Philippines, had understood, easily and within a short time, the language of the Filipinos, and have spoken it well, on account of the similarity that those languages have in their syntaxes, and sentence formation, with many words in common, as dialects of a same source language; fourthly, because, as I have said before, some Visayans have been carried off on different occasions of contrary winds as far as some Island of the Palaos, some of whom were never heard from, and it is believed that not all of them perished at sea, but that some did make it to the Palaos, and settled there; and it is believable that the same thing has happened many times over long periods in the past, although I do not quote this an an infallible proof.

3. Also it may have happened that some Palaos ended up colonizing some Philippine Islands, specially those that are closer to them. However, it seems more probable that the Philippine Islands were populated before the Palaos Islands, because of their greater proximity to Borneo, and to the Moluccas, or Macassar; and to other larger islands, nearer the continent of Asia, although I do not deny that those same islands could have provided some settlers [directly] to the Caroline, or Palaos, at the same time that others passed to the Philippines. The details of such migrations cannot be reasonably fixed, on account of the lack of documents, but it is permissible to speculate, with reasons of congruency. That is why I have made the above remarks which, though they

1 Ed. note: He refers to Doc. 1722D, and the editor of the "Lettres édifiantes." However, his re-translation will not be reproduced here, even in summary, to avoid needless repetition.

may be considered mere speculations, are nevertheless somewhat based on reasonable assumptions.

Sole chapter. Description of the Mariana Islands. Their origin, customs and manners, etc. of their inhabitants when they were heathen, before their conquest by the Spanish.

The Marianas, so called in honor of Doña Mariana de Austria, widow of Philip IV, and Queen Regent of Spain, during whose time the Spanish conquered them, circa 1670, were previously named the Ladrones Islands, because their natives had robbed a few small things to Ferdinand Magellan when he visited them. They are numerous and they form a chain running from south to north, from 13 to 22 degrees of latitude north, from **Guahan**, which is the southernmost one, up to **Urac**, which is the northernmost one. They are situated at the western end of the Pacific Ocean, about 400 leagues from the Philippines. To the north of said Islands, there are other islands that continue the chain, as far as the vicinity of Japan, but it seems that most of them are not inhabited, and if some are inhabited, the identity of such people is still unknown.

In the middle of June 1668, Father Diego Luís de Sanvitores arrived at the Island of Guahan, with five other Jesuits, to teach the law of Jesus Christ and convert to our Holy Catholic faith those blind heathen, and to defend the missionaries, there remained 31 soldiers, Spaniards and Filipinos (a short number, if one considers only human force, against 50,000 [sic] souls who were in just that one island).¹ The following year, they discovered 12 other islands sufficiently populated, by travelling northward. Fr. Sanvitores substituted names of Saints for the names that they had, as follows: **Guahan** became San Juan; **Zarpana** Santa Ana; **Aguiuan** [sic] Santo Angel; **Tinian** Buenavista Mariana; **Saypan** San José; **Anatayan** [sic] San Joaquin; **Sarigan** San Carlos; **Guñan** [sic] San Felipe; **Alamagan** Concepción; **Pagan** San Ignacio; **Agrigan** San Francisco Xavier; **Assongsong** Ascención; and **Maug** San Lorenzo. Later on, other islands were discovered, but I will mention them later.

The climate of those Islands is salubrious, and temperate. The land is mountainous, crossed by marshes, and full of trees and thorny plants. They have various rivers and some of them have fish in them. There are no serpents, no poisonous animals. The only animals that were found there were dogs and cats and it was believed that they came from the ship **Concepción** that was shipwrecked there in 1638. There was even a Spaniard, named Pedro, who had survived the shipwreck of 1638 and still lived there; he and a child of his came forward to welcome Fr. Sanvitores. There is no metal ores at all in those Islands. And if some of their natives has a few small things made of iron, it was because the Spanish returning from Acapulco had given it to them, as they made a stopover there; in exchange, the islanders gave some turtle-shells. In the Island of **Guahan**, or **Guajan**, alone, there were found seven ports and two beautiful rivers. This island is the largest, and most important, island of the Marianas. It is situated in 13° of

1 Ed. note: Rather 15,000 at most.

latitude, and has a circumference of about 30 leagues. There can be found the Garrison, and the port of Agaña, which is the capital of the Marianas, and there [sic] stop the ships that return from New Spain, to refresh and leave a subsidy of money, which is the endowment of Queen Mariana de Austria for the maintenance of the churches, missionaries, and one seminary for the education of the young people of this country, inside which the missionaries instruct them in religion and good customs, and teach them how to read and write, and a little church music.

From the Island of Guahan, heading north, one can find in succession: **Zarpana**, or **Rota**, that has a circumference of 15 leagues, and where a few hundreds of people still live, under the care of one missionary. Then come **Aguigan**, and **Tinian**; in the latter islands there remained behind some cows, pigs, and chickens, when the few inhabitants moved to the island of Guahan, because not all of them died of the epidemic that affected them. And said animals are procreating and multiplying themselves in that uninhabited island, where, once or twice a year, people come from Agaña to slaughter them, and take away the salted [sic] meat as food supply for the garrison. Admiral George Anson visited this island in 1742, before he captured the Philippine galleon that was returning from Acapulco to Manila with 3 millions.

From Tinian, continuing our route north, we can find: **Saipan**, **Anatayan**, **Guñan** [sic], **Alamagan**, **Pagon**, **Agrigan**, **Asongsong**, **Maug**, or **Tunas**, and **Urac**. The 9 [sic] latter islands are called **Gani**.¹ In addition, [Gemelli-] Carreri mentions three volcanoes and the Islands of **Patos**, **Desconocida**, **Malabrigo**, and **Guadalupe**, and the three islands of Tula [sic].²

The Big Volcano is in 20 degrees of latitude. The ship that carried me back to Europe in 1769, the **San Carlos** was coasting or rounding it when, on 14 September, such a storm of thunder and lightning hit us that we feared that we would be set on fire and buried under the waves. Once the storm was over, we sighted the Farallón de Pájaros, and the small Island of Urracas [rather Maug] to the south. The ship passed between them.

Before we got to said Volcano, we noted various sea currents: some ran southward and other westward; they carried a few coconuts, and trees, from the neighboring islands that are uninhabited. It is also worth noting that from the Strait of San Bernardino, which is the entrance-way to the Philippines, as far as beyond the Marianas, an extraordinary and inconstant variation of the needle, or magnetic compass, is observed.

All the above-mentioned islands were so populated at the time of the settlement of the Spanish that the Island of Guahan alone had 50,000 [sic] souls, according to the author of the Life of Father Sanvitores,³ but according to Father Gobien, historian of the Marianas, it had 30,000 [sic], and the other islands had corresponding populations relative to their size, with their own scattered villages, though small; indeed, the larger

1 Ed. note: Only the islands north of Saipan were so called.

2 Ed. note: Rather Tecla (see HM10: 45).

3 Ed. note: Hence, the numerous errors that Fr. Garcia made in his book have endured, although manuscript sources had long rectified these original figures.

ones had 100 houses made of coconut-tree trunks, or of a tree called [Palo] María, covered and roofed with leaves from the same trees. And that multitude of inhabitants disappeared within a few years, and the islands were left almost deserted, not due to wars, or massacres, waged upon them by the Spanish, not due to violence, or oppressions to force them to abandon their islands, but because of the fickleness and lack of constancy of those heathen, accustomed to live without law or political order, without religion, and without any restraint whatever; they imagined that they were entering a period of hard slavery, having accepted the Spanish dominion, and it became intolerable for them to live with rules of conduct, or with any law that might be imposed upon them. That is why some fled those islands, looking for a place of refuge in more remote islands,¹ and others killed themselves,² whereas the women, using God-only-knows what drinks, or things, made themselves sterile, or were aborting their babies, so as not to see their children become slaves of foreigners, as they mistakenly believed.³

Dampier says that in 1687 he found only a few hundred local Indians in those Islands. Compare this to what Father Sanvitores wrote to his General, telling him that he, and his companions, had already baptized 30,000 souls, in just two years since their arrival.⁴ And in 1672, a short time before they martyred him, he wrote once again to the same General, affirming that they had baptized over 50,000 [sic], as shown in the catalogs that they had kept, and this in spite of the rebellions, and savage persecutions that they had fostered against them, on different occasions.

What I can say is, that in 1755, when I visited the port of Agaña and stayed for 4 days,⁵ as long as it took the galleon carrying me to the Philippines for taking on refreshments, I was in contact with the missionaries of Guahan. Among other things that I asked them, was: what was the population of those Islands? They told me that they had in their care 3,000 souls, 300 of whom lived in the Island of Rota, and the rest in that of Guahan. And, in 1770, when I once again saw and talked with the Jesuit mission-

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- 1 Ed. note: I am glad that he does not say that they fled to the Carolines (another myth that is hard to eradicate), but very few did flee northward, to the Gani Islands, for a time. Perhaps some went even further north, to the Volcano, or Iwo, Islands, but there is no documentary proof of that—only some archaeological signs of more ancient Chamorro habitation.
 - 2 Ed. note: Their common form of suicide was by hanging.
 - 3 Ed. note: Again, this is a romantic notion that was never mentioned in primary-source documents, until much later, when their sterility could be ascribed to syphilis.
 - 4 Ed. note: Maybe so, but I have proven that the original Latin report said 13,000 (not 30,000) and later on, it was realized that many natives had been baptized more than once, to get the accompanying gifts, etc.
 - 5 Ed. note: It becomes obvious that he had forgotten its proper name, Umatac.

aries who had been expelled from those Islands, they told me that their population was on the increase.

As far as the origin of the Marianos, some suspect that they came from Japan, but others think that they came from Egypt. However, by just examining their color, language, and customs, one can draw a more likely conclusion that they came from the Philippines. Their color is olive-brown. In general, they are fat, but their body not badly proportioned. Almost all [men] shaved their head, except for a tuft of hair that they left on its crown. However, the women kept their hair long, and by applying various dyes, they made it white, something they regarded as beautiful. They also thought it was fashionable to have their teeth black. The men would walk around naked, but the women covered their shameful parts. They lived for many years, on account of the strict diet they kept, eating fruits, coconuts, wild bananas, sugarcane, roots, and fish,¹ although they ate a little rice, during their feasts, because they thought it was a delight. They did not drink any wine, just pure water. And so, they knew few diseases, except dropsy.² They knew nothing about the sciences, or the arts. They only found delight in poetry, and their poets who were found among them were admired as prodigies of science, and they were esteemed by everyone.

The foreigners, who did not know about the ingenuity of those heathen did at the beginning judge them to be simple, candid, and good, but afterwards they found out that they were deceitful, tricky, treacherous, revengeful, but most of all fickle, and insouciant. It is said that they did not commit murders, but in spite of that, they took revenge upon their enemies, though by treachery. It is also said that they did not steal anything; nevertheless, they stole a few small things to Magellan, and to other foreigners that visited there. It is stated that they were neither avaricious nor cruel, but were polite, and generous with foreigners, and also that they did not know any vice, except [sexual] dishonesty, but that only applied to the young men, who would keep women as prostitutes for that purpose, but that one would seldom hear of adultery among them. Why should we wonder about this last point, when not only men, but also women were free to get a divorce whenever they wished, and marry others who pleased them more.

The nobles, who were called **Chamorros**, never married a woman of lower status than their own, and if some one did so, it was reputed as an infamy. The Marianos did not recognize any king, lord, or government. And although the nobles were very respected by the common people, they had no authority, nor control over them. When they held some assemblies, or meetings, to decide things of importance, although everyone respected the opinion of the nobles, they did not follow it for all that; instead,

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- 1 Ed. note; I have to point out, hopefully for the last time, that young missionaries in their twenties, inexperienced and a little naïve, thought that wrinkled Chamorros were over 100 years old. I often wonder if some of these missionaries outlived some of the babies they baptized. Later experience showed that this idea of the longevity of the ancient Chamorros had been yet another myth about them.
 - 2 Ed. note: He forgets about yaws, or leprosy. However, modern archaeologists have proven that many other diseases were endemic.

they followed their own opinion. In disputes between individuals, each person would do justice to himself. But when the disputes, or discord, were between villages, the outcome was decided by battles; and they would go out to fight, one against the other. Their weapons were stones, and spears with human bones at their tip, whose wounds were fatal. However, such battles, or fights, lasted but a few days, and did not lead to much bloodshed; the contrary parties would be pacified, and a compromise sought.

Those Indians had various pastimes, such as challenging one another in a happy and jocular manner, dancing (for men, and for women), running, wrestling, spear throwing, and other games of strength. They would also find pleasure in narrating fabulous stories, and in eating the more appetizing foods. They were punctilious in the observance of many ceremonies of politeness, among themselves.

Pigagetta said that the Marianos did not know about fire, until they learned of it when the Europeans were there. It seems to me that he said it as a joke, or else he was fooled, if he believed it.¹

The biography of Fr. Sanvitores, and the history of the Marianas by Fr. Le Gobien, say that the inhabitants of those Islands had no temples, no idols, sacrifices, and no priests. And that their beliefs were but a confusion, and a mixture of fables and errors. Also, that they gave much credence to certain **Macana** who were false prophets, and tricksters, because they would extract some benefits from those blind people who would consult them, by promising them health, rain, an abundant fishing expedition, and such things.

In spite of all of that, they recognized the immortality of the soul. And they believed in a paradise where fruits and comforts that they liked were abundant, and they also confessed that there was a hell with a oven of fire, but that the souls that went there when they died were only of those who had died a violent death. And although Alvaro de Mindana [sic] says in his narrative,² says that they worshipped the sun, the moon, and some fish into which, they believe, the souls of the deceased would enter; that is why they used to give food to those fish.³ I myself prefer to believe what Fr. Sanvitores, and Fr. Le Gobien, say about them, because they were in contact for some time with those heathen,⁴ and they informed themselves of their beliefs, mannesr, and customs, and they do not say such a thing, that I think they would never have kept to themselves, if it were true; also, they could have fooled Mindana [sic].⁵

In addition those people had a great piety toward their dead. As soon as someone died, they anointed him with scented oil; they mourned them with excess; and they used

1 Ed. note: Pigafetta (see Doc. 1521A1) did not say any such nonsense. This legend originated with tertiary sources.

2 Ed. note: Since Mendaña had died, the narrative was that of Quirós.

3 Ed. note: The reference is to early Chamorros feeding, and refusing to eat, river eels. Some Carolinians living in Pohnpei still treat river eels in the exact same way, as they revere them as their tribal totem. In the mid-1800s, the people of Kosrae objected to foreign sailors eating moray eels, for the same reason.

4 Ed. note: Fr. LeGobien never left Paris; he just used missionary letters and reports as his sources.

5 Ed. note: The early missionaries did in fact mention river eels as well (see HM6: 109).

to fast for 6 or 8 days; they sang gloomily around his catafalque, which they adorned with flowers. And if the deceased was a noble, the death ritual was solemn, and more elaborate, with invited guests, streets decorated with palm leaves and roses, and with triumphal arches; also, as a mark of greater sorrow, they would burn the house where he had lived, and tear his canoes to pieces. Then with affectionate verses they expressed the deep pain caused by his death. Finally, they kept the skulls, or craniums, of their deceased inside their homes, so that they would live in their memory, every time they looked at them.

Among the occupations of the men, the main one was fishing. Their vessels were nothing but the trunk of a tree, turned into a canoe, equal at both ends, and therefore, one that could be sailed in either direction. And, to prevent it being capsized easily, they placed on one side a wing of large canes that served as a counterweight; in spite of that hindrance, they sailed rather swiftly. This type of boats is used even today; I saw them in the Marianas [in 1755].

I have mentioned the beliefs, ceremonies, manners and customs, of the Indians of the Marianas at the time they were still heathen, and lived in freedom. But the few who have remained, after they became Catholics, and were under Spanish control, have abandoned the heathen customs and manners, and have become civilized, the same way that the Filipino Indians have.

The Mariana Islands, although they are not profitable to Spain, on account of the lack of population, have the great advantage of their location, for the trade of Manila with New Spain, which could be endangered, if they fell into the hands of another power. It is where the ships returning from Acapulco to the Philippines make a stopover and take on some refreshment (as I have already said). Their soil produces excellent melons and watermelons, whose seeds were brought in by the Spanish. Other fruits could be grown, if there were people to cultivate them. But in the Island of Guahan is found a plague of rats that cause much damage to the crops, and there is no way to exterminate them. The sea abounds in fish. Also the sea throws upon its shores some large pieces of an exquisite ambergris.

Documents 1770C

Subsidies for the Philippines and Marianas, for 1768 and 1769

C1. Letter from the Viceroy, dated Mexico 1 February 1770

Source: AGI Fil. 684.

Original text in Spanish.

El Virrey de N.E. avisa tiene dadas las providencias oportunas para el regreso del Galeon Filipino.

Exmo. Señor.

Mui Señor mio.

*Consecuente al Oficio de 9 del corriente en que ofrecí á V.E. dár parte de las providencias que tomase en vista de las Cartas que recibiese del Ministerio de Manila, le participo: que habiendo dado las correspondientes para la descarga de la Fragata **San Carlos**, se efectuó ésta felizmente, sin haberse encontrado en las Caxas de la Tripulacion, Petacas ni Tibores cosa alguna fuera de Rexistro.*

Ygualmente comunico á V.E., para que se sirva ponerlo en noticia del Rey, que tengo mandado á los Oficiales Reales de estas Caxas formen la regulacion de Caudales correspondiente á los dos Situados que debe conducir el presente Galeon á Islas Filipinas, y que á fin de que salga á Navegar el dia 15 de Marzo proximo venidero hé dado las mas estrechas órdenes, y prevenido se repare el Buque prontamente de unos muy pequenos descabros que se me avisó trahía.

Nuestro Señor guarde á V.E. los muchos años que deseo.

México 1º de Febrero de 1770.

Exmo. Señor

*B.I.m. de V.Ex su menor y mas seguro servidor
el Marques de Croix*

[Al] Exmo. Sor. Bº Fr. Don Julian de Arriaga.

Translation.

Your Excellency.

My dear Sir:

As a follow-up to my Letter dated 9th extant in which I promised to Y.E. to report on the measures taken in view of the Letters of accounts received from the Royal officials of Manila, I inform you that, having given the orders for the unloading of the frigate **San Carlos**, it was done successfully, and nothing was found to be unregistered in the boxes, trunks or crates belonging of the crew.

In addition, I inform Y.E., for the intelligence of the King, that I have ordered the Royal officials of this Treasury to figure out the funds that make up the two Subsidies that must be carried by the present galleon to the Philippine Islands. Since she must sail before the 15th of March, I have given strict orders for expediency in the repair of a few small defects which the ship requires, as I had been told.

May our Lord save Y.E. for as many years as I wish.

Mexico, 1 February 1770.

Your Excellency.

The last but sincerest servant of Y.E. who kisses your hand,
The Marquis of Croix.

[To] His Excellency Bailiff Fray Julian de Arriaga.

C2. Summary table of subsidies

Source: AGI Mexico 1369.

Original text in Spanish.

ESTADO

*De los Situados remitidos el presente año en la Fragata **San Carlos** a las Caxas de Manila correspondientes a los de 1768, y 69 inclusas las cantidades aumentadas à ellos, en virtud de Reales Ordenes para los fines del Real Servicio, y las Pagadas en las Reales Caxas de Mexico de varias Pensiones de aquellas Yslas, y los Situados y Estipendios Ecclesiasticos de las de Marianas.*

| | |
|--|---------------------------|
| <i>Por liquido de dichos Situados inclusos 100 mil pesos para las obras de fortificaciones, y construccion de Vageles, y otras cantidades aumentadas con el costo de Fletes hasta Acapulco</i> | <i>328,679p 3t 6-3/5g</i> |
| <i>Por el importe de los Efectos que pidieron los Oficiales Reales de Manila para la provission de los Reales Almacenes de su cargo inclusos fletes</i> | <i>26,771p 4t 0</i> |
| <i>Del monto de varios Efectos pedidos desde el Puerto de Acapulco, por el Maestre de Raciones, Condestable, Contra Maestre, y Galafate de la Fragata San Carlos para su tornaviage</i> | <i>1,709p 4t 0</i> |
| <i>Por 53,041 pesos 6 tomines del importe de las pensiones concedidas y pagadas à distintos individuos, y Provincias de Religiosos de aquellas Yslas inclusos los costos de los diarios, conduccion, y passage de Mar de los Missioneros que passan en esta ocasion para la de San Gregorio, y San Nicolas</i> | <i>53,041p 6t 0</i> |

| | |
|--|----------------------------|
| <i>Por los Situados de las Yslas Marianas tocantes al año proximo pasado, y al presente</i> | <i>40,275p 0 0</i> |
| <i>Por liquido de 3,983p 1 tomin 4 granos de los estipendios Ecclesiasticos de las citadas Yslas Marianas, y pension del Colegio Seminario de ellas pertenecientes a un año rebajados 1,500p que se dieron de las Caxas de Manila à los Religiosos Augustinos de la Provincia de San Nicolas que pasaron a reelevar a los Regulares de la de la Compañia in dichas Yslas y se remiten a Manila para su reintegro</i> | <i>2,483p 1t 4g</i> |
| <i>De los gastos hechos en la Recluta de 47 hombres para refuerzo de la Plaza de Manila inclusos 2,000 pesos remitidos al Puerto de Acapulco para el remate de sus pagas</i> | <i>4,738p 5t 0</i> |
| | <i>457,698p 7t 10-3/5g</i> |

Mexico y Marzo 1° de 1770

Pedro Toral Valdés

Juan Antonio Gutierrez de Herrera.

Translation.

STATEMENT

Subsidies remitted this year aboard the frigate **San Carlos** to the Treasury of Manila corresponding to 1768 and 1769, including the sums added thereto, in view of the Royal Orders for the purposes of the Royal service, and the Payments received in the Royal treasury of Mexico from various pension funds belonging to those Islands, and the Ecclesiastical Subsidies and Stipends for the Mariana Islands.

—To liquidate said Subsidies, including 100,000 pesos for works of fortification, and ship-building, and other sums added with the transport costs as far as Acapulco

328,679p 3t 6-3/5g

—Value of the effects ordered by the Royal officials of Manila for the provisions of the Royal warehouses under their care, including transport costs

26,771p 4t 0

—Value of the effects ordered from the Port of Acapulco, by the Master of Rations, Master Gunner, Boatswain, and Caulker of the frigate San Carlos, for her return voyage

1,709p 4t 0

—Sub-total that consists of the pensions granted and paid to various individuals, and Provinces of the Religious Orders of those Islands, including the total expenses for the food, lodging, land and sea transport of the Religious of the Provinces of San Gregorio, and San Nicolas, who are sailing on this occasion

53,041p 6t 0

—**For the Subsidies of the Mariana Islands for last year, and the present year**

40,275p 0 0

To liquidate the 3,983p 1 tomin 4 grains of the Ecclesiastical stipends of said Mariana Islands, and the pension of their College Seminary for one year, minus the 1,500p paid by the Treasury of Manila to the Augustinian Religious of the

Province of San Nicolas who went to replace the Regulars of the Society in said Islands and are being remitted to Manila for reimbursement 2,483p 1t 4g

—For the expenses made for the Recruitment of 47 men for the reinforcement of the Garrison of Manila, including 2,000 pesos remitted to the Port of Acapulco for their final wages 4,738p 5t 0

457,698p 7t 10-3/5g
=====

Mexico, 1 March 1770.

Pedro Toral Valdés

Juan Antonio Gutierrez de Herrera.

C3. Letter from the Viceroy, dated Mexico 26 April 1770

Source: AGI Mexico 1369.

Original text in Spanish.

El Virrei de N^{ra} España contesta la Real Orden sobre embiar á Manila 100 Reclutas.—

664.

Excmo. Señor

Mui Señor mio. Siempre que el Buque del Galeón Philipino permita, a más de los Misioneros que haya que conducir á Manila, el transporte de los cien Reclutas que S.M. previene en Real Orden de 20 de Diciembre próximo pasado se embien á aquella Ciudad anualmente para refuerzo del Regimiento de Infantería del Rei: le daré el puntual cumplimiento que corespone á hacer efectiva la Soberana Determinacion; bien que en esta parte, con arreglo á lo anteriormente dispuesto, he procurado llenar el deseo de S.M., pues remití en la última Nao 48 hombres que únicamente pudieron acomodar, por haberse de embarcar 66 individuos de las Misiones de Religiosos Agustinos Descalzos y Gilitos: Lo que suplico á V.E. se sirva hacer presente al Rei.

Nuestro Señor guarde á V.E. muchos años.

México 26 de Abril de 1770.

Exmo. Señor.

*B.I.m. de V. Ex^a su menor y mas seguro servidor,
el marques de Croix.*

[Al] Excmo. Sor. Bailio Frei Don Julian de Arriága.

Translation.

The Viceroy of New Spain, in answer to the Royal Order regarding the despatch to Manila of 100 recruits.—

Letter n° 664.

Your Excellency.

My dear Sir:

Provided that the capacity of the Philippine galleon permit it, in addition to the Missionaries who must be carried to Manila, the transport of the 100 Recruits, whom H.M. has provided yearly for that City by his Royal Order dated 20 December last, to reinforce the King's Infantry Regiment, I will comply readily as this corresponds effectively to the Sovereign decision; however, in these parts, by previous arrangement, I have tried to fulfil the wish of H.M.; indeed, I sent 48 men aboard the recent galleon, the maximum number that could be accommodated on board, because there were also 66 individuals belonging to the mission bands of two orders, Discalced Augustinians, and "Gilitos".¹ I beg Y.E. to let H.M. know about this.

May our Lord save Y.E. for many years.

Mexico, 26 April 1770.

Your Excellency.

The last but sincerest servant of Y.E. who kisses your hand,

The Marquis of Croix.

[To] His Excellency Bailiff Fray Julian de Arriaga.

1 Ed. note: The Gilitos were discalced Franciscans from the Convent of San Gil, that was next to the Royal Palace in Madrid, until its destruction by Bonaparte's troops.

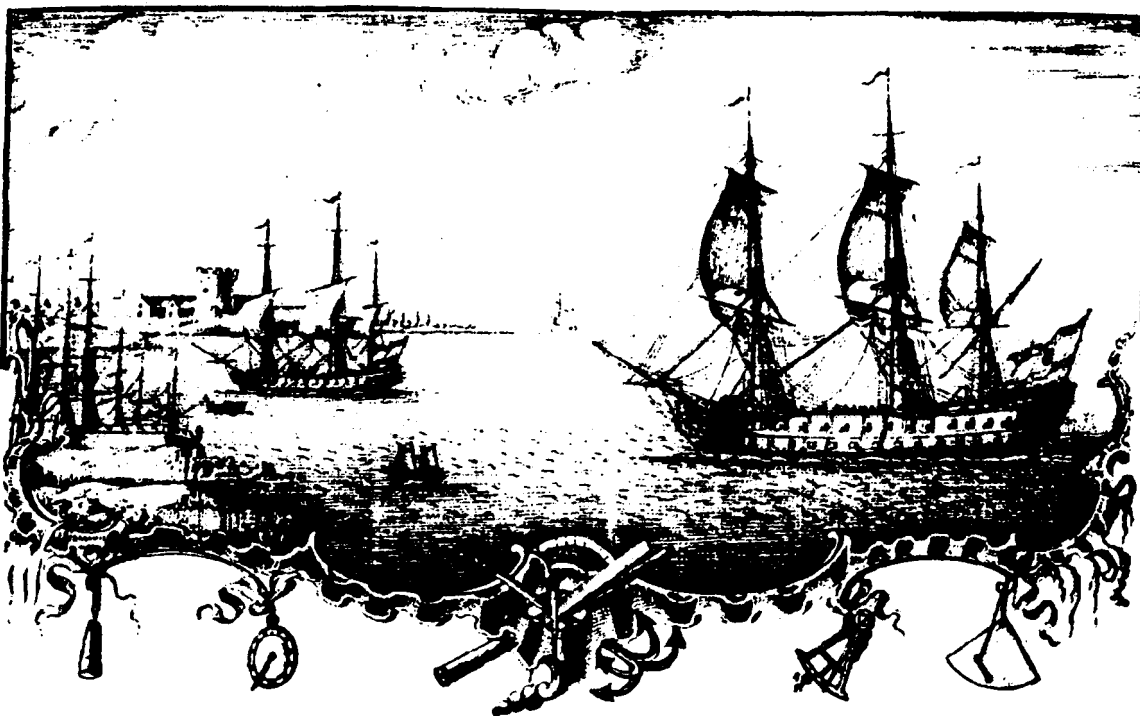
Document 1770D

The track of the galleon San José, eastward in 1770

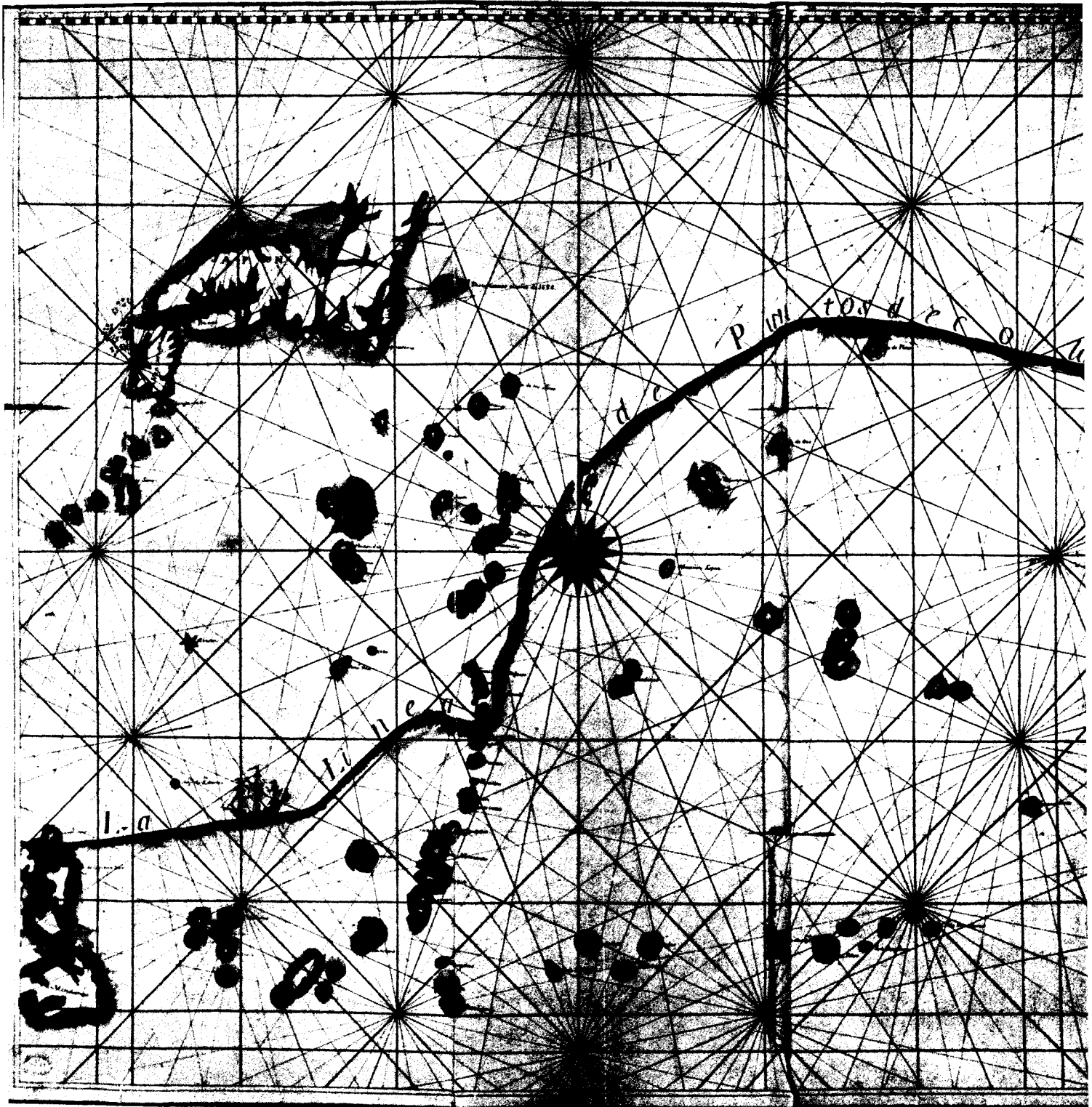
Sources: AGI MP Fil. 64; original copies from AGI Mexico 1369 and 1858.

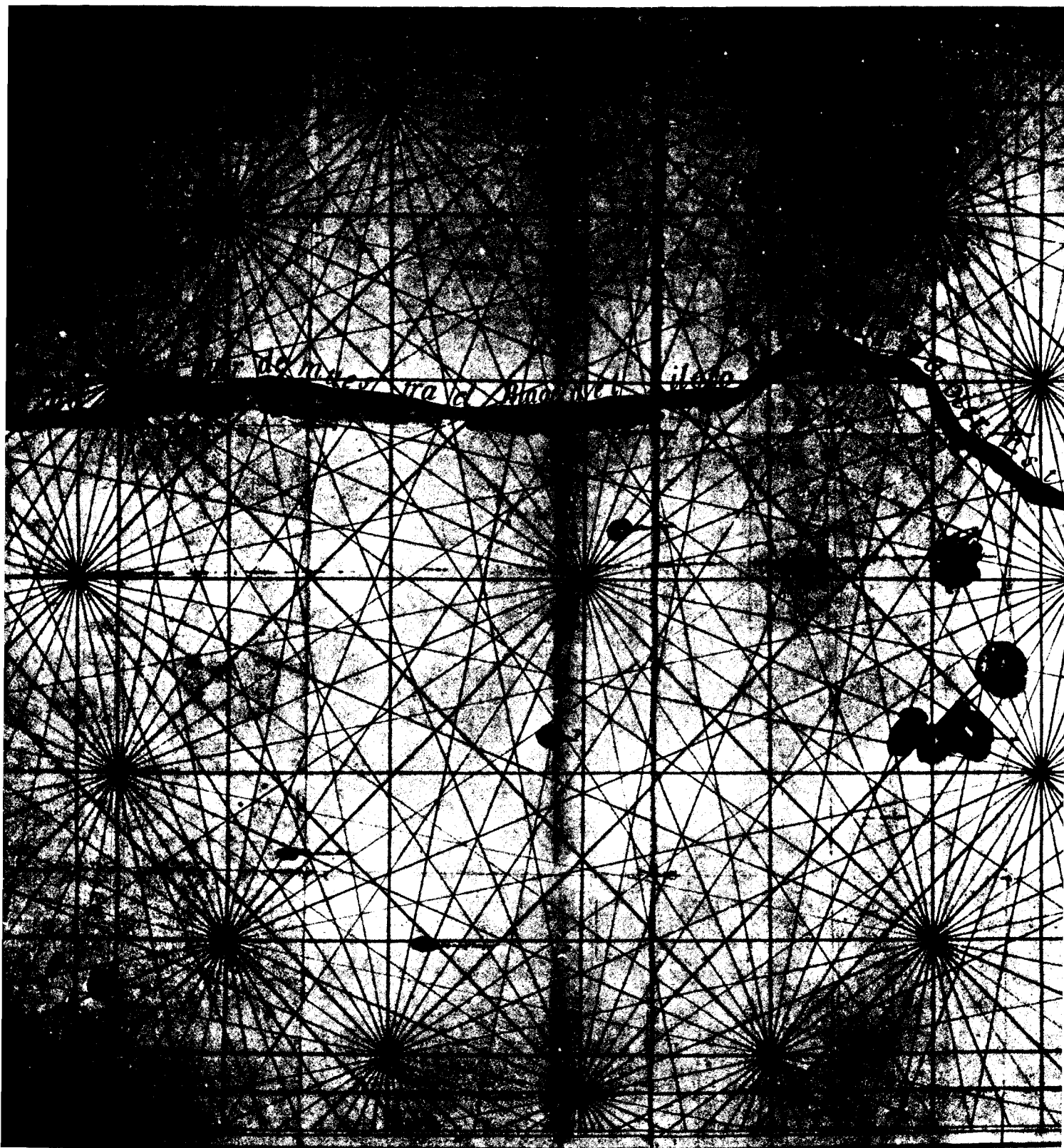
Note.

The San José left Manila on 18 July 1770, sighted the northern Marianas on 28 August, and reached the port of Navidad on 19 December. One of the pilots on board, Captain Estorgo y Gallegos, has made a long chart of her track.

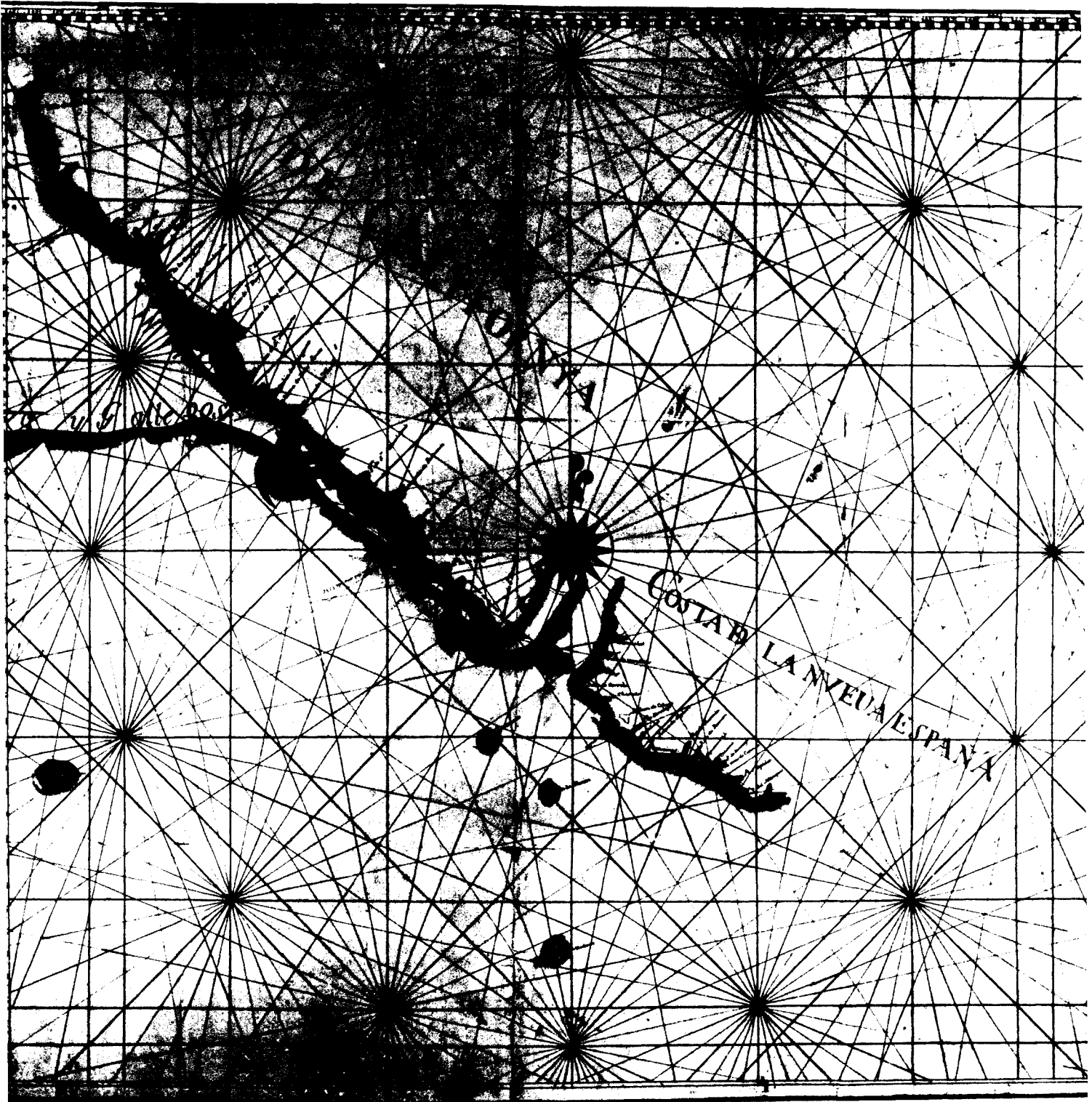


Spanish ships of the 1770s. (From the book entitled *"Diario de navegación a Chiloé"* by José de Moraleda, MN, Madrid)





Track of the San José in 1770, as charted by Capt. F. X. Estorgo y Gallegos.



Note 1771A

Audit of Governor Olavide's second term

Sources: LC Mss. Div. #...; Safford's notes, pp. 97-103.

Residencia of the second term of Governor Olavide, dated from July 1771 to January 1772

Safford's notes from the case file.

As was customary at the close of the administration of a governor of a Spanish colony, there was a "residencia", on the arrival of Tobías in Guam, to investigate the acts of his predecessor, Don Enrique de Olavide y Michelena... All the acts of himself and the other officials of the island during the time which he governed these Islands, were subject to investigation. The royal decree had been signed in Madrid, on 3 June 1765, three years before the beginning of Olavide's second term. It directed an investigation of the official acts of governors of colonies. It was received in Manila and read on 11 September 1766.

On 8 July 1771, the *residencia* was ordered by the Royal Audiencia of Manila, of which the Marianas was a dependency. On 11 July, additional instructions were given to Don Antonio de Apodaca, who was named Judge of the Sindication. On 13 July, Apodaca took oath before the Royal Audiencia of Manila. He swore by God, our Lord, and a sign of the Cross on the table with his hand on the open missal, promising faithfully to fulfil the charge confided to him of Judge of the Residencia which is to be given by Don Enrique de Olavide y Michelena of the time during which he was governor of the Mariana Islands, with all legality, secrecy, and subjection, without favoritism to any one.

On 15 September 1771.—Beginning of the *residencia*. The ex-governor was called the main subject of it. The orders directing the *residencia* were read by Sergeant-Major Mariano Tobías, Lieutenant of Governor and Captain General for His Majesty, in virtue of the royal powers, etc., and, rising to his feet, he took the document in his hands, kissed it, and put it on his head, as a letter coming from his King and natural lord (God save him, with an increase of kingdoms and dominions); and in obedience to it he handed him the baton of the Royal Justice, etc.

Apodaca then named as accompanying witnesses Don Pedro Echavarri, and Don Manuel José Aguon, trustworthy persons, who took oath in the name of God our Lord and a sign of the Cross besides, promising faithfully to perform their duty, and signed the oath. Also named as Constable was Don Juan Cortez, a Spaniard born in New Spain; as Interpreters were Don Benjamin de los Santos and Felipe Santiago Aguon, natives and leading men of this city of Agaña, who took oath.

Then published for the time of 60 days in all villages in Spanish and Chamorro, the notices to be posted in the usual places, and the Spanish copy to be returned to the Judge signed by the local priest (Reverend Minister of the Doctrine) of each village, etc.

Thus, if anybody had suffered injustices at the hands of the governor or of his officials during his administration, he was now called upon to present himself before the judge. There were a series of questions which each one had to answer. The form of a trial, or court of inquiry, had to be gone through with, whether the governor's administration had been good or bad. In this one, there was no fault found with any act of the ex-governor. I have gone into detail, to illustrate the method of procedure of *residencias*. The decree was issued by the King in order to prevent the establishment of unauthorized monasteries, etc. This was in consequence of the establishment in Guatemala of the College of San Gerónimo.

On 17 January 1772, Olavide asked for a copy of the *residencia* for the archives of Manila. (He evidently anticipated trouble in connection with his acts at the time of the expulsion of the Jesuits from Guam, and the *residencia*, or official investigation of his administration, was a safeguard for him, in case of an attempt to prosecute him.)

Documents 1771B

Appointment of Mariano Tobías as Governor of the Marianas

Sources: AGI Ultramar 562, sub-bundle n° 6; also AHN 5853, exp. 6.

B1. First letter from Governor Simon Anda to the King, dated Manila 11 July 1771

Original text in Spanish.

El Gobernador y Capitan General de las Islas Filipinas: Da cuenta á V.M. de haber resuelto despachar una fragata á las islas Marianas, para conducir el Gobernador que provisional interinamente se ha proveido, y para sufragar las necesidades de aquellos vasallos.

Señor:

Estando Don Enrique Olavide y Michelena, Gobernador interinamente de las Islas Marianas, y siendo cumplido el término determinado por Ley, para la obtencion de estos empleos, nombré para que le suceda á Don Mariano Tobias, Sargento Mayor del Regimiento de Infanteria nombrado del Rey, de la dotacion de esta plaza persona digna de toda atencion por su acreditada conducta y otras prendas naturales que le adornan.

Para Sargento mayor de aquellas Islas nombré tambien con la calidad de interino á Don Antonio Apudaca, sugeto benemérito y a proposito para esta confianza, nombrandole igualmente para Juez de la Residencia que debe dar al Gobernador que acaba del tiempo que ha servido.

A fin de conducirlos determiné el apresto de embarcacion competente, y mandé se reconociesen las de V.M. y las de particulares que hubiese en el Puerto de Cavite y en el Rio de esta Ciudad de cuya diligencia ejecutada resultó haber dos fragatas a proposito en este rio, pertenecientes á dos particulares comerciantes. Y con este preparatorio evacuado con intervencion de Oficiales Reales de Vuestra Real Hacienda se procedió á celebrar junta de esta en que habiendo visto el reconocimiento de barcos los exemplares que informaron dichos Oficiales Reales haber sobre iguales casos y distintas Reales Cédulas que lo prevenen se confirió estensa y difusamente el punto; y habiendose tratado con todas las circunstancias que parecieron necesarias, habiendo oido al Fiscal de esta Audiencia se acordó ser preciso despachar embarcacion para dichas Islas

Marianas para el fin referido en la conformidad que se ha practicado en los exemplares propuestos difiriendo á mi arbitrio la eleccion de barco, y providencias necesarias.

*En cuya atencion señalé la fragata **Nuestra Señora del Rosario**, perteneciente á Don Francisco Casten y mandé que los Oficiales Reales procediesen á celebrar el ajuste de su fletamento en la forma acostumbrada en iguales ocasiones conforme á exemplares que hay é igualmente diesen las providencias correspondientes para habilitarlo, y surtido de todo lo necesario para el viage, lo cual estan practicando y por no haber concluido el espediente que no acompaña su testimonio, y doy anticipadamente cuenta á V.M. para su inteligencia, confiando que su Real Clemencia se dignará aprobar esta espedicion.*

Dios Nuestro Señor guarde á Vuestra Magestad muchos años.

Manila y Julio once de mil setecientos setenta y un años.

Señor

Don Simon de Anda.

Translation.

The Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands: He reports to Y.M. about his having decided to despatch a frigate to the Mariana Islands, to take the provisional Governor who has been provided for them on an interim basis, and to fulfil the needs of those vassals.

Sire:

As Don Enrique Olavide y Michelena served as Governor of the Mariana Islands on an interim basis, and since he had completed the term provided by law, for the obtention of these posts, I appointed as his successor Don Mariano Tobías, who had an official appointment as Sergeant-Major of the Regiment of Infantry serving in this garrison. He is a person worthy of every attention by his exemplary conduct and other natural qualities that adorn him.

For the post of Sergeant-Major of those Islands, I have also appointed on an interim basis Don Antonio Apodaca, a deserving individual, and worthy of my trust, whom I have also appointed as Judge for the audit that he must make of the Governor who has just come to the end of his term of office.

In order to take them overthere, I decided to make ready a suitable vessel, and ordered a survey of those of Y.M. and those of private citizens, that might be found in the port of Cavite, and in the River of this City. The result of this measure was that two suitable frigates were found in this River, that belonged to two individual traders. And, to get the preparations going, with the participation of the royal officials of your Royal treasury, a meeting of the treasury was called and the survey report of the ships were reviewed, as well as reports presented by said royal officials regarding similar cases, with the corresponding royal decrees that regulate this point. The matter was discussed in detail at great length. And after all the circumstances that seemed necessary were dealt with, and having heard the Fiscal of this Audiencia, it was decided that it was necessary to despatch a vessel to said Mariana Islands for the above-mentioned pur-

pose, in agreement with the usual practice, and they left it to me to select a ship, and to issue the necessary provisions.

Consequently, I chose the frigate **Nuestra Señora del Rosario**, belonging to Don Francisco Casten, and I ordered the royal officials to proceed with the chartering of it, in the accustomed manner, as is done in similar cases, using the existing standard procedures; and they were also to issue the specific provisions to have her made ready and supplied with every necessities for the voyage. They are at present busy doing this, but since the case file is still incomplete (the record of proceedings does not accompany it), I nevertheless let Y.M. know about it, for your information, trusting that your Royal clemency will deign approve this expedition.

May God save Your Majesty for many years.

Manila, 11 July 1771.

Sire:

Don Simón de Anda.

B2. Second letter from Governor Anda, dated 28 November 1771

Original text in Spanish.

El Gobernador de Filipinas: Da cuenta á V.M. de haber nombrado para Gobernador interino de las Islas Marianas á Don Mariano Tobias, por haber cumplido su Trienio el que obtenia este empleo, y de haberse para conducirlo hecho espedicion de cuenta de V.M.

Señor

En precisa coyuntura de nombrar Gobernador para las Islas Marianas, por haber cumplido su trienio de su provision Don Enrique de Olavide y Michelena, deseando que este empleo recayese en persona de acreditada conducta, y honor perfecto lo conferí á Don Mariano Tobias, Capitan patentado con destino en el Regimento de Infanteria del Rey de la dotacion de esta Plaza en que ejerció las funciones de Sargento Mayor con plena satisfaccion de su desempeño.

Para determinar su trasporte mandé celebrar Junta de Hacienda en que se tubieron presentes las diligencias previas de no haber barco perteneciente á V.M. capaz para esta espedicion, y que cuatro embarcaciones de vecinos Comerciantes, las dos pertenecientes á Don Antonio Pacheco, y Don Francisco Casten, que se hallaban en estado de poder emprender dicho viage necesitaban de composicion y recorrida, y la necesidad tan extrema que habia de remitir á aquella Plaza los Socorros que se les debian, y han faltado por las continuas arribadas de los Navios que se despachan para la Nueva España, y lo informado por Oficiales Reales que hacen mencion de varios exemplares de igual materia, vistas con el mayor cuidado las ocurrentes circunstancias se acordó despachar embarcacion para dichas Islas, y que la eleccion del barco hiciese este Gobierno.

Elegí el de Don Francisco Casten previniendo que Oficiales Reales parasen el ajuste de su compra, la que se efectuó por diez mil pesos, y habiéndose equipado se despachó á su destino, de que doy cuenta á V.M. suplicándole se digne aprobarlo.

Nuestro Señor Guarde la Real Persona de V.M. muchos años.

Manila y Noviembre 28 de 1771.

Señor

Don Simon de Anda.

Translation.

The Governor of the Philippines: He reports to Y.M. about his having appointed Don Mariano Tobías interim Governor of the Mariana Islands, since the man filling this post had completed his 3-year term, and that he had arranged for an expedition at the expense of Y.M. to take him overthere.

Sire:

As it was necessary to appoint a [new] Governor for the Mariana Islands, since Don Enrique de Olavide y Michelena had completed his 3-year period, as I wished to have this job assigned to a person of exemplary conduct and perfect honor, I conferred it upon Don Mariano Tobías, a man holding a commission as Captain of the Regiment of the Royal Infantry garrisoned here, in which he exercised the functions of Sergeant-Major, which he fulfilled with complete satisfaction.

In order to decide his transportation, I ordered a Meeting of the Treasury to be held, in which were examined the previous measures taken when there was no ship belonging to Y.M. able to make said expedition, and out of four vessels belonging to local traders, one belonging to Don Antonio Pacheco, and another belonging to Don Francisco Casten, were found in condition of being able to undertake said voyage, although they needed some repair, and inspection, in view of the extreme need to remit the succors to that garrison, those that have not been remitted on account of the continuous returns in distress of the ships that were despatched to New Spain, and in view of the report of the Royal officials that refer to various cases of a similar nature, and of the present urgent circumstances, it was decided to despatch a vessel to those Islands, but the choice of ship was left to this government.

I chose that of Don Francisco Casten, and advised the Royal officials to arrange for her purchase, which was effected for 10,000 pesos. And, after she was equipped, she was despatched to her destination, which I report to Y.M., begging you to deign approve it.

May Our Lord save the Royal person of Y.M. for many years.

Manila, 28 November 1771.

Sire:

Don Simón de Anda.

Summary of the case file.

The name of this newly-bought "chalupa", or launch, was the **Nuestra Señora del Rosario**. She was bought from Francisco Casten. Her dimensions are recorded as 32-1/2 cubits in length of keel [only 52 feet approx.], 11 in width, 5-1/2 in depth of hold, 37-1/2 cubits in "eslora".¹ This vessel had just arrived from a voyage to Canton and her keel had touched bottom upon leaving Macao.

Other vessels that were surveyed, among others, was the King's packet-boat **Guadalupe**;² her dimensions were: 27 cubits of net keel, 33 cubits in overall length, 10 cubits in width, 5 cubits in depth of hold. Another candidate was the packet-boat **San José** owned by Fernando Araya; her dimensions were: 30 cubits in overall length, 10 in width, 4 in depth of hold, and had 2 between-decks. Another ship, also called **San José**, but owned by José Velarde, was considered, but her dimensions were not measured as she was loaded with unshelled rice. The ship named **Nuestra Señora del Carmen**, owned by Antonio Pacheco, was also considered; her dimensions were: 30 cubits in length of keel, 10 in width, 5 in depth of hold, 35 in overall length. This vessel had already made two successful voyages to Canton.

Governor Anda asked the royal officials to produce a special report regarding the historical practice of providing ships for despatch to the Marianas.

B3. Report by the royal officials about ships sent to the Marianas

Original text in Spanish.

Informe.—*Los Oficiales Reales de la Real Hacienda y Caxas de estas Islas en conformidad de lo que se les ordena por el Superior Gobierno y decreto de V. Señoría proveído á la antecedente Consulta dicen:*

*Que Don Manuel de Arza y Urrutia, Provisto Gobernador del Presidio de las Islas Marianas fue despachado de estas abordo del barco de Real pertenencia nombrado **San Carlos** en el año pasado de mil setecientos sesenta y seis, el cual hizo desgraciado completo naufragio. Su subcesor el actual Gobernador Don Enrique de Olavide y Michelena, salió para aquel destino en el navio de la carrera **San Carlos**, el que lo dexó en el, á su regreso del Puerto de Acapulco[.] en el año de mil setecientos sesenta y nueve salió el Paquebot del Rey, al mando del Teniente [de] Fragata Don José Soroa, solo á conducir los regulares Recoletos descalzos que fueron á relebar y suceder en el Ministerio que allí tenían los que se nombraron de la Sociedad Jesuistica.*

Estos barcos se carenan, y proveen de todo lo necesario de cuenta, se paga la tripulación, oficiales empleados y se ponen listos á emprender su viaje llevando provisionalmente cuando conduce al regreso, y lo mismo sucede aunque sean de particulares fletados, en que solo hay la diferencia de que es de cuenta de sus dueños la recorrida y

1 Ed. note: Which I translate as "overall length" (see O'Scanlan's Dictionary, p. 258).

2 Ed. note: The same ship used 2 years before (see Doc. 1769C).

*habilitacion en lo preciso para salir á la mar, pero todo lo demas debe costearlo el caudal del Real Erario con lo principal de los fletes segun ajuste, con la circunstancia de que el riesgo del buque, lo corre el dueño fletador. En esta conformidad deberá salir el barco de particular eligido para conducir á Marianas el nuevamente provisto Gobernador Don Mariano Tobias, y no de otra manera, y si fuere preciso provisionarlo de jarcia, artilleria, velamen, anclas, cables, otras cosas se deben llevar cuenta y razon puntual de sus costos como los de carena para rebajarlos del importe de fletes. El situado en dinero que tiene dicho Presidio se libra en Mexico á favor del apoderado de los Gobernadores quien arreglado á ordenes preventivas, compra allí lo que necesita para sus Presidarios, y el resto lo remite en plata registrada que entrega á su disposicion el Maestre de Plata, cuando el Galeon toca en escala aquellas Islas[.] para despachar estos barcos hay el fundamento de la Real Cédula espedita en Madrid á diez y ocho de Febrero de mil setecientos y siete de que se halla una copia simple en esta Real Contaduría acomulada al libro de manifestaciones del año de mil setecientos sesenta y seis, y fué mandada exhibir al Procurador General de Jesuitas Juan Francisco Romero, la cual empieza en estos términos: “Estando dispuesto que todos los años se despache de esas Islas una embarcacion de cien toneladas, &c.” en que se ve que S.M. manda, que los Señores Gobernadores de Filipinas, puedan ejecutarlo cada año embiando dicha embarcacion para que corran con lo necesario al enunciado Presidio y llevasen los Ministros Doctrineros Jesuitas relevando los que combiniere y surtir los que los que permanecen, siendo aun esto mas favorable á la resolucion de V. Señoria, pues las especies que se conservan en memoria eran no que en cada año se embiasen sino que en cada dos; pero la referida copia la citamos por hallarse acreditada y dada por vastante por ese Superior Gobierno, y no por que se encuentre la otra Cédula, ó Real disposicion que supone esta despachada con prelacion á ella en aquella vos, de **cuando dispuesto** pero no se halla razon cierta de que haiga habido otra especie de situados en este tiempo periodico esto es de armas, polvora, artilleria[.] reclutas, in vestuarios, considerandose con muy propia congetura que cuando se haya embiado alguno de estos socorros habia sido representada la necesidad oportunamente por los Gobernadores y á su consecuencia dadose las providencias.*

Es cuanto podemos imformar á V. Señoria.

Tribunal de Real Hacienda y Junio diez de mil setecientos setenta y uno.

José Antonio de Larzabal

Juan Francisco Romay

Nicolas Barcia Gomez.

Translation.

The Royal officials of the Royal treasury of these Islands, in response to the orders of the Superior Government and decree of Your Lordship provided in the previous consultation, declare:

That Don Manuel de Arza y Urrutia, Governor-elect of the Garrison of the Mariana Islands, was despatched from these Islands aboard His Majesty's ship named **San**

Carlos in the year 1766, but she was unfortunately completely shipwrecked. His successor, the present Governor, Don Enrique de Olavide y Michelena, departed for that destination about the galleon of the run, San Carlos, [rather **Santa Rosa**] which left him there during her return trip from the port of Acapulco. In the year 1769, His Majesty's packet-boat [i.e. the Guadalupe], under the command of Lieutenant-Commander José Soroa, went only to convey the regular discaled Recollects who went overthere to replace and succeed in the ministry held there by those who called themselves the Jesuit Society.

These ships are careened and made provisions of everything necessary on account, the crew is paid, the officers assigned, and they get ready to undertake their voyage, considered provisional when there is a return [in distress], and the same thing happens, even when they are chartered from individuals, with the only difference that the survey and sufficient repairs to make them seaworthy are done on the account of her owners, but all the other expenditures must come out of the Royal treasury, the main expenditure being the negotiated charter fee, although the risk [of loss] of the ship is borne by the owner & charterer. This is the procedure that is to be followed with the individual ship chosen to take the newly-appointed Governor, Don Mariano Tobías, to the Marianas, and not in any other way, and if it were necessary to provide the ship with rigging, guns, sails, anchors, cables, and other things, they must be accurately recorded, along with their costs, as those of the careening, in order to discount them from the amount of the charter fee. The subsidy in money that said Garrison had is paid out in Mexico City to the agent of the Governors, who, in accordance with preventative orders, buys there what he needs for the Garrison, and he remits the rest as registered money under the care of the Master of the Silver who in turn delivers it when the galleon makes a stopover at those Islands. As authority for despatching these ships, there is the basis of the Royal decree issued in Madrid on 18 February 1707, of which there is a simple copy in this Royal Accounting Office, transcribed in the record book for the 1766, when it was ordered shown to the Procurator General of the Jesuits, Juan Francisco Romero; said copy begins with these words: "Being resolved that every year be despatched from those Islands one vessel of 100 tons, etc."¹ in which it is seen what H.M. orders; their Lordships the Governors of the Philippines can obey them every year, by sending said vessel so that the above-mentioned Garrison receive necessities and the Jesuits ministering the doctrine could appropriately replace some and supply those who remain. The orders are even more favorable to the decision of Your Lordship, since, from the examples that we have in memory, the despatches have been not every year, but every two years; however, the above-mentioned decree is quoted, because it gives additional credit and has been previously relied upon by that Superior Government, and not because the other decree, or royal order, cannot be found, the one that supposes that the despatch be made **whenever arranged for** (the words used therein), but there cannot be found a sure reason for this other type of subsidies in this

1 Ed. note: It is not therefore the same text as the decree of same date reproduced in HM10: 547.

periodic time, that is, for weapons, gun-powder, guns, recruits, clothing, and it is considered quite probable that even some of these succors were sent, there had also been a proper opportunity to send the [new] Governors, and consequently that provisions were issued to that effect.

This is what we can report to Your Lordship.
 Court of the Royal Treasury, 10 June 1771.
 José Antonio de Larzabal
 Juan Francisco Romay
 Nicolás Barcía Gómez.

B4. Crew list of the Rosario, Captain Gonzalez

Corrected list of the naval officers and crew of the ship that is being sent to the Marianas this year of 1771, under the command of Don Juan Gonzalez.

Naval officers.¹

- Boatswain, Salvador Carranza
- Boatswain's mate, Marcelo Martinez
- Carpenter, Andrés Tovar
- Caulker, Blas Valencia
- Gunner, 1.²
- Steward, Hilario Caralipio.

Seamen, 26:

- Carpenter 2nd-class, José de la Cruz
- José Fernandez
- Cayetano Venegas
- José Franco
- Faustino Narvaez
- Benito Fernandez
- Antonio Fernandez, later replaced by Juan Francisco
- Martin Lopez
- Antonio Isla, later replaced by Eusebio Bautista
- Francisco Saplan³
- Juan José Ramos
- Mariano Camacho
- Juan Fontana
- Mariano del Castillo

1 Ed. note: The first officer was Candido Dominguez.

2 Ed. note: Post later taken by José Lozano, listed below.

3 Ed. note: We recognize the Sablan family name, now common in the Marianas. So, this sailor may have stayed behind.

- Mateo Lorenzo
- José Martin Navarro
- Lorenzo Bribiesca
- Antonio Espericion, later replaced by Francisco Fletcher
- José Antonio Sanchez
- José Basa
- Toribio Raymundo
- Juan Victoriano
- Pedro Salinas
- Lazaro Ramos
- Simon Olena
- José Salvador.
- Ship's boys, 26:**
- Borer, Mariano Grijalde, later replaced by Nicolás Payan
- Juan Mauricio
- Antonio de los Santos
- José Justo
- José Rodriguez
- Francisco Bartolomé
- Juan Bernabé
- Fernando de la Cruz
- Jacinto Mariano
- Lino Fermin
- Francisco Casillas
- Francisco de los Reyes
- Francisco Aguilar
- Juan Ubaldo
- Bernardo de la Cruz
- Felix Domingo, later replaced by Matias Medrano
- Gabriel Fabia
- Juan Antonio
- Mariano Hernandez
- Francisco Salinas
- Severino del Castillo
- Juan Garcia
- Dionisio de la Cruz
- Roque Pangilinan
- Juan Manuel Villegas
- Manuel Benitez.¹

¹ Ed. note: This list was confirmed at Cavite on 22 June 1771.

List of the Sergeant, Corporals, and Soldiers for the garrison, going to the Marianas aboard this year's ship.

Sergeant

—Brilleux: José Torija¹

Corporals

—Español: Francisco Cortés

—Brilleux: José Muñoz

Soldiers

—Castiñeiras: Agustin Mendez

—Alexandre: Manuel Aguilera

—Moreno: Francisco Santa Cruz

—Alcazar: Matias Tolentino

—Cozar: Ricardo Servantes

—Olaeta: Cristobal Contreras

—Español: Juan Banal

—Brilleux: Vicente Herrera

—Gonzalez: Antonio Rivera

—Zalazar: José Calderón

Gunners²

—Second Corporal José Lozano*

—Domingo Baltazar*

—Estanislao de [la] Plaza

—Juan de [la] Cruz [el] Bago**

—Manuel Bernardo**

B5. Salaries paid to the crew of the Rosario in 1771

Note: Those salaries were not the regular salaries paid in Manila, but adjusted salaries, probably to include some bonus.

Naval Officers

| | |
|---------------------------------|-----------|
| —Commander and Chief pilot..... | 250 pesos |
| —Pilot's mate..... | 150 " |
| —Boatswain..... | 125 " |
| —Boatswain's mate..... | 100 " |
| —Carpenter..... | 75 " |
| —Steward..... | 75 " |
| —Caulker..... | 75 " |

-
- 1 Ed. note: The first name mentioned appears to be that of the Captain, from whose company the individual was taken.
 - 2 Ed. note: Those marked with one asterisk were taken from the Second Battery, those with two asterisks from the Third Battery. Also, since Bago means new in Tagalog, the second Juan de la Cruz was called "the new one".

Gunners

| | |
|--|--------------|
| —Master gunner..... | 28 pesos 1/2 |
| —Two gunners @ 25 pesos 1/2..... | 51 " |
| —Two gunner's assistants @ 21 pesos..... | 42 " |

Seamen

| | |
|---------------------------------|---------|
| —26 of them @ 50 pesos..... | 1,300 " |
| —26 ship's boys @ 30 pesos..... | 780 " |

3,051 pesos 1/2
=====

Summary of the rest of the file.

The above papers were brought together in May 1772 and presented to the Council of the Indies in September 1772 by one of its officials, Don Julian de Arriaga, at the request of the Duke of Alva. One point of contention was that the amount of money paid to charter the ship was not even mentioned. One complication was that the owner of the vessel, Francisco Casten, had died while the negotiations were in progress, in July 1771, leaving minor children; one of the two heirs was his former maid (& widow), Cecilia O'Kennedy... This matter dragged on until 1778 at least, after the final case file was received at Madrid. The boat had been valued at 7,492 pesos, for insurance purposes. The Government then decided to buy it. Casten had paid 14,000 pesos for this vessel; so, the asking price was stated as 12,000 pesos at first, but the final price agreed upon was 10,000 pesos.

Some of the equipment added afterwards were to be: 6 chicken coops, one binnacle with 6 windows, 3 compasses, and 5 hour-glasses (of different sizes: 1 hour, 1/2 hour, 1 minute, and 1/2 minute), a few hooks, etc. The so-called launch was already equipped with 12 iron guns (2-pounders) and 10 brass falconets (1-pounders).

Not found in the Spanish documents, but still remembered in Guam when Lieut. Safford, USN, arrived there, was the fact that **deer** were brought from the Philippines on board this ship; it is probable that they were picked up at the stopover in Samar, although the logbook of the voyage is not extant.

 Documents 1772A

The French ships *Marquis-de-Castries* and *Mascarin* visited Guam in 1772—The *Duclesmeur* (ex-*Marion*) Expedition

A1. The narrative of Ambroise-Bernard-Marie le Jar *Duclesmeur*, captain of the *Marquis de Castries*

Sources: Supposedly in ANP Marine 4JJ109: 29, but the text that follows comes from 4JJ142, n° 19. See also BNP ms. N.A.F. 9437, and Service Hydrographique de la Marine, A5708.

Original text in French.

N° 19.—*Relation d'un voyage dans les mers australes et pacifique commencé en 1771 sous le Commandement M. Marion Dufresne, Capitaine de Brulot, et achevé en 1773 sous celui de M. Duclesmeur, garde La Marine.*

*Ce fut dans le mois d'octobre 1771, que l'on expédia de l'isle de France deux vaisseaux pour ramener dans sa patrie l'insulaire Majjoa, improprement nommé Poutaverre. Le commandement en fut donné à M. Marion Capitaine de Brulot, qui monta la flûte du Roy **Le Mascarin**, armée de 22 canons de six livres de balle, et de 140 hommes d'équipage. On me confia la seconde flute appellé **Le Marquis de Castries**, armée de 16 canons de six livres de balle et de cent hommes.*

...
Plusieurs ont prétendue et peu être avec raison que ce fuyard avoit beaucoup Contribuée a soulever contre nous Les habitants de La nouvelle Zélande deja mal disposée Contre M. Marion qui ayant un Jour plusieurs naturels abord, en fit mettre aux fers un deux qui avoit volé un sabref,] traitement qui Epouvantâ Ses Camarades au point qu'ils se Jetterent a La mer et en regagnant Leur pirogue a La nage menace M. Marion de se venger, En quittant La nouvelle Zelande, nous singlâmes au N.E. Pour nous llever a L'Est des Isles Rottersdam et Amsterdam, ou Suivant Habel Tasmant [sic] nous devions trouver des peuples doux, et des rafraichissements en abondance; cependant nous n'y comptons pas beaucoup depuis L'infidelité que nous avons reconnue dans sa rélation surs Les rois;

Nous eûmes connaissance de terre et courumes dessus quelques tems; mais bientôt La vüe de quelques brisants, nous obligea à changer notre Route, et nous ne tardâmes

pas a nous appercevoir que ce n'etoit pas Rottersdam n'y Amsterdam que nous voyons; mais Larchipel qui est dans Le nord, et nous nous y trouvâmes sy engagés qu'il falut trois jours pour nous en retirer, ce qui nous obligea d'abandonner cette Relâche. Ces Isles sont très basses et entourées de d'angers; Elles sont Couvertes de cocotiers, et beaucoup de fumée que nous y vimes annonce qu'elles sont habitées, de la nous Singlames vers Le nord, et Le 12. aoust nous fimes La d'écouverte de trois Isles dont deux etaient très fertiles.

Le 22. nous passâmes la ligne, nous eumes de fréquents orages qui mirent en peu de tems Les trois quarts de nos Equipages Sur Les Cadres; ce ne fut pas sans peine que nous arrivâmes a L'Isle de Guaham, nous en Eûmes La vüe Le 20. 7bre et Le 24. nous entrames dans la baye de Saint Louis, ou nous recumes des Espagnols tous Les Secours que nous pouvions désirer;

D'Escription de Guaham.

L'Isle de Guaham capitale des mariannes Git par Le 13e degré 30m de latitude Nord, et par le 40. [sic] de Longitude méridien de Paris, Elles a Environ 37. Lieües de Tour, est assez Elevée pour se faire voir de 10. à 12. Lieües en mer d'un beau tems. C'est la seule de ces isles qui est un havre sur. Il est situé vers Le milieu de l'Isle dans la partie du Ouest; nous n'entrames pas dans Le Barachois, parce qu'il ne pouvoit Contenir nos deux vaisseaux et un petit batiment des Manilles qui y etoit mouillé. Nous restames dans La rade qui est très Grande formée du Côté du Sud par une grosse pointe Escarpé nommée Rota [sic], et dans Le nord par L'Isles dalipapa [sic], et un recif qui savance beaucoup au large; de sorte qu'il Reste six quarts d'ouverture, outre cela Le fond y est mauvais et Les vents Impétueux que L'on nomme Thyphons s'y font sentir souvent d'ans Les mois de Juillet, aoust et Septembre, et quelque fois plus tard, ce qui Rend cette Rade d'angereuse.

Au Reste L'Isle de guaham est une excellente relache par L'abondance de ses rafraichissements.

La partie du nord et de L'Est de cette Isle qui est Couverte de bois, n'est point habitée; mais on y trouve des Boeuf sauvages de la plus grande beauté, des cochons et des chevres que Lon est obligé de tuer a coups de fusil. Les pleines et Les cotteaux fourmisent des orangers et des Limonniers, qui penchent sous le poids des fruits, et répandent une odeur délicieuse. on n'éprouve a Guaham d'autre désagremens que Les pluyes abondante qui tombent ordinairement pendant Les deux tiers de Lannée rend Le pays mal sain, et obligent Les habitants a Elever Leurs maisons de 5. our six pieds au dessus du terrein pour en eviter L'humidité malfaisante.

J'observerai cependant que ces imtempéries, n'influent que sur Les naturels; Car Les Espagnol Européens qui y sont en petit nombre à la verité jouissent de la santé la plus parfaite. nos scorbutiques s'y rétablirent très bien et n'en Rapportèrent aucune maladie.

Les habitants de L'Isle de Guaham vivent Généralement peu et sont atteint d'une maladie de peau, qui approche beaucoup La Lépre, et qui dépeuple depuis Long tems la Collonie, Ces Indiens se nourrissent plus volontiers du fruits que M. Anson a nommé fruit a pain (et qu'ils appellent Rima) que des productions qu'ils pourroient se procurer

par la culture d'un sol aussi fécond; d'u mahïs du Ris, et des cannes de sucre; ils n'y Cultivent pas d'autres Grains et prétendent que L'humidité ne permet de conserver n'y bled n'y farine, en sorte que Les Européens qui y sont mangent du biscuit; L'une des richesses de Guaham, est Le Grand nombre de cocotiers que L'on trouve sur toutes La côte, et qui réunissent a L'utilité Les charmes champêtres d'un paysage riant.

Le Gallion d'acapulco a son retour à manille y laisse 20000 piastres, tant en argent quen marchandises pour Les besoin de la colonie.

La Garnison de L'Isle est Composée d'Indiens naturels du pays qui sont très bien disciplinés.

L'Isle de rota.

L'Isle de Rota qui est Eloignée de guaham que de 12. Lieües est Encore habitée, et soit pas Lémulation des habitants, où la fecondité su sol, elle paroît être La nourrice de Guaham.

Isles de Tyniam.

Les Espagnols envoient tous Les ans a L'Isle Tyniam d'ont M. anson fait une d'escription si avantageuse une flote de pros (Espece de canots très Legers) qui Leur en raporte du boeuf séché au soleil.

Après nous etre bien retablis dans cette isles pourvus de vivres et d'un pilote pour nous rendre aux manilles, nous fimes voiles du Port Saint Louis Le 19. 9bre. Je ne suis pas entré dans un plus grand detail hydrographique sur L'Isle de guaham et ses Environs en ayant donné des plans forts Exats et que Je crois, ne Laisser rien a désirer, pour La Sureté des navigateurs.

Je ne saurois assez me Louer de La maniere accueilloit a Guaham non Independamment des secours de toutte Espece, que Le gouverneur Sempresa de procurer avec abond'ance aux deux vaisseaux que Je Commandois, il ma temoigné personnellement Les sentiments les plus flateurs, et les plus digne de toutte ma reconnoissance, ayant eu sujet de se plaindre de quelques françois et voulant dans son premier mouvements, en porter des plaintes au gouverneur Général des Philippines, il sentit que C'eut été nous y preparer une facheuse reception, et avant que Je fusse informé de rien, il m'exposa Le sujet de son mecontentements. Et me le sacrifia; Je fis de mon coté ce que je devois et L'on ne douta de rien a manille; ou comme L'on verra, Je me rendis peu de tems après.

Le 28. 9bre nous eumes La vue de Cantadouane Isle voisines de Luçon, et

Le 29. au matin, nous donnames dans Lembouchure du détroit de San Bernardino, (C'est une petite Isle au milieu du détroit qui Lui donne ce nom) suivant Les Espagnol ce passage est très difficile et même par La violence des différents Courans qui debouchent de L'archipel encore mal connue, suivant notre pillotte, il s'y trouve dans les nouvelles l'une des tourbillons de marées très d'angereux pour Les vaisseaux, sont jettés Les uns sur Des Isles, d'autres après avoir faits plusierus Lieües d'ans Le Canal sont re-jettés en pleine mer ou dans des Canaux differents qui Les Ecartent...

Translation.

N° 19.—Narrative of a voyage in the Austral and Pacific Seas begun in 1771 under the command of Mr. Marion Dufresne, Fireship Captain, and completed in 1773 under the command of Mr. Duclesmeur, Coast Guard.

It was during the month of October that two ships were despatched from Mauritius Island to take back home the [Tahiti] islander named Mayoa, improperly named Putavery.¹ The command was given to Mr. Marion, Fireship Captain, who went on board His Majesty's store-ship **Mascarin**, equipped with 22 guns (6-pounders) and 140 crewmen. I was entrusted with the second store-ship named **Marquis-de-Castries**, equipped with 16 guns (6-pounders) and 100 men.

...
[After leaving New Zealand, on 13 July 1772, the ships headed for Guam. By the way, this author attributes the change of their relations with the Maoris to a negro crewman who had fled ashore.]

Many have pretended, and perhaps correctly, that this escapee had contributed much to the uprising of the inhabitants of New Zealand against us. But they were already upset with Mr. Marion who had, one day when there were many natives on board, ordered one of them placed in irons, for having stolen a sword, a treatment that astounded his comrades, to such an extent that they threw themselves overboard and, while swimming back to their canoe, threatened Mr. Marion with revenge. Upon leaving New Zealand, we steered N.E. to pass to the east of Rotterdam and Amsterdam Islands, where, according to Abel Tasman, we were to find peaceful people and refreshments aplenty. However, we did not trust him much, given the inaccuracy that we had recognized in his account about the kings.

We sighted some land and headed toward it for some time, but soon the sight of some breakers forced us to change our course, and we soon found out that it was neither Rotterdam nor Amsterdam Islands that were in sight, but the archipelago that is north of them, and we found ourselves so much in the middle of them² that it took us three days to extricate ourselves—something that forced us to decide to abandon the idea of a stopover there. These islands are very low-lying and surrounded with dangers. They are covered with coconut trees, and the many smoke signals that we saw advertised the fact that they are inhabited. From there we headed north, and on the 12th of August we discovered three islands, two of which were very fertile.³

On the 22nd we passed the equator. We had numerous rain showers that soon made three-quarters of our crews take to their bunk. It was with some difficulty that we arrived at the Island of Guaham. We sighted it on the 20th of September and on the 24th

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- 1 Ed. note: The original name of this Tahitian was Ahu-toru, but he had the habit of adopting other names: Boutavery, in honor of Bougainville, and finally Mayoa, in honor of Captain Marion, his last protector. He died of smallpox at Madagascar.
 - 2 Ed. note: Andrew Sharp (*Discovery of the Pacific Is.*) says that the ships were then within the eastern islands of the central sector of the Tonga group.
 - 3 Ed. note: In the northern part of Tonga, says Sharp.

we entered the Bay of San Luís, where we received from the Spanish all the succor that we could have wished.

Description of Guaham.

The island of Guaham, capital of the Marianas, lies in 13°30' latitude North and 40 [rather 140] longitude [east] of Paris. It has a circumference of about 37 leagues and is high enough to be seen from 10 to 12 leagues at sea in good weather. It is the only one of these Islands with a safe harbor, which is located approximately in the center of the island on the west side. We did not go into the inner harbor, because it could not hold two ships and a small vessel from Manila that was anchored there. We stayed in the outer harbor which is very big, and bound on the south side by a big headland with cliffs, named Rota [rather Orote], and in the north by Apapa Island and a reef that extends much seaward, so that there remains an opening 6-point wide. In addition, the bottom is bad and the impetuous winds called typhoons are often felt there during the months of July, August and September, and sometimes later, which makes this harbor dangerous.

On the other hand, the Island of Guaham is an excellent stopover on account of its abundant refreshments.

The northern and eastern parts of this island which are covered with trees is uninhabited, but one finds there some wild cattle of the greatest beauty, pigs and goats that the people have to shoot to kill. The prairies and the hills provide orange and lemon trees that are bending under the weight of the fruits, and spread a wonderful perfume. The only thing that is bothersome at Guaham are the abundant rains that usually fall during two-thirds of the year; they make the country unhealthy and force the inhabitants to raise their houses from 5 to 6 feet above the ground in order to avoid its harmful dampness.

I will nevertheless point out that such bad weather affects only the natives, as the small number of European Spaniards who live there do indeed enjoy the most perfect health. Our scurvy patients regained their health very well and picked up no diseases there.

The inhabitants of the Island of Guaham generally do not live long and suffer from a skin disease that looks very much like leprosy, a disease that had long since depopulated the colony. These Indians more willingly use as food the fruits of the tree which Mr. Anson has called the breadfruit (which they call *rima*) rather than the products that they could get from the cultivation of such a fertile soil: corn, rice, sugarcane; they do not cultivate any other cereals. They say that the humidity does not allow them to keep either wheat or flour, so that the Europeans living there eat biscuit. One of the resources of Guaham is the large number of coconut trees that can be found all along the coasts and which, in addition to their usefulness, give an air of beauty to the whole countryside.

The galleon that returns from Acapulco to Manila leaves 20,000 pesos, in cash and in merchandises for the needs of the colony.

The garrison of the Island consists of Indians, local natives, who are very well disciplined.¹

The Island of Rota.

The Island of Rota, distant 12 leagues from Guaham, is still inhabited, and either by emulation or due to the fertility of its soil, it seems to be the food basket of Guaham.²

Island of Tinian.

The Spanish send every year to the Island of Tinian, of which Mr. Anson has made such an advantageous description, a fleet of proas (sort of very light canoes) which bring back some beef dried in the sun.

After we had been well re-established in this island, and provided with food supplies and a pilot to guide us to Manila,³ we set sail from Port San Luis on the 19th of November. I have not gone into great details regarding the hydrography of the Island of Guaham and vicinity, because I have turned over some very exact charts of them, which I believe leave nothing to be desired for the safety of navigators.⁴

I could not emphasize enough the welcoming manner in which we were received at Guaham, in addition to the succor of all kind that the Governor hastened to provide in quantity to the two ships that I was commanding. He personally expressed the most flattering sentiments to me, most worthy of my gratitude. Once he had reason to complain about some Frenchmen, and his first reaction was to complain to the Governor General of the Philippines about it, but then he realized that this would make for our very bad reception there. So, when I was still ignorant of the matter, he let me know of his displeasure, forgetting about an appeal. On my part, I did what I had to do, and nothing of this incident was heard at Manila, which, as will be seen, was my next destination.

On the 28th of November we sighted the Catanduanes Islands, on the coast of Luzon, and

On the 29th in the morning we entered the Embocadero of the Strait of San Bernardino (named after a small island of that name in the middle of the strait). According to the Spanish, this strait is a very difficult one to pass, on account of the violence of the different currents that stream out of the archipelago, still relatively unknown. According to our pilot. the notices that have been gathered thus far show that the whirlpools are very dangerous to ships, some having been thrown upon islands, and others, having progressed many leagues inside the channel, have been thrown right back out to the high sea, or pushed into different channels where they have become lost...

...

1 Ed. note: It is obvious that the Filipino troopers were then viewed as permanent residents.

2 Ed. note: Most of the local rice was grown in Rota.

3 Ed. note: The pilot's name was Agustín de Ibarra, who wrote his own account (see below).

4 Ed. note: See below the maps of Guam, Tinian and Saipan that I have found in BNP, but were formerly in the Service Hydrographique de la Marine in Paris.

A2. The narrative of Julien Crozet, captain of the Mascarin

Sources: Abbé Alexis-Marie de Rochon (ed.). Nouveau voyage à la Mer du sud, commencé sous les ordres de M. MARION, Chevalier de l'Ordre royal et militaire de St. Louis, Capitaine de brûlot; & achevé, après la mort de cet Officier, sous ceux de M. le chevalier DUCLESMEUR, Garde de la Marine. Cette relation a été rédigée d'après les Plans et Journaux de M. Crozet... (Paris, Barrois l'aîné, 1783).

Translated by H. Ling Roth and published as: Crozet's Voyage to Tasmania, New Zealand, the Ladrone Islands, and the Philippines in the years 1771-1772 (London, Truslove & Shirley, 1891). Extract from it published in the Guam Recorder of November 1932.

Note: Abbé Rochon, Crozet's editor, met him at Mauritius Island, where he had arrived with Captain Kerguelen, the explorer, but jumped ship there.

Original text in French.

...

[After the death of Mr. Marion in New Zealand]

*Les deux états-majors s'étant rassemblés on observa que nous avions perdu nos meilleurs matelots; que le vaisseau **le Castries** avait perdu trois ancres, trois cables, & sa chaloupe; que les mâts de ce bâtiment n'étant composés que d'un assemblage de très-petits mâtereaux, ne pouvoit avoir la même solidité que si on avoit eu des pièces de bois convenables, & la commodité de les bien assembler; que nous avions beaucoup de malades dans nos équipages; enfin, qu'il ne nous restoit que pour huit à neuf mois de vivres, en supposant que ce que nous avions fût bien conservé.*

D'après ces rélexions, il fut décidé d'un common accord que nous avancerions dans la mer du Sud, suivant les intentions de M. Marion; mais que, sans aller chercher des terres éloignées, nous nous bornerions à reconnoître les îles de Rotterdam et d'Amsterdam, où nous pourrions trouver des rafraîchissemens; que de-là nous irions relâcher aux îles Ladrone ou Mariannes, pour gagner ensuite les Philippines, ou nous pourrions tirer quelque parti des effets de cargaisons, & de-là faire notre retour à l'île de France.

...

Le 23 août nous coupâmes la ligne par 176° de longitude orientale [de Paris]. A ce point, nous eûmes la variation de 10° au N.E. de la ligne, au huitième degré nord. Les vents soufflaient constamment du S.E.

...

Le 28 août, depuis le huitième degré nord jusqu'au treizième, les vents varièrent sans cesse du ouest au nord & au S.E.

Nous eûmes peu de vents. Le scorbut faisoit beaucoup de ravage parmi nos matelots; ils en restoit peu en état de travailler. Cette maladie avoit commencé & fait des progrès rapides depuis que nous avions doublé le tropique, & regagné un climat chaud.

Le 2 septembre nous portâmes à ouest: les vents furent constans du N.E. à l'est. Nous eumes quelquefois de la pluie, & toujours des indices du voisinage de la terre, jusqu'à la vue de l'île de Guame, la plus grande des Mariannes, que nous vîmes le 20 septembre, & où nous ne pûmes mouiller que le 27 [sic] du même mois.

RELACHE A L'ISLE DE GUAME.

Description du Pays, & de la Colonie Espagnole qui y est établie.

Nous fûmes très-contrariés par les vents à notre attéage à l'île de Guame. Après avoir louvoyé pendant quelques jours, il nous vint à bord des pilotes qui nous consuisirent enfin dans le port: nous y mouillâmes par 20 brasses sur un fond de vase, mais la superficie est de coquillages brisés.

Ce port est situé dans la partie occidentale de l'île, à peu près vers son milieu. Il est formé au sud par une langue de terre qui s'avance à deux lieues en mer, & au nord par un récif de même longueur, qui l'embrasse presque circulairement. Son entrée est fort étroite; elle est défendue par une batterie construite en griques, que les Espagnols ont nommée de Saint-Louis, & garnie de huit pièces de canon de douze [livres] en bronze d'ancienne fonte. Le port peut contenir quatre vaisseaux à l'abri de tout vent, excepté de ceux du S.O., qui ne soufflent jamais que foiblement dans ce parage. Il est dangereux d'y entrer sans des pilotes-pratiques, parce qu'il est semé intérieurement de roches & de massifs de madrépores. Il est situé par 13°26' de latitude septentrionale, & par 141°30' de longitude à l'orient du méridien de Paris: j'y ai observé la variation de 7° au N.E.

L'établissement principal, que les Espagnols nomment la ville d'Agana, est à quatre lieux au N.E. du port, sur le bord de la mer, au pied de quelques montagnes peu élevées dans un beau pays plein de sources, & arrosé par un petit ruisseau dont l'eau est fort claire & bonne; c'est-là que réside le commandant de l'île. Les rues d'Agana sont alignées; les maisons particulières sont la plupart bâties solidement en bois, portées sur des pilotis à trois pieds au dessus de terre, couvertes le plus grand nombre en merrain ou en tuiles, les autres avec des feuilles de palmiers. Les maisons publiques sont bâties en briques; on y voit une belle église très-décorée suivant l'usage espagnol. La maison du commandant est vaste et bien bâtie. L'ancienne maison des Jéuite, occupée aujourd'hui par des Augustins, est grande et comode. L'ancien collège des Jésuites, pour l'éducation des Indiens, n'étoit pas habité; leurs successeurs les Augustins avoient transporté ce collège dans un bâtiment voisin de leur couvent. On y voit un corps de casernes capable de loger une garnison de cinq cents hommes, & un magasin du Roi assez spacieux. Tous ces bâtimens publics sont construits en briques, & couverts de tuiles. L'île de Guame est le seul point dans la vaste étendue de la mer du sud, semée d'îles innombrables, qui présente une ville bâtie à l'européenne, une église, un ouvrage de fortification, enfin une population civilisée.

Lorsque nous abordâmes la ville d'Agana, nous fûmes accueillis avec beaucoup d'honnêteté par M. Tobias, commandant de l'île. Nous lui représentâmes que nos équipages étoient tous attaqués de scorbut; & je lui demandé des secours d'autant plus pressans, que, dans ce moment de notre arrivée, nous n'avions pas dans les deux bâtimens plus de quinze hommes en état de travailler. Cet honnête commandant plein d'humanité, commença par envoyaer à board de nos vaisseaux une grande abondance de rafra '40chissemens, de la viande fraîche, des légumes & des fruits, sur-tout des oranges & des citrons. Il nous céda l'ancien collège des Jésuites pour y former notre hôpital: il

nous permit même d'y établir un corps-de-garde pour en maintenir la police; & il exigea très-honnêtement des officiers des deux vaisseaux, qu'ils voulurent bien n'avoir pas d'autres tables que la sienne pendant le temps que nous resterions en relâche dans son île.

Nous acceptâmes avec joie des offres aussi généreuses, & faites de la meilleure grace possible. Nous fîmes transporter à terre nos malheureux scorbutiques: nous ne laissâmes dans nos vaisseaux que les hommes absolument nécessaires pour la garde; & M. Tobias fournit gratuitement à chacun des deux bâtimens vingt-cinq Indiens pour le service de nos bateaux. Avec les secours abondans que nous reçûmes de M. Tobias, nos matelots se rétablirent tous en très-peu de temps. Il n'est dans toute l'étendue des mers aucun port où des navigateurs fatigués puissent plus promptement se rétablir, où ils puissent trouver de meilleurs ragaichissemens, & en plus grande abondance. L'île de Guame nous a paru un paradis terrestre: l'air y est excellent; les eaux sont bonnes, les légumes & les fruits parfaits; les troupeaux de boeufs innombrables, ainsi que ceux de cabris, de cochons: toute espèce de volailles y est multipliée à l'infini.

Guame n'a pas toujours été dans cet état d'abondance. Lorsque Magellan la découvrit en 1521, avec les huit autres îles principales qui la suivent au nord, & qui, avec une multitude d'îles beaucoup plus petites, forment ensemble le petit archipel connu d'abord sous le nom de Ladrones, puis sous celui des îles Mariannes; toutes ces îles, alors couvertes d'habitans, n'offroient d'autres regradhissemens aux navigateurs, que du poisson, des banaves, des noix de cocos, & les fruits du rima, qu'on ne pouvait même se procurer que par la force, au travers des flèches & des lames des sauvages qui pleu-ploient ces îles. Les Espagnols y portèrent de l'Amérique les premières souches des troupeaux de toutes espèces, des volailles, & les plants pour les graines des fruits, ainsi que tous les légumes qu'on y trouve aujourd'hui.

Il est vrai que cet abondance, due aux soins & au génie des Européens, a coûté cher à l'humanité. Les Ladrones, & Guame sur-tout, étoient couverte d'hommes lorsqu'elles furent découvertes. On prétend que Guame seule comptoit le long de ces côtes plus de vingt mille habitans. Ces hommes étoient des sauvages féroces, grands voleurs, comme tous les insulaires de la mer du sud, par la raison sans doute qu'ils ne connoissoient aucun droit de propriété; mais ils étoient si sauvages, si incapable de supporter le joug de la civilisation, que les Espagnols qui ont entrepris de les dompter pour en faire des chrétiens, ont vu leur population s'anéantir pour ainsi dire dans l'espace de deux siècles. Sous le règne de leurs missionnaires, ces insulaires farouches, obligés de céder à la fin à la supériorité des armes Espagnoles, après avoir défendu long-temps par des guerres cruelles le droit d'exister comme des bêtes féroces au gré seul de leur instinct, se sont livrés à un désespoir dont il n'y a pas d'autre exemple sur la terre; ils ont pris le parti de donner à leurs femmes des boissons qui les faisoient avorter, & de n'avoir plus d'enfans, plutôt que d'en laisser après eux qui ne fussent pas libres, suivant l'idée que ces êtres sauvages avoient de la liberté. Un parti aussi violent & si contraire au voeu de la nature, a été suivi avec assez d'opiniâtreté dans les neuf îles Marianas, pour que la population de ces îles, qui étoit de plus de soixante mille âmes, lors de la découverte, fût

tombée à huit ou neuf cents dans toute l'étendue de l'archipel. Il y a environ vingt années que ces restes épars de population ont été rassemblés par les Espagnols, dans la seule île de Guame, où, depuis quelques années, elle commence à augmenter par les précautions sages, quoique tardives, d'un gouvernement peut-être plus adapté au climat de ces îles & au génie de ces habitans.

Ce qui reste aujourd'hui de l'ancienne population, descend des Indiens qui, s'étant les premiers attachés au service des Espagnols, & sur-tout à celui des missionnaires s'étoient laissé apprivoiser par la douceur du gouvernement domestique; tout le reste a disparu sans laisser de postérité.

La population actuelle est d'environ quinze cents Indiens: elle est heureuse sous le gouvernement d'un homme sage qui a la bonne philosophie de regarder la religion comme étant donnée pour le bonheur des hommes, même sur la terre, & non pour les tourmenter. J'ai vu, avec la plus grande satisfaction, que cet homme aimable & honnête mettoit toute sa félicité à faire le bien de son île, qu'il avoit pour principe de ne jamais montrer l'autorité que pour l'avantage des bons Indiens qui lui obéissent: sous un tel commandant, les moines même m'ont paru tolérans. Les quatre ou cinq Espagnols qui exercent différens emplois sous les ordres du chef, se conforment exactement à ses vues. Le plus grand ordre règne dans la ville d'Agana, & le pays est réellement un séjour délicieux.

Outre la ville d'Agana, on compte vingt-un petits établissemens d'Indiens autour de l'île, tous sur le bord de la mer, & composés chacun de cinq ou six familles qui cultivent des grains, des légumes, & s'occupent à la pêche.

Le centre de l'île est encore en friche. Les bois n'y sont pas fort élevés, mais ils sont propres à la construction des maisons et des bateaux.

Les forêts y sont en général très-épaisses. Les Espagnols y ont anciennement fait défricher quelques terrains pour former des savannes propres au pâturage du gros bétail. On ne voit pas qu'aucune des nations qui possèdent des colonies entre les tropiques, entendent, comme les Espagnols, à former des savanes. Tout l'art de cette opération rurale consiste à multiplier dans les forêts de petits défrichés qui ne soient séparés que par des bosquets & des lisières d'arbres, simplement éclaircis ou nettoyés de toute espèce de brossailles. Les Espagnols sèment les défrichés de graines de différens gramens, & autres herbes du pays propres au pâturage.

Ces prairies, toujours ombragées de tous côtés, conservent leur fraîcheur, & offrent aux troupeaux de l'abri contre le soleil, & la grande chaleur du midi. De vastes prairies entièrement découvertes, ne réussissent pas dans le climat de la zone torride; des troupeaux transplantés d'un climat plus froid, ne trouvant qu'un pâturage dur & brûlé par l'ardeur du soleil, sans ombrage où ils puissent se reposer dans les heures de la grande chaleur y périroient infailliblement.

...

[etc. pp. 184-203]

...

[e.g. p. 204]

Ces bateaux n'ayant jamais le vent que d'un côté, ils ont donné à ce côté la forme platte; et à celui qui étant jamais sous le vent plonge plus dans la mer, ils ont donné une forme courbe plus propre à diviser le fluide...

...

Translation.

...

On the 2nd of September we changed our course to the W., the wind being constant from N.E. to E. We had rain occasionally, and continued to meet with indications of the neighbourhood of land until we sighted the island of Guam, the largest of the Marianne Islands, on the 20th of September 1772, and where we anchored on the 27th [sic] of the same month.

ANCHORAGE AT THE ISLAND OF GUAM.

Description of the Country, and of the Spanish Colony there.

We were much thwarted by winds on our land-fall at the island of Guam. After having beat to windward several days, the pilots came on board and steered us into the port, where we anchored in twenty fathoms on a mud bottom, the surface of which is covered with broken shells.

The harbour is situated on the western side, and almost in the middle of the island. It is bounded on the south by a tongue of land running two leagues out into the sea, and on the north by a reef of similar length, which almost surrounds it. The entrance is very narrow, and protected by a brick battery, which the Spaniards call St. Louis, mounted with eight bronze twelve-pounders of an old pattern. The harbour is capable of holding four vessels, sheltered from all winds except those from the south-east,¹ which never blow but feebly in these parts. It is dangerous to enter without pilots, because of the numerous rocks and coral reefs. It is situated in N. latitude 13°26', and longitude 141°30' E. of Paris; the magnetic variation being 70° [sic] N.E.²

The chief settlement, which the Spaniards call the town of Agaña, is situated four leagues to the north of the harbour on the sea-coast, at the foot of some low mountains, in a beautiful country full of springs, and watered by a small, very clear, and good brook. The Commandant of the island lives there. The streets of the town are laid out in straight lines, the private houses are for the most part built solidly of wood, raised on piles, about three feet above the level of the ground, and most of them are roofed with [wood] shingles, or with tiles, the rest with palm leaves. There is a beautiful church highly decorated according to Spanish custom. The Commandant's house is spacious and well

1 Ed. note: Error by the translator, for south-west.

2 Ed. note: Typographical error, for 7°.

built. The former residence of the Jesuits, now occupied by the St. Augustine brotherhood, is spacious and convenient; but the former Jesuit's College, built for the education of the Indians, is not inhabited, their successors, The St. Augustines [sic], having removed the college to a building near their convent. There is a barracks capable of lodging a garrison of five hundred men, and there is the King's fine large magazine. All these public buildings are built of brick and tile. The island of Guam is the only island in the vast extent of the South Sea, sprinkled as it is with innumerable islands, which has a European built town, a church, fortifications, and a civilized population.

When we arrived at the town of Agaña, we were received with a great deal of civility by M[r]. Tobias, the Commandant. We explained to him that our crews were suffering from scurvy, and I asked him for help, which was all the more pressing, as on our arrival we had not more than fifteen men fit for duty in both vessels together. This honourable and humane Commandant began by sending on board a quantity of provisions consisting of fresh meat, vegetables, and fruits, especially of oranges and citrons [i.e. lemons]. He gave up to our use the former Jesuits' College, he even allowed us to station a guard to keep order,¹ and he very civilly insisted that the officers of the two vessels should, during our stay at his island, make use of no other table than his own. We accepted with pleasure such very generous offers, which were made with the best possible grace. We had our unfortunate scurvy-stricken fellows brought on shore, and only left sufficient men in the vessels as were absolutely necessary for guarding them, and Mr. Tobias moreover furnished both vessels gratuitously with twenty-five Indians each as servants. With the abundant help we thus received from Mr. Tobias our sailors recovered rapidly.

In the whole extent of these seas there is no other harbour where weary navigators can re-establish their health more quickly or where they can obtain better or more abundant refreshment. The island of Guam appeared a terrestrial paradise to us; the air was excellent, the water was very good, the vegetables and fruits perfect, the mobs of cattle as well as those of goats and pigs innumerable, while there was no end to the quantity of poultry.

However, things were not always so plentiful in Guam. When Magellan discovered it in 1521, together with eight other important islands lying to the north,¹ and a multitude of very much smaller islands, forming the little archipelago known first of all as the Ladrones and afterwards as the Marianas Group, these islands, which were thickly inhabited, could only offer fish, bananas, coco-nuts, and breadfruit as refreshments to travellers, and these were only procurable by means of force against the arrows and blades of their savage inhabitants.² The Spaniards brought from America the first stock of animals, of every variety of poultry, of the plants or fruit-seeds, as well as of the vegetables we find at the present day.

1 Ed. note; Magellan only discovered Rota and Guam.

2 Ed. note: The Marianos had no arrows nor blades; their weapons were spears and stones.

But this abundance, due to the care and genius of Europeans, has cost humanity very dear. The Ladrões, and especially Guam, were thickly populated when discovered, and it is said that on the shores of Guam alone 20,000 inhabitants could be counted. These men were wild savages, and, like all the islanders of the South Sea, owing to the fact that they did not recognize any rights of property, they were great thieves.

But they were so savage and so incapable of supporting the yoke of civilization that the Spaniards who undertook to subdue them so as to make Christians of them saw their population annihilate itself so to speak within the course of two centuries. Under the reign of their missionaries the wild islanders were finally obliged to give way to the superiority of Spanish arms, and after having for a long time defended by cruel wars their right to exist like savage beasts, according to their free instinct, they gave themselves up to a despair of which there is no other example on the face of the earth.¹ They induced their women to take drinks which caused abortion and to have no more children, rather than to leave behind them children who, according to the ideas of liberty entertained by these savage beings, would no longer be free. Such violent resolves, so contrary to the wishes of Nature, were followed up by a stubbornness in the nine Mariana Islands sufficient to reduce the population of the whole archipelago, which was 60,000 [sic] at the time of the discovery, to eight or nine hundred souls.² About twenty [sic] years ago the scattered remnants of this population were gathered together by the Spaniards on to the island of Guam, where, during the last few years, by means of wise although tardy precautions of a Government perhaps best adapted to the climate of these islands and to the genius of the people, the population has commenced to increase.³

The present remains of the former great population are descended from those Indians who, having attached themselves to the service of the Spaniards and especially to that of the missionaries, have allowed themselves to be domesticated by the mildness of the present government. All the others have disappeared without leaving any posterity.

The present population consists of about fifteen hundred [sic] Indians. They are happy under the government of a wise man, who has the good sense to see that religion is given to man for his happiness, even on earth, and not for his annoyance. It was with the greatest satisfaction that I saw this worthy and honourable man's only care was for the good of his island and that he never showed his authority except for the benefit of

1 Ed. note: There is much exaggeration of this paragraph.

2 Ed. note: The editor (Abbé Rochon) shows some anti-Jesuit bias here, by inflating this figure, that, though erroneous, never exceeded more than 50,000 before. In truth, the population at the time of conquest was hardly 15,000 for the whole archipelago. The 900 souls for 1772 would be old-stock Marianos only. There were then about 2,000 Filipino Indians and half-breeds established in Guam.

3 Ed. note: Rather more than 70 years before; the editor shows that his speculation was not based on facts. Also Rota was never depopulated.

the Indians who serve him. Under such a Commandant even the monks appeared tolerant to me. The five or six Spaniards who have various subordinate posts under the chief conform perfectly to his views.

The greatest order reigns in Agaña, and the country is really a delightful abode. Besides Agaña there are twenty-one small Indian settlements round the islands, all on the sea-coast,¹ and composed of five or six families each, who cultivate grain crops and vegetables, and occupy themselves with fishing.²

The centre of the island still lies in its virgin state.³ The trees are not very high, but they are suitable for the building of houses and boats. The forests generally are very dense. Long ago the Spaniards cleared spaces of land for pastoral purposes. No other nation possessing colonies in the tropics appears to have laid themselves out like the Spaniards for the formation of savannahs. The whole art of this rural operation consists in making small clearings, which are only separated from each other by bushed and clumps of trees, simply cleared and cleaned of every variety of underwood. The Spaniards sow the clearings with varieties of grass seeds suitable for pasturage.

These savannahs, being shaded on all sides, always retain their freshness, and give shelter to the cattle against the sun and the great heat of the day. Vast prairies entirely cleared are not a success in the Torrid Zone, and cattle transferred from a colder climate only find the pasturage hard and burned by the power of the sun, being without any shade; and in cases where they are not able to rest during the greater heat of the day, they infallibly perish.

The cattle formerly transported from America to the savannahs of Guam and the other Ladrone Islands have multiplied without end. These animals have run wild, and now, when one wished to eat them, one has either to shoot them, or take them by lassoing. I noticed that the Guam cattle are generally white, with black ears, without any variety of colour, but with big frames and well nourished, and their flesh is very good to eat.

The forests are also full of goats, pigs, and poultry, of which the first stock was brought over by the Spaniards. All these animals have run wild, and can only be obtained by shooting or running them down, or by lassoing. Their flesh is excellent.⁴

Some time ago, Mr. Tobias brought over from the Philippines some stags and hinds, which have begun to multiply in the forest.⁵ These deer are as big as ours, but their coat

1 Ed. note: Although the original French text refers to only one island, the translator is right in assuming that the villages in Rota must have been counted in this number as well.

2 Ed. note: The only grain crop was Mexican-type corn. I guess the root crops are vegetables.

3 Ed. note: The original text simply says that it lied fallow, or uncultivated (see below).

4 Ed. note: We know for sure that hunting dogs were used to hunt wild pigs, and I fancy that the American "bolas" (balls connected by pieces of rope) were also used to entangle the feet of the goats at least, while running them down.

5 Ed. note: If Mr. Tobías was involved, this occurred in 1771, just one year before. How many deer could he have loaded aboard the small 50-foot long launch Rosario (see Doc. 1771B) that brought him to Guam?

is different. In Guam, from the month of December to May, the deer has a very long, thick, and grey coat; the hair is very thick round the neck of the animal, and forms a sort of hanging cravat. In the month of May the deer puts on its summer coat, which is utterly different from that borne in winter. The hair is then fawn-coloured and almost yellow, smooth, and brilliant; there are three black stripes on its back, between which there are white stars, and one would say that it is not the same animal.

On the cleared lands and even in the interior of the forests an extraordinary quantity of turtle-doves, parrots, thrushes and blackbirds are met with.¹

Amongst the indigenous trees of the country one notices especially the coco-nut and the breadfruit trees. I observed three varieties of coco-nut palms: firstly the big common coco-nut palm similar to that which is found throughout the Indies, whose fruit furnishes a very pleasant, refreshing, anti-scorbutic milk, and spirit, oil, and a strong thread suitable for making up into twine, and even into ship's cables. Secondly the coco-nut palm, which may be called of medium size, because it does not grow so high as the other one, and whose nut, deprived of its fibrous husk and tender shell, is eaten like the heart of the artichoke, which it resembles. Finally, the black coco-nut, which does not grow above eight or ten feet high at most, although it grows much quicker than the common coco-nut palm, and the fruit of which is perfectly round and of the size of a six-pounder cannon ball; the flesh of this nut is much thicker and more delicate than that of the common coco-nut; spirit, oil, and thread are made from it in greater quantities than the others. The leaves of all three coco-nut palms are equally suitable for thatching houses and making mats.

The breadfruit tree is one of the most beautiful vegetable productions of Nature. It is a tall tree, of which the strong trunk grows straight upwards; its bark is perfectly smooth like that of our beeches. The branches do not start from the trunk until about the height of ten or twelve feet; they grow alternately, as do also the leaves. These leaves are generally eighteen inches to two feet long, very deeply indented like those of our French fig trees; they are stiff, thick, and of a very beautiful green, and form excellent food for cattle. With such a foliage the breadfruit tree affords the most perfect shelter. The fruit grows on the branches from the axil of the leaves, and attains the size of a *cantaloupe* melon, but more oval, and generally eight to ten inches long; it has a stalk proportioned to its size, and exactly resembles the jackfruit, which is known to all those who have journeyed to the Indies. Like the jackfruit it is covered with a thick skin, which is somewhat thorny, but of which the points are coarse, short, and blunted; its flower also resembles that of the jackfruit, but its pulp is different. That of the breadfruit tree is farinaceous, and of a taste which pleases all, even of those who eat it for the first time. This fruit is one of the most useful presents which Nature has given to man, and it seems extraordinary that Nature should only have placed the tree which produces it in the islands of the South Seas. It tastes exactly like bread, has the same nutritive properties,

1 Ed. note: The author was mistaken about parrots, which never existed in the Marianas, it appears.

supplies its place in every respect, and has a fragrant and delicious odour which our cleverest bakers will never be able to impart to our bread.

It is consequently very pleasant for the fortunate inhabitant of these islands, to be assured of his daily bread; to nourish himself he has only to cull it and eat it, and that too without any of the troubles attaching to ploughing the field, sowing the grain, hoeing, harvesting, threshing, winnowing, grinding, kneading, or baking.

The fruit can be eaten when it has attained its full size, but though it be still green. In this stage the islanders cook it before eating; they take off its knotty rind and cut it in slices like pieces of bread. When they wish to preserve it, they cut it in round slices, and in this very thin sea-biscuit form they dry it in the sun or in the oven. This natural biscuit preserves its quality for years, and very much better than does our ships' biscuit. Our sailors ate it green, slightly grilled; they also made their soup of it; they had no other bread, and we attributed the quick recovery of those suffering from scurvy to the breadfruit diet. To this diet the inhabitants have always attributed anti-scorbutic properties.

When this fruit is ripe, it becomes yellow and soft, its odour is more fragrant, but it loses its farinaceous taste and becomes insipid. At this stage it has no longer the same properties as before; it is now laxative and heating; its pulp no longer takes the place of bread, and it has little to recommend it. Some of the breadfruit trees bear the male fruit and the others bear female fruit. In the latter, which are rare, the seed consists of shell-less stones enveloped in a simple almost cylindrical pellicle of about the size of a chestnut but longer. when ripe these stones make up for the uselessness of the pulp; they are cooked and eaten like chestnuts, having the same taste.

As the male breadfruit tree is the most useful, but has no seed, it is propagated by the Indians by making slight incisions in the roots, from which shoots spring up; these are transplanted together with a piece of the original root which has produced them.

It is very desirable that such a very useful tree should spread all over the earth. That there were some already in the Isle of France I knew well, thanks to Mr. Poivre, who during his administration collected with the greatest success all the most useful productions from the four corners of the globe. But as I was desirous of making common property of, and of multiplying as quickly as possible, such a very precious tree, I determined to fill a case of these plants in Guam and so to transport more to the Isle of France, thus placing the Governors in a position to encourage its planting in our other colonies, where the breadfruit tree alone without cultivation might furnish a very good food-substance, at least to our unhappy slaves. But I did not succeed as I had desired, and all but two of the plants perished.

The forests of Guam are full of guavas, several varieties of bananas, citrons, lemons, sweet, bitter and mandarin oranges, and breadfruits. The fruit of all those trees, which I presume are not indigenous to the island, but have been introduced by the Spaniards, are now-a-days so plentiful that they only cost the trouble of picking, and one finds them everywhere.

The sea-coast and the skirts of the forests are covered with a large variety of the caper tree. These small trees are indigenous to the soil. The Spaniards assure me that the nine Ladrone Islands were full of them when discovered, and that, like the breadfruit tree, they have been transplanted from here to the Philippines. Like the citrons, orange trees, and several other indigenous shrubs, these caper bushes flower all the year round, forming ravishing scenes; they exhale a pleasant odour, which makes a walk in the fields and in the forests very delicious.

Bananas are found throughout the world between the tropics and as far as the Cape of Good Hope in latitude 33° S. As several travellers have described them and their varieties, I will not repeat the descriptions here, but I noticed at Guam two varieties which deserve attention, and which I believe are peculiar to the Mariana Islands as well as to the Philippines, where the Spaniards assure me they have them also.

The first species is a dwarf banana, which does not grow higher than three feet; in its leaves, which are in proportion to its height, as well as in the substance of its trunk and in its flower, it resembles the generality of all banana trees, but its fruit is different, and very superior in taste to all the bananas known in other parts of the world. It produces a very thick perfectly round stalk, carrying five or six hundred fruits pressed closely together, every fruit about the size of an almost round nut, and covered with a very fine skin which yellows or reddens in ripening, for it is of either colour, and which is easily separated from the enclosed pulp. This fruit has not the fault common to other bananas of being clammy or dry; it is watery, with a very delicious taste, slightly acid, and scented. It is very superior, even to the little yellow banana known in the East Indies as the *Gengi* fig, which is truly delicate, but the one of which I am now speaking is beyond compare the best banana that I have ever eaten. This excellent fruit ought certainly to be transplanted into all our tropical colonies, and it certainly deserves the preference to all other varieties of banana, quite as much for its diminutiveness as for the excellence of its fruit, and should be cultivated in our hot-houses, where until now only the bad variety has been grown, and the fruit of which is not even eaten there where Nature originally placed it.

The second species is a wild variety, which grows taller than any of the others, and of which the trunk is thicker, it has also a more uncultivated appearance. Its leaves and flowers resemble those of all bananas, and its fruit is not edible, being nothing more than a mass of grain bound together by a very poor pulp which has a sharp and disagreeable taste. The trunk of this wild banana is of the greatest use to those who cut it down and steep it, on account of the quantity of thread which it furnishes. The entire trunk consists of nothing more than a mass of very long and strong threads, and of which the Indians make cloth, cord, and even cables for the galleons of Acapulco. This wild banana is locally called *abaca*.¹ The Spaniards, who have put such cables to the

1 Ed. note: The author must have misunderstood his notes later on. This plant was called *medriñaque*, in Spanish, although in modern classification, the *Musa textilis* has also been given the erroneous Filipino name of *abaca*. However, his informants who knew about the Philippines, would not have confused these two different species.

proof, maintain that, the thickness being equal, they are stronger than the hempen European cables, and resist the action of wind and salt-water better, especially for the bow anchor. This variety of banana has already been largely propagated at the Isle of France, and deserves to be transplanted to all our colonies. It is well known that bananas can be propagated without end and without cultivation. The *abaca* multiplies still more rapidly, and every trunk one year old gives ten to twelve pounds of thread suitable for making into rope.¹

The rivers of Guam, which after all are only brooks, or torrents, abound in fish. During their convalescence, our sailors amused themselves by fishing, and caught eels, mullets, gobys, and a sort of carp. All these fish are excellent, but the Indians do not eat them, preferring salt-water fish, which are generally very inferior in quality to the fresh-water ones.² It is true that the abundance of meat, vegetables, and fruit is so great in Guam, and the Spanish Commandant provided us with them so generously, that during the whole stay we hardly thought of getting any sea-fish.

There is, besides, some inconvenience in a preference for salt-water fish. Among those which are caught on the coast of Guam, as in all the Mariana Islands, there are some which are very unwholesome, for they nourish themselves on the little polyps, which form the coral. It appears that these sea-insects, like the sea-galleys and sea-nettles, have some caustic property which is imparted to the fishes, and the fishes have a coralline taste which betrays their poisonous properties. The Indians know which are unwholesome, but it is better not to eat any sea-fish at all. This, however, does not hold good with the sea-turtles which are caught on the coasts of Guam. They are very good and as big as those of the island of Ascension,³ but the Spaniards and Indians do not eat them. I collected sufficient to form a good supply during our journey to the Philippines.

The Agriculture and Arts of the Guam Indians.

Before the arrival of Mr. Tobias, the Indians did not occupy themselves with any sort of cultivation on a large scale, for the galleons brought thither the requisite flour for the bread of the missionaries and of the garrison; but the Jesuits, who were in charge of the mission, cultivated a few fruit trees and vegetables, while the Indians lived on breadfruit and sea-fish.

The new Commandant, believing that one of the best measures for re-establishing the almost annihilated population of the Marianas, reduced to a mere handful of in-

1 Ed. note: The author makes mention of other crops below.

2 Ed. note: We may have here a confirmation of their age-old revulsion to eating river eels on account of superstition (former totem), and by extension, all river fish.

3 Ed. note: Not Pohnpei, as it was not yet known, but the island of that name in the South Atlantic.

habitants collected together at Guam, would be by making the little colony into an agricultural one, introduced the cultivation of rice, maize, indigo, cotton, cacao, and sugarcane, all of which have succeeded very well.¹ The cultivation of maize especially gives incredible results. It is common to find on the maize fields plants twelve feet high, with eight to ten cobs, nine to ten inches long, well stocked with good nourishing grain. The Indian reduces the maize to flour and makes bread of it.²

Mr. Tobias has also established cotton mills and salt pans on his island; in a word, he has awakened industry in this little people, whom he could not better civilize than by procuring them new gratifications and wants and tastes for industry.

His views have led him to establish a public free school for the Indian children, where they are taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, and vocal and instrumental music. There is a school for the boys and a separate one for the girls. It was always a new and pleasant surprise to us when we attended divine service on Sundays and holidays to find the church full of musicians, and to hear all the instruments in tune and time.

Under the guidance of this wise man all the Indians have become agriculturists.³ Every family has its property, which is divided into gardens, orchards, and ploughed or spade-worked fields. Every variety of European vegetables, especially delicious melons, and the very refreshing water-melons, are found in these gardens. Ships wishing to provision will find cabbages and gourds in very large quantities.

The orchards are full of mangoes and pine-apples, and every fruit tree of which I have spoken is to be found in the fields and right up into the forests; but the cultivated trees give the best and most abundant fruit, especially as regards the mangoes, which have been brought from Manila, and are of a very superior quality. The mango is one of the best fruits in the world and one can eat many of them without being inconvenienced!

In order to set the example in agricultural matters the Commandant has himself laid out some very pleasant gardens; he has had avenues of coco-nut palms and breadfruit trees four deep planted along the sea-shore round the town, and in public spaces, and these avenues have made Agaña an enchanting place.

To facilitate work in connection with cultivation and land transport, the Government has built good roads and has imported horses from Manila, and donkeys and even mules from Acapulco. The Indians have been taught to break-in cattle and to use them as draughts, and as the variety of cattle are big and strong, they make very fine teams. The Indians have more particularly succeeded in accustoming the cattle to carry them, the same as horses do, and there are no Indians who have not several riding beasts on

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- 1 Ed. note: The fact is that none of these crops were new to the Islands, and they certainly preceded the arrival of Gov. Tobias one year before. Perhaps deer had also been introduced before him, and by the Jesuits, who had brought most, if not all, new plants and animals into the Marianas.
 - 2 Ed. note: Corn, and tortillas, had been made in Guam for over 100 years already.
 - 3 Ed. note: Really, the credit belongs to more than one man, as it took more than one year to accomplish the things described.

which they ride when making a journey into the interior of the islands and on whom they saddle their baggage. In their method of breaking-in they follow the Malabar custom;¹ they pierce the nostril of the beast and pass the end of a cord through it, and by means of this cord, to which the cattle get accustomed in a fortnight, they are led about as easily as horses by their bridles.

The art of cultivation in its turn causes the birth of the art of the smith, of the wheelwright, of the joiner and carpenter. The Indians of Guam have learnt all these trades and follow them with great skill; they make bricks and lime, and are even good masons.²

In establishing the useful arts on his island Mr. Tobias has not neglected that particular one which is unfortunately necessary for safety and defence: and he has formed an Indian militia two hundred strong, which wears a uniform and is well paid.³ The militiamen are under the command of four Spanish captains. The other officers are mostly mestizos and Indians from the Philippines. I thought these troops performed their duties well; but the Commandant, regarding indolence as one of the greatest disadvantages of life, has continued his men as cultivators without in the least interfering with their daily duties, employing them in cultivating certain lands which he had divided off under the title of Royal Domains. The soldiers thus plough, sow, and harvest the lands, the produce of which serves to nourish them, and being thus always occupied, they are happy and well contented with the rice, or the bread made from the maize, which they have themselves cultivated and harvested.

[Chamorro proas]

In acquiring new knowledge by their contact with civilization, the islanders have at the same time preserved perfectly the art of making canoes received from their forefathers. In this respect they had nothing new to learn. It is quite certain that the invention of the form of their craft would do honour to any boatbuilder amongst the most advanced maritime people. This form has not been copied from any model, for it differs from all those which have been given to sea-going vessels by any of the known peoples in different parts of the world.

The Indians being of one nationality, but divided up amongst nine very thickly-populated [sic] islands, and separated from one another by considerable distance within an extent of about six degrees, naturally require good boats wherewith to inter-communi-

1 Ed. note: The Filipinos had brought in such customs.

2 Ed. note: The importation of Pampango soldiers who were tradesmen, for over one century, did show some positive results.

3 Ed. note: This nonsense, about one man having created all of this, could not have come from an eyewitness, and must have been invented by his editor, Abbé Rochon, as already suspected.

cate. As the islands are situated in a row running north and south, and as the wind blows from the east almost all the year round, it is an advantage that their boats should have no stern. Their boats are therefore built with bows at each end, so that they never require to be turned round. The prevailing winds blow sometimes very violently in squalls, and the islanders have found out how to provide against this inconvenience, for they furnish their boats with outriggers, which will uphold them against the stiffest breezes and the biggest waves. These canoes, always having the wind on one side, are built flat on that, the windward [sic] side and rounding on the lee side, which, being more under water, requires a more suitable surface for cutting through the water.¹ The mast is never placed in the middle of the boat, but on the curved lee side, so that the mast is, so to speak, between the boat and the outrigger. The weight of the mast thus causes the side to list, and with all the more ease, since the windward side of the boat being flat offers less resistance. Nothing is so simple or so well devised as these boats, which the Indians call *proas*.

The outrigger is composed of four pieces of wood, built oblong in form, and of which the longest side [?] is set parallel with the round side of the boat. At the beam ends of the outrigger is fixed a large piece of very light wood cut in the shape of a canoe. This piece of wood floats on the water and opposes such resistance to the efforts of the strongest breezes as to prevent the upsetting of the boat; the arms of the outrigger are fixed at right angles into the upper planks of the boat, and strongly tied on to the planks on the windward side. Three pieces of wood cross the framework and make it firmer, and two other longer pieces which cross the framework transversely, that is, parallel with the boat and its outrigger, help to bind the whole firmly together. A narrow plank is placed along the lee rail to prevent the water entering the boat, and fixes still more securely in their position the arms of the outrigger, which it does by covering its whole length.

On the arms of the outrigger and partly on the lee rail, the Indians rig up a platform, which is again a source of strength, and acts as a sort of counter-weight to the boat. The boatmen and the passengers sit on this platform and the cargo is placed there.

The mast is of bamboo and is consequently very light. It is let into a socket on the lee side of the bottom of the boat, Two stays from each end of the boat keep it in its place, a shroud holds it on the windward side and another on the leeward side; the latter is lashed to the framework of the outrigger, and the mast is further shored up by a bamboo fixed in the middle of the outrigger.

The boat is furnished with a triangular mat sail, furnished with a yard and boom. The boom is supported at its base in the boat by a semicircular socket; there is one of these at either end of the boat. When the Indians, troubled by contrary winds, wish to

1 Ed. note: Incorrect description. We have here the proof that this part does not come from eyewitness Crozet, but from Abbé Rochon who plagiarized it from Dampier, thus repeating the latter's error (see comments made by James Hornell, in *Canoes of Oceania*, vol. 1, pp. 417-418). Since the Chamorro proa will not be mentioned by any traveller after 1772, but it still existed, however, as one so-called *banca* was used in 1769 by Fr. Stengel to go to Rota.

tack about, they run the end of the boom along the flat side of the boat, and fix it in the opposite socket at the other end; then in changing the boom, end for end, the stern of the boat becomes its prow, and the tack is accomplished. When the wind is too strong and the Indians wish to shorten sail, they simply roll it round the boom, and so diminish the exposed surface.

The boat I observed was forty feet long by three broad; the bottom was made of a single hollow tree, in the form of a big canoe; its sides raised a couple of inches by means of planks and sewn together with bark of trees and caulked with a mixture of coco-nut oil and quicklime. Their sides were joined by cross-pieces, which served as seats. These boats have no bridge, neither have they any rudder; an Indian squatted at the end of the boat governs it with a very broad-bladed paddle.

I made a short passage in one of these proas when the wind was fresh, and estimated its speed at three leagues an hour. The islanders assured me that with a very strong wind they could go five leagues an hour, but that such speed was rarely attained. These proas are therefore the best sailers amongst the small sea-going craft known, and are very ingeniously constructed. It appeared to me that those of Guam are not quite safe at sea, for a wave might detach the outrigger or break it, and the boat would then capsize or founder; but I have been assured that the Indians are such good swimmers, and so experienced in their art of navigation, that when a boat capsizes through the loss of its outrigger, they have sufficient skill to right it in the open sea, and they never lose more than their cargo.¹ It has been found possible elsewhere to give the proas greater solidity, preserving at the same time their form and swiftness, and boats uniting these advantages are found on the coast of Cochin-China.²

Continuation of various Observations made at Guam.

According to the estimates of the Spaniards, the island of Guam is about forty leagues in circumference. From the sea-shore it rises by very slow degrees towards its centre, but it is not mountainous. The inhabitants maintain that the soil is everywhere good and fertile, with the exception of the northern portion, which forms a peninsula, and is only slightly watered, the rest of the island being well watered, and one cannot go a league in any direction without coming across a stream. Towards the interior of the country, east and south of Agaña, there are many fresh-water springs issuing out of the rocks, and which form at intervals pools of clear water, which, being shaded by bushy trees, maintain a most refreshing coolness in spite of the great heat of the climate.

The island is studded with picturesque and delicious scenes. In my promenades it often happened that I came across these enchanting places where Nature had made all,

1 Ed. note: It is unlikely that Crozet himself, a sailor, would have said that of the proa, as he would have realized that the Indians could recover after a capsizing (usually due to a wind gust, or swamping by a strong wave), only if the outrigger was left intact.

2 Translator's note: Dumont D'Urville mentions on his first visit to the Mariana Islands, in May 1828, that the natives were then no longer able to make these canoes, and those from the Carolines, constructed on like principle, were used instead.

and the hand of man none of the arrangements. It was not possible to feel bored, everything was arranged for the happiness of the man who loves solitude, verdure, shade, freshness, the smell of flowers, crystalline water springing from a rock and falling in cascades; who enjoys the songs of numberless birds, and glimpses of scenery, coco-nuts, breadfruits, oranges, citrons, and an infinity of wild fruits found equally on trees with their flowers, and growing in that charming irregularity in which art has never been able to imitate Nature. It was only with regret that I could leave such delicious places, for I could have spent my whole life there. Between these delightful spots and the sea-coast there is an open space, about two hundred fathoms broad, consisting of sand mixed with coral, which appears to have been abandoned by the sea, or to have emerged from its bosom by the effect of some volcanic shock or upheaval. These lands consist of a series of valleys perfectly filled up with coral, and which appear to have been formerly the beds of marine currents. One has to pass three or four of these dales one after another before arriving at the vegetable soil of the island on the skirts of the forest. All this space is full of uncultivated growth, of caper trees and coco-nut palms, which thrive well in the midst of the coral.

It appeared to me that the greater part of the rocks around Agaña are granitic; the pebbles which are found on the sea-shore are cystalized inside. I noticed that amongst the small pyramidal crystals enclosed in these pebbles there were some which were yellow and red, like topazes and rubies.

The Guam islanders are such as they were depicted by Magellan: short in stature, ugly enough, black, and generally scabby, although they bathe frequently. The women are generally beautiful, well made, and with a red skin. Both men and women have very long hair. Through civilization this small people have become hospitable, honest, and peaceful; at the same time they have adopted a vice unknown to their ancestors, for the men are slightly given to drunkenness, and will drink a great deal of coco-nut spirit. They love music and dancing, but do not care much about work. They are passionately fond of cock-fighting. On Sundays and holidays they assemble after service at the door of the church, every man bringing his cock to fight that of another, and every man bets on his own bird.

The Guam Mission is at the present day in the hands of the St. Augustines, who have replaced the Jesuits, and there are five of the brotherhood attached to the Mission. One of them is appointed to the parish of Agaña, three of them are divided between different parishes among other tribes in the Island, and the fifth inhabits the Island of Saipan [sic], which is ten leagues to the north of Guam, and where a small population has been located.¹

These good monks thoroughly second the views of Mr. Tobias for the welfare of his beloved Indians. I cannot repeat too often, in praise of this excellent man, that he has no other ambition than that of making his islanders happy; and that he is happy himself because he succeeds in all his views. The Indians look upon him and love him as a

1 Ed. note: Error for Rota.

father. He has often repeated to me that he should like to finish his days in Guam, calling my attention to the fact that in no other part of the world could he be happier, since he had the satisfaction of seeing a small tribe confided to his care, in the enjoyment of a very good climate and of an abundance of all the productions of the earth.¹

We had landed with more than two hundred sick men at Guam, and we had not lost a single one of them; all had completely recovered within the space of a month, in spite of the almost continual rains we had to put up with, until towards the middle of October. The northern monsoon, which commenced at this period, brought us fine weather and a clear sky, and we profited by the occasion to repair our vessels.

During our abode at Guam I noticed that at the change of the moon the sea grew very rough for two or three days. After a rest of about two months, we were disposed to profit by the N.E. monsoon [sic]² in order to get to the Philippine Islands. On the 18th of November we took on board both our vessels abundant provisions, so generously furnished us by Mr. Tobias; these consisted of beef, pigs, goats, poultry, vegetables and fruit of every description. We had paid four pesos for the bullocks, but were not allowed to pay for any other provisions. Mr. Tobias furnished us with a pilot to guide us into the Philippine archipelago.

We left Agaña with deep regret on the 19th of November, but with a good northeasterly wind, and our sailors, who were in better health than they would have been in leaving a French port, called the island a terrestrial paradise.³

1 Translator's note: La Pérouse, who was in Manila in 1787 says: "I saw at Manila that upright and virtuous Governor of the Ladrones, Mr. Tobias, who, unhappily for his repose, has been too much celebrated by Abbé Raynal [who copied and amplified Abbé Rochon (see Doc. 1772C)]. I saw him persecuted by the monks, who, representing him as a wretch, destitute of piety, have alienated the affections of his wife, who has even demanded to be separated from him, that she might not live with a pretended reprobate, and all the fanatics have applauded her resolution. Mr. Tobias is lieutenant-colonel of the regiment which forms the garrison at Manila, and is known to be the best officer in the country; yet the governor has ordered that his appointments, which are considerable, should be paid to this pious wife, leaving him only twenty-six pesos per month for his own subsistence and that of his son. This brave soldier, reduced to despair, was waiting for a proper opportunity to quit the colony in order to obtain justice."

2 Ed. note: Rather tradewinds.

3 Ed. note: In December 1772, at Cavite, they saw the Spanish frigate **Venus**, Captain Langara, making ready to return to Spain via the Cape of Good Hope. The only two galleons of the Acapulco run were the **San Carlos** and the **San José**.

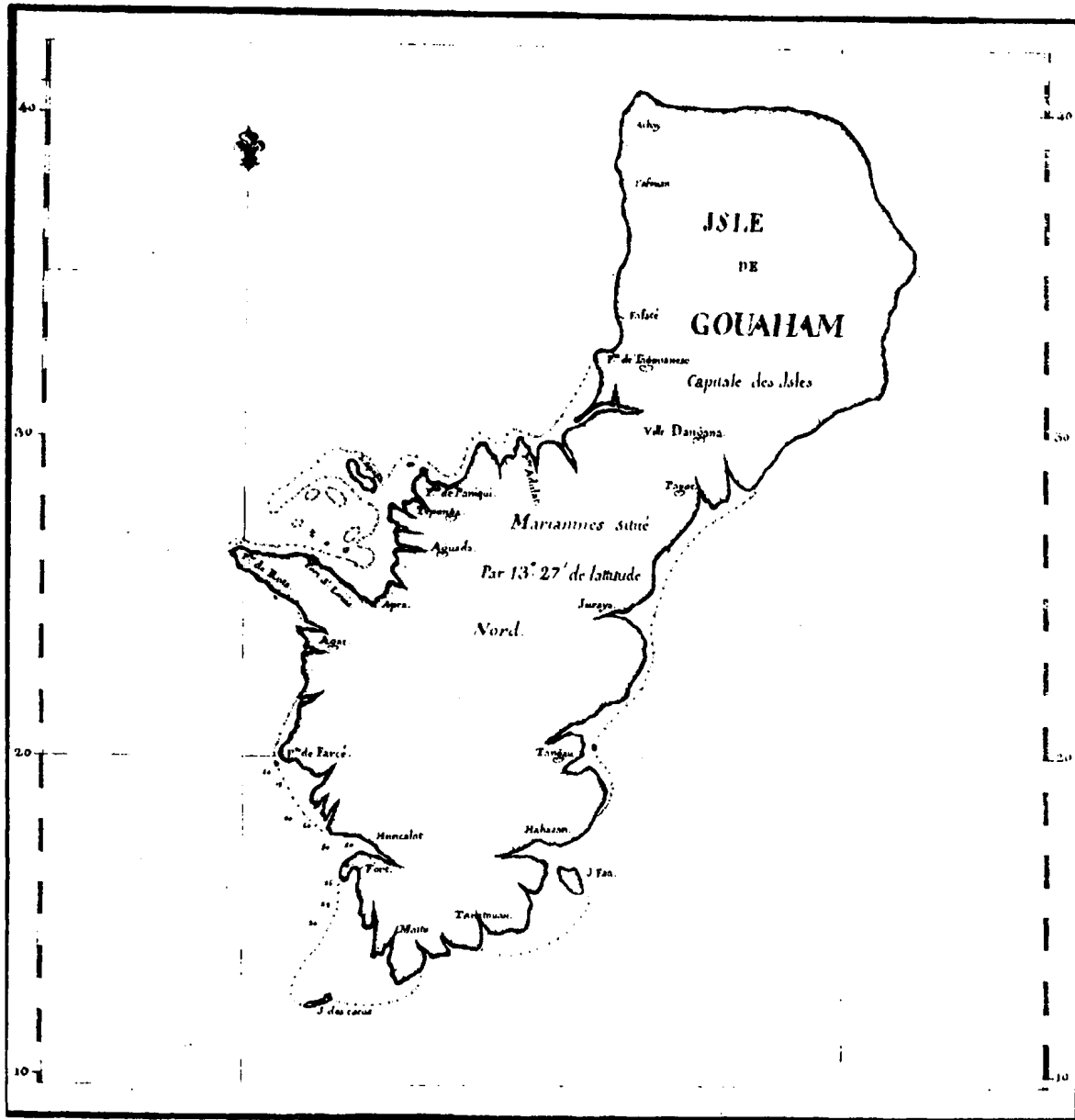


Chart of Guaham, by Captain Duclesmeur, 1772. *A note appearing on the edge of the original copy says, in French: "Cette carte m'a été donné par les Espagnols et m'a paru assez exacte," which means: "This map was given to me by the Spaniards and seemed to me to be exact." It is signed: "Duclesmeur."* (SH Portfolio 175 division 11 pièce 8).

A3. The narrative of Lieutenant Jean Roux

Source: ANP Marine 4JJ142, n° 18.

Note: This journal is an edited version of his travel notes. It is dated Paris 12 March 1776, and dedicated to the Count of Maurepas, Minister of State.

Original text in French.

N° 18. [Title on cover:] *Les Vaisseaux Le Mascarin et le Castrie[s], Commandant M. Marion, de l'Île de France à Madagascar, à la Nouvelle Zélande, aux îles Marion, à Guaham, à Manille et à l'Île de France.*

[Title inside:] *Journal de voyage fait sur le Vaisseau de Roi Le Mascarin, commandé par Mr. Marion Chevalier de l'Ordre Royal et militaire de St. Louis, Capitaine de Brulot; accompagné de la flutte Le Marquis de Castries, pour faire le voyage de l'Isle Taity ou de Cythère, en faisant la découverte des Terres Australes, passant à la nouvelle Hollande, à la nouvelled Zélande, &c. &c.*

Par le Sr Jean Roux, Lieutenant sur le susdit vaisseau le Mascarin.

Le 18 octobre 1771 nous avons appareillé de l'Isle de France pour le Cap de Bonne Espérance, où M. Marion alloit prendre des vivres pour continuer le voyage.

...

Le 30. la petite vérole se déclara sur Boutavery qui était l'insulaire que nous devions remettre dans son pays de Taity d'où il avoit été amené en France par M. Bougainville.

...

Le 11. [Juillet] nous étions prêts à partir, la flutte le Castries étoit remâtée, on tint ce même jour conseil, sur la route qu'il convenait de faire en sortant de ce port. Vu notre situation et nos besoins, nous n'avions trouvé dans les papiers de M. Marion aucun projet, Ses instructions ne pouvoient nous guider, puisque Boutaveri ce naturel de Taïti ou de Cythere que nous devions y ramener étoit mort, de sorte qu'il ne nous restoit à choisir, que d'aller au Chily, ou à Manille, pour où M. Marion s'étoit muni d'un pass-eport de la Cour d'Espagne. Nos pertes en hommes, ancres, cables, filains, et mâts, et le mauvais état de nos équipages, dont une grande partie étoit encore attaquée du scorbut, nous mettoient dans l'impossibilité de continuer nos decouvertes. Tout ces inconvenients firent que nous nous decidames à faire route pour Manille, en passant aux Isles de Rotterdam, et d'Amsterdam, d'où nous aurions été chercher la route des galions de Manille, pour relacher à Guaham, la principale des Isles Mariannes, afin d'y prendre des vivres, et un pilote pratique du Détroit des Bernardines.

[Buried treasure]

Le 12. on envoya enterrer une bouteille sur l'Isle de Marion, où étoient renfermées les armes de France et la prise de possession de tout ce pays, que nous nommerent la France Australe; cette bouteille est à quatre pieds dans la terre, à cinquante sept pas du

bord de la mer, à compter de l'endroit où la mer monte le plus, et à dix pas du ruisseau; cette bouteille a été mise avec toutes les précautions nécessaires. Pendant la journée on s'occupa à se préparer pour appareiller le lendemain au matin, les voiles furent mises en vergue, et on disposa à lever les ancres.

Départ du Port Marion situé par la latitude Meridionale de 35. Degrés et par la longitude orientale meridien de Paris; de 172. degrés trente minutes.

Le 13. a huit heures du matin on mit sous voilles avec un vent foible du Sud au Sud Est, nous passames par la passe du Ouest, par laquelle nous avions entré. Quand nous eumes pris assez de large, on dirigea la route au Nord Est le vent ne nous permettant pas de prendre plus de l'Est; il fut variable du Sud Est au Nord Est jusqu'au 17. qu'il soufflat du Nord, le 20 il passa à Ouest, et on fit valoir la route le Nord Est, jusqu'au 31. que l'on gouverna au Nord afin de nous mettre par la latitude des Isles de Rotterdam, et Amsterdam, qu'Abel Tasman place par vingt et un degrés et demi de latitude Sud.

Le 2. d'Aoust étant par la latitude de ces Isles, on fit valoir la route le Ouest. Depuis trois jours nous avions les vents alisés qui furent faibles et varièrent jusqu'à l'Est.

Enfin le 6 nous eumes connaissance de plusieurs Isles, qui étoient au nombre de sept, qui s'étendaient depuis le Ouest vingt deux degrés Sud, au Nord trente trois degrés vers l'Ouest; il s'en fit encore voir d'autres.

...

D'ailleurs nous ne naviguions plus avec autant de confiance que lorsque M. Marion existoit. On se faisoit un fantôme de la chose la plus légère. Celui qui se trouvoit a son deffaut chargé du commandement n'osoit prendre aucun parti la moindre contrariété l'inquiétoit. Le tems continua le restant de la journée à être orageux, et le vent Sud assez fort; dès midi on se décida d'abandonner ces terres, en continuant la route pour les îles Mariannes. Cette petite contrariété fit qu'on ne fut plus d'avis de chercher Rotterdam et Amsterdam...

...

Enfin le 9 quoi que le temps fut beau, on tient conseil pour délibérer s'il convenait de les abandonner, ou d'y chercher un ancrage, mais plus des deux tiers des deux états-majors furent d'avis de ne s'y point arrêter, ce ne fut point mon avis ni celui de quelques autres, nous alleguions qu'il était facile de passer dans l'Ouest de ces Iles...

...

Le 13 on fit valoir la route de Nord Ouest, afin de passer l'équateur par cent soixante quinze degrés environ de longitude.

Le 23 nous passâmes la ligne par cent soixante dix sept degrés à l'Est de Paris, les vents du Sud Est, ou alisés nous ont conduit jusque par sept degrés nord, où nous eumes des vents variables, et les vents généraux ou de Nord Est. nous [les] primes deux jours après, qui était le premier de Septembre.

Nous continuames a faire valoir la route de Nord onze degrés Ouest, jusques par les quatorze degrés Nord, où nous la fumes valoir l'Ouest, afin de nous entretenir par quatorze, et treize degrés et demi de latitude, qui est celle de l'Isle de Guaham Capitale

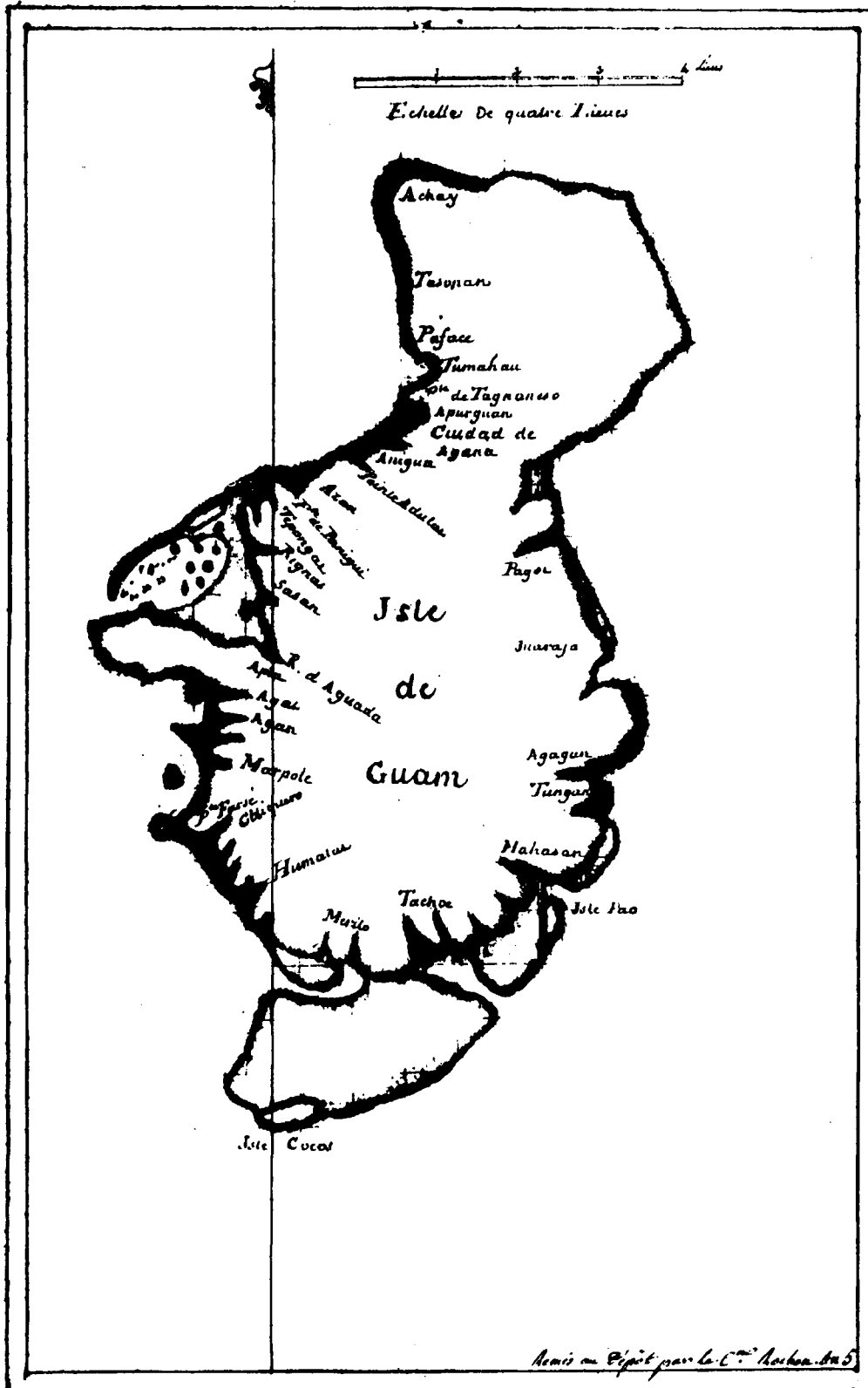
des Mariannes. Nous étions pour lors hors de toutes inquiétudes, car nous nous trouvions dans la route que tiennent les galions de Manille.

Dans l'espace de mer que nous avons parcouru depuis les Isles voisines de celles de Rotterdam et Amsterdam, nous avons vu continuellement des oiseaux de terre, comme corbigeaux, plusieurs dorés, Bécassines &c. et d'autres indices comme des goémons, et des troncs, et branches d'arbres.

Enfin le 20. de Septembre, nous eumes connaissance des Isles Mariannes dans le Nord Ouest. C'était l'Isle de Rotam [sic] qui est dans le Nord vingt deux degrés [rather minutes] est de celle de Guaham. Nous vîmes l'après midi cette dernière, dans l'ouest à quatorze ou quinze lieues de distance. Nous fîmes route pour en approcher. Elle est fort haute, bien boisée, et entourée de récifs; les vents qui devinrent contraires ne nous permirent d'enter dans le port que le vingt six. Nous fîmes presque le tour de l'isle pour y parvenir.

Le 26 nous amarames dans le Port St-Louis situé par treize degrés vingt huit minutes Nord, et par cent quarante et un degrés de longitude à l'Est de Paris. Ce port est grand, mais peu sûr, outre qu'il est plein de hauts fonds qui sont des plateaux de corail. Le fonds en général y est mauvais.

La ville qui est très peu de chose, en est éloignée de trois lieues: Le Gouverneur espagnol y fait sa résidence: celui d'alors se nommoit Mariano de Tobiase [sic]; il nous a très bien reçus et avec tous les égards possibles, et les procédés les plus honnêtes, il nous a procuré tous les secours dont nous pouvions avoir besoin; nos équipages qui étaient en partie mourants du scorbut, furent envoyés à la ville pour s'y rétablir. L'air sain qu'on y respire et les bons aliments ne tarderent pas à les remettre en bon état. Nous restâmes près de deux mois dans cet endroit. Il seroit superflu d'entreprendre de rien dire sur les moeurs des naturels du pays, ny sur le climat, sur les productions de la terre, non plus que sur les ressources qu'on y trouve. M. Anson qui les appelle à juste titre les Isles Fortunées en donne une description exacte et fidèle, et conséquemment de l'arbre de pain qui est une des plus précieuses productions de ces Isles, et qui fournit un aliment aussi sain, et aussi bon que le meilleur pain. Cet arbre ne se reproduit point par graines. Il faut pour le multiplier planter des rejets que l'on trouve au pied de chaque arbre. J'en avais fait encaisser environ cent, qui étoient couchés et couverts de terre dans trois caisses. Ces plants se sont conservés environ quatre mois, mais comme j'ai été un temps plus considérable à me rendre à l'Isle de France, ils se sont gâtés. Ce seroit un présent à faire aux isles de France et de Bourbon qui ne sont que trop sujettes à des disettes contre lesquels cet arbre leur seroit d'une grande ressource, si comme le gouverneur Espagnol me l'a assuré les vents les plus violents ne lui font aucun mal, non plus qu'au fruit qui leur résiste à raison de sa queue qui est très courte et très grosse: Cette nourriture d'ailleurs est meilleure que le Maïs et le Manioc. Ce seroit un vrai trésor pour ces Isles puisque l'arbre résiste aux plus forts ouragans. Il seroit très facile de l'y apporter puisqu'il ne faudroit tout au plus que deux mois pour se rendre des Isles Mariannes aux nôtres; et si on réussissoit à l'y faire fructifier et multiplier, ce seroit peut être un don plus précieux et plus utile que le girofle, la muscade, puisqu'il n'y auroit plus par ce



(Facing page:) **Chart of the Island of Guam, by Captain Crozet, 1772.** *Captain Crozet gave it to Abbé Rochon, his editor, who eventually turned it over to the Hydrographic Office of the Navy of the Republican Government of France. The note at the bottom records this gift: "Remitted to the Office by Comrade Rochon, Year 5," which was the year 1797-98.*

moyen de disettes à craindre. Il seroit a souhaiter que le Gouvernement fut informé de toutes ces choses. Je ne fais aucun doute qu'il ne les prit en considération et qu'il ne cherchât à tirer parti pour nos Isles d'une découverte qui pourroit leur être de la plus grande conséquence, et de la plus grande utilité.

Le 19 Novembre nous appareillames pour nous rendre à Manille. Le Gouverneur avait en la complaisance de nous donner un pilote pour le détroit des Bernardines. Nous fûmes valoir la route le Ouest quelques degrés vers le Nord pour nous y rendre, et le 28 nous eûmes connaissance des Isles Philippines. Le 29 nous étions dans le détroit; nous n'en sortîmes que le 6. de Decembre, et le 9 nous mouillâmes en rade du Port de Cavite situé dans la baie de Manille.

*Nous fûmes aussi bien reçu en cet endroit que nous l'avions été à Guaham. On nous donna tous les secours dont nous avons besoin tant pour remâter le **Castries**, que pour carêner et radouber notre vaisseau qui étoit très endommagé et qui avoit plusieurs voies d'eau; cela nous occupa pendant trois mois que nous y séjournâmes.*

Enfin le 9 mars 1773, nous mîmes sous voiles pour nous rendre à l'Isle de France. On dirigea la route pour passer par le détroit de Banca et de la Sonde; et le 7 May nous mouillâmes en rade du Port Louis à l'Isle de France, d'où nous étions parti au mois d'octobre mil sept cent soixante et onze.

Translation.

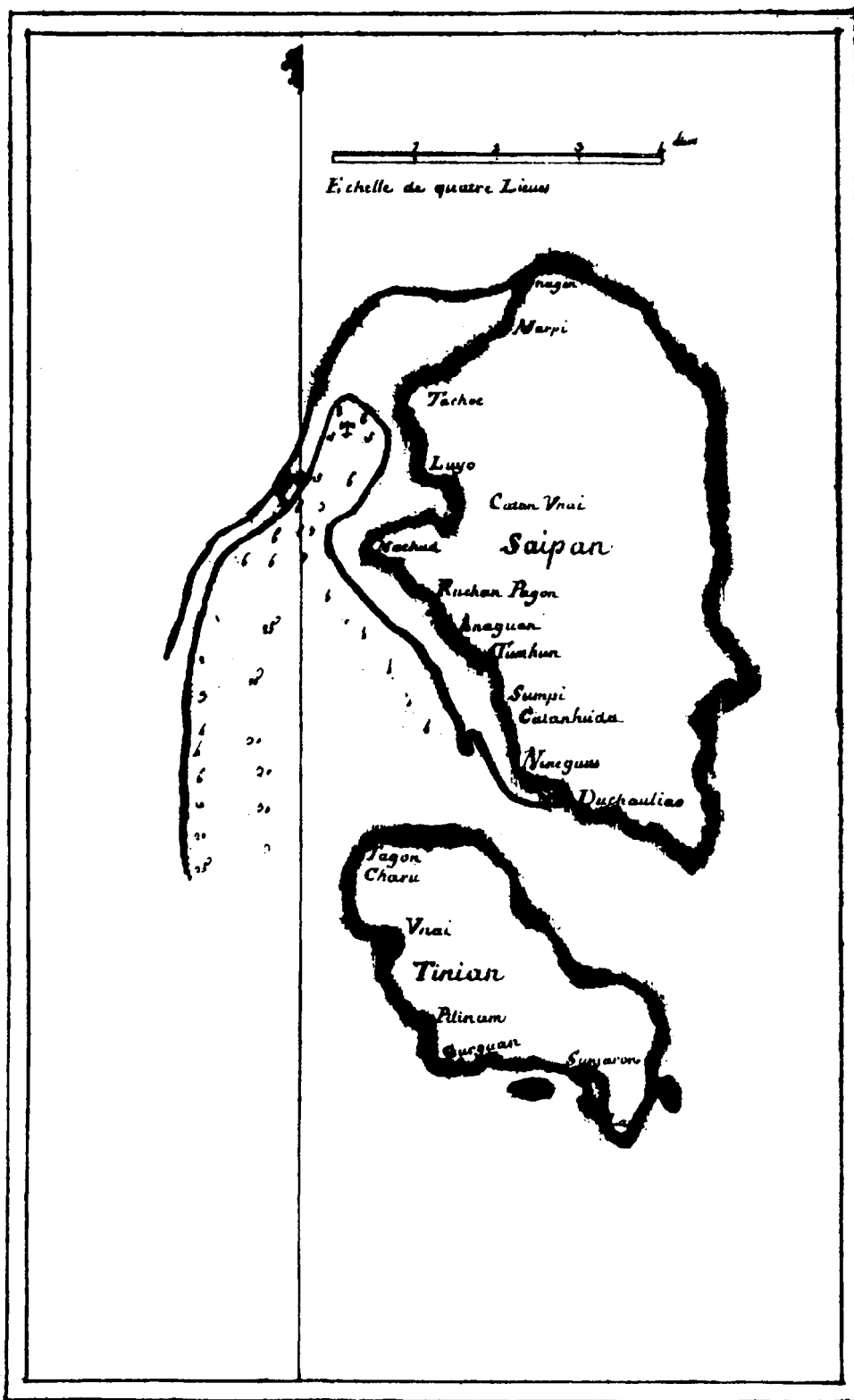
N° 18. [Title on cover:] **The ships Mascarin and Castries, commanded by Mr. Marion, from Mauritius Island to Madagascar, to New Zealand, to the Marion Islands, to Guaham, to Manila, and back to Mauritius Island.**

[Title inside:] Journal of the voyage undertaken aboard His Majesty's ship **Mascarin**, under the command of Mr. Marion, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, Fireship Captain; in company with the store-ship **Marquis de Castries**, to make the voyage to the Island of Tahiti, or Cythère, Island, and go to the exploration of the Austral lands, by way of New Holland, to New Zealand, etc.

By Mr. Jean Roux, Lieutenant aboard said ship **Mascarin**.

On 18 October 1771, we set sail from Mauritius Island and headed for the Cape of Good Hope, where Mr. Marion was to take on food supplies to continue the voyage.

...



(Facing page:) **Chart of Saipan and Tinian by Captain Crozet, 1772.** *Abbé Rochon turned it over to the Government at Paris in 1798, along with the previous chart to which it was attached.*

On the 30th, smallpox broke on the person of Boutavery who was the islander that we had to take back to his country, Tahiti, from where he had been taken by Mr. Bougainville who brought him to France.

...

[They arrived at New Zealand on 25 March, and left on 13 July.]

...

On the 11th [July 1772], we were ready to leave. The store-ship **Castries** had a new mast. On that same day, a council was held, to discuss the route that would be appropriate to follow after leaving this port. Given our situation and our needs, we had not found among the papers of Mr. Marion any plan; his instructions could not therefore guide us, since Boutavery, the native of Tahiti, or Cerbère, Island whom we were to bring back home, had died, so that we were left with the choice of going, either to Chili or to Manila. Mr. Marion had managed to get a passport from the Spanish court to visit those places. Our losses in men, anchors, cables, rigging, and masts, plus the bad condition of our crews, a large number of whom were still affected by scurvy, had made it impossible for us to continue our explorations. All of these disadvantages made us decide to head for Manila, by way of Rotterdam and Amsterdam Islands, from where we would seek the Manila galleon route, to make a stopover at Guahan, the capital of the Mariana Islands, in order to take on food supplies there, and a coastal pilot for the Strait of San Bernardino.

[Buried treasure]

On the 12th, a party was sent ashore to bury a bottle on Marion Island, inside which had been placed the coat-of-arms of France and the act taking possession of the whole country which we named Austral France. This bottle is buried four feet underground, at 50 paces from the seashore, reckoning from the high water mark, and 10 paces from the brook. This bottle was buried with all the necessary precautions. During the day we were busy with the preparations for sailing tomorrow morning; the sails were hung on the yards, and the anchors were hove short, ready for departure.¹

Departure from Port Marion situated at 35 degrees of latitude south and 172 degrees and 30 minutes of longitude east of Paris.

On the 13th at 8 in the morning we set sail with a weak wind from S to SE. We used the western pass, through which we had entered. When we had reached the high sea,

¹ Ed. note: In 1999, I revealed this "secret" to Professor Ballendorf of the University of Guam who was then spending a few months in New Zealand, but the project to recover this time capsule led to nothing then.

we steered North East, as the wind did not allow us to more eastward than that; it was variable from SE to NE until the 17th when it blew from North. On the 20th, it veered to West and we pursued our route to the NE, until the 31st when we then steered North in order to reach the latitude of Rotterdam and Amsterdam Islands, which Abel Tasman places at 21 degrees and 1/2 of latitude South.

On the 2nd of August, being on the latitude of said Islands, we headed West. For the last three days, we had the tradewinds that were weak and variable all the way to East.

Finally on the 6th we sighted many islands that were seven in number, ranging from W 22° S to N 33° W. We saw many more after that.

...

Incidentally, we no longer sailed with as much confidence as when Mr. Marion was alive. It seems that the slightest thing would become a phantom. The man who had replaced him as commander¹ did not dare make decisions; the slightest difficulty would make him nervous. For the rest of the day the weather remained stormy, and the wind southerly, rather strong. By noon, the decision had been made to get away from these islands, and to continue our route toward the Mariana Islands. This small difficulty had caused him to change the decision to seek Rotterdam and Amsterdam Islands...

...

Finally, on the 9th, although the weather was fine, a council was held to decide on the desirability of, either abandoning them, or looking for an anchorage, but two-thirds of the senior officers were of the opinion that we should not stop. This was not my opinion, nor that of some others; we recommended that it would be easy to sail along the western shores of these islands...

...

On the 13th, we headed North West, in order to cross the equator by about 175 degrees of longitude.

On the 23rd, we passed the line by 177 degrees East of Paris, the winds being from SE, or tradewinds, pushed us as far as 7 degrees north, where we met with variable winds. As far as the general or NE winds were concerned, we found them two days later, which was September 1st.

We pursued our route to the N 11° W until we reached 14° N, where we steered due West, in order to maintain ourselves between 14° and 13°30' of latitude, which is that of the Island of Guaham, the capital of the Marianas. We were then without any worry, because we found ourselves on the route followed by the Manila galleons.

Within the space of ocean that we had sailed through since the islands in the vicinity of Rotterdam and Amsterdam Islands, we had continuously seen land birds, such as "corbigeaux," many golden birds, snipes, etc. as well as other signs such as seaweeds and flotsam like trees and branches.

Finally on the 29th of September we sighted the Mariana Islands in the northwest. It was the Island of Rota which is 22 degrees [rather minutes] north of the Island of

1 Ed. note: He refers to Captain Duclesmeur, who was but a 22-year-old nobleman.

Guaham. In the afternoon, we spotted the latter toward the west. We steered to get close to it. It is very high, well wooded, and surrounded by reefs. The winds that became contrary did not allow us to make it into the port until the 26th. We almost circled the whole island to reach it.

On the 26th we moored within Port San Luís, situated in 13°28' North and 141° of longitude East of Paris. This port is big, but not too safe; besides, it is full of shoals that are coral flats. The bottom is generally bad.

The town, which is not big, is distant three leagues from it. The Spanish Governor resides there. The name of the then-Governor was Mariano de Tobias. He made us very welcome, showing us all the possible attentions and the most honorable of proceedings. He provided all of the succor that we could have needed. Our crews who were partly dying of scurvy were sent to the town to be cured. The healthy air that one can breathe there and the good food were sufficient to make them recover their good health without delay. We remained almost two months at this place. It would be superfluous to add anything about the customs of the local natives, nor about the climate, the local products, or even the resources to be found locally, because Mr. Anson, who rightly called them the Fortunate Islands, gives an exact and faithful description of them, and consequently, of the breadfruit tree which is one the most precious products of these Islands, one that provides a rather healthy food, as good as the best bread. This tree does not reproduce itself by seeds. To propagate it, one must replant the shoots that grow at the foot of every tree. I had ordered about 100 of these shoots placed in crates; they were laid down and covered with earth inside three crates. These shoots lasted about four months, but since it took me much more time to reach Maritius Islands, they were all spoiled. They would be a wonderful gift to make to Mauritius and Réunion Islands, which are affected too much by famine, against which this tree would be a great resource, if it is true, what the Spanish Governor has told me, that the strongest of winds do not damage it, nor do they damage its fruit which resists them, by virtue of its tail which is very short and very big. Incidentally, this food is better than corn and cassava. It would be a real resource for these Islands, since the tree resists the strongest hurricanes. It would be very easy to bring it over, since the voyage from the Mariana Islands to our islands would take only two months; and if success could be obtained in making it survive and multiply, it would be a much better gift than cloves and nutmeg, since there would no longer be any reason to fear famine. It would be desirable for the Government to be advised of all of these things. I have no doubt that it would consider this information useful and would take care to take advantage of this discovery for our Islands, one that would be of great consequence for them, and most useful too.

On the 19 November, we set sail to go to Manila. The Governor had been good enough to give us a pilot for the Strait of San Bernardino. We steered West some degrees North in order to get there, and on the 28th we sighted the Philippine Islands. On the 29th we entered the strait, and did not leave it until the 6th of December, but on the 9th we anchored in the harbor of the Port of Cavite situated within Manila Bay.

Plan du Port de Guam



Acquis au Dépôt pour le Com^{te} d'Ardenne,
 le 18 Mars 1817 par M. B.

- A. Pointe de l'Est.
- B. Fort de l'Est.
- C. Fort de l'Ouest.
- D. Fort de l'Est (Nouveau fort) & le fort de l'Ouest (Nouveau fort).
- E. Fort de l'Est.
- F. Fort de l'Ouest.
- G. Fort de l'Est.
- H. Fort de l'Ouest.
- I. Fort de l'Est.
- J. Fort de l'Ouest.
- K. Fort de l'Est.
- L. Fort de l'Ouest.
- M. Fort de l'Est.
- N. Fort de l'Ouest.
- O. Fort de l'Est.
- P. Fort de l'Ouest.
- Q. Fort de l'Est.
- R. Fort de l'Ouest.
- S. Fort de l'Est.
- T. Fort de l'Ouest.
- U. Fort de l'Est.
- V. Fort de l'Ouest.
- W. Fort de l'Est.
- X. Fort de l'Ouest.
- Y. Fort de l'Est.
- Z. Fort de l'Ouest.

(Facing page:) **Chart of the Port of Guam, by Captain Duclesmeur and Captain Crozet, 1772.** *According to the note at the bottom, this chart was also given by Comrade Rochon to the Hydrographic Office on "3 Thermidor, an 5," a date on the French Republican calendar which corresponds to 24 July 1798. (SH Port. 175 div 11 p. 9).*

The legend, in French, reads as follows, and means:

A Pointe de Rota: Rota [rather Orote] Point.

B Isle aux chèvres: Isla de Cabras [i.e. Goat Island].

C Récif qui couvre et découvre: Reef that is covered at high tide.

D Récif qui ne découvre point et sur lequel la mer brise du sud au N.: Reef that remains underwater and upon which the sea breaks from south to north.

E Fort St. Louis: Fort San Luís.

F Récif sur lequel il y a 3 brasses d'eau en basse Mer: Reef upon which there are 3 fathoms of water at low tide.

H Bancs de corail sur lesquels il ne reste que 2(?) brasses d'eau en basse mer: Coral shoals upon which there are only 2(?) fathoms of water at low tide.

J Rivières d'eau douce dans lesquelles les bateaux vont faire de l'eau: Rivers with potable water, used as watering places by the ship's boats.

M Petit village: Small village [Its name was Apra].

N Route des bateaux pour aller à la ville: Route taken by the boats to go to the town.

O Endroit où une frégate espagnole était ancrée et où il peut tenir en sureté deux vaisseaux: Place where a Spanish frigate was anchored and where two vessels can hold in safety. [The patache may have been the Rosario].

P Endroit où nous étions ancrés. La superficie du fond est de petit coquillage brisé qu'il faut faire attention quand on ancre dans cet endroit de faire garnir les cables de peur qu'ils ne se coupent sur le fond: Place where we were anchored. The surface of the bottom is small shell, broken. One must be careful, upon anchoring at this place, to protect the cables so that they will not cut themselves on the bottom.

--- Les lignes ponctuées, en rouge, indiquent les routes d'entrée et de sortie: The dotted lines, in red, show the routes taken to come in and leave.

We were as well received here as we had been at the Island of Guaham. We were given all the help required to get a new mast for the **Castries**, to careen and repair our ship which was very damaged and leaked at many places; This work kept us busy for the three months that we remained there.

Finally, on 9 March 1773, we set sail to return to Mauritius Island. We planned our route so as to pass by the Strait of Banca and Sunda, and on 7 May we anchored within the harbor of Port Louis at Mauritius Island, where we had departed from during the month of October 1771.

A4. The narrative of the Spanish pilot, Agustín de Ibarra, who guided the French ships to Manila

Source: RAH Col. Muñoz, Vol. A65 (Tomo 23 del Catálogo), folios 239-240.

Original text in Spanish.

Capítulo de carta de el Piloto don Agustín de Ibarra, que llevó a los Franceses desde Marianas hasta Manila en 1772.

El día 26 de Septiembre de 772, recalaron sobre la Isla de Guajam dos Fragatas de Guerra franceses, y anduvieron dando varios bordos sobre dichas sin poder determinar arrimarse a ninguna parte de la Isla por no traer ninguno que les dirigiere [h]asta que se determinaron mandar el bote con un oficial en tierra, y los recibió Don Mariano Thovias en Umata donde dho oficial le hizo relacion en el estado que venian con toda la gente enferma de escorbuto, y que era preciso tomar puerto en dha isla para convalescer su tripulacion para seguir su viaje hasta Manila; el día siguiente fui yo despachado por mi Capitan a pedimento del Sr. Gobernador para dirigirlos al Puerto de Apra, y habiendo llegado a bordo del Comandante me halle con seis hombres sobre la cubierta sin otra tripulacion, y solo tres o quatro oficiales y todo[s] los demas de oficiales, y tripulacion se hallaban imposibilitados del escorbuto, y en la misma suerte se hallaba la otra Fragata. Inmediatamente puse la proa para el Puerto de Apra, y a la[s] diez de la noche dí fondo dentro de la Punta de Orote con todas las velas arriba hasta que aseguré el fondo, y luego con oficiales, y la poca marineria que se hallaba algo buena se aferraron las velas; al otro día fue preciso traer la gente de nuestro patache y gente de tierra para ponerles en paraje seguro, y se desembarcaron de las dos Fragatas ciento veinte y cinco hombres con muchos oficiales todos moribundos; y a los quince días andaban ya parandose(?) del todo buenos pues esta prompta mejoría se atribuye al buen temperamento y cosas frescas como naranjas, y limones, y la buena carne que se les suministraba, pues el Sr. Gov. se esmeró en darles una hospitalidad como nuestra nación propia.

Estas dichas fragatas salieron de la Isla de Mauricio, y habiendo [word missing? recalado?] en el Cabo de Buena Esperanza, salieron a descubrir al S. y por los 42 grados. Los cogió un tiempo sobre unas islas, y forzejeando de vela tuvo la desgracia el Comandante de perder el palo de trinquete, y siguiendo el tiempo se hallaron sobre unas tierras de mucha extension que se nombra la Nueva Zelandia que se halla en 37 grados S y reconoiento la costa hallaron un puesto muy famoso, y seguro donde aseguraron sus fragatas; al día siguiente se aparecieron varias embarcaciones muy bien construidas con treinta ó quarenta hombres de remos, y haciendo algunas señas se arrimaron a las fragatas aunque con algun temor, y acariciandolos subieron abordo, y dandoles algunas cosillas como sarcillos, y sortijas los estimaron mucho, y se fueron a tierra muy amigos, y al otro día acudieron muchas embarcaciones con pescado fresco. Y así se fueron haciendo tan amigos que les ayudaron a poner su tienda de campaña en tierra, y al mismo tiempo los dirigieron a buscar su palo de trinquete que hallaron a

medida de su deseo pues hay palos para arbolardurar de superior calidad, y al mes que estaban ya en dho puerto salió un día el Comandante que se llamaba Mr. Marion, equipada la lancha con veinte marineros, y tres oficiales a cazar, y estaban en una envoscada como trescientos naturales, y así que los vieron que estaban en buen paraje para hazer el asesinato se echaron sobre ellos, y fueron todos atasajeados. Solo un marinero se pudo escapar a nado muy mal herido de un dardo, y habiendo hecho relación el marinero al segundo comandante dispusieron un desembarque de doscientos hombres con tropa, y marineros, y habiendo recorrido la costa no hallaron a su comandante ni a ninguno de los demas ni muertos ni vivos, y asimismo la lancha pero veían sobre las cumbres de los montes mucho número de gente, y siguiendo una vereda encontraron dos pueblos de muchas casas cercadas de tres andanas de estaqueria muy gruesa con fosos, y sus puentes, y aqui mataron alguna gente que se pusieron a resistir pero así que vieron que desde lejos les mataban breve abandonaron sus pueblos a los que inmediatamente les pegaron fuego, y los convirtieron en ceniza, y se retiraron a sus fragatas llevando su tienda de campaña, y todos los pertrechos que tenían en tierra, ya perdidas las esperanzas de traer su palo de trinquete se determinaron a hazerla abordo con sus masteleros, y gimelgas y habiendo concluido su faena, y arbolado su palo de trinquete tomaron la derrota a pasar al de la parte del N. por que perdieron las esperanzas de poder seguir su expedicion; los naturales de dha tierra son muy corpulentos, y de buenas facciones aunque la color es quebrada como a Indio, el mujerio muy bajas de estatura algo blancas, las armas de dhos naturales son unas varas largas hecho de arpon en la punta, y como un palmo dentro medio quebrada que así como le da a la persona se queda dentro aquel pedazo de arpon, sus campilanes son de piedra muy bien hechas, y así mismo todas las herramientas que trabajan sus embarcaciones. La dicha piedra parece como de toque.

Translation.

On 26 September 1772, two French warships sighted the Island of Guajan and they tacked back and forth along it, being unable to decide at what point of the island they should touch, because there was no-one on board to guide them, until they decided to send the boat ashore with one officer. Don Mariano Tobías made them welcome at Umata where said officer gave him a report on the condition of the ships with all the men on board suffering from scurvy, and that it was necessary to make port in said island for the recuperation of the crew, in order to continue their voyage to Manila.

The next day I was despatched by my Captain,¹ at the request of His Lordship the Governor, to guide them to the Port of Apra. When I reached the deck, I found myself with only six men on deck, and no crew, but only three or four officers, as the rest of the officers and crew were then incapacitated by scurvy, and the other frigate found herself with the same luck. Immediately, I pointed the bow toward the port of Apra and at 10 at night I anchored within Orote Point with all the sails up, until I had made

1 Ed. note: Ibarra was then pilot of the patache Rosario that had come from Manila.

sure of the bottom, and then, with officers and the few sailors who were somewhat alright, the sails were furled.

The next day, it was necessary to bring men from our patache and from shore to place them in a safe neighborhood, and 125 men were taken off the two frigates, with many officers, all dying, but within 15 days they walked around, already pairing off(?), and completely cured; indeed, their prompt recovery was attributed to the good climate and fresh things, such as oranges, lemons, and the good meat that they were supplied with. In fact, His Lordship the Governor outshone in giving them a hospitality, as if they had been people of our own nationality.

These two frigates had left Mauritius Island, and having [touched at] the Cape of Good Hope, they went south to explore as far as 42 degrees. Bad weather hit them near some islands, and as they were forcing their sails, the Commander had the misfortune of losing his foremast. While the bad weather continued, they found themselves in sight of some vast lands named New Zealand that is found in 37 degrees S and as they were following the coast, they found a terrific port, and a safe one, where they made their frigates secure. The next day, various vessels appeared; they were very well built, with from 30 to 40 men at the oars, and as they were making some signs they tied alongside the frigates, although with some fear. And, as they were inviting them in, they climbed aboard, and were given a few small things, such as beads and rings which they esteemed very much. They were in very good terms when they went ashore.

The next day many vessels came to visit them, with fresh fish, and so, they were so friendly that they helped them put up their field tent on shore, and at the same time they guided them when they went looking for a foremast. They found one to suit their desire; indeed, there are trees there to provide masts of superior quality.

After they had been there one month, the Commander, whose name was Mr. Marion, went off one day with the launch, manned by 20 sailors and three officers, to hunt, but they fell into an ambush formed by about 300 natives, who, as soon as they saw that they were in the right place to carry out their murder, threw themselves upon them, and they were all slashed to pieces. Only one sailor managed to escape by swimming, though he had been very badly wounded by a dart. As soon as this sailor related the incident to the second commander, they arranged for a landing of 200 men, soldiers and sailors. But although they covered the coast, they did not find their commander nor anyone of the others, neither dead nor alive, and the launch was nowhere in sight, but they could see on top of the hills a large number of people. By following a trail, they found two villages with many houses, surrounded by three rows of stockades with thick posts, complete with ditches, and their bridges. Here they killed a few people who made some opposition, but as soon as they realized that they were being killed from afar, they promptly abandoned their villages to those who immediately set them on fire, and converted them to ashes, before withdrawing to their frigates, taking along the field tent, and all of the equipment that had been ashore, as they had already lost any hope of recuperating their foremast. They decided to make one on board, using topmasts, and

fish-pieces. Having finished their chores, and put up their foremast, they set course northward, because they had lost hope of being able to pursue their expedition.

The natives of said land are very corpulent, and with good features, although their color is broken [sic], like that of an Indian; their women are very short and somewhat whiter. The weapons of said natives are some long sticks with the tip shaped like a harpoon, which is half-broken at about half a palm from the tip, such that if they hit a person with it, that piece of harpoon remains inside. Their swords [rather tomahawks] are made of stone, very well made, and so too all of their tools that they use on their vessels. Said stone appears like a knocker [or bell ringer?].¹

1 Ed. note: There is no indication by Muñoz of where he obtained this extract of Ibarra's letter. In Vol. A-118 (now 9/4853), i.e. Tome 73 of the Catalog, there are 2 folios about these two French frigates and their discoveries.



Document 1772B

Maps of Guam, Tinian and Saipan, circa 1772

Source: Fray Juan de la Concepción, ORSA. Historia general de las Philipinas, 14 volumes (Manila & Sampaloc, 1788-1792); in vol VII, between pages 145 & 146.

Notes: The map of Guam was presented in the Guam Recorder, May and June 1938.

Possible origin of these two maps.

My theory as to the origin of these maps is in connection with the Duclesmeur expedition of 1772, the one that visited Guam, and then Manila, and was piloted by Ibarra between these two places, the same expedition which the English wrongly call the Crozet Expedition. Such maps were kept as personal reference among the pilots at Manila, specially those plying the route of the Marianas patache, between Manila and Guam. One manuscript set was carried by the Frenchmen to France (see Doc. 1772A). Another set had earlier been taken to England by Englishmen (see Doc. 1763A).

Place-names on Guam, or Guajan, capital of the Marianas

From north to south, counter-clockwise, with alternative names, or modern equivalents:

- Achay; or Achae;
- Tasonan; misprint for Fasonan, just north of preent-day Falcona;
- Faface; or Fafac;
- Tumuhun; misprint for Tumhun, now Tumon;
- Punta de Tagnaneso; now Ipao Point, or the one next to it;
- Apursuan; misprint for Apurguan;
- Ciudad de Agaña; city of Agaña, also Agadña;
- Anisua; misprint for Anigua, also Aniguag;
- Adulut; misprint for Adelup;
- Azan; or Asan;
- Punta de Panigui; rather Paniqui Point, now Asan Point;
- Teponsat; misprint for Tepungan, or Tupungan;
- Riguas; or Rigua;
- Sasan; or Sasa;



- Rio de Aguada; means River of the Watering Place;
- Apra;
- Agat; the old site, not the modern one;
- Agan; rather Gaan;
- Marpole; rather Magpo, or Marpo;
- Punta de Farfe; misprint for Facpi Point;
- Chiguero; misprint for Chiquero, which simply means Piggery in Spanish, obviously a land-mark of the 1770s;
- Umata; or Umatac;
- Merizo;
- Tachoc; or Tachog;
- Isla de Cocos; Cocos Island (formerly Dano I.);
- Isla de Paa (near former village of Paa); now As Gadao I.;
- Ahasan; misprint for Hahayan, or Ajayan;
- Tungan; misprint for Toguan; now Dongua;
- Acfayan; or Agfayan;
- Inaraja; or Inarahan;
- Pagot; rather Pago, not Pagat, which was further up the coast.

The legend on the scale reads: “Escala de 5 Leguas Francesas,” which means: Scale of 5 French leagues, a clue as to its provenance (i.e. the Duclesmeur expedition).

The name of the Manila engraver is given as “Phel. Sevilla, Sc[ulpsit],” i.e. Felipe Sevilla, possibly a Filipino Indian.

Place-names on Saipan

Note: See HM8: 95 for place-names of 1684.

From north to south, with alternative names, or modern equivalents:

- Inaeyen; misprint for Inapsen. or Inagen;
- Marpi;
- Tachoc;
- Lugo; misprint for Luyo, which means ginger in Filipino);
- Catan Unay; simply means Windward Beach in Chamorro;¹
- Muchud; misprint for Muchot;
- Ruchanpagon; which means Leeward, or Downwind, Pagon;
- Anaguan;
- Tumhun;
- Sumpi; misprint for Susupi, also Susupe;
- Catanhuda; which means Windward Huda, or Hutda originally;
- Ninesuas; misprint for Nineguas(?)

¹ Remember that the ancient Chamorros used geographical directions with respect to the coastline where they were (see Doc. 1671Q in HM5).

—Ruchanliao; which means Leeward Liao; formerly Araiao;

It is strange that the other famous names of Agingan, Opian, etc. are no longer recorded on such a map.

Place-names on Tinian

From north to south, with alternative names, or modern equivalents:

- Tagon;
- Churo; derived from Chiro, later Chelo, which means Brother in Chamorro;
- Unay; simply means Beach, not really a place-name, but original name has been lost to history;
- Pilinan; or Pilinum, a name since lost;
- Gursuan; misprint for Gurguan;
- Sunjaron; or Sunharon;
- Lao; misprint for Lalo.

Document 1772C

**Secondary account about Major Tobías, etc.
by the French author, Abbé Raynal**

Sources: Abbé Guillaume Thomas François Raynal. Histoire philosophique et politique des établissemens... (later editions only); translated into English by J. O. Justamond and published in several editions, in London and Dublin, as of 1776 (see Bibliography); it was translated into German also.

Note: Abbé Raynal never travelled to the places that he described. Regarding the Philippines and the Marianas, he seems to have relied upon the published narratives of LeGobien, LeGentil, Pagès, and Crozet, perhaps also information gotten from the French Marquis de Croix, who had been Viceroy of New Spain.

Extract from the third English edition of 1783**History of settlements and trade in the East and West Indies.—
Book VI.**

...
The [eastward] voyage [of the Manila galleon] lasts six months, because the vessel is over-stocked with men and merchandise, and that all those who are on board are a set of timid navigators, who never make but little way during the night-time, and often, though without necessity, make none at all.

The port of Acapulco where the vessel arrives, hath two inlets, separated from each other by a small island: the entrance into them in the day is by means of a sea-breeze, and the sailing out in the night-time is effected by a land-breeze. It is defended only by a bad fort, fifty soldiers, forty-two pieces of cannon, and thirty-two of the corps of artillery. It is equally extensive, safe, and commodious. The basin which forms this beautiful harbour is surrounded by lofty mountains, which are so dry, that they are even destitute of water. Four hundred families of Chinese, Mulattoes, and Negroes, which compose three companies of militia, are the only persons accustomed to breathe the air of this place, which is burning, heavy, and unwholesome. The number of inhabitants in this feeble and miserable colony is considerably increased upon the arrival of the galleons, by the merchants from all the provinces of Mexico, who come to exchange their silver and their cochineal, for the spices, muslins, china, printed linens, silks, perfumes, and gold works of Asia.

At this market, the fraud impudently begun in the Old World, is as impudently completed in the New. The statutes have limited the sale to 2,700,000 [French] pounds, but it exceeds 10,800,000 pounds.¹ All the money produced by these exchanges should give then per cent, to the government: but they are deprived of three-fourths of the revenue which they ought to collect from their customs, by false entries.

After staying here about three months, the galleon resumes its course to the Philippine islands, with a few companies of infantry, destined to recruit the garrison of Manila. This vessel hath been intercepted in its passage three times by the English. It was taken in 1587 by Cavendish, in 1709 by Rogers, and in 1742 [rather 1743] by Anson. The least part of the riches with which it is laden remains in the colony; the rest is distributed among the nations which had contributed to form its cargo.

The long passage which the galleons had to make, hath made it a desirable thing to have a port where they might refit and take in refreshments. Such a port was found on the road from Acapulco to the Philippines, in an Archipelago known by the name of the Mariana Islands.

Description of the Mariana Islands. Singularities that have been observed in them.

These islands form a chain which extends from the 13th to the 22nd degree. Several of them are nothing more than rocks; but there are nine of them which are of some extent. There it is that nature, in all her richness and beauty, displays a perpetual verdure; abounds in flowers of exquisite odour, in waters as clear as crystal, falling into cascades; in trees loaded with flowers and fruits at the same time, and in picturesque situations which art will never imitate.

In this Archipelago, which is situated under the torrid zone, the air is pure, the sky serene, and the climate temperate.

It was formerly inhabited by numbers of people, the origin of whom nothing remains to indicate. They were undoubtedly thrown on these coasts by some storm; but this event must have happened so long ago, that they had forgotten their origin, and thought themselves the only inhabitants of the globe.

Some customs, most of them similar to those of the other savages of the South Sea, serve them instead of a form of worship, of a code of laws, and of a system of government. They passed their days in perpetual indolence, and it was to the bananas, to the cocoa nuts, and especially to the *rima*, that they owed this misfortune or advantage.

The *Rima*, mentioned by some travellers under the name of the bread-tree, is not yet well known to the botanists. It is a tree, the stem of which, that is high and straight, is divided towards its top into several branches. Its leaves are alternate, large, firm, thick, and deeply sinuated towards their lateral edges. The youngest of them, before they unfold themselves, are inclosed in a membrane which dries up, and when it falls, leaves a circular impression round the stem. They yield, as well as the other parts of the tree, a very viscous, milky fluid. From the axilla of the superior leaves, a spongy substance is

1 112,500 [English] pounds, and 250,000 [English] pounds respectively.

produced, six inches in length, and covered all over with male flowers, very close to each other. Lower down, other substances are found, loaded with female flowers, the pistil of which becomes an elongated berry filled with a kernel. These berries, which are supported upon one common axis, are so close to each other, that they are confounded, and form, by their assemblage, a very large fruit, ten inches in length, and beset with thick, short, and blunted points. It appears that there are two species, or varieties of the *Rima*. The fruit of one of them is pulpy on the inside, and full of kernels, which are good for eating, and which have the figure and taste of the chesnut. The fruit of the other species is smaller: it hath no kernels, because these come to nothing when it is perfectly ripe. The pulp of it is soft, sweetish, and unwholesome. But when it is gathered a little before it is ripe, it hath the taste of the artichoke, and is eaten as bread, from whence it hath been called the Bread fruit. Those who wish to keep it one or more years, cut it into slices, and dry it in the oven, or in the sun.

There are three things which appear worthy of remark in the history of the Mariana Islands.

The use of fire was totally unknown there.¹ None of those terrible volcanoes, the destructive traces of which are indelibly marked on the face of the globe; none of those celestial phenomena which frequently light up devouring and unexpected flames in all climates; none of those fortunate occurrences, which by friction or collision, extract brilliant sparks from such a number of bodies; nothing, in a word, had given the peaceable inhabitants of the Mariana Islands the least idea of an element so familiar to other nations. It was necessary that the resentment of the first Spaniards that arrived upon these savage coasts, should burn some hundreds of their huts, in order to make them acquainted with it.

This use of fire was little calculated to give them a favourable idea of it, or to make them wish to see it appear again. Accordingly, they took it for an animal which fixed itself to the wood, and fed upon it. Those whom their ignorance of so new an object had induced to come near it, having burnt themselves, their cries inspired the rest with terror, so that they did not dare to look at it but at a great distance. They dreaded the bite of this wild beast, whom they thought capable of wounding them by the mere violence of its respiration. They recovered, however, by degrees, from the confirmation with which they had been seized: their mistake was gradually removed, and they at length accustomed themselves to the use of this valuable advantage, of which all other known people had been in possession, from time immemorial.²

Another circumstance worthy of attention is, the superiority which the weaker sex had assumed over the stronger in the Mariana Islands. Such was their ascendant, that the women there enjoyed unlimited power in their families: that nothing could be parted with without their consent, and that they had the free disposal of every thing; that in

1 Ed. note: A ridiculous notion that continues to be propagated.

2 Ed. note: The foregoing is the mainly fictional text that impressed so many English authors unfavorably against the ancient Chamorros.

no instance, even that of infidelity publicly acknowledged, it was permitted to be wanting in the attentions that were due to them; that how little soever they themselves might judge their husbands to be deficient in mildness, complaisance, and submission, they were at liberty to make a new choice; and that if they thought themselves betrayed, they might pillage the hut, and cut down the trees of the traitor, or make their relations, or companions, commit the same havock.

But how could such strange customs have been established, and have taken root? If we credit ancient or modern accounts, the men of this Archipelago, were black, ugly, and deformed; they had most of them a disgusting cutaneous disease, notwithstanding the daily use of the bath. The women, on the contrary, had a tolerably clear complexion, regular features, an easy air, some graces, and a taste for singing and dancing. It is not therefore surprising that with all these means of pleasing, they should have required an absolute empire, which cannot be shaken. It is truly extraordinary, that there should have been any countries, and especially savage regions, where a difference so marked hath been found between the two sexes. The unanimity of historians upon this point, will probably never silence the doubts that naturally arise in the mind from so improbable an account.¹

The united testimony of any number of writers, cannot prevail against a well-known, general, and constant law of nature. We know, that in every part, except at the Mariana Islands, the woman has been found, as she ought to be, subject to the man. In order to induce me to believe this exception, it must be supported by another: which is, that in this region, the women were superior to the men, not only in understanding, but even in bodily strength. If I be not assured of one of these facts, I shall deny the other; unless, however, some superstitious tenet, have rendered their persons sacred. For there is nothing which superstition doth not alter, no custom, however monstrous, which it doth not establish, no crimes to which it doth not lead, no sacrifices which it doth not obtain. If superstition, at the Mariana Islands, declares to man: It is the will of God that thou shouldst, cringe before woman: he will not fail to cringe to her. Beauty, talents, and wit, in all countries of the world, whether savage or civilized, will induce a man to throw himself at the feet of a woman: but these advantages peculiar to some women, cannot establish in any part a general system, of the tyranny of the weaker sex over the stronger. The man commands the woman, even in those countries where the woman commands the nation. The phenomenon, at the Mariana Islands, would be in the system of morality, the same as the equilibrium of two unequal weights, suspended to levers of equal length, would be in the system of philosophy. No kind of authority ought to induce us to believe an absurdity. But it may be urged, that the women may have deserved this authority, on account of some important services, the memory of which may have been lost. Supposing this to be the case, the men would soon have forgotten the gratitude they might have shewn the first instance.

1 Ed. note: Raynal was more or less right on this point.

The third remarkable thing in the Mariana Islands, was a *pross* [rather proa], or canoe, the singular form of which, hath always attracted the attention of the most enlightened navigators.

These people resided in islands separated from each other by considerable distances. Although they had neither the means nor the desire of making exchanges, yet they wished to communicate with each other. They succeeded in this design with the assistance of a vessel, entirely safe, though very small: a vessel fit for every naval evolution, notwithstanding the simplicity of its construction; and so easily managed, that three men were sufficient for all the manœuvres; a vessel, which received the winds sideways, a circumstance absolutely necessary in these latitudes; which had the unparalleled advantage of going and returning, without ever tacking about, and merely by shifting the sail; a vessel, in a word, so expeditious, that it ran twelve or fifteen knots in less than an hour, and that it sometimes went faster than the wind. All connoisseurs acknowledge, that this *pross which is called flying*, on account of its lightness, is the most perfect kind of boat that hath ever been contrived; and the invention of it cannot be disputed with the inhabitants of the Mariana Islands, since the model of it hath never been found on any sea in the world.¹ If it were reasonable to decide upon the genius of a nation, from one single distinct art, we could not avoid having the greatest opinion of these savages, who, with coarse utensils, and without the assistance of iron, have obtained effects at sea, which the most enlightened people have not been able to procure to themselves from a multiplicity of contrivances. But in order to determine with judgment on this matter, it would require other proofs than a single talent, which chance may have supplied; and these proofs are not to be found in any history.²

The Mariana Islands were discovered in 1521 by Magellan. This celebrated navigator called them the Ladrone Islands, because their savage inhabitants, who had not the least idea of the right of property, which is unknown in a state of nature, stole from on board their ships some trifles which tempted their curiosity.³ The Spaniards neglected, for a long time, to fix themselves in this Archipelago, where there were none of those rich mines that excited their cupidity. It was only in 1668, that the ships which stopped there, from time to time, in their passage from Mexico to the East Indies, landed a few missionaries on these islands. Ten years after this, the court of Madrid thought that they did not gain a sufficient number of subjects by the means of persuasion; and they supported the sermons of their missionaries with a military force.

1 Ed. note: The same, or very similar, design existed throughout Micronesia.

2 Ed. note: The author still has doubt about the worthiness of Chamorro men, whose talents he refused to praise here.

3 Ed. note: Most such writers forget that it was the theft of a very valuable, and much needed, ship's launch, that was stolen at Guam, and caused Magellan to make an effort to retrieve it, not the theft of trifles.

Savages, living by themselves, and guided by a wild instinct; to whom the bow and the arrow were even unknown, and whose only weapon of defence was a large stick: such savages could not resist the European arms and troops. Nevertheless, most of them suffered themselves to be put to death rather than they would submit.¹ A great number of them were the victims of the disgraceful maladies which their inhuman conquerors had introduced among them. Those who had escaped all these disasters, took the desperate resolution of making their wives miscarry, in order that they might not leave behind them a progeny of slaves. The population decreased, throughout the whole Archipelago, to such a degree, that it became necessary, five and twenty or thirty years ago, to unite the feeble remains of them in the single island of Guam.²

This island is forty leagues in circumference. Its harbour, situated in the western part, and defended by a battery of eight guns, is formed on one side by a slip of land and which advances two leagues into the sea, and on the other by a shoal of the same extent which surrounds it almost circularly. Four ships may anchor here, sheltered from all winds except the western, which never blows hard in these latitudes.

At the distance of four leagues from this barbour, upon the borders of the sea, and in a fortunate position, the agreeable town of Agaña is situated. In this chief place of the colony, and in twenty-one small hamlets scattered around the island, fifteen hundred inhabitants are distributed, the unfortunate remains of a population formerly numerous.

The interior part of Guam serves as an asylum and a pasturage for the goats, hogs, oxen, and poultry, which the Spaniards brought there at the time of the conquest, and which have since become wild. These animals, which must either be shot or caught in a trap, were the principal food of the Indians and of their oppressors, when the face of things was suddenly changed.

An active, humane, and enlightened man, hath at length understood, that population would not be restored, but that it would even still continue decreasing, unless he could succeed in introducing agriculture into his island. This elevated idea hath induced him to become himself a cultivator. Stimulated by his example, the natives of the country have cleared those lands, the property of which he had promised them. These fields have been covered with rice, cacao, maize, sugar, indigo, cotton, fruits, and vegetables; the use of which, they had been suffered to remain ignorant of during one or two centuries; their success hath increased their docility. These children of rude nature, in whom tyranny and superstition had completed the degradation of the human species,

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- 1 Ed. note: I wish to repeat once again, that the historical facts presented in this series have shown that, during the early rebellions against the colony, only about 30 Chamorros were killed in skirmishes, and about 30 men also died on the Spanish side, and they were mostly Filipinos.
 - 2 Ed. note: Raynal clearly shows here that he got this information from Crozet's Voyage, complete with the same errors.

have followed in the workshops some arts of primary necessity; and have frequented, without any evident signs of reluctance, the schools that have been opened for their instruction. Their enjoyments have increased with their occupations; and they have at length experienced happiness in one of the finest countries in the world: so true it is that every thing may be accomplished by mildness and benevolence, since these virtues are capable of extinguishing resentment even in the mind of a savage.¹

This unexpected revolution hath been brought about by Mr. Tobias; who, in 1772, still governed the Mariana Islands.² May this virtuous and respectable Spaniard one day obtain what would complete his happiness, the consolation of seeing his favourite children forego their passion for the cocoa-tree wine, and their turn for labour increase!

If the Spaniards, from the beginning, had been inspired with the reasonable views of the prudent Tobias, the Mariana Islands would have been civilized and cultivated. This double advantage would have procured to this Archipelago, a security which it cannot expect from a garrison of an hundred and fifty men, concentrated in Guam.

The conquerors, quiet in their possessions, would then have devoted themselves to their passion for new discoveries, which were at that time the prevailing turn of the nation. Assisted by the genius of their new subjects for navigation, their activity would have conveyed the useful arts, and the spirit of society, into the numerous islands that cover the Pacific Ocean, and still beyond them. The Universe would have been enlarged, as it were, by such glorious labours. All commercial nations would undoubtedly have derived, in process of time, some advantage from connections formed with these regions, which were before unknown; since it is impossible that one nation should enrich itself, and that others should not partake of its prosperity; but the court of Madrid would have enjoyed sooner, and more constantly, the productions of their new establishments. If we do not mistake, this arrangement of matters would have been more advantageous to Spain, than that which confines the Mariana Islands to the furnishing of refreshments for the galleons, returning from Mexico to the Philippines, as California is destined to supply them to those which go from the Philippines to Mexico.

...

1 Ed. note: This book is as much about philosophy as political history, as its title indicates.
2 Ed. note: If Crozet had said that Tobias had been at Guam for only one year, it is possible that Raynal would not have credited him with so much progress.

Documents 1772D

More information about the Duclesmeur Expedition

D1. Letter #266 from the Governor of the Philippines, dated Manila 12 January 1773

Source: AGI Fil. 493.

Original text in Spanish.

El Governador de Philipinas.

Dà cuenta del arrivo à aquellas Yslas de dos Fragatas de Guerra Francesas, que salieron de Mauricio para Tayti.

Exmo. Sor.

Mui Señor mio:

El dia 6 de Diciembre proximo pasado entraron en esta Bahía dos Fragatas con vanderá Francesa, y de la una vino à tierra antes que diesen fondo un oficial, que seme presentò diciendo ser embarcaciones de Guerra, procedentes de las Yslas de Francia; exhibiendome un Pasaporte firmado por V.E. con fecha en Madrid à 2 de Enero de 1770 en el qual se refiere que debiendo bolver à Tayti su Patria en las Indias Orientales en embarcacion Francesa el Indio llamado Pontaverri: y pudiendo succeder que por vientos contrarios o falta de viveres se vea precisado a arribar à estas Yslas Philipinas, manda S.M. que en tal caso, este Gobierno, Audiencia, y demas Ministros, y Justicias le den todo el favor, y auxilio que necesitare y pidiere, sin causarle el menor perjuicio ni detencion, con tal de que consecuente à Reales disposiciones, y expecialmente à la orden comunicada en 9 de Diciembre de 1767 no sele permita hacer comercio, ni demorar en este continente mas tiempo que el preciso à repararse; Y tambien me entrego Carta del Governador de la Ysla de Francia el Cavallero de Roches su fecha 16 de Octubre de 1771 avisando à este Gobierno la Expedicion de las dos citadas Fragatas al mando de Mr. Marion para el caso de arribada que expresa el mencionado Pasaporte.

En vista de estos Documentos, impuesto del infeliz estado de las dos Fragatas en punto à viveres, y Aguada y necesidad de una buena recorrida por la relacion que me hizo el Sugeto que vino à tierra considerè hallarme en el caso que previene el citado pasaporte; y en cumplimiento de lo que por este se previene, expedi inmediatamente las

correspondientes ordenes, franqueando el Puerto à las dos Fragatas, y mandando seles diesen todos los viveres, y demas auxilios que necesitasen; pero prohibiendo el desembarco de cosa alguna de Comercio, para cuiro logro previne al Intendente de Marina del Puerto de Cavite pusiese algunos Botes inmediatos à su Bordo que celasen este encargo.

*Estas dos Fragatas nombradas el **Marques de Castri** [sic], y **Mascarin** bienen al mando de Mr. Duclesmeur por muerte de Mr. Marion que salio de Mauricio con ellas para la Ysla de Taiti à conducir el Indio que cita el Pasaporte, y las noticias que dà de palabra dicho Comandante son en substancia las que expresa la adjunta Copia N^o 1^o de Carta del Governador de Yslas Marianas à donde la necesidad los obligò à dar fondo, habiendo traído desde ellas de practico al Piloto D. Augustin de Ybarra que franqueo D. Joseph Rodriguez Montenegro que quedaba en aquellas Yslas el Paquebot de su mando **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** destinado al reconocimiento de los Mares, y costas del Cavo de Bugeador, y de Engaño.*

Poco despues de su llegada dispuse la visita acostumbrada que executò el Contador Oficial Real y respondió en el acto el Comandante de dichas dos Fragatas, que en ellas no trahian efectos para comercio no permitiendo el reconocimiento de las Bodegas, ni queriendo admitir tropa à bordo por lo que se pusieron dos Botes de Guardia para precaber qualquiera fraude de contra la Real Hacienda: Y succesivamente de Oficio me presentò el referido Comandante una Lista de lo que conducian las dos Fragatas, cuiu Copia es adjunta N^o 2^o ofreciendome en cambio de refrescos, o del modo que Yo dispusiese lo que de ella quisiese tomar para surtimiento de estos Almacenes.

Ademas de los prontos auxilios con que fueron socorridos a su llegada les hè librado dos mil pesos para pagar jornales, y otros gastos precisos de carena, y havilitacion en cambio de algunos de los efectos contenidos en dicha Lista, y en una palabra se les han facilitado quantos auxilios han pedido por consideracion al miserable estado en que llegaron, y à el Pasaporte que exhibieron.

Una de las dos citadas Fragatas se halla proxima à hacerse à la vela para las Yslas de Mauricio, pero la otra no podrá executar lo hasta el Mes de Marzo por estarse reparando del descalabro que recibio pocos dias hace en el Puerto de Cavite con un Baquiuo, o Uraçan bastante fuerte.

No hè dexado de notar que hayan sido dos las embarcaciones en lugar de la una que permite el Pasaporte que exhibio el Comandante de esta expedicion, pero me ha parecido no deber parar la atencion en esta diferencia por considerar que ningun perjuicio se hà seguido de ella, y por otras razones de politica.

De todo lo qual doy cuenta a V.E. para que se sirva pasarlo à noticia de V.M.

Dios guarde a V.E. muchos años.

Manila 12 de Enero de 1773.

Excmo. Señor

B.I.m^o de V.E. su mas rendido servidor

Don Simon de Anda.

[Al] Exmo. Sor. B^o Fr. Don Julian de Arriaga.

Translation.

The Governor of the Philippines reports the arrival at those Islands of two French war frigates that departed from Mauritius¹ for Tahiti.

Your Excellency.

My dear Sir:

On the 6th of December last, two frigates flying French flags came into this bay. An officer from one of them came ashore before they anchored. He came to see me to tell me that they were warships coming from Isle-de-France, and he showed me a passport signed by Y.E. in Madrid on 2 January 1770, in which it was said that, having to take the Indian named Pontaverri back to Tahiti, his country in the East Indies, aboard a French ship, and that, since it was possible that contrary winds or lack of food could force it to arrive at these Philippine Islands, H.M. ordered that in such a case this Government, Audiencia, and other Ministers or Justices were to favor them and assist them with their needs and requests, without causing the least prejudice to them or detain them, but that, as a consequence of the Royal decisions, and specially the order issued on 9 December 1767, they were not to be permitted to trade, or remain in this continent longer than precisely necessary to refresh. He also delivered to me a letter from the Governor of Isle-de-France, Monsieur De Roches, dated 16 October 1771, advising this Government about the Expedition of the two above-mentioned frigates under the command of Mr. Marion, in case of the forced visit as mentioned in said passport.

In view of these documents, respecting the unhappy state of the two frigates with regards to food and water supplies and the need of a good overhaul, according to the account given to me by the individual who came ashore, I considered myself obliged by the terms of the above-mentioned passport and, to comply with what is specified therein, I immediately issued the corresponding orders, declaring the two frigates free to use the port facilities, and giving them all of the food supplies and other assistance they required; however, I prohibited the landing of any trade goods, and to this effect, I advised the Navy Quartermaster of the Port of Cavite to keep a few boats alongside them, to carry out this task.

These two frigates, named **Marquis de Castries** and **Mascarin**, are under the command of Mr. Duclesmeur, on account of the death of Mr. Marion who left Mauritius with them for the Island of Tahiti, to take back the Indian mentioned in the passport. The news brought by said Commander are essentially the same as those mentioned in the letter from the Governor of the Mariana Islands (see N^o 1, attached). They were forced to anchor at the Mariana Islands, and were guided from there by Pilot Augustin de Ibarra, who was let go by José Rodriguez Montenegro, the captain of his packet boat, the **Nuestra Señora del Rosario**, that remained behind in those Islands and is destined to make a survey of the seas and coasts of Cape Bojeador, and Cape Engaño.²

1 Ed. note: Mauritius was also called Isle-de-France until it was occupied by England in 1814.

2 Ed. note: See next Doc. 1772E.

Shortly after their arrival, I arranged for the usual inspection to be made. It was carried out by the Royal Accountant. As soon as he boarded, the Commander of said two frigates said that there were no trade goods aboard his two ships, and he refused to allow him to inspect the holds, and refused to admit soldiers on board. That is why two guard boats were placed alongside to prevent any kind of fraud against the Royal treasury. Subsequently, said Commander presented to me a written list of goods carried on board both frigates (see N° 2, attached), offering me, in exchange for refreshments or under any other arrangement that I should choose, whatever I wanted to acquire to boost the inventory of these warehouses.

In addition to the quick assistance that was given them at their arrival, I have released 2,000 pesos for them to pay the wages of laborers, and the other expenses of a careening, and maintenance, in exchange for a few of the effects contained in said list, and in one word they have been given as much assistance as they asked, in consideration of the miserable condition they were in when they arrived, and of the passport they presented.

One of said frigates is about to sail for Mauritius Island, but the other will not be able to do so until the month of March, because of repairs now being doen on account of the damage that she received in the port of Cavite a few days ago from a rather strong typhoon, or hurricane.

I have not failed to notice that the passport was for one, and not two, ships; however, it seems to me that I should not make difficulties for this discrepancy, since no harm would come from it, and for other political reasons.

I report all of this to Y.E., so that you may in turn inform H.M.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 12 January 1773.

Your Excellency.

The humblest servant of Y.E. who kisses your hand, Don Simon de Anda.

[To] His Excellency Bailiff Fray Julian de Arriaga.

D2. Letter from Governor Tobias, dated Agaña 15 November 1772

Source: AGI Fil. 493.

Original text in Spanish.

N. 1º

M. Y.S.

El dia 22 de Septiembre arribaron à estas Yslas los dos Barcos Franceses, que en esta ocasion hacen viage à esta Bahia; antes de tomar Puerto embiaron un oficial à tierra con un Pasaporte del Exmo. Señor D. Julian de Arriaga, para que sele diese en los Dominios del Rey Catholico los auxilios que necesitaren: inmediatamente les franquee, y le ministre practico, que los condugese al fondeadero sin riesgo de los Bageles como en efecto se logró con toda felicidad: estos Barcos venian en la mas fatal constitucion, de

forma que si hubieran tardado quince días mas en tomar este puerto hubieran perecido; por que toda su tripulacion havia enfermado tan de todo punto, que los oficiales hacian las maniobras sin exeptuar las de vergas arriba; su comision ha sido el reconocimiento de la Mar del Sur, han estado en la Nueva Zelandia: cuios moradores les recibieron con singular paz para lograr sorprenderlos, como en efecto lo lograron matando al Comandante propietario de esta Expedicion, y veinte y ocho hombres Soldados, y Marineros: de resulta de este desgraciado suceso se dirijieron à esta Ysla, para pasar à esas, y llegaron en el referido deplorable estado por causa del escorbuto, los recivi con el maior agasajo, y afavilidad, y les di la mejor hospitalidad de que son capaces estas Yslas, como ellos mismos podrán referir a V.S. Y. desembarcaron de ochenta à cien enfermos postrados la maior parte, y la tierra que es Madre para todo estrangero, y Madrastra para sus hijos los ha tratado tambien que ni uno solo se hà muerto.

A su propartida se les han desertado cinco hombres entre Soldados, y Marineros y aunque se han hecho las mas vivas diligencias para cojerlos no ha sido dable encontrarlos: Y siendo regular que parescan luego que los Barcos se hagan a la vela; espero la determinacion de V.S. Y. de lo que debere hacer de estos hombres: Digo esto porque han representado los Comandantes verbalmente, que los embie a esas Yslas para que de ellas se remitan a la de Francia, lo qual no me parece regular por que siempre he visto que los desertores que pasan de un Reyno, à otro, no solo no se remiten al Reyno, de que desertan que seria crueldad embiarlos al sacrificio, sino que en caso que lo pidan, y sean utiles para ello; No se si ay algun particular tratado, ò convencion entre la España, y Francia que derogue esta comun practicia, pero si lo hubiere deberá manifestarlo la parte Interesada que pidiera contra ella; en fin Yo conservare aqui los desertores (si parecen) mientras no dieren motivo con su mal proceder a que lo despache de la Ysla, en caso que V.S. Yllma, cuiia resolucion espero en este punto no resolviere otra cosa.

Dios guarde a V.S. Yllma. muchos años.

Agaña 15 de Noviembre de 1772.

Yllmo. Sor.

B.l.m. de V.S. Yllma. su mas reconocido, y rendido servidor

Mariano Tovas.

[Al] Yllmo. Señor D. Simon de Anda.

Translation

Nº 1.

Most Illustrious Sir:

On the 22nd of September, there arrived at these Islands the two French ships that on this occasion are making the voyage to that bay. Before they made port, they sent one officer ashore with a passport from His Excellency Don Julian de Arriaga, for them to receive any assistance they might need while visiting the Dominions of the Catholic King. I immediately gave them permission, and supplied them with a local pilot to guide them safely to the anchorage. This operation was carried out successfully. These ships

were in the worst condition possible, so much so that if they had been delayed by 15 more days from making this port, they would have perished, because all of their crewmen were sick, to such an extent that the officers themselves had to take part in the maneuvers, even those aloft. Their commission assigned them to make a survey of the South Sea. In so doing, they were in New Zealand, where the inhabitants received them very peacefully, the better to surprise them, as they effectively did. They managed to kill the official Commander of this Expedition, and 28 men, soldiers and sailors. As a result of this unhappy event, they headed for this Island, to go to those, and they arrived in the deplorable state in question, on account of the scurvy. I made them as welcome as kindly as I could, and gave them whatever assistance these Islands are capable of. As they will be able to tell Your Illustrious Lordship themselves, they landed from 80 to 100 sick men, disabled for the most part. The land, which is the Mother of all strangers, and the Stepmother of their children (as the saying goes) treated them so well that not one man died.

As they were about to leave, five of their men deserted, some soldiers and some sailors. Although the best efforts were made to catch them, it was not possible to find them. Since such deserters usually appear after the ships have sailed, I await the decision of Y.I.L. about what I should do with those men. I say this, because the Commanders have made verbal requests to me to send them to those Islands, for their eventual transport to Isle-de-France, which seems to me an irregular thing to do, because, according to my experience, deserters who flee to another Kingdom are not usually extradited to the Kingdom they came from, as this would be cruel to send them there to be sacrificed, but only when they so request, and are fit to do so. I do not know whether or not there is some special treaty, or convention between Spain and France, that may offset this regular practice, but if there be any, a legal case will have to be made to present the arguments against it. To conclude, I will keep the deserters here (if they appear) as long as they do not give me a reason, by their bad behavior, to expel them from the Island, until Y.I.L., whose decision I expect, should choose to decide otherwise.

May God save Y.I.L. for many years.

Agaña, 15 November 1772.

Most Illustrious Sir.

The most grateful and humblest servant of Y.I.L. who kisses your hand,

Mariano Tobias.

[To] His Most Illustrious Lordship, Don Simon de Anda.

D3. Letter #261 from the Governor of the Philippines, dated Manila 10 January 1773

Source: AGI Fil. 493.

Original text in Spanish.

El Gobernador de Philipinas.

Acompaña Copia de una Carta del de las Yslas Marianas, sobre haver desertado cinco hombres de las dos Fragatas de Guerra Francesas del mando de Mr. Duclesmeur.

Exmo. Señor.

N. 261.

Mui Sor. mio.

D. Mariano Tovias Gobernador de las Yslas Marianas, me escribe vindicando su conducta en el hecho de la desercion de cinco hombres Marineros, y Soldados de las dos Fragatas de Guerra Francesas del mando de Mr. Duclesmeur, y sentido de que este, y su Compañero huviesen propalado que el havia tenido parte en dicha desercion con la idea de quedarse con los cinco hombres, despidiendose con esta vil presuncion, despues de haverles obsequiado, y cortejado con quanto ofrecia aquel Pais; segun verá V.E. por la Copia de la Carta que he recibido de Tovias sobre el asunto: la qual remito à precaucion de qualquiera quexa que puedan haver dado.

Despues hè savido que antes de hacerse à la vela de Marianas las dos citadas Fragatas, parecieron tres de los expresados cinco hombres; y esto con algun recuerdo de la buena hospitalidad que recibieron los Franceses en aquellas Yslas, segun queda expresado, puede que haya sido causa de que aquí no me hayan tocado del asunto; como assi hà sucedido.

En esta Ciudad han desertado tambien algunos Franceses de las expresadas Fragatas; y se quedan practicando diligencias en su solicitud.

Nuestro Señor guarde à V.E. muchos años.

Manila 10 de Enero de 1773.

Excmo. Señor.

B.l.m. de V.E. su mas rendido servidor,

Don Simon de Anda.

[Al] Exmo. Sor. B^o Fr. D. Julian de Arriaga.

Translation.

The Governor of the Philippines encloses a copy of a letter from the Governor of the Mariana Islands, regarding five men who have deserted from the two French war frigates commanded by Mr. Duclesmeur.

Your Excellency.

N^o 261.

My dear Sir:

Don Mariano Tobias, Governor of the Mariana Islands, writes to me to justify his conduct in the matter of the desertion of five men, sailors and soldiers from the two French war frigates commanded by Mr. Duclesmeur, and resentful of the rumor that he, and the other Commander, have spread about him having arranged said desertion, after all he had done for them, wooing them with whatever the Island could offer, as Y.E. will gather from the copy of the letter that I have received from Tobias about the

matter. I remit said letter as a precaution, in case any complaint should be made by them in future.

Afterwards I have learned that, before the two frigates in question sailed from the Marianas, three of the five deserters did in fact appear; however, because the Frenchmen remembered the good hospitality they had received in those Islands, as noted in the letter, they made no mention of this matter to me while here, and so it happened.

A few more Frenchmen from said frigates have also escaped at this City, and their request to stay are being processed.

May our Lord save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 10 January 1773.

Your Excellency.

The most submissive servant of Y.E. who kisses your hand,

Don Simon de Anda.

[To] His Excellency Bailiff Fray Julian de Arriaga.

D4. Letter from Governor Tobias, dated Agaña 16 November 1772

Source: AGI Fil. 493.

Note: This letter must have been carried to Manila that day by Pilot Ibarra who guided the French to Manila.

Original text in Spanish.

Yllmo. Señor.

La enorme ingratitud de los Gefes Franceses que en esta ocasion hacen viage à esa Bahía, me obliga à tomar la pluma despues de cerrados, y entregados al Conductor los Pliegos, que en esta ocasion dirijo a V.S. Y. para prevenir una calumnia que con bastante fundamento temo que me levanten. Para hacer mas patente la ingratitud de estos Cavalleros era necesario referir mui por menor los veneficios, y extraordinaria obsequiosa hospitalidad que les hè ministrado; pero atendiendo por una parte à que los beneficios debe referirlos no el sugeto que los hace sino aquel que lo recibe, y por otra a que la enumeracion de ellos seria prolija, y molesta solo dirè lo que baste para justificar la verdad de lo que digo.

Desde antes de tomar fondo en esta Ysla me constitui no sin mucha fatiga del Cuerpo, y del Espiritu, Agente de sus alivios embiandoles à la Mar refresco que sin dejar de ser costoso en nada lo fue para ellos: Desde aquel momento prohibí en mi Mesa que se pusiese ni una Ave por estar escasa en la Ysla afin de darles à ellos sin interes alguno las que necesitasen para su mancion, y viage, como en efecto seles ha dado en estos terminos en la Cantidad que ellos han pedido: para la comodidad de sus enfermos desalojè mi tropa: Para la de la oficialidad de los Navios tomè la providencia de reducir à los pobres Niños Colegiales de estas Yslas à una estrechísima Casa afin de dejarles el Colegio para su avitacion[,] desahogo, y restablecimiento de su salud, sin que les tudiese costo alguno: Les franqueè mi Mesa de dia y de noche, y quanto tenia en mi Casa:

Les auxilie durante su mancion con las Lanchas que aqui tengo de que usaron con tan poca discrecion que la una de ellas la mejor, y la mas grande se huvo de sacar a tierra incapaz de servir sin proceder Carena: Me ha sido presiso molestar bastantemente à los pobres havitantes de este Pais, no sin atraso de estos embiando à bordo un crecido numero para las faenas, que se les ofreciesen por tener enferma toda su tripulacion: sus enfermos han experimentado la mejor asistencia como lo acredita el que siendo en numero de ciento han combalecido todos sin desgraciarse ni uno. Pero à donde voy? He comensado, y no es posible acabar la relacion de estos beneficios, y ceso en su referencia en el conocimiento de que han sido tantos que creo sobrepujaran à su misma ingratitud, y que no podrán ocultarlos si V.S. Y. se sirve preguntarles.

Todo era pues con lo demas que callo lo han compensado con discurrir, y propalar hablando con D. Joseph Montenegro Comandante del Patache despachado al reconocimiento del nuevo rumbo (sin duda para que por ello supiese) el villano indigno, y vil pensamiento de que yò he tenido parte à lo menos permisible en la fuga, y ocultacion de cinco hombres Soldados y Marineros, que se les han desertado. Y que no hè dado providencia alguna en su solicitud por quedarme con ellos quando quiza al igual de su ingratitud siento, que estos hombres queden en el Pais; y aunque digo en otra que escribo a V.S. Y. con fecha de ayer 15 que los permitirè en la Ysla, mientras no me dieren motivo con su mal proceder à que los arrojè de ella: lo hago unicamente por no equibocar mi providencia Governativa de despacharlos, con la condescendencia a la irregular peticion que me han hecho estos Comandantes, de que (como en la citada Carta digo a V. Y.) se los remita a esas Yslas en la primera ocasion para que desde ellas lo sean a la de Francia. Hasta aqui de su ingratitud pasando a precaverme de la calumnia que temo me levanten ante la Superioridad de V. Yllma.

Por las diligencias adjuntas consta haver dado Yo orden en los Pueblos de esta Ysla nombrados, Anigua, Asan, Riguas, Tipungan, Apurguan, Monmon, Sinajaña, y en los Partidos de Agat, y Umata, para que se buscasen, y prendiesen dichos desertores, ofreciendo diez pesos de parte del Comandante frances, por cada uno que entregasen, como se evidencie de las declaraciones de los Capitanes, y oficiales de dichos Pueblos que se hallan desde p. 1 vuelta hasta p. 4 y por el Testimonio de las Cartas de los Administradores de los Partidos de Agat, y Umata, constante a p. 4 vuelta en que acusan el recivo de la orden que les comuniqué por escripto en atencion à estar distantes de esta Capital, con esto se convence de falso, y calumnioso a qualquiera que dixese que Yo no hè dado las Providencias conducentes a la solicitud de dichos desertores lo qual hice con el animo siempre de defender despues de aprendidos, y antes de entregarlos el privilegio de el territorio para que no fuesen castigados; assi mismo se califica de Bastarda, e iniqua la presumpcion de que Yo haya sido capaz de incurrir en la baxeza de cooperar de ningun modo a la ocultacion de su gente.

Yncreible se me hace à mi mismo el verme precisado a defender mi reputacion, y honor valiendome de Instrumentos juridicos contra las falsas acusaciones que temo en unos hombres à quienes he procurado tantos alivios[,] a quienes hè mostrado la mas sincera afabilidad los mayores deseos de servirlos, y una infatigable promptitud para

dar quantas Providencias me pedian conducentes a su comodidad, o a su Comision. Y mas admiracion causara al saber que esos mismos no pudiendo hacerse insensible à tantos beneficios confesaban en alta voz y por las Calles que me debian la vida todos ellos, pues hubieran perecido (y es cierto) a no haver hallado tan favorable acogida: No hablaban voces con que ponderar su reconocimiento por que toda exageracion les parecia corta, y en fin me trataban como a su redemptor, y como de su redemptor me han tratado àl fin.

Actualmente se halla à bordo alguna gente del Pais con que és preciso auxiliarles para la faena de levarse por ser corta su tripulacion, y tengo no poco recelo de que violentamente, induciendolos, u ocultandolos, quieran levarse algunos de ellos, que sobre hacer gran falta à sus respectivas familias, la haran tambien à la Ysla exhausta de Moradores. Dà motivo à esta sospecha algunos lances de este jaez [sic] de que ellos mismos se aloaban haverlos practicado en otras partes. Y el que adoleciendo estos Cavalleros de tan bajas sospechas como han formado de mi, indica bastante disposicion para semejante empresa: Ademas de que uno de los Gefes nombrado Mr. Crozet que es en quien mas se nota este espiritu ha prorrumpido amenaz (segun me informan personas de toda verdad) que indican haver pensado sobre ello: Y como si esto sucede no puedo noticiarlo a V.S. Y. despues de acaecido por que yà se habrán levado anticipo este aviso para que V. Yllma. se digne estar a la mira sobre este particular: en cuiò assumpto hè prevenido a Don Augustin de Ybarra, Segundo Piloto del Patache destinado al reconocimiento del nuevo rumbo que vâ sirviendoles de practico, notè los que executaren, y lo ponga en noticia de V.S. Y. para la Providencia que convenga.

Dios guarde a V.S. Y. muchos años.

Agaña y Noviembre 16 de 1772.

Yllustrisimo Señor:

*B.I.mº de V.S. Yllma. su mas rendido, y obligado servidor,
Mariano Tovias.*

[Al] Yllmo. Señor D. Simo.n de Anda.

Translation.

Your Excellency.

The enormous ingratitude of the French Commanders, who are on this occasion making the voyage to that bay, forces me to take up my pen at the last minute, after I had sealed the letters that I addressed to Y.I.L. and handed them already to the courier, in order to prevent a calumny that I have reason to fear they will spread against me. To make the ingratitude of these gentlemen more obvious, it would be necessary to point out in details the benefits and extraordinarily generous hospitality that I have given them; however, since such benefits should on the one hand be mentioned by the party who received them, not by the individual who gave them, and on the other hand their enumeration would be too tedious, and tiresome, I will only say as much as is necessary to prove my contention.

Even before they anchored at this Island, I constituted myself, not without much fatigue of body and mind, the Agent of their relief, by sending them refreshment while they were still at sea; such refreshment cost me money, but cost them nothing at all. From that moment on, I forbid my staff to serve any fowl at my table, so that I could give it to them, without any interest, during their stay, and voyage, and this was effectively done, in the quantity which they themselves had requested. For the comfort of their sick, I displaced my soldiers. For the comfort of the ship officers, I took the decision to reduce the poor college boys of these Islands to a very small house, so that I could give them the College for their lodging, comfort, and the restoration of their health, at no cost whatever. I invited them to my table day and night, and to whatever was in my house. I helped them during their stay with the launches that I have here; they made use of them with so little discretion that one of them, the larger and better one, had to be pulled ashore, and will have to be careened to make it serviceable again. I have had to bother the poor inhabitants of this country, not without detriment to them, by sending them on board to help with various chores, as the crewmen were all sick. Their sick have received the best of assistance, as proven by the fact that about 100 men have been restored to health, and not one has died. But what I am leading to? I have begun, and it is not possible to end the account of these benefits; I stop referring to them, with the knowledge that they have been so many that I believe they would overcome their own ingratitude, and they might not be able to hide them to Y.I.L., if you be pleased to question them.

For the above, and the other benefits that I keep quiet about, they have compensated me, in conversations they had with Don José Montenegro, the Commander of the patache despatched to survey the new route,¹ (no doubt for you to learn through him) by spreading the vicious, unworthy, and vile thought that I had taken part, albeit indirectly, in the escape and sheltering of five men, soldiers and sailors, who had deserted them. And that I have not given any specific orders to find them, when I feel that perhaps these men remain behind in this country to avoid such ungrateful men. And although I say in the other letter that I wrote to Y.I.L. yesterday the 15th, that I will allow them to stay on the Island, unless they give me a reason, by bad behavior, to throw them out, I do so only to retain the prerogative that I have as Governor to despatch them properly, in response to the irregular petition that these Commanders have made to me (as I mentioned in the above-said letter to Y.I.L.), to have them transported at the first opportunity to those Islands, for eventual despatch to the Isle-de-France. What I have said so far about their ingratitude is only to guard me against the calumny that I fear they might raise with the Superiority of Y.I.L.

From the copies of the measures (enclosed), it is evident that I did give an order to the villages of this Island named Anigua, Asan, Riguas, Tipungan, Apurguan, Monmon, Sinajaña, and in the districts of Agat and Umata, for them to search for and seize said deserters, and offering 10 pesos on behalf of the French Commander for each deser-

1 Ed. note: Named the **Rosario**, which came to Guam by way of Northern Luzon (Doc. 1772E).

ter they would deliver, as is obvious from the declarations of the Captains, and officials in said villages, to be found in pages 1-4, and in the Proceedings recording the letters from the administrators of the districts of Agat and Umata, on page 4 verso, where they acknowledge the receipt of the order that I communicated to them in writing, because said districts are distant from this Capital. Such documents prove the falsehood, and slanderous character of any statement to the effect that I have not taken appropriate measures for the capture of said deserters. I did so, however, with the intention of defending, after their capture, and before turning them over, the privilege of the territory, so that they would not be punished; by the same token, one can qualify as illegitimate, and wicked, the presumption that I might have been able to lower myself to cooperate in any way in the occultation of the men.

I find it incredible that I should have to defend my reputation, and honor, by making use of legal instruments against the false accusations of some men to whom I have provided so many succors, to whom I have shown the most sincere kindness, the greatest desires to serve them, and a quick response in taking so many measures, as they requested, to their convenience, or to help them fulfill their commission. And one could only wonder why, upon learning that they themselves had not remained insensible to so many benefits, and had confessed aloud and throughout the city streets that all of them owe me their lives; indeed, they would have perished (it is true) had they not found such a favorable reception. They could not find the words to express their gratitude, because every exaggeration seemed to them not great enough, and in fact, they said that I was their redeptor, but what kind of a redeptor they have called me at the end.¹

Right now, there are a few local men on board, since it is necessary to help them weigh anchors, as they lack crewmen, and I have some fear that they might induce a few of them by force, or hide them, thus depriving their respective families and this island of much needed manpower. I have reason to suspect that this might happen, because of a few utterances of this chief, to the effect that they praised themselves for having done such things in other parts. What makes me attribute such low suspicions to these gentlemen, those they have attributed to me are indications enough to suspect that they might carry this out. In addition, one of the officers, Mr. Crozet, who is the man who has been most vocal in this affair, and has proferred a threat (according to trustworthy informants) that makes me think that he was planning such a thing. And, given that, if it were to happen, I would be unable to notify Y.I.L. about it, because they would have sailed away, I anticipate this advice so that Y.I.L. may be forewarned in this matter. To this effect, I have also warned Don Augustin de Ibarra, the second pilot of the patache sent to survey the new route, who is going to serve them as local pilot, to be watching what they do, and report same to Y.I.L. for your intelligence.

May God save Y.I.L. for many years.

1 Ed. note: Governor Tobias should not have worried that much, since the French commanders continued to praise him until they reached Europe, where they spread the message of their gratitude, to such an extent that Abbé Raynal saw fit to glorify him (see Doc. 1772C). Captain Montenegro may be blamed, in part, for his lack of discretion.

Agaña, 16 November 1772.

Most Illustrious Sir.

The most submissive and obliged servant of Y.I.L. who kisses your hand, ●

Mariano Tobias.

[To] His Most Illustrious Lordship, Don Simon de Anda.

 Documents 1772E

The voyage of the packet Rosario to Guam by the Northern Luzon route

Note: Earlier references to this voyage are: Letter #220 from Governor of Philippines, dated 13 July 1771, and Letter #117 from same, dated 28 November 1771, saying that he is sending this ship to the Marianas.

E1. Letter #246 from the Governor of the Philippines, dated Manila 8 January 1773

Source: AGI Fil. 493.

Original text in Spanish.

El Governador de Philipinas.

*Avisa la llegada à Marianas de la Fragata **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** al mando de D. Joseph Rodriguez Montenegro, que salio al reconocimiento de los Mares, y Costas del Cabo de Bugeador, y de Engaño, y acompaña Copia del Diario formado en aquel viage por el 2º Piloto Don Augustin Ybarra.*

Exmo. Sor.

N. 246.

Mui Señor mio:

*La Fragata del Rey nombrada **Nuestra Señora del Rosario**, que despaché al mando de D. Joseph Rodriguez Montenegro, Piloto primero de la Real Armada para reconocer los Mares, y Costas del Cabo de Bugeador, y de Engaño, segun avisè à V.E. con fecha de 13 de Julio del año proximo pasado (representacion N. 220) llegó con felicidad a las Yslas Marianas despues de haver fondeado en la Barra del Rio de Aparri en la Costa de Cagayan, para hacerse de una Lancha, por haver perdido la que saco de aqui en un temporal, y quedado en ellas esperando el tiempo oportuno, para su tornaviage por el mismo rumbo, con arreglo a las Instrucciones que llevò, segun verà V.E. por la adjunta Copia N^o 1^o que lo es de la Carta que hè recibido de dicho Montenegro.*

La Otra Copia que tambien acompaño N^o 2 lo es del Diario que formò en aquel viage el Piloto particular segundo de la expresada fragata, Don Augustin Ybarra, y me entrego à su regreso a estas Yslas en las dos Fragatas de Guerra Francesas al mando de Mr.

Duclesmeur, en que (como aviso a V.E. separamente) vino de Practico desde las Yslas Marianas, el qual Diario remito a V.E. para su noticia, y que haga de las que comprende el uso que le parezca.

*No me queda duda en que la Fragata de Guerra **San Carlos** habria vencido su viage al Puerto de Acapulco si le hubiese emprendido por el Cabo de Bugeador, y de Engaño, como Yo dispuse, y nos habriamos livertado de su arribada, que tantos atrasos hà causado; pero este Comercio es tan timido, que en tal caso, y sin el precedente reconocimiento de Mares, y Costas que pidio, seguramente hubiera salido sin carga alguna, y la Real Hacienda quedado con los crecidos gastos de su Carena, y expedicion, y estas consideraciones me obligaron a acceder à su suplica, segun digo a V.E. en dicha Representacion N. 220 pero yà con el conocimiento adquirido de esta nueva navegacion no me dio motivo alguno de recelo, y quiera, ò no quiera el Comercio hara su viage por ella la misma Fragata **San Carlos**, que saldrà de esta Bahia en Julio del año presente.*

*Aun no he subscitado el punto de los costos de la expedicion de la expresada Fragata **Rosario**, y para ello solo aguardo su regreso, y hacer la correspondiente liquidacion, pues no creo deba sufrirlos la Real Hacienda, y sí el Comercio mediante haverse hecho à solicitud suya.*

Nuestro Señor guarde a V.E. muchos años.

Manila 8 de Enero de 1773.

Excmo. Señor

B.I.m. de V.E. su mas rendido servidor

Don Simon de Anda.

[Al] Exmo. S. B^o Fr. Don Julian de Arriaga.

Translation

The Governor of the Philippines reports the arrival at the Marianas of the frigate **Nuestra Señora del Rosario**, under the command of José Rodriguez Montenegro, which was despatched to survey the seas and coasts of Cape Bojeador and Cape Engaño, and he enclosed a copy of the Logbook kept during that voyage by the pilot's mate, Don Augustin Ibarra.

Your Excellency.

N^o 246.

My dear Sir:

His Majesty's Ship **Nuestra Señora del Rosario**, which I despatched under the command of Don José Rodriguez Montenegro, Chief Pilot of the Royal Navy, to survey the seas and coast of Cape Bojeador and Cape Engaño, as I said in my letter N^o 220 to Y.E., dated 13 July of last year, made it successfully to the Mariana Islands, after she had anchored in the bar of the river at Aparri on the coast of Cagayan, to find a launch, to replace one that she had lost during a storm. She had remained in those Islands to await better weather to return by the same route, in accordance with the In-

structions carried on board, as Y.E. can see from the enclosed copy of the letter that I have received from said Montenegro (marked as N° 1).

The other copy, marked N° 2, is of the Logbook that was kept during that voyage by the Pilot's Mate of said frigate, Don Augustin Ibarra, which he delivered to me upon returning to these Islands with the two French war frigates commanded by Mr. Duclesmeur, with which (as I advise Y.E. under separate cover) he came as local pilot from the Mariana Islands. I forward said Logbook to Y.E. for your intelligence, and for you to do what you wish with its contents.

I have no longer any doubt that the war frigate **San Carlos** would have made her voyage to the port of Acapulco, if she had undertaken it by way of Cape Bojeador and Cape Engaño, as I had ordered, and we would have been freed from her return in distress, which has caused us so much back-sliding; however, the traders here are so timid, that in that case, and without the preceding survey of the seas and coasts that they requested, she would surely have departed with a load, and the Royal treasury left with more expenditures for her careening, and despatch, and these considerations forced me to grant their request, as I have told Y.E. in said Representation N° 220, but now with the knowledge acquired of this new navigation route, I have no reason to fear it, and the traders agreeing or not, the same frigate **San Carlos** will make her voyage by this route, when she leaves this bay in July of this year.

I have not yet raised the matter of the costs of the expedition of the above-mentioned frigate **Rosario** but I am only awaiting her return, to make the corresponding liquidation; in fact, I do not believe that the Royal treasury should cover them, but that the traders should be the ones to pay for it, since it was done at their request.

May our Lord save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 8 January 1773.

Your Excellency.

The most submissive servant of Y.E. who kisses your hand,

Don Simon de Anda.

[To] His Excellency Bailiff Fray Julain de Arriaga.

E2. Letter from Captain Montenegro, dated Agaña 12 November 1772

Source: AGI Fil. 493.

Original text in Spanish.

Yllmo. Señor.

Mui Señor mio:

Desde la Barra del Rio de Aparri en la Costa de Cagayan, tube el honor de noticiar à V.S.Y. por medio del Alcalde maior de aquella Provincia con fecha de 19 de Julio, el suceso de la falta de la Lancha que me obligò al arrivo; y como yà proveido de ella; debia dar la vela al dia siguiente, como con efecto se verificò, y continuè mi comision en los mismos terminos que V.Y. se digna prevenirme en las instrucciones; y arreglan-

do à ellas toda mi atencion, y maior desvelo hice recelo à las Yslas Beatas [sic] las mas Norte del Archipielago de Marianas, por los 20 grados de Latitud Norte, el dia 27 de Agosto, sin que desde la ultima vista del Cavo de Engaño hubiese hallado Ysla; Arrecife; Bajo; señal de fondo; embardacion ni cosa notable; sino vientos varios bonancibles, y algunos casi calmas, con corrientes de poca consideracion, y duracion, y en los mismos terminos Recorri toda la Cordillera del Archipielago, hasta dar fondo en la Capital el 9 de Septiembre con la maior felicidad, sin haver tenido descalabro, ni enfermedad grave à este bordo, y quedo esperando el tiempo oportuno, para el tornaviage con arreglo en todo à las referidas Instrucciones.

El 27 de Septiembre anclaron en este Puerto dos Fragatas de Guerra Francesas, que salieron por orden de aquella Corte de la Ysla de Francia à hacer nuevos descubrimientos. Y por los varios desgraciados sucesos, que sus respectivos Comandantes deberan poner en la alta consideracion de V.S. Y. arribaron a esta Colonia para auxiliarse del Governador de las Yslas à quien presentaron el correspondiente Pasaporte de N. Soberrano para este fin: Y quienes me pasaron un oficio en Nombre de S.M. Xma con fecha de 10 del corriente manifestando la precision de restituise à la Ysla de Francia, con la maior brevedad, y que esto no podian executar por la parte del Norte de Luzon a causa de principiarse la monson de los vientos de aquella parte y si solo por San Bernardino, pero que hasta Manila necesitaban un Piloto practico, y para cumplir con la que creo debida obligacion les destinè al Piloto Oficial Segundo de mi Paquebot Don Agustin Ybarra proprio para este encargo, y que deberà presentarse a V.S. Yma à su llegada.

Deseo haver logrado el maior acierto en todas las referidas operaciones siendo de el agrado de V.S. Yllma a quien ofrezco mi respeto con toda veneracion deseando que Nuestro Señor guarde la persona de V.S. Yllustrisima muchos años en su maior aumento.

Agaña 12 de Noviembre de 1772.

Yllmo. Señor

B.l.m. de V.S. Y. su mas atento, y rendido servidor

Joseph Rodriguez de Montenegro.

[Al] Yllmo. Señor D. Simon de Anda y Salazar del Consejo, y Camara de Castilla Governador, y Capitan General de las Yslas Philipinas Presidente de su Real Audiencia.

Lista de los efectos que se hallan en las Fragatas

de S.M. Xma. que se embarcaron para cambio de los refrescos que hubiesen necesitado en sus diferentes Escalas, o en los establecimientos que hubiesen podido practicar.

43350 de Fierro surtido.

1100 de Azero.

20086 de Plomo.

15000 de Polvora de Cañon.

50 Barriles de Clavazon surtida.

4 Anclas de 12 a 15 Quintales.

15000 de Xarcia de Europa.

Unos Caxones de Fusiles.

Varios Fardos, y Caxones de Mercaderias propias para establecimiento de una Colonia; como Hachas, Picos, Martillos, Azadas, Bolos &ca.

Todo lo arriva expresado ofrece el Cavallero Duclesmeur à Su Señoria Yllma. para que disponga de ello en todo ú en parte como fuere servido para el servicio de S.M. Catholica.

Translation.

Your Excellency.

My dear Sir:

From the bar of the River of Aparri on the coast of Cagayan, I had the honor to notify Y.I.L. through the Mayor of that Province, in a letter dated 19 July, about the incident of the missing launch that obliged me to stop there, and that I had already provided myself with one, and was about to sail the next day. I did, in fact, leave the next day, to pursue my commission in the same manner as Y.I.L. had deigned to specify to me in the Instructions. In accordance with them, I placed all my care and full attention in watching out for the Blessed [sic] Islands, the northernmost of the Mariana Archipelago, about 20° of Latitude North. They were seen on the 27th of August, without having sighted any island, shoal, bottom, vessel or anything remarkable, since we had lost sight of Cape Engaño. The winds remained variable but favorable, and sometimes almost calm, with currents of little importance, and duration. I followed the whole chain of the archipelago under the same conditions, until anchoring at this Capital on the 9th of September with the greatest success, since we suffered no damage, no serious sickness on board, and I remain awaiting weather good enough to make the return voyage, in accordance with the above-mentioned Instructions as well.

On the 27th of September, two French war frigates anchored at this port. They had sailed from the Isle-de-France by order of that Court to make new explorations. And on account of the various unhappy events, which their respective Commanders will surely bring to the attention of Y.I.L., they arrived at this Colony to ask the Governor of the Islands for help. They presented the corresponding passport of our Sovereign to him for this purpose. They also sent me an official letter, in the name of the their Most Christian Majesty, dated 10th of the current month, letting me know of the need they had to get back to Isle-de-France as soon as possible, and that they could not do so by the Northern Luzon route, because the monsoon winds were beginning in that neighborhood, but only by San Bernardino, though, to make their way from there to Manila, they needed an experienced pilot. To comply with what I thought to be my duty, I assigned to them the officer who is the Pilot's Mate of my packet boat, Don Augustin Ibarra, a good choice for this task. He is to present himself to Y.I.L. upon arrival.

I hope that I have succeeded in carrying all the above operations properly so far, and that they are agreeable to Y.I.L., to whom I offer my respects with complete veneration, praying our Lord to save the person of Y.I.L. for many years, with greater prosperity.

Agaña, 12 November 1772.

Most Illustrious Sir.

The sincerest and most submissive servant of Y.I.L. who kisses your hand,

José Rodriguez de Montenegro.

[To] His Most Illustrious Lordship, Don Simon de Anda y Salazar, Member of the Privy Council, and that for Castile, Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, President of their Royal Audiencia.

List of the effects to be found aboard the Frigates

of His Most Christian Majesty that were carried on board to exchange for refreshments they might need at their various stopovers, or in the establishments where trading would be allowed.

43,350 of Iron, assorted.¹

1100 of Steel.

20,086 of Lead.

15,000 of Gun-powder.

50 Barrels of Nails, assorted.

4 Anchors, weighing from 12 to 15 quintals.

15,000 of European rigging.

A few crates of Rifles.

Various bundles, and crates of merchandise appropriate for a colony, such as axes, picks, hammers, hoes, machetes, etc.

The articles in the above list are offered by Monsieur Duclesmeur to Your Most Illustrious Lordship for you to do with them as you please, in whole or in part, for the service of His Catholic Majesty.

E3. Extracts from the logbook of Pilot Ibarra, from Manila to Guam

Source: AGI Fil. 493.

Note: It accompanied Letter #246 from the Governor of the Philippines, dated 8 June 1773.

Original text in Spanish.

Año de 1773. V.R. n° 246: 1 Quaderno.

Copia del Diario formado por el Piloto D. Augustin de Ybarra, en su Navegacion desde la Bahía de Manila, a las Yslas Marianas por el nuevo rumbo del Cabo Bugea-

¹ Ed. note: No other details are given in this copy.

*dor y de Engaño, a que se le destino abordo de la Fragata **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** su Comandante el Alfez de Fragata D. Antonio [rather José] Rodriguez Montenegro.-Duplicado.*

Dia 12 de Julio 14 de Luna[.] dicho dia a las 5-1/2 de la tarde nos levamos de la Punta de la Rivera con viento por el SE, algo fresco, y mareamos toda vela en demanda de la Ysla del Corregidor...

...

3° Quaderno.-Duplicado.

Dia 6 al 7 de Septiembre de 72 Domingo a Lunes Dias de Luna [blank]

Rumbos Vientos

S L

S1/4SE L1/4NE

E ENE

Acaecimientos.

Estos veinte quatro horas hemos navegado en los Rumbos, y distancias, que muestra la tabla assi mismo los Vientos, que principiaron del Leste galerno en buelta del Sur con todo aparejo cielo y orizontes con celageria clara mar bonanza[.] a 1 de la tarde se marearon las Alas y Rastreras. Al poner el Sol se obserbo la Virazon de Auja [sic = aguja] 6°20 minutos NE. a esta hora se demarco la Isla de Anataxan al S86°O, distancia de quatro Leguas,[Sariguan al Norte 61° Oeste distancia de seis a siete leguas, y el Islote que esta mas al Sur que se divisa de arriba demora como al sur Suroeste. Anochecimos en la misma disposicion, gobernando al Sur un quarto SE, viento E1/4 NE vonancible cielo, y orizontes con celaxeria clara mar bonanza[.] a las nueve y media se marco al SO1/4 Sur y a las doce de la noche Demoraba dicho farallon al O1/4SO distancia de tres â quatro leguas[.] el dicho Farallon es pequeño, y mui razo de poca extencion. Amanecimos con todo Aparejo de Alas y rastreras viento ENE fresco gobernando al S de la Auja los orizontes con celaxeria Parda poca mar del viento[.] a esta hora se descubrio la Isla de Zeipan, y al salir el Sol se demarco al S34°O distancia de 7 a 8 leguas â esta hora se alcanzaba ver del tope la Isla de Anataxan. A medio dia observe el Sol en los 15°28 minutos. Demorando Zeypan al O1/4SO distancia de tres â quatro leguas, y Tinian al S47°E distancia de seis a siete leguas. Isla de Tinian se avisito a las dies y medio de la mañana.

Segun nuestras observaciones la Isla de Zeipan se halla bien cituada pues nuestras Mapas lo ponen en 15°30 minutos y me demoraba al rumbo que expresa arriba todo de la Auja el viento prosigue sin mutacion algo fresco y claro.

Dia 7 al 8 de Septiembre de 72, Lunes â Martes dias de Luna [blank]

Rumbos Vientos

S LNE

E1/4SE

NE

SSO NNE
 SO1/4S NE1/4N

Acaecimientos.

Estas 24 horas hemos navegado en los Rumbos y distancias que muestra la tabla asi mismo los vientos que principiaron del 3° [rather 1°] cuadrante algo fresco en buelta de S con todo Aparejo de Alas, y rastreras poca mar del viento cielo y horizontes con celaxeria clara[.] al poner[se] el Sol se marco lo mas alto de Zeipan al NO distancia de 4 a 5 leguas[.] la Isla de Tinian al O distancia de 3 a 4 leguas[.] la isleta de mas S. Tinian al S65°O distancia de 5 a 6 leguas. Anochecimos estando el viento fresco por el NNE madejadilla del NE cielos con celaxeria clara los horizontes con gruesa y Parda y mas los de 1° y 2° cuadrante con el Aparejo posible de Alas y rastrera[.] a las 6-1/2 escaseo el viento hasta el E con un chubasquillo y a las 9-1/4 volvio al NE[.] a las 11 de la noche se aferraron los Juanetes y se metieron las Alas, y rastrera[.] a las 12 de la noche se mando gobernar al SSO grados para S[.] a esta hora estaba el viento por el NNE fresco de mal semblante con una fea turbonada del viento con repetidos relampagos y algunos truenos, y se dispuso el Aparejo se tomaron 2 endanas [i.e. andanas] de rizos al velacho y uno a la gavia y al mismo tiempo se metio el velacho dentro y la gavia sobre el soco con el trinquete[.] a 1-1/4 fue aclarando, y esparciendo las turbonadas sin mucha mutacion de viento de lo que havia, habiendo aclarado algo se hizo la gavia manteniendose el viento por el NNE algo mas floxo[.] a las 2 se cazo el velacho con las 2 endanas de rizos. a las 3-1/2 descargo una turbonada por el NE con bastante furia sobre los tamborettes, y el trinquete[.] a las 4 aclaro, y se bolvieron a hizar las gavias.

Amanecimos con el mismo Aparejo cielo y horizontes con celaxeria gruesa viento por el NNE fresco de la misma vuelta poca mar del viento[.] a esta hora se havisto la Isla de Rota Demorandonos al SO1/4O y a las 5-3/4 se mando gobernar al SO1/4S[.] a las seis se largaron los rizos a las gavias y se mareo toda vela de Alas y rastreras, y se mando aprontar las Anclas[.] a las 9-1/2 estando como una legua de Rota se tiro un falconetazo de a 2[.] a las 10 se hecharon arriba 2 Cañones de a quatro[.] a la 1-3/4 [rather 11-3/4] se repitio con otro cañonazo de a quatro[.] a las doce se demarco la mediania del Rota al ONO5°N distancia de 3 a 4 millas, y observe el Sol en los 14°18 minutos de Latitud N

Dia 8 al 9 de Septiembre de 72 Martes a Miercoles dias de Luna 13.

Rumbos Vientos
 SO1/4S NE
 S1/4... ENE
 NNE5°N E
 S1/4SE E1/4SE

Acaecimientos.

Estas veinte quatro horas hemos navegado a los Rumbos, y distancias que muestra la tabla como los Vientos que principiaron de primero cuadrante galernos con todo

Aparejo de Alas, y rastreras, el Cielo, y Horizontes con celageria clara la mar llana del viento[.] à esta hora se havisto a Guajan del tope.

Al poner el Sol se hallava el tiempo en la misma disposicion, y se hallaron 6°30 minutos de variacion NE y se marco à Guajan la Punta del NO al SO5°O y la Punta del SE al SSO à distancia de quatro a cinco leguas y la Isla de Rota al N5°E distancia de seis a siete leguas[.] a las siete de la noche se tomaron a una endana de Rizos à las gavias por haver reconocido que el tiempo se hiba enturbiando con algunos Chuvascos y al mismo tiempo se aferraron toda vela chica, y se mando gobernar al S[.] a las dies viramos en vuelta del N y assi nos mantubimos toda la noche de una buelta, y otra sobre la Cabeza del N de dicha Isla hasta que amanecio y reconocido el paraje metimos en derrota costeano la Costa de la parte del O a distancia de 1-1/2 millas el viento por el E algo fresco el cielo y Horizontes muy Claros con toda vela posible, y al mismo tiempo se hizaron vanderas y gallardete Nacionales.

A las 10 se mandaron Apear las Anclas[.] a las 10-1/2 llego una Embarcazion de tierra a reconocernos por Orden del Governador, y se dio la noticia de nuestro destino. a la 11 hechamos la Lancha al agua y al mismo tiempo vimos que se largava de tierra el Bote del Governador el que llego Abordo à las doce y media estando ya Costeano la Isla de Apapa con el Sargento Maior de la Plaza.

Dia 9 al 10 de Septiembre Miercoles a Jueves de 72 dias de Luna 14.

Seguimos con trinquete y gavias costeano los Bajos por sonda de veinte siete, quince, trece, ocho, y cinco brasas Arena lamosa[.] a las dos y media se pusieron las Anclas a la pendura Maniobrando à proporcion de Viento mar llana cielo y Horizontes claros siguiendo la sonda por fondo de cinco y media a seis brasas Arena blanca menuda y Arrecife de Piedras.

A las dos y tres quarto estando distante de la Punta de Orote como una milla dejamos caer el Ancla de estribor en veinte brazas de Agua arena menuda demorando dicha Punta al S51°O de la Auja se Aferrò el Aparejo y a esta hora principiamos à espia. A las tres se largo el Bote del Governador con nuestro Capitan[.] a las cinco de la tarde siguiendo la Espia[.] se calaron los mas teleras y se arriaron vergas y masteleritos de Juanete.

Dia 10 al 11 [Jueves a] Viernes de 72 dias de Luna 15.

A las seis de la mañana comensamos con nuestra faena de espia aunque se trabajo parte de la noche y a las cinco y media de la tarde conseguimos el quedar amarrados en la Poza grande del Puerto de Apra en dies y siete brasas lama blanca pegagosa NO y SO Demorando la Punta del O de Apapa al N20°O y la Punta del E al N35°E sin haver ocurrido novedad que anotar.

Translation.

Year of 1773. Confidential Report n° 246. Copybook n° 1.

Copy of the Logbook kept by Pilot Don Augustin de Ibarra, during his navigation from Manila Bay to the Mariana Islands by the new route of Cape Bojeador and Cape Engaño, to which he has been assigned, aboard the frigate **Nuestra Señora del Rosario**, commanded by Navy Lieutenant Don Antonio [rather José] Rodriguez Montenegro.—Duplicate copy.

12th of July and 14th Lunar.

On said day at 5:30 p.m., we sailed from the Point of Cavite with a wind from SE, somewhat fresh, and with all sails out, headed towards the Island of Corregidor...

...

Copybook n° 3.—Duplicate copy.

From 6th to 7th of September, Sunday to Monday, [blank = 11th] Lunar.

| Courses | Winds |
|---------|--------|
| S | E |
| S1/4SE | E1/4NE |
| E | ENE |

Remarks.

All these 24 hours we have sailed as per courses and distances shown on the table, as well as with the winds that began to blow ENE then veered south, all sails out, sky and horizons clearing, the sea serene. At 1 p.m., the studding-sails and staysails were set. At sunset the Variation of the needle was observed to be 6°20' NE. At this time the Island of Anatahan bore S86°W, distance 4 leagues, Sarigan N61°W distance 6-7 leagues, and the islet that is more to the south,¹ which was sighted from the top, bore about SSW. When night came, we were in the same position, steering S1/4SE, wind E1/4NE moderate, sky and horizons clear, the sea serene. At 9:30 p.m. said rock islet bore SW1/4S and at midnight it bore W1/4SW distance 3-4 leagues. Said rock island is small and very flat, and not very long. At daybreak we set all sails, including studding-and stay-sails, wind ENE fresh, steering S by the compass, the horizons cloudy and dark, the sea not affected by the wind. At this time the Island of Saipan was sighted, and at sunrise it bore S34°W distance 7-8 leagues. At this time one could still see the peak of the Island of Anatahan. At noon I observed the sun in 15°28'. Saipan then bore W1/4SW 3-4 leagues, and Tinian S47°E distance 6-7 leagues. The Island of Tinian was sighted at 10:30 a.m.

According to our observations, the Island of Saipan is well located on our Charts, since it appears there in 15°30', when it bore from me in said direction, all magnetic bearings. The wind continues as before, somewhat fresh and clear.

1 Ed. note: Farallon de Medinilla.

From 7th to 8th September 1772, Monday to Tuesday, [blank = 12th] Lunar.

| Courses | Winds |
|---------|--------|
| S | ENE |
| | E1/4SE |
| | NE |
| SSW | NNE |
| SW1/4S | NE1/4N |

Remarks

All these 24 hours we have sailed as per courses and distances shown in the table, as well as the winds that began from the 3rd [rather 1st] quadrant somewhat fresh veering southward, all sails out, including studding-sails and staysails, sea almost calm, sky and horizons clear. At sunset the peak of Saipan bore NW distance 4-5 leagues, the Island of Tinian W distance 3-4 leagues, the islet to the south of Tinian S65°W distance 5-6 leagues. When night fell, the wind was fresh from NNE twisting to NE, sky clear but horizons with thick and dark clouds, and more so those of the 1st and 2nd quadrants, all sails out including all studding- and stay-sails. At 6:30 the wind slackened, became easterly in a small squall and at 9:15 it became NE. At 11 p.m., the topgallant sails were furled, the studding- and stay-sails taken in. At midnight, the course was changed to SSW to head south. At this time the wind was NNE fresh, not looking good at all, with an ugly wind squall and repeated lightnings and a few thunder claps; the sails were modified, with 2 rows of reefs taken from the fore topsail and one from the main topsail, and at the same time the fore topsail was taken aback and the main topsail against the foresail. At 1:15 it began to clear and the number of squalls decreasing but the wind continuing much as before. After it cleared, the main topsail was raised, while the wind continued from NNE somewhat lighter. At 2 a.m. the main topsail was squared off, but still with two reefs. At 3:30 a squall hit from the NE seriously shaking the caps of the masthead and the foremast. At 4 the weather cleared and the topsails were unfurled once more.

When daybreak came we still had the same sail configuration, the sky and horizons were thick, the wind NNE fresh with the same twist, the sea not whipped by the wind. At this time the Island of Rota was sighted, bearing SW1/4W, and at 5:45 the course was changed to SW1/4W. At 6, the reefs were taken out of the topsails and all sails were out, including the studding- and staysails. An order was given for the anchors to be made ready. At 9:30, we were about one league from Rota, and one 2-pounder falconet was fired. At 10, two 4-pounder guns were fired. At 11:45 another 4-pound shot was fired. At noon the center of Rota bore WNW5°N distance 3-4 miles, and I observed the sun in 14°18' Lat. N.

From 8th to 9th September 1772, Tuesday to Wednesday, 13th Lunar.

| Courses | Winds |
|-----------|-------|
| SW1/4S | NE |
| S1/4[SW?] | ENE |

NNE5°N E
S1/4SE E1/4SE

Remarks

All these 24 hours we have sailed as per the courses and distances shown in the table, with the winds that began from the 1st quadrant northeasterly, all sails out including studding- and staysails, the sky and horizons clear, the sea smooth. At this time the Island of Guajan was sighted from the top.

At sunset the weather remained the same, and the variation was found to be 6°30' NE, the NW point of Guajan bore SW5°W and its SE point bore SSW distance 4-5 leagues, while the [center of the] Island of Rota bore N°E distance 6-7 leagues. At 7 in the evening, the first row of reefs was taken in from the topsails, after it had been recognized that the weather was becoming rougher with a few squalls and at the same time all of the small sails were removed, and the course was set to S. At 10, we tacked back to N; thus, we maintained ourselves all night, tacking back and forth, to the north of said Island until daybreak when we got our bearings and began coasting along the western coast at a distance of 1-1/2 miles, with the wind from the E somewhat fresh, the sky and horizons very clear, all sails out, and at the same time the national flag and pennant were raised.

At 10 the anchors were unfastened. At 10:30 a boat came from shore to recognize us by order of the Governor, and we let them know about our commission. At 11 we put out the launch and at the same time we saw the boat of the Governor leaving the shore. It came alongside at 12:30, as we were already coasting along Apapa Island. It brought the Sergeant-Major of the garrison.

From 9th to 10th September 1772, Wednesday to Thursday, 14th Lunar.

We continued with foresail and topsails, shoaling water decreasing from 27, 15, 13, 8, and 5 fathoms, muddy sand. At 2:30 p.m., the anchors were left hanging while we maneuvered when the wind permitted, the sea smooth, sky and horizons clear, continuing with the bottom from 5-1/2 to 6 fathoms, fine white sand and stone reef.

At 2:45 p.m., being about one mile from Orote Point, we let go the starboard anchor in 20 fathoms, fine sand, said point bearing S51°W by the compass, and all sails were furled. At this time we began to warp. At 3 p.m. the Governor's boat left with our Captain. At 5 p.m., we were still warping our way in, most of the outer yards and topmasts, and all topgallant yards were taken down.

From 10th to 11th, [Thursday to] Friday, 15th Lunar.

At 6 in the morning, we began to warp our way in again, although some work was done during the night. By 5:30 p.m. we managed to reach the big Basin of the Port of Apra where we moored to NW and SW in 17 fathoms, sticky white mud. The west point of Apapa bore N20°W and its east point N35°E. No other detail was worth noting this day.

Documents 1772F

The return of the galleon San José to Manila

Source: AGI Fil. 684.

F1. Letter from the Viceroy, dated Mexico 25 January 1772

Original text in Spanish.

Nº 186.

El Virrey de Nueva España avisa la llegada à Acapulco de la Nao de Filipinas, cargada segun el reglamento del año de 1734, y expone que hà dado providencias para su Descarga, y que los comerciantes concurren à la Feria à fin de que pueda verificarse su regreso en tiempo oportuno.

Exmo. Señor

Muy Señor mio.

*En Carta Nº 133 avisé à V.E. haver tocado en las costas de Puerto de Navidad la Fragata del Rey titulada **San Josef** (bulgarmente llamada la Nao de Filipinas) que salió de Cavite el Diez y ocho de Julio del año proximo anterior: Aora doy cuenta à V.E. que este Buque entró con felicidad en el Puerto de Acapulco el seis del corriente, al cargo de su General Don Francisco Dabid [sic], y conduciendo a su bordo un mil quatrocientas sesenta, y nueve Piezas, y media regulares de varias clases conforme al antiguo reglamento del año de 1734.*

El Governador y Capitan General de aquellas Yslas Don Simon de Anda me avisa que con motivo de no haverse hecho la formacion del Consulado de Manila, hasta el dia Veinte y nueve de Mayo del año de 1771 en que yà no hubo tiempo para disponer la carga de la Nao segun lo prevenido en las Adicciones de el de 1769 fuè preciso con acuerdo de aquella N. Ciudad, su Comercio y Real Audiencia despacharlo con las mismas Piezas que conducia quando bolvio de arrivada.

A consecuencia de esta noticia hè dado las correspondientes providencias para la descarga, y mandado publicar la llegada de la Nao afin de que concurriendo los comerciantes à la celebracion de la Feria, se verifique su Despacho en tiempo oportuno à cuyo efecto estrecharé mis ordenes, y de quanto vaya ocurriendo Ynformaré a V.E. para que se sirva trasladarlo todo a noticia de S.M.

Dios Guarde à V.E. muchos años que deseo.

Mexico 25 de Enero de 1772.

Exmo. Sor.

B.I.m. de V.E. su mas rendido reconocido servidor

Antonio Bucareli y Ursua.

[A] *Exmo. Sor. B° Fr. Don Julian de Arriaga.*

Translation.

Letter N° 186.

The Viceroy of New Spain advises the arrival at Acapulco of the galleon from the Philippines, loaded in accordance with the regulation of 1734, and he says that he had issued orders for her to be unloaded, and that the traders may go to the trade fair, so that her return may take place as soon as possible.

Your Excellency.

My dear Sir:

In Letter N° 133 I advised Y.E. that the King's frigate named **San José** (commonly referred to as the Philippine galleon) that had departed Cavite on the 18th of July of last year had visited the coast near the port of Navidad.¹ Now I report to Y.E. that this ship has made it successfully into the port of Acapulco, carrying a load consisting of 1,469-1/2 regular Pieces, of various classes, in accordance with the old regulation of 1734.

The Governor and Captain General of those Islands, Don Simon de Anda, advises me that, because the Consulado of Manila had not yet been created, by the 29th of May 1771, at which time there was too little time to re-arrange the cargo of the galleon, in accordance with the Additions to the Ordinances of 1769, and it became necessary, with the agreement of that Noble City, its Traders, and the Royal Audiencia, to despatch her with the same Pieces that she had on board when she turned back in distress.

As a result of this news, I have issued the corresponding orders for her to be unloaded, and have published the arrival of the galleon so that the traders may go to attend the Trade Fair, soon enough to allow her to be despatched early. For this purpose, I will issue strict orders, and I will let Y.E. know how it turns out, so that you may be pleased to inform H.M.

May God save Y.E. for as many years as I wish.

Mexico, 25 January 1772.

Your Excellency.

The most submissive and grateful servant of Y.E. who kisses your hand,

Antonio Bucareli y Ursua.

[To] His Excellency Bailiff Fray Julian de Arriaga.

1 Ed. note: To let the gentleman courier go ashore with the official mail, in December 1771.

F2. Letter from Viceroy Bucareli, dated Mexico 23 April 1772

Original text in Spanish.

Nº 324.

*El Virrey de Nueva España avisa que la Fragata **San Josef** salio de retorno del Puerto de Acapulco para el de Cavite el dia tres de Abril, y remite notas de los Caudales de Real Hacienda, Comercio de aquellas Yslas, y Pasajeros que conduce.*

Exmo. Señor.

Mui Sor. mio.

*Con fecha de quatro de este mes, me noticiaron el Castellano, y oficiales Reales de Acapulco, de que el dia anterior a las doce, havia dado vela la Fragata **San Josef** de retorno de aquel Puerto, para el de Cavite llevandose a su vordo los caudales que expresa la nota adjunta numero 1º asi de Real Hacienda, para las atenciones de Manila, y Marianas, como para el Comercio, y particulares de aquellas Yslas.*

Yualmente se expresan en la nota numero 1 los Pasajeros (que ademas de la Tropa) conduce a su vordo, y que entre ellos, es no el Coronel Don Pedro Palacios Teniente Rey de Manila, y otro el oydor Don Juan Bonilla destinado à aquella Audiencia: tolo lo qual traslado a V.E. para que se sirva ponerlo en noticia de S.M.

Nuestro Señor guarde a V.E. muchos años.

Mexico 23 de Abril de 1772.

Exmo. Sor.

B.l.m. de V.E. su mas rendido reconocido servidor

Antonio Bucarerli y Ursua

[Al] Exmo. Sor. Bº Fr. Don Julian de Arriaga.

Nº 1º

*Razon certificada que el Castellano, y oficiales Reales de Acapulco remiten al Exmo. Sor. Don Antonio Maria Bucareli, y Ursua Virrey, Governador, y Capitan General de esta Nueva España de todos los caudales que se han embarcado, y conduce à Filipinas la Fragata de S.M. nombrada **San Josef** del cargo de su General Don Francisco David.*

Primeramente. De cuenta de S.M. y por perteneciente a los Reales situados de Filipinas 344,152-1-10

Por Ydem para los correspondientes a las Yslas Marianas ... 35,083-5-6

Para la Paga del Devengado, y año adelantado de los oficiales de Plana mayor Guarnicion y Tripulacion 53,340-1-8

Para reintegro de las Caxas de Manila de lo que suplieron à buena cuenta a los muertos y Desertores 18,959-4-0

Por lo que embarcaron los interesados en el cargio de este Navio correspondiente al Duplo de sus consignaciones con arreglo al Real Proyecto 997,838-5-0

Para reintegro de las Caxas de Manila de los muertos, y Desertores 433-2-2

| | |
|--|-------------|
| <i>Para cubrir el permiso abierto del Navio San Carlos en el año de setenta</i> | 262,107-0-8 |
| <i>Para socorro de Misiones en virtud de Decreto de S.E.</i> | 36,044-4-0 |
| <i>Para sueldos y haver de la Tropa que se ha embarcado</i> | 5,632-0-0 |
| <i>Por lo embarcado con permiso de S.E. pagando el 5 p%</i> | 53,543-4-6 |
| <i>Por la importancia de los Frutos de la Tierra de que se han cobrado los correspondientes derechos</i> | 42,135-3-0 |

1,849,396-1-4
=====

*Por manera que segun se percive de esta relacion ha conducido la Fragata **San Josef** que el dia tres se hizo a la vela para Manila la cantidad de un Millon ochocientos quarenta y nueve mil trecientos noventa y seis pesos un tomin, y quatro granos salvo yerro, ú omision. Y para que conste al Exmo. Sor. Virrey de este Reyno, asi lo certificamos en la Ciudad de los Reyes Puerto de Acapulco, a quatro de Abril de mil setecientos setenta y dos años.*

*Domingo Elizondo
Estevan de la Carrera
Juan Manuel Ramirez*

Nº 2º

*Lista de los Pasajeros que lleva la Fragata de S.M. **San Josef** que salio de este Puerto para las Yslas Filipinas el 3 de Abril de 1772.*

*El Coronel Don Pedro Palacios Teniente de Rey de Manila
Don Juan Bonilla con su Muger
Don Antonio Piñon
Don Andrés Blanco
Don Andrés Barela
Don Luis Platè
Don Juan Antonio Camaño
Don Alonso Cacho Herrera.
Acapulco 4 de Abril de 1772.
Elizondo
Carrera
Ramirez*

Translation.

Letter Nº 324.

The Viceroy of New Spain advises that the frigate **San José** departed the port of Acapulco on her return voyage to the port of Cavite on the 3rd of April, and he remits notes about the funds of the Royal Treasury, of the Traders of those Islands, and the Passengers carried on board.

Your Excellency.

My dear Sir:

In a letter dated 4th of this month, the Warden and Royal officials of Acapulco notified me that on the previous day, the frigate **San José** had sailed on her return voyage for the port of Cavite, carrying on board her the funds listed in Note 1, attached, not just from the Royal Treasury, for addressees in Manila and in the Marianas, but also for the Traders and individuals in those Islands.

In addition, the names of the Passengers on board (excluding the soldiers) are also listed in Note 1, and among them is Colonel Pedro Palacios, the King's Lieutenant for Manila, and the new Member of that Audiencia, Don Juan Bonilla.

All of which I report to Y.E., so that you may be pleased to inform H.M.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Mexico, 23 April 1772.

Your Excellency.

The most submissive and grateful servant of Y.E. who kisses your hand,
Antonio Bucareli y Ursua.

[To] His Excellency Bailiff Fray Julian de Arriaga.

Nº 1.

Certified list that the Warden and the Royal officials of Acapulco remitted to His Excellency Don Antonio María Bucareli y Ursua, Viceroy, Governor and Captain General of this New Spain, of all the funds that were loaded on board the Frigate of H.M. named **San José**, commanded by General Francisco David, for transport to the Philippines.

| | |
|--|-------------------|
| Firstly, on the account of H.M. and as belonging to the Royal subsidies of the Philippines | 344,152-1-10 |
| Idem, those corresponding to the Mariana Islands | 35,083-5-6 |
| For the backpay, and advanced pay for one year, of the officers on the roll of the Garrison and Crew | 53,340-1-8 |
| For the reimbursement of the Manila treasury from what was left over from the accounts of the dead and deserters | 18,959- 4-0 |
| For the freight that interested parties had placed on board, corresponding to twice the value of the goods consigned in accordance with the Royal Plan | 997,838-5-0 |
| To reimbursement the Manila treasury from the dead and deserters | 433-2-2 |
| To cover the open permit of the galleon San Carlos in 1770 | 262,107-0-8 |
| For the succor of the Mission bands in view of the Decree of H.E. | 36,044-4-0 |
| For the salaries and credit of the soldiers who have embarked | 5,632-0-0 |
| For what was loaded with the permit of H.E., by paying the 5% ... | 53,543-4-6 |
| For the value of the local products upon which have been charged the corresponding duties | 42,135-3-0 |

 1,849,396-1-4
 =====

So it appears that, according to this list, the frigate **San José**, which departed for Manila on the 3rd, carried the sum of one Million eight hundred and forty nine thousand three hundred ninety six pesos one tomin and four grains, save error or omission, And to make it official for His Excellency the Viceroy of this Kingdom, we the undersigned have certified it in the City of the Kings and Port of Acapulco, on the 4th of April 1772.

Domingo Elizondo
 Estevan de la Carrera
 Juan Manuel Ramirez

Nº 2.

List of the passengers aboard the frigate of H.M. **San José** that departed this port for the Philippine Islands on the 3rd of April 1772.

Colonel Don Pedro Palacios, the King's Lieutenant for Manila

Don Juan Bonilla, with his wife

Don Antonio Piñon¹

Don Andrés Blanco

Don Andrés Barela

Don Luís Platé

Don Juan Antonio Camaño

Don Alonso Cacho Herrera.

Acapulco, 4 April 1772.

Elizondo

Carrera

Ramirez

F3. Letter #224 from Governor Anda, dated Manila 14 July 1772

Original text in Spanish.

El Governador y Capitan General de Philipinas.

Avisa la llegada de la Fragata S. Joseph procedente de Acapulco, y que por la Venus contextará à las ordenes recibidas.

Exmo. Señor:

Nº 224.

1 Ed. note: The same Frenchman who had warned Manila about the Dutch threat almost 30 years earlier. He had obviously become a citizen of the Philippines.

Mui Señor mio.

*Teniendo señalado el día 15 para la salida à Acapulco de la Fragata **S. Carlos**, llegó de retorno del mismo Puerto la nombrada **S. Joseph**, en la que hè recibido varios pliegos del Real servicio. Y no pudiendo sin atrasar dicha salida dar respuesta à las Reales ordenes recibidas por las muchas ocupaciones que ofrece el presente despacho de la mencionada **S. Carlos**: reservo su contextacion para la **Venus** que espero aqui de un dia, à otro segun las noticias recibidas de esos Reynos; lo que aviso à V.E. para su noticia.*

Nuestro Señor Guarde à V.E. muchos años.

Manila y Julio 14 de 1772.

Exmo. Señor

Don Simon de Anda.

[A] Exmo. Sor. B^o Fr. D. Julian Arriaga.

Translation.

The Governor and Captain General of the Philippines reports the arrival of the frigate **San José** proceeding from Acapulco, and that he will answer the orders that he has received aboard the **Venus**.

Your Excellency.

Letter N^o 224.

My dear Sir:

As the frigate **San Carlos** was about to depart for Acapulco on the 15th, there arrived to the same port, on her return voyage, the frigate **San José**, aboard which I have received various documents concerning the Royal service. And since I cannot answer the Royal orders without delaying said departure, on account of the many occupations that the present despatch of the above-mentioned **San Carlos**, I reserve this work for the **Venus** that I expect here any day now, according to the news received from those Kingdoms.

I let Y.E. know of this, for your information.

May our Lord save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 13 July 1772.

Your Excellency.

Don Simon de Anda.

[To] His Excellency Bailiff Fray Julian Arriaga.

Document 1773A

Royal decree of 16 September 1773 regarding the Jesuit suppression

Source: Pamphlet printed in Madrid by Pedro Marin in 1773.

Note: For the text of the Papal Brief abolishing the Jesuit Order, see Doc. 1773C in HM16.

Original text in Spanish

Real Cedula de S.M. y señores de su Consejo, encargando á los Tribunales Superiores, Ordinarios Eclesiasticos, y Justicias de estos Reynos, cuiden respectivamente de la egecucion del Breve de Su Santidad, por el qual se anula, disuelve, y extingue perpetuamente la Orden de Regulares, llamada la Compañia de Jesus, con lo demás que aqui se expresa.—Año 1773.

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DON CARLOS, por la gracia de Dios, Rey de Castilla, de Leon, de Aragon, de las dos Sicilias, de Jerusalem, de Navarra, de Granada, de Toledo, de Valencia, de Galicia, de Mallorca, de Sevilla, de Cerdeña, de Cordova, de Corcega, de Murcia, de Jaen, de los Algarves, de Algeciras, de Gibraltar, de las Islas de Canarias, de las Indias Orientales, y Occidentales, Islas, y Tierra Firme del Mar Océano, Archiduque de Austria, Duque de Borgoña, de Brabante, y de Milán, Conde de Abspurg, de Flandes, Tiról, y Barcelona, Señor de Vizcaya, y de Molina, &c.

A los del mi Consejo, Presidentes, y Oidores de mis Audiencias, Alcaldes, Alguaciles de mi Casa, Corte, y Chancillerías, y à todos los Corregidores, Asistentes, Governadores, Alcaldes Mayores, y Ordinarios, y otros qualesquier Jueces, y Justicias de estos mis Reynos, asi de Realengo, como de Señorío, Abadengo, y Ordenes, tanto à los que aora son, como à los que serán de aqui adelante, y à todas las demas personas à quien lo contenido en esta mi Cedula toca, ò tocar puede en qualquier manera:

SABED: Que con mi Real Decreto de dos de este mes, fui servido remitir al mi Consejo un exemplar del Breve, que me ha dirigido su Santidad, en virtud del qual anula, disuelve, y extingue perpetuamente la Orden de Regulares, llamada la Compañia de Jesus, para que viendose en él, se le diese cumplimiento, y se publicase, mandandole

traducir, è imprimir à dos columnas en las dos lenguas Latina, y Castellana, remitiendole acompañado de Cedula mia, segun costumbre, à los Tribunales, Prelados, Corregidores, y Justicias de estos Reynos à quien corresponda, para su inteligencia. Y publicado en el Consejo pleno el citado mi Real Decreto, y acordado su cumplimiento en tres de este mismo mes, mandó. que el Traductor General hiciese la traduccion del referido Breve en la forma por Mí prevenida; y habiendose egecutado asi, buelto à ver en el mi Consejo, con lo que en su inteligencia expusieron mis tres Fiscales, aprobó la traduccion que se hizo del citado Breve, mandó imprimirle à dos columnas, y acordó para su cumplimiento, y que llegue individualmente à noticia de todos, expedir esta mi Cedula:

Por la qual encargo à los muy Reverendos Arzobispos, Reverendos Obispos, y à los Cabildos de las Iglesias Metropolitanas, y Cathedralas en Sede vacante, sus Visitadores, ò Vicarios, à los demás Ordinarios Eclesiasticos, que exerzan jurisdiccion, y à los Superiores, ò Prelados de las Ordenes Regulares, Parrocos, y demás personas Eclesiasticas, vean el citado Breve de su Santidad, concurriendo por su parte cada uno en lo que le toca, à que tenga su debido cumplimiento; y mando à todos los Jueces, y Justicias de estos mis Reynos, y demás à quienes toque, le vean, guarden, y cumplan, y hagan guardar, y cumplir igualmente, sin contravenir, permitir, ni dar lugar à que se contravenga con ningun pretexto, ò causa à quanto en él se dispone, y ordena, prestando, en caso necesario, para que tenga su cumplida, y debida execucion, los auxilios correspondientes, y dando las demás ordenes, y providencias, que se requieran, entendiendose todo sin perjuicio de mi Real Pragmatica de dos de Abril de mil setecientos y sesenta y siete, y Providencias posteriores tomadas, ò que se tomaren en su asunto. Y en su consecuencia, declaro, quedan sin novedad en su fuerza, y vigor el estrañamiento de los Individuos expulsos de la extinguida Orden de la Compañia, y sus efectos, y las penas impuestas contra los transgresores. Que asi es mi voluntad: y que al traslado impreso de esta mi Cedula, firmado de Don Antonio Martinez Salazar, mi Secretario, Contador de Resultas, Escribano de Cámara mas antiguo, y de Gobierno del mi Consejo, se le dé la misma fé, y credito que à su original.

*Dada en San Ildefonso, à diez y seis de Septiembre de mil setecientos setenta y tres.
YO EL REY.*

Yo Don Josef Ignacio de Goyeneche, Secretario del Rey nuestro Señor, le hice escribir por su mandado.

Don Manuel Ventura Figueroa.

Don Manuel de Azpilcueta.

Don Antonio de Veyan.

El Marqués de Contreras.

Don Miguel Joaquin de Lorieri.

Registrada.

Don Nicolás Verdugo.

Teniente de Canciller Mayor, Don Nicolás Verdugo.

Es copia de la original, de que certifico: Don Antonio Martinez Salazar.

Translation

Royal decree of H.M. and the gentlemen of his Council, entrusting the Superior, Ordinary Ecclesiastical Tribunals, and Magistrates of these Kingdoms, to make sure to carry out in their respective jurisdictions the Brief of His Holiness, by which is annulled, dissolved, and abolished forever the Order of Regulars known as the Society of Jesus, with other things that are mentioned herein.—Year of 1773.

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CHARLES, by the grace of God, King of Castile, of Leon, of Aragon, of the two Sicilies, of Jerusalem, of Navarre, of Granada, of Toledo, of Valencia, of Galicia, of Mayorca, of Seville, of Sardinia, of Cordoba, of Corsica, of Murcia, of Jaen, of the Algarves, of Algeciras, of Gibraltar, of the Canary Islands, of the East and West Indies, and the Mainland of the Ocean Sea, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Bourgogne, of Brabant, and of Milan, Count of Hapsburg, of Flanders, of Tyrol, and Barcelona, Lord of Biscay, and of Molina, etc.

To those of my Council, Presidents and Members of my Audiencias, Senior and Ordinary Justices of my House, Court, and Chancelleries, and to all the Magistrates, Assistants, Governors, Provincial Mayors, and Ordinary Mayors, and any other Judges and Justices of these my Kingdoms whatsoever, not only those in charge of royal estates, but also those in charge of royal domains, abbeys, and Orders, who are presently and will be in future, and to all of the other persons to whom the contents of this my decree concerns, or may concern, in any manner whatsoever:

BE IT KNOWN: That, along with my decree of the second of this month, I was pleased to remit to my Council one copy of the Brief, that His Holiness had addressed to me, in virtue of which he annuls, dissolves, and abolishes forever the Regular Order known as the Society of Jesus, for it to be examined therein, and be complied with, and then published, by ordering it to be translated, and printed in two columns, one in the Latin language and the other in the Spanish language, remitting it along with my Decree, according to custom, to the Tribunals, Prelates, Magistrates, and Justices of these Kingdoms to whom it may concern, for their information. And, once the above-mentioned my Royal Decree had been published in the full Council, and its execution ordered on the third of this same month, it ordered the Translator General to make the translation of the above-mentioned Brief in the form ordered by Me; and after this was so done, my Council having reviewed same, along with what my three Fiscals said about it, approved the translation that had been made of said Brief, ordered it printed in two columns, and provided for compliance therewith, and in order for it to be brought to the attention of everyone, the issuance of this my Decree:

By which I entrust the Most Reverend Archbishops, Reverend Bishops, and the Ecclesiastical Councils of the Metropolitan Churches, and Cathedrals with vacant sees, their Visitors, or Vicars, to the other Ordinary and Auxiliary Bishops, who exercise jurisdiction, and to the Superiors, or Prelates, of the Regular Orders, Curates, and other Ecclesiastics, with the examination of the above-mentioned Brief of His Holiness, each one endeavouring to comply with what concerns him as he must; and I order all the Judges, and Justices of these my Kingdoms, and others concerned, to examine, obey, and comply with it, and make sure that it is obeyed, and complied with also, without contravening it, or permitting, and giving room for anyone else to contravene it under any pretext, or reason, regarding any of its dispositions, and orders, and they are, if necessary, to lend the corresponding assistance, for it to be fully complied with and carried out, and to give the other orders, and provisions, that may be required. It is to be understood that everything is without prejudice to my Royal Regulation of the second of April 1767, and later Provisions taken, or that might be taken, in this matter. And consequently, I declare that there is no change in the effectiveness, and application, of the exile of the individuals expelled from the former Order of the Society, and its effects, and of the penalties imposed upon the transgressors. That such is my will. And that the printed version of this my Decree, signed by Don Antonio Martinez Salazar, my Secretary, Receiver General, most senior Clerk of my Chamber, and Government, and that of my Council, be given the same faith, and credence, as the original.

Made at San Ildefonso, on the 16th of September 1773.

I THE KING.

I, Don José Ignacio de Goyeneche, Secretary of the King our Lord, had it transcribed by his order.

Don Manuel Ventura Figueroa.¹

Don Manuel de Azpilcueta.

Don Antonio de Veyán.

The Marquis of Contreras.

Don Miguel Joaquin de Lorieri.

Registered: Don Nicolás Verdugo.

Deputy Chief Chancellor: Don Nicolás Verdugo.

This is a certified copy of the original,

Don Antonio Martinez Salazar.

1 Ed. note: He had replaced the Count of Aranda (who had been named Ambassador to the French court) as President of the Extraordinary Council.

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APPENDIX 2 -- SHIPS THROUGH MICRONESIA, 1741-1792

| YEAR & MTH OF VISIT | NAME OF SHIP | NAME OF CAPTAIN | SHIP NATIONALITY | CHRONICLERS *Primary source. | COMMENTS |
|------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|--|---|
| 1741 | N. S. de Covadonga | G. Montero | Spanish | Dahlgren. | Did not stop at the Marianas. |
| 1742 | 8 HMS Centurion | George Anson | English | *Anson, *Saumarez, *Thomas, *Walter, etc | First R.N. ship in Pacific & last pirate. |
| 1743 | 4 N. S. del Pilar | ? | Spanish | | Detained at Acapulco because of Anson. |
| 1743 | 6 N. S. de Covadonga | G. Montero | Spanish | Martínez de Zúñiga. | Captured by HMS Centurion off Samar. |
| 1745 | San Francisco | ? | Spanish | | Small Calif. mission boat sent to Mla. |
| 1746 | 3 Santo Domingo | José Rodríguez Ortigosa | Spanish | Enriquez. | B&R 47:237. Passed by N. Marianas. |
| 1746 | 9 Santo Domingo | ? | Spanish | Castillo. | Brought Gov. Gomez to Guam. |
| 1746-1747 | Hersteller [= Repairer] | Jan Luis Wins | Dutch | *Wins. From Batavia to New Spain. | Illegal trading. Fate of ship unknown. |
| 1746-1747 | Hervatting [= Restorer] | L. Gottschack (?) | Dutch | *Gottschack. " " " " " | " " " " " " " |
| 1747 | 9 Santo Domingo | ? | Spanish | Castillo, Safford. | AGN Fil. 3/4/45-67. |
| 1747 | a 6 N. S. del Rosario | F. González de Quijano | Spanish | Castillo, Martínez de Z., Concepción. | B&R 47:236, 243; 48:145, 154-5. |
| 1747 | b 6 N. S. del Pilar | J. B. Pañales Carranza | " | " " " " " | Lost in 1750 (B&R 48:155). |
| 1748 | Santo Domingo | ? | Spanish | Gov. Archbishop. | See Doc. 1748B. Wrecked 1 Dec. 1748. |
| 1749 | (1 patache) | ? | Spanish | Safford. | Brought Gov. Olavide to Guam. |
| 1750 | N.S. del Rosariò y los Santos Reyes | Francisco Ustariz | Spanish | Velarde, Martínez de Zúñiga. | AGI Fil. 94 Gov. Obando aboard. B&R 48:153. |
| 1752 | Santísima Trinidad (=Buen Fín) | A. de Cossio (?) | Spanish | Arrieta, Castro (Doc. 1758F). | |
| 1753 | N. S. del Rosario (alias Philipino) | T. de Iturralde | Spanish | Viceroy Revillagigedo, Castro. | |
| 1754 | N. S. de la Porteria | ? | Spanish | AGI Ultramar 562. | To Marianas. Owner José Rafael Acevedo. |
| 1754 | 6 Santísima Trinidad (= Buen Fin) | Marquis of Villamediana | Spanish | *Tornos, *Arandia. Gov. Arandia aboard. | AGI Fil. 98 & 108-3-11. B&R 48:167-8. |
| 1755 | N. S. del Rosario (alias Philipino) | C. M. Velarde | Spanish | *Boucourt. | AGI Fil. 98 (22 Dec. 1756). Fil. 679. |
| 1755 | N.S. de la Porteria | A. del Barrio y Ravago | Spanish | Gov. Arandia. | AGI Fil. 679. Mariana patache, turned back. |
| 1756 | Santísima Trinidad (= Buen Fín) | Marques de Villamediana | Spanish | *Boucourt, *Cosio, *Arandia, Castro. | AGI Fil. 679. B&R 48:189, 49:315-7. |
| 1757 | N.S. del Rosario (alias Filipino) | D. Gomez de la Sierra | Spanish | Viceroy Amarillas, Castro. | AGI Fil. 335, L.17, p. 113. Fil. 679. |

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|------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|---|--|
| 1758 | N.S. de la Porteria | M. Vasco de Vergas | Spanish | *Galvan, Castro. | |
| 1759 | (1 patache) | J. de Soroa | Spanish | *Bishop Espeleta. | AGI Fil. 480. See also 1769. |
| 1759 | Santísima Trinidad (=Poderoso) | ? | Spanish | *Fraslin (chief pilot). | AGI Fil. 480. Archbishop Rojo on board. |
| 1760 ? | N.S. del Rosario (alias Filipino) | ? | Spanish | *Bishop of Cebu. | AGI Fil. 480. AGN... Eastward in 1759. |
| 1761 | 7 Santísima Trinidad | J. de Eslava | Spanish | | Anda on board. |
| 1761 | a 3 Caernavon | N. Hutchinson | English | *Dewar, *Scott, Stevens, Horsburgh. | Logbook in India Office, London. |
| 1761 | b 3 Warwick | J. Dewar | " | " " " " " | " " " " |
| 1761 | c 3 Princess Augusta | T. Baddison | " | " " " " " | " " " " |
| 1762 | N.S. del Rosario (alias Filipino) | J. A. Blanco de Sotomayor | Spanish | Soroa, Rojo. B&R 48:154; 49:14, 50-1, 65 | 89,112-3,194-201,208-9,246-9,251; 50:38. |
| 1762 | Santísima Trinidad | F. V. Meylan | Spanish | Le Gentil. B&R 49:15, 58-59. AGI Fil.681 | Turned back. Captured by English in Samar. |
| 1763 | Governour | ? | English | Robertson, Stevens. | |
| 1764 | 3 Santa Rosa | F. Estorgo | Spanish | *Estorgo,*Rodriguez, Martínez, Pazuengos | B&R 49:341-5; 53:94, 350. AHH 19: 231+ |
| 1765 | a 7 HMS Dolphin | Byron | English | *Byron, *Clerke, *Mouat. | Discovered Nukunau (Gilberts). |
| 1765 | b 7 HMS Tamar | ? | " | " " " " | " " " " |
| 1766 | San Carlos (patache) | M. de Arza y Urrutia | Spanish | *Izquierdo, et al., Le Gentil. | Mariana patache, wrecked in N. Samar. |
| 1766 | Santa Rosa (galleon) | ? | Spanish | *Le Gentil. Built in Peru. | Went eastward in 1767 (MN 584). |
| 1767 | San Carlos (Borromeo) | ? | Spanish | *Le Gentil, *Ramirez. | Built at Cavite 1766. AGI Fil. 684. |
| 1767 | 9 HMS Dolphin | S. Wallis | English | *Wallis, *Clarke. | Discovered Rongerik and Rongelap. |
| 1767 | 9 HMS Swallow | P. Carteret | English | *Carteret. | Re-discovered Tobi, Pulo Ana, Sonsorol. |
| 1768 | N. S. de la Soledad (=Sonora) | F. J. Estorgo y Gallegos | Spanish | *Estorgo, *Croix. A 36-foot boat. | Schooner. Ayer#1341. Map AGI MP Fil. 64. |
| 1768 | 6 Santa Rosa | Ignacio Barzola | Spanish | *Croix, *Olavide, *Blas, *Pagès,LeGentil | Brought Gov. Olavide to Guam a 2nd time. |
| 1769 | St-Jean-Baptiste | J. de Surville | French | *Surville; *Labé. | Abandoned 3 crew members in N. Luzon. |
| 1769 | 2 Ponsborne | J. Payne | English | *Waghom, Stevens, Dalrymple, Torin, 1801 Log 462B | in India Office. |

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| YEAR & MTH OF VISIT | NAME OF SHIP | NAME OF CAPTAIN | SHIP NATIONALITY | CHRONICLERS *Primary source. | COMMENTS |
|------------------------|--|--------------------------|---------------------|--|--|
| 1769 | 8 N. S. de Guadalupe | José Soroa | Spanish | De la Costa, Safford. AHN 5853. | Brought Recollects from Manila to Guam. |
| 1769-70 | San Carlos (Borromeo) | F. Cerafn | Spanish | *Puig, *Tornos, Viceroy Croix (Fil. 684) | Eastward passage with expelled Jesuits. |
| 1770-72 | San José | F. Davie | Spanish | *Bucareli, *Estorgo. | Built 1769. Eastward in 1770 & 1771. |
| 1771 | N. S. del Rosario | J. Gonzalez | Spanish | Gov. Anda. | AHN 5853. Launch bought from Fco. Casten. |
| 1771 | San Carlos (Borromeo) | ? | Spanish | | |
| 1772 | N.S. del Rosario | J. Rodriguez Montenegro | Spanish | *Ibarra, *Duclesmeur. | Patache Mla-Guam-Mla. AGI Fil. 390 & 645. |
| 1772 | San José (de Gracia) | F. David | Spanish | Viceroy Bucareli, Gov. Anda. | AGI Fil. 684. 49 Chinese on board. |
| 1772 | a 9 Marquis de Castries | A.B.M. Le Jar Duclesmeur | French | *Duclesmeur, *Crozet, *Roux, *Ibarra, | Langara. Ex-Marion Expedition. |
| 1772 | b 9 Mascarín | J. Crozet | " | " " " " " " " | " " " " |
| 1773 & 74 | N. S. de la Consolación (=Buen Fín) | Juan F. Solano | Spanish | *Tompson, *Vazquez, *Ibarra, Concepción, | Merchant ship. Discovery Ngatik & Oroluk. |
| 1774 | San José (de Gracia) | V. Zorrilla | Spanish | | AGI 108-3-22/27. AGN Fil 8/11/473-488. |
| 1774 ? | San Carlos (Borromeo?) | J. Manuel | Spanish | | AGN Fil 14/10. Burned Cavite 1776. |
| 1775 | 10 N. S. de la Concepción (=Desengaño) | F. David | Spanish | *David, *Conde. | Her first voyage. AGN Fil 9/2 & 10/1. Shipwrecked at Guam. |
| 1776 | N. S. del Carmen (=La Mariana) | F. Viera | Spanish | *Gov. Cerafn. | Other alias = Fénix? Mla-Guam-Mla. |
| 1776 | San José (de Gracia) | ? | Spanish | | AGN Fil 11/16, 12/7, 12/9. |
| 1777 | N. S. del Rosario (=Princesa) | ? | Spanish | | Built in San Blas in 1772. |
| 1778 | San José (de Gracia) | A. Diaz Conde | Spanish | | AGI Fil. 337/L20, 946-947; 642. |
| 1779 | San Carlos | J. Manuel de Ayala | Spanish | *Ayala, *Gov. Basco. | Arrived Mla. in Feb 1780. Back to S. Blas in Aranzazu. |
| 1779 | San Pedro (=Caviteño) | F. David | Spanish | *Gov. Sarrio, Del Arco. | RAH. AGI Fil. 495, 951, 333/20. |
| 1779 | 07 San José (de Gracia) | J. Emparán | Spanish | *Emparán. | Eastward via N. Marianas. |
| 1779 | a 11 Resolution | Gore | English | *Anon. | Via Volcano Is. Cook's 3rd exped. Quoted for the record. |
| 1779 | b 11 Discovery | King | " | " | " " " " " " " |
| 1780 | 3 San Antonio (=Príncipe) | D. Choquet de Isla | Spanish | *Choquet. | MN 577. Built San Blas 1772. |

APPENDIX 2 -- SHIPS THROUGH MICRONESIA, 1741-1792

| YEAR & MTH OF VISIT | | NAME OF SHIP | NAME OF CAPTAIN | SHIP NATIONALITY | CHRONICLERS *Primary source. | COMMENTS |
|------------------------|-----|-------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|--|--|
| 1780 | a 5 | San José (de Gracia) | J. Emparán | Spanish | *Maurelle. | Via Tinian. Maurelle aboard Princesa. AGI Fil 947. |
| 1780 | b 5 | N. S. del Rosario (=Princesa) | B. Heceta | " | " | " " " " " |
| 1781 | | N. S. del Rosario (=Princesa) | F. A. Maurelle | Spanish | *Maurelle, *Vasquez. | Eastward, via Guam. |
| 1781 | | San Pedro (=Caviteño) | J. Bermudez/E. Martínez? | Spanish | *Gov. Basco, *Anon. | MN 577. AGN Fil 13/15, 17/14, 17/15. |
| 1781 | 1 | Earl of Mansfield | W. Fraser | English | *Fraser. | Log 530B in India Office, London. |
| 1781 | 1 | Vansittart | R. Young | English | *Agnew. | Log 46E, India Office, London. |
| 1782 | | HMS Fox | ? | English | D'entrecasteaux (map). | |
| 1782 | | N. S. del Rosario (=Princesa) | F. A. Maurelle | Spanish | Landín. | |
| 1782 | | San Pedro (=Caviteño) | A. de Anda(?) | Spanish | AGN Fil. 19/43. Marina Indef. 23Apr1788. | Eastward, lost at sea. |
| 1782 | 7 | Lord North | W. Hambly | English | Horsburgh, Stevens, Purdy, Wichmann. | Log 494D India Office. Via Tobi Island. |
| 1783 | | N. S. del Rosario (=Princesa) | Domingo de Sevilla | Spanish | | MN 584. AGN Inquisición, tomo 2. |
| 1783 | a | Antelope | H. Wilson | English | *Wilson. | Shipwrecked at Palau. |
| 1783 | b | Oroolong | H. Wilson | English | *Wilson. | Built at Palau following shipwreck. |
| 1784 | | San José (de Gracia) | ? | Spanish | | AGN Fil 19/3, 29/5. AGI Fil 948 & 949. |
| 1784 | 01 | Earl of Sandwich | ? | English | *Eastabrooke. | Via Sonsorrol and Palau. |
| 1784 | 01 | Ganges | J. H. Dempster | English | *Dempster. | Via Sonsorrol and Palau. |
| 1784 | 01 | Kent | ? | English | *Eastabrooke. | Via Sonsorrol and Palau. |
| 1784 | 01 | London | Eastabrooke | English | *Eastabrooke, Robertson. | Via Sonsorrol and Palau. |
| 1784 | 12 | True Briton | H. Farrer | English | *Farrer, Eilers. | Log 297K, India Office. |
| 1785 | | San Felipe | Quintano (?) | Spanish | | AGN Fil 19/21. |
| 1785 | a | Santiago | ? | Spanish | | AGN Fil 21/2. |
| 1785 | b | N. S. del Rosario (=Princesa) | ? | " | | " |
| 1785 ? | | San Andrés | ? | Spanish | | AGN Fil 29/5. |

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| YEAR & MTH OF VISIT | NAME OF SHIP | NAME OF CAPTAIN | SHIP NATIONALITY | CHRONICLERS *Primary source. | COMMENTS |
|------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------|--|
| 1785 ? | San Carlos (=Filipino) | ? | Spanish | | AGN Fil 21/3 & 10. |
| 1786 | Felicidad (ex-Sonora) | F. A. Maurelle | Spanish | Landín. | |
| 1786 | N. S. de los Placeres | A. Zavaleta | Spanish | | 1st RPC ship. Via Guam? AGI Fil 985. |
| 1786 | 12 London | J. Eastabrooke | English | *Bayer, Robertson. | Saw Palau. |
| 1786 | a Boussole | J.F.G. La Pérouse | French | *La Pérouse. | |
| 1786 | b Astrolabe | P.A. de Langle | " | " | |
| 1786 | c Captain Cook | H. Laurie | English | *Strange, *Walker, Gough. | Strange Expedition. 350-ton, ex-Betsey. |
| 1786 | d Experiment | Guise | " | " " | " " |
| 1786 | e Nootka | J. Meares (or W. Douglas) | English | Stevens, Gough. | 200-ton snow owned by Bengal Fur Co. |
| 1786 | f Sea Otter | W. Tippling | " | Gough. | Snow owned by Bengal Fur Society. |
| 1787 | Alliance | T. Read | U.S.A. | *Dale, Shaw, Nicholson. | Sighted Pohnpei. |
| 1787 | Rey Carlos | R. de Ansoátegui | Spanish | | RPC ship. Via Guam? AGI Fil 987. MN 584. |
| 1787 | San Andrés | Lt. Pedro Basco | Spanish | | AGI 108-4-3/6 & 953. AGN Fil 15/13. |
| 1787 | San Felipe | F. Maurelle | Spanish | Malaspina. | MN 584. Same as 1785? |
| 1787 | Warren Hastings | J. P. Larkins | English | *Leigh. | AJCP M1620. Via Merir. |
| 1787 | 04 Astrea | A. Malaspina | Spanish | *Malaspina, *Agoto. | RPC ship. See 1794 map. |
| 1787 | 05 (2 Carolinian canoes) | U. Luito | Carolinian | *Arleguí. | AHN 5456. |
| 1787 | a Résolution | D'Entrecasteaux | French | *Huon de Kermadec. | |
| 1787 | b Subtile | De Castries | " | " " | |
| 1787 | c 11 Glatton | C. Drummond | English | *Drummond. | Log 172J, India Office. |
| 1787 | d 11 Woodcot | N. Lewis | English | *Lewis. | Log 445A, India Office. |
| 1787 | e 11 Louisa | Ross | English | *Drummond. | |
| 1787 | f Queen Charlotte | G. Dixon | English | *Dixon, *Portlock, *Nicol. | Via Saipan. |

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|------------------------|--------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| 1787 | g | King George | N. Portlock | English | " " " " | " " |
| 1788 | | Felice Adventurer | J. Meares | Port. & Eng. | *Meares. | Grampus = Marcus I.? |
| 1788 | | Lady Penrhyn | W. C. Sever | English | *Sever, *Watts, *Bowes Smyth | AJCP PRO5777,M1933. ML Doc 1313. |
| 1788 | | N. S. de los Dolores | T. Montilla | Spanish | | RPC ship. Via Guam? AGI Fil 987. |
| 1788 | | Prince of Wales | J. Colnett | English | *Colnett. | NW Coast to Canton. Via Micronesia? |
| 1788 | | San José (de Gracia) | Lt. Fco. J. Vasco y Rocha | Spanish | | Eastward in 1787. AGN Fil. 19/45; 338 & 950. MN584. |
| 1788 | | Santa Rufina | G. de Sorondo | Spanish | | RPC ship. Via Guam? AGI Fil 987. |
| 1788 | a | Charlotte | T. Gilbert | English | *Gilbert, *Marshall, Maude. | Discovered most of Gilberts & Marshalls. |
| 1788 | b | Scarborough | J. Marshall | " | " " " " | " " " " " |
| 1788 | d | Alexander | D. Sinclair | English | *Shortland, Phillip, Bateson. | AJCP PRO 3553, 5777. Convict ship. |
| 1788 | e | Friendship | F. Walton | " | " " " " | " " " " " |
| 1788-89 | | Iphigenia Nubiana | W. Douglas | Port. & Eng. | *Douglas. | |
| 1789 | | N. S. de los Placeres | P. Pineda | Spanish | | RPC ship. Via Guam? AGI Fil 987. |
| 1789 | | Rey Carlos | A. de Villavicencio | Spanish | | RPC ship. Via Guam? AGI Fil 987. |
| 1789 | 7 | (4 Carolinian canoes | U. Luíto | Carolinian | *Arleguí. | AHN 5856. |
| 1789 | a | Mercury | J. H. Cox | English | *Mortimer. | Ship alias Gustavus III. |
| 1789 | b | San Andrés | J. de Marquina | Spanish | Espinosa y Tello. | AGI Fil 954. Eastward via Urracas. |
| 1789 | c 1 | Raymond | H. Smedley | English | *Smedley, Stevens, Horsburgh. | Log 453C, India Office. |
| 1789 | d 1 | Asia | J. D. Foulkes | English | *Foulkes, Stevens, Horsburgh. | Log 24G, India Office. |
| 1789 | e 1 | Duke of Montrose | J. Dorin | " | *Dorin, " | Log 775B, India Office. |
| 1789 | f 1 | Contractor | J. Bartlet | " | *Bartlet, " | Log. 319D, India Office. |
| 1789 | g 1 | Bridgewater | W. Parker | " | *Parker, " | Log 42J, India Office. AJCP PRO 1601. |
| 1790 | | San Andrés | J. Bermudez de Castro | Spanish | | AGN AHH 803. |

APPENDIX 2 -- SHIPS THROUGH MICRONESIA, 1741-1792

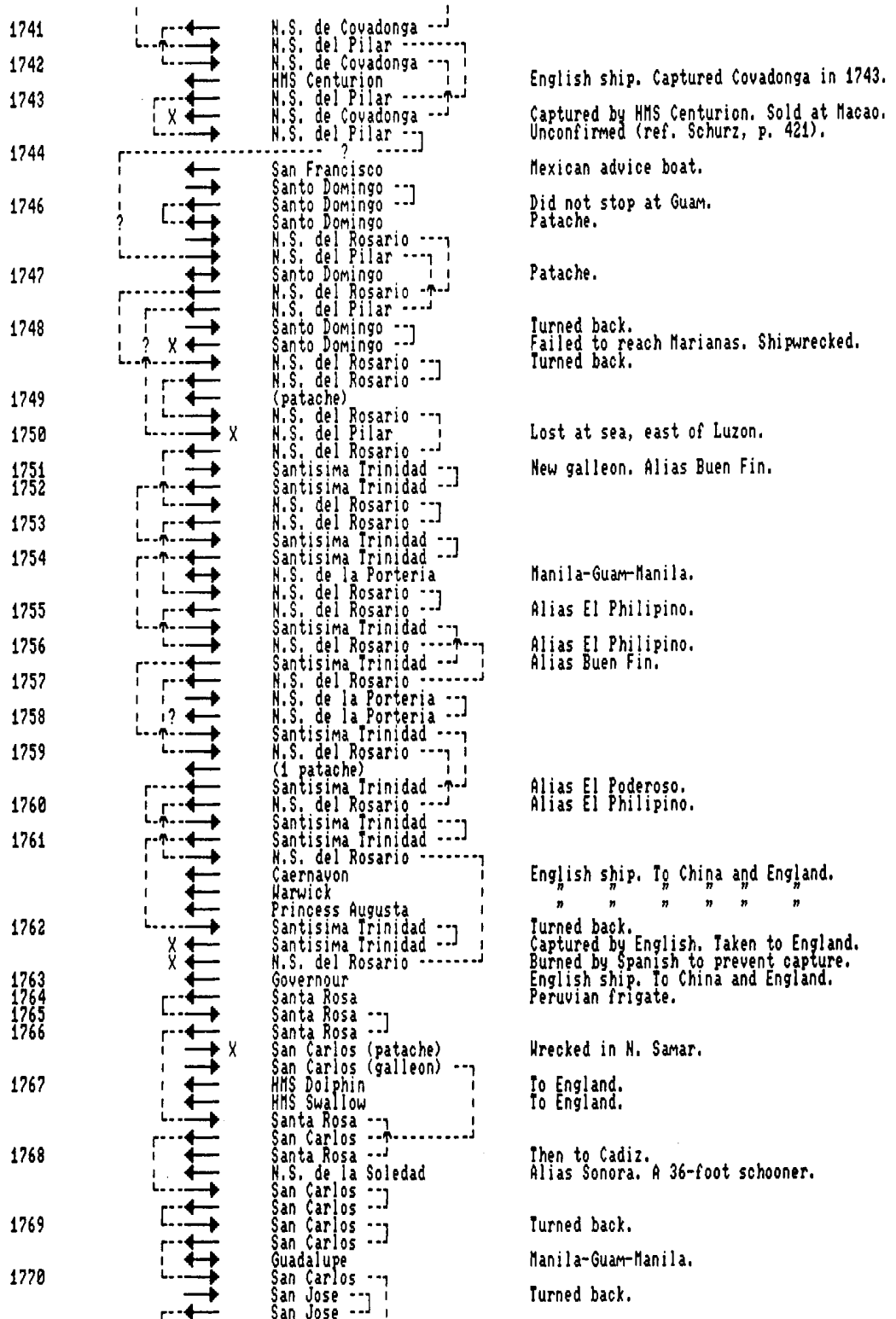
| YEAR & MTH OF VISIT | NAME OF SHIP | NAME OF CAPTAIN | SHIP NATIONALITY | CHRONICLERS *Primary source. | COMMENTS |
|------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|---|---|
| 1790 a | Surprise | N. Anstis | English | Bateson, Richards. | NSW to Canton. |
| 1790 b | Justinian | B. Maitland | " | Richards. | " " |
| 1790 c | Scarborough | J. Marshall | " | " " | NSW to Canton. Second visit by this ship. |
| 1790 d | Lady Juliana | G. Aitken | " | *Nicol, *Collins, Richards. | " " |
| 1790 e | Neptune | Trail | " | " " | " " |
| 1791 | Argonaut | James Colnett | English | *Colnett. | AJCP PRO 1599. |
| 1791 | Princess Royal | Manuel Quimper | Spanish | *Quimper. Captured English sloop. | Went from Hawaii to Macao via Guam. |
| 1791 | San José y las Animas | ? | Spanish | | |
| 1791 | Valdés | C. Bertedano | Spanish | | Schooner from San Blas. MN 575 bis. |
| 1791 a | Waakzamheydt (=Vigilance) | D. Smith | Dutch | *Hunter, *Bradley, *Southwell, *Nagle. | BM 16381 (53-114). Chartered at Batavia. |
| 1791 b | Solide | E. Marchand | French | *Marchand, *Chanal, Fleurieu. | |
| 1791 c | Panther | J. McCluer | English | *McCluer, *Delano, Hockin, Nicholson. | BM19301. NL Canberra ms. 4088. See 1793. |
| 1791 d | Endeavour | Proctor | " | " " " " | " " " " " |
| 1791 & 92 | San Andrés | J. Berenguer de Marquina | Spanish | Malaspina. | AGI Fil 955. AGN Fil 24/5, 28/3, 28/11. |
| 1792 12 | Royal Admiral | E. H. Bond | English | *Bond, Collins, Stevens, Purdy, Duperrey. | India Office M1620. Visited Ralik Chain. |
| 1792 a 02 | Descubierta | A. Malaspina | Spanish | *Malaspina, *Viana, *Espinosa y Tello, etc. | Malaspina Expedition. |
| 1792 b 02 | Atrevida | J. Bustamante | " | *Bustamante, " " " | " " " |
| 1792 c 05 | Halcyon | C. W. Barkley | English | *Barkley, *Mrs. Barkley, Horsburgh, Purdy | Horsburgh says U.S.A. |
| 1792 d 05 | Venus | Shepherd | " | " " | " " " |

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FLOW DIAGRAM OF SHIPS ACROSS THE PACIFIC, 1741-1770

by Rodrigue Levesque

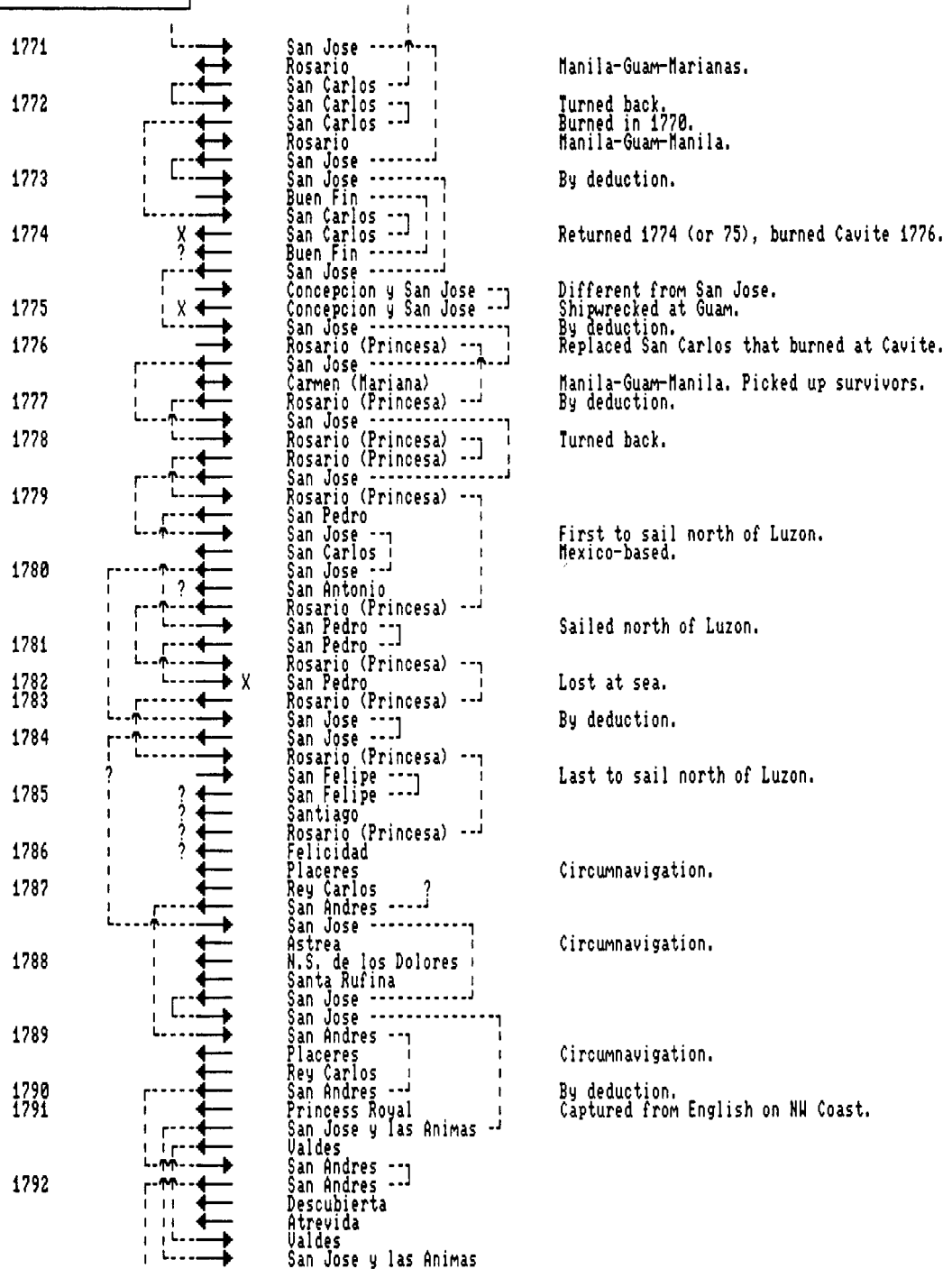
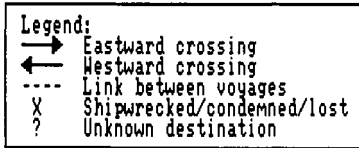
| |
|------------------------------|
| Legend: |
| → Eastward crossing |
| ← Westward crossing |
| - - - Link between voyages |
| X Shipwrecked/condemned/lost |
| ? Unknown destination |



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FLOW DIAGRAM OF SPANISH SHIPS ACROSS THE PACIFIC, 1771-1792

by Rodrigue Lévesque



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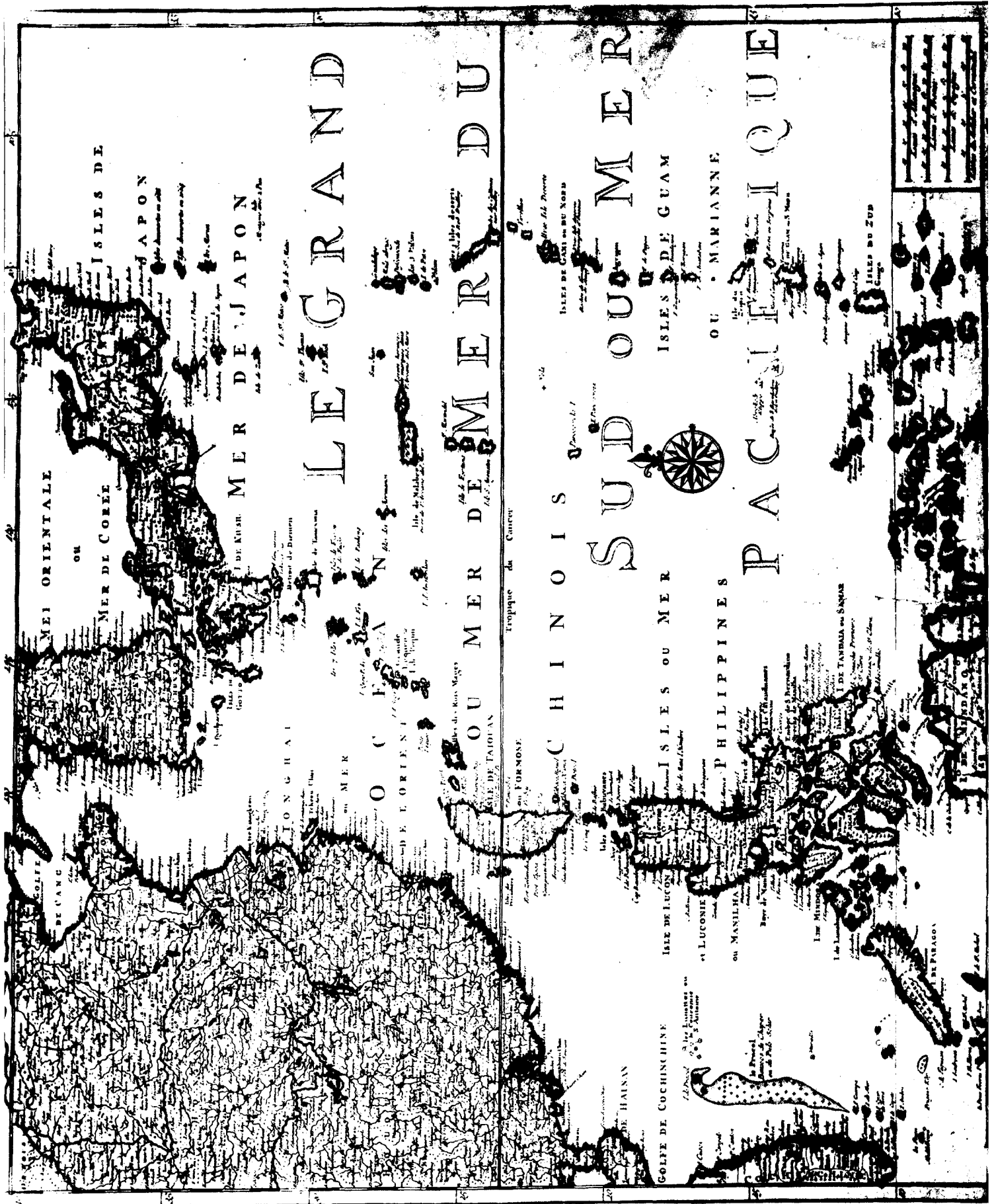
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