

HISTORY OF MICRONESIA

**A COLLECTION OF SOURCE
DOCUMENTS**

**VOLUME 10 — EXPLORATION OF THE
CAROLINE ISLANDS, 1696-1709**

Compiled and edited
by

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— v. 6. Revolts in the Marianas, 1673-1678.

— v. 7. More turmoil in the Marianas, 1679-1683.

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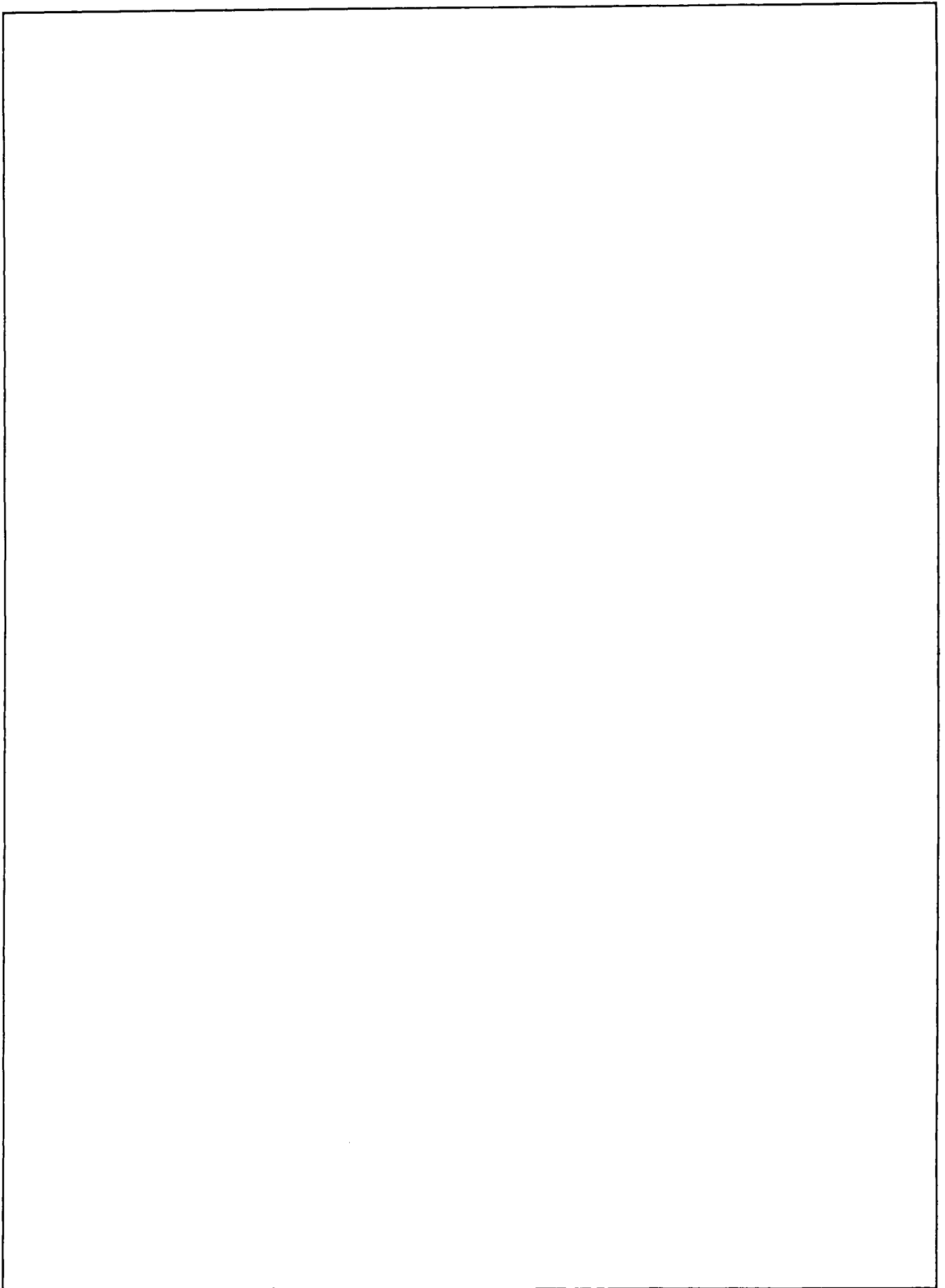
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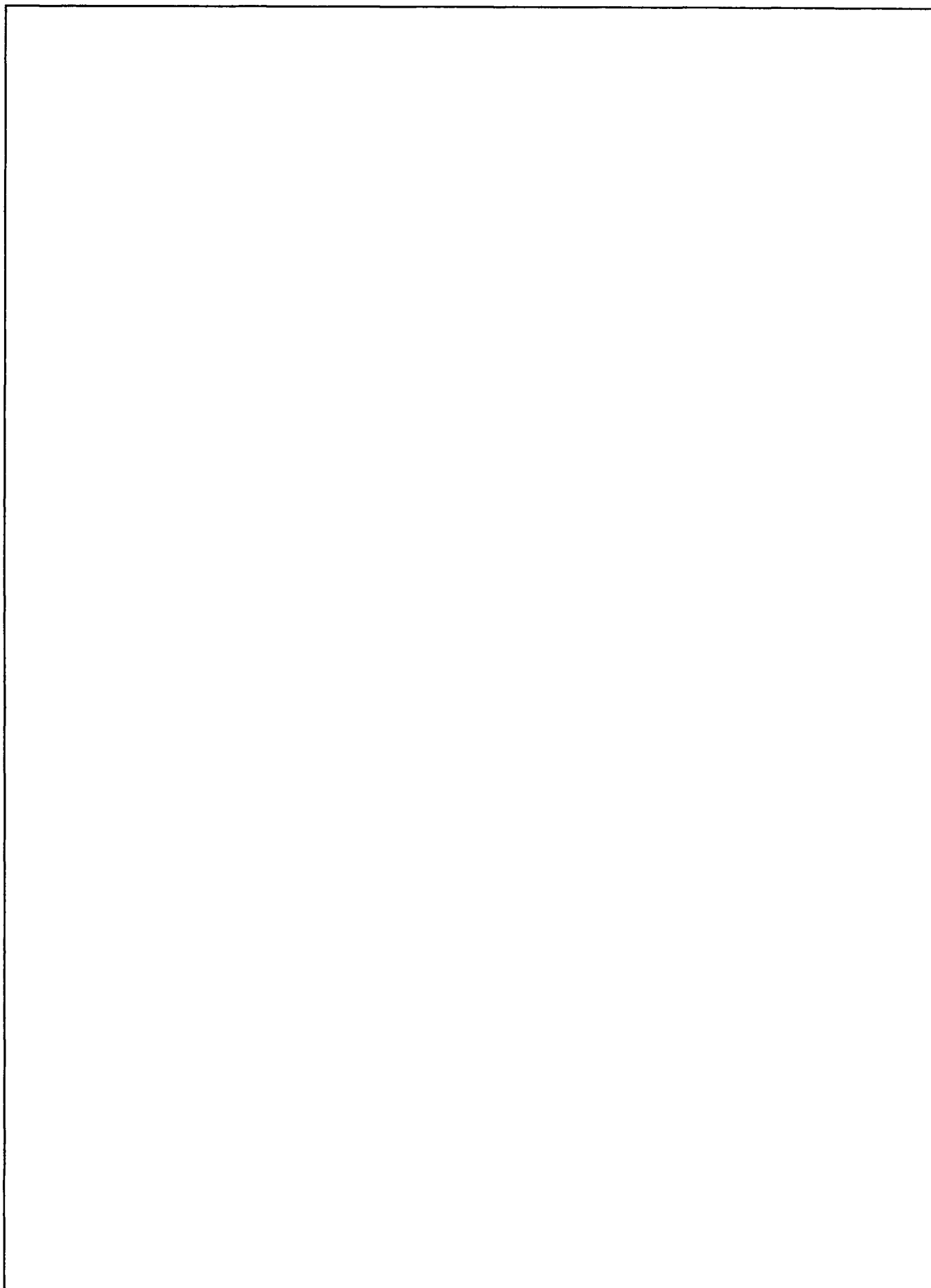
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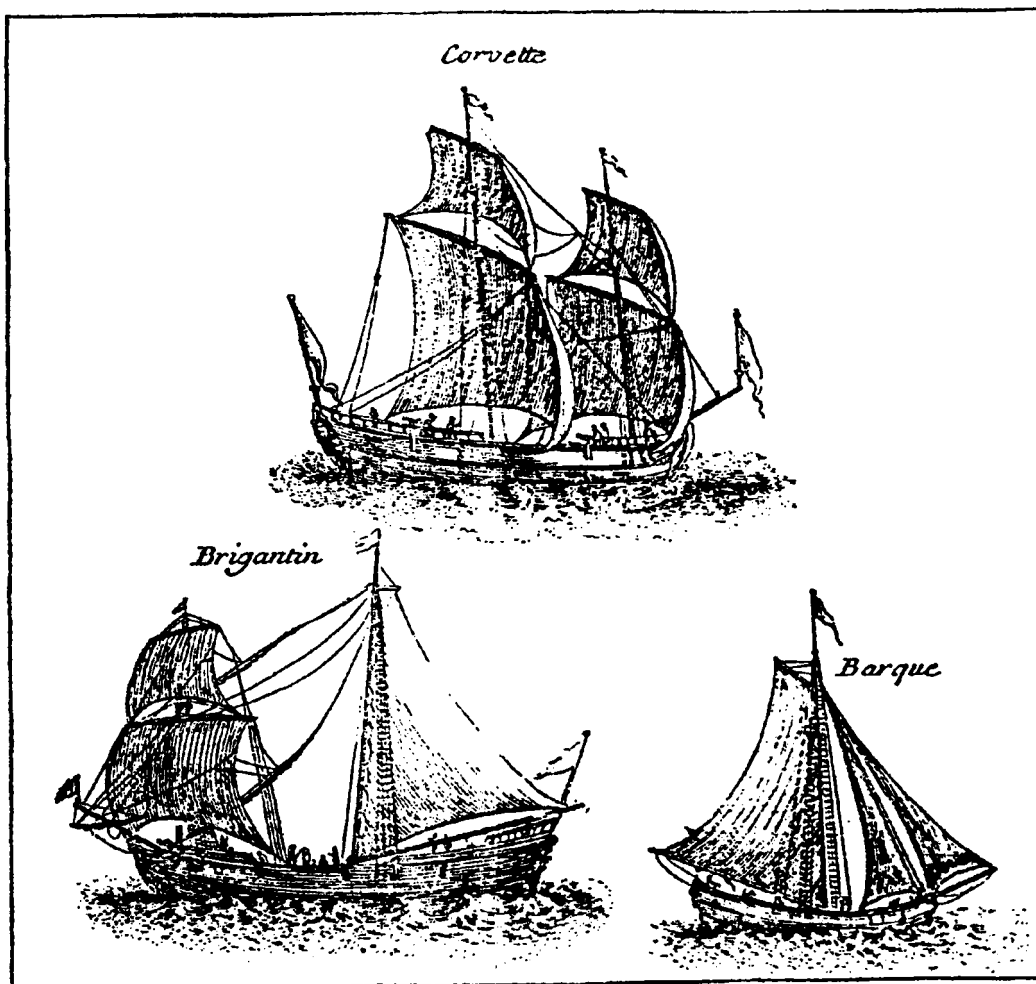
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Front endpaper	Canoe of the Marianas drawn by Gemelli-Careri in 1696 (in French & English editions).
Rear endpaper	Map of the Philippines, Ladrones, etc. showing the Carolines or New Philippines, engraved at Amsterdam in 1744 by Isaak Tirion. (Source: Araneta Collection, Ayala Museum, Makati, Philippines).

Abbreviations

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

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

Foreword

“It is not necessary to hope (for success) to undertake something, nor to succeed in order to persevere.”

[Line attributed to William of Orange]

A personal achievement. Volume 10 of this series of books marks a significant milestone for me, one about which I am very proud. Indeed, five years ago, I never thought that I would get this far. To “bridge” the gap that separates us from the past (in order to recreate history), one has to be willing to pay the toll. This I have done willingly. I am conscious that, little by little, I am providing the foundations for others to build their histories upon, as they can be assured that most of the historical documents in existence have been carefully placed on the record. God willing, I intend to pursue this project until the whole of the Spanish colonial period has been covered, that is, until the date of the documents reaches the year 1900, at least.

Some of you will have noticed that the latest volumes have been printed in Mexico. I have found out that the quality-to-cost ratio of book printing in that country is remarkably high; besides, books have been published in Mexico City for centuries... While doing research in the National archives of that city, I have come across much new information about the Manila galleons, for example, the ship manifests and details about the yearly subsidies for the Marianas that have begun to appear in the present volume.

Exploration of the Caroline Islands—Phase 1. Perseverance and determination are words that can also be applied to the Jesuit missionaries, when they tried to achieve the religious conquest of the Caroline Islands. The main promoter, the Spanish Father Serrano, even died in the attempt, and so did many other Spanish and Belgian missionaries either from shipwreck or from martyrdom. However, this daunting project was not finally abandoned until the 1730s.

The ultimate native revolt. In the meantime, up in the Mariana Islands, the period of conquest came to an end in 1698, when the Gani Islanders were forced to settle in Saipan and Guam. That year, the overall native population of the Marianas was only 4,000 souls. Repeated epidemics and natural disasters pared it down further in 1700, 1701, and 1702. At this time, a last revolt was planned by the Gani natives living in Guam, but the plot was discovered and the rebel leaders severely punished.

The Diary of Antonio Robles. In the National Library of Mexico, I finally laid my hands on a long-sought-after series of rare books on the history of Mexico by Antonio Robles (Doc. 1703D); as you will see, such eyewitness reports allow us to verify many basic facts, about various personalities, galleons, convict soldiers, and trade.

The trade report of Capitaine Monségur. With the establishment of the French connection at the Spanish court, i.e. the arrival of the first Bourbon king, some Frenchmen became involved for the first time in Spanish affairs and businesses. One clear manifestation of this was the involvement of French seamen and ships (more about this in Vol. 11). An important contribution to history was made by Navy Captain Monségur, who served the Spanish king in Mexico in 1707 and 1708. He made a study of the Manila-Acapulco trade, and the mule transport between Acapulco and Mexico City. His report is to be found in the National Library in Paris. We learn from Monségur that a galleon of 1,000 tons usually carried a cargo worth 4 million pesos, mostly textiles.

Record of Spanish galleons, from England. The British Library holds a Spanish study, made in Manila, of the eastward voyages of many galleons and pataches across the north Pacific during the 1699-1741 period, which I have translated and reproduced in appendix. Dahlgren used this important manuscript to prove, among other things, that the Spanish never discovered the Hawaiian Islands before Captain Cook. What they did finish to discover during the period covered by this volume were all the islands that lie between the Marianas and Japan. It is a wonder why they never explored the Bonin Islands more properly, and establish a foothold there. As for me, I have found the above record of voyages to be a useful tool in cross-checking my flow diagram of ships through the Pacific and my list of ships through Micronesia (also shown in appendices).

A multilingual record. This volume is no exception to the rule, when it comes to languages used in the primary-source documents; we have Latin, Italian, Spanish, French, German, and English. The Latin was used by Pope Clement XI when he supported Fr. Serrano's project to explore the Caroline Islands. The Italian was used by a world traveller, Gemelli-Careri. The French was used by Captain Monségur, of course, and also by French missionaries, in transit to Asia via the Pacific aboard Spanish galleons. One such missionary made interesting observations about the variation of the magnetic compass in the Atlantic and Pacific oceans in 1708. The German language was used by German-speaking Czech and Austrian missionaries. And finally, English was used by English pirates who were cruising after rich Spanish galleons; chief among them was Captain Dampier, on his third and final voyage around the world.

Chamorro news. For those interested in native names, the present volume introduces a new crop of Chamorro names: Agahi, Hañgi, Ima, Inog, Maañao, Odu, Piritu, Ramen [believe it or not!], and Tagdu. Both Carolinians and Chamorros are said to have been prone to committing suicide; one Chamorro even hanged himself after his wife disobeyed him... The Spanish government considered moving all Chamorros to the Philippines, to reduce administrative costs, but the Jesuits effectively fought this idea (see Doc. 1702A).

Rod Lévesque
Gatineau, December 1997.

Acknowledgments

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Errors and corrections

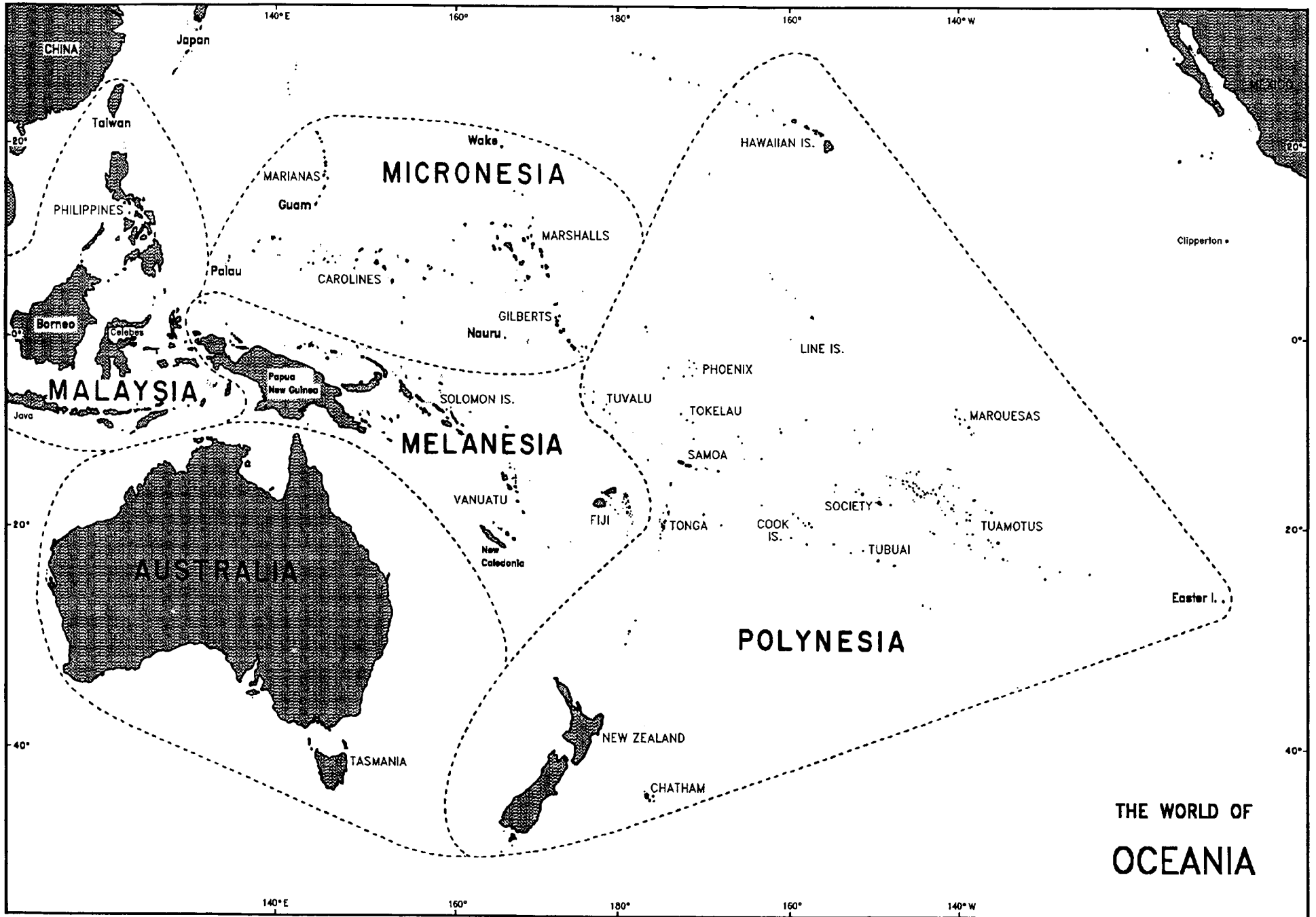
Despite every effort to check the facts, minor errors have undoubtedly remained. For these, as well as for the judgments expressed, the editor takes full responsibility. However, readers who spot factual errors are sincerely invited to submit corrections.

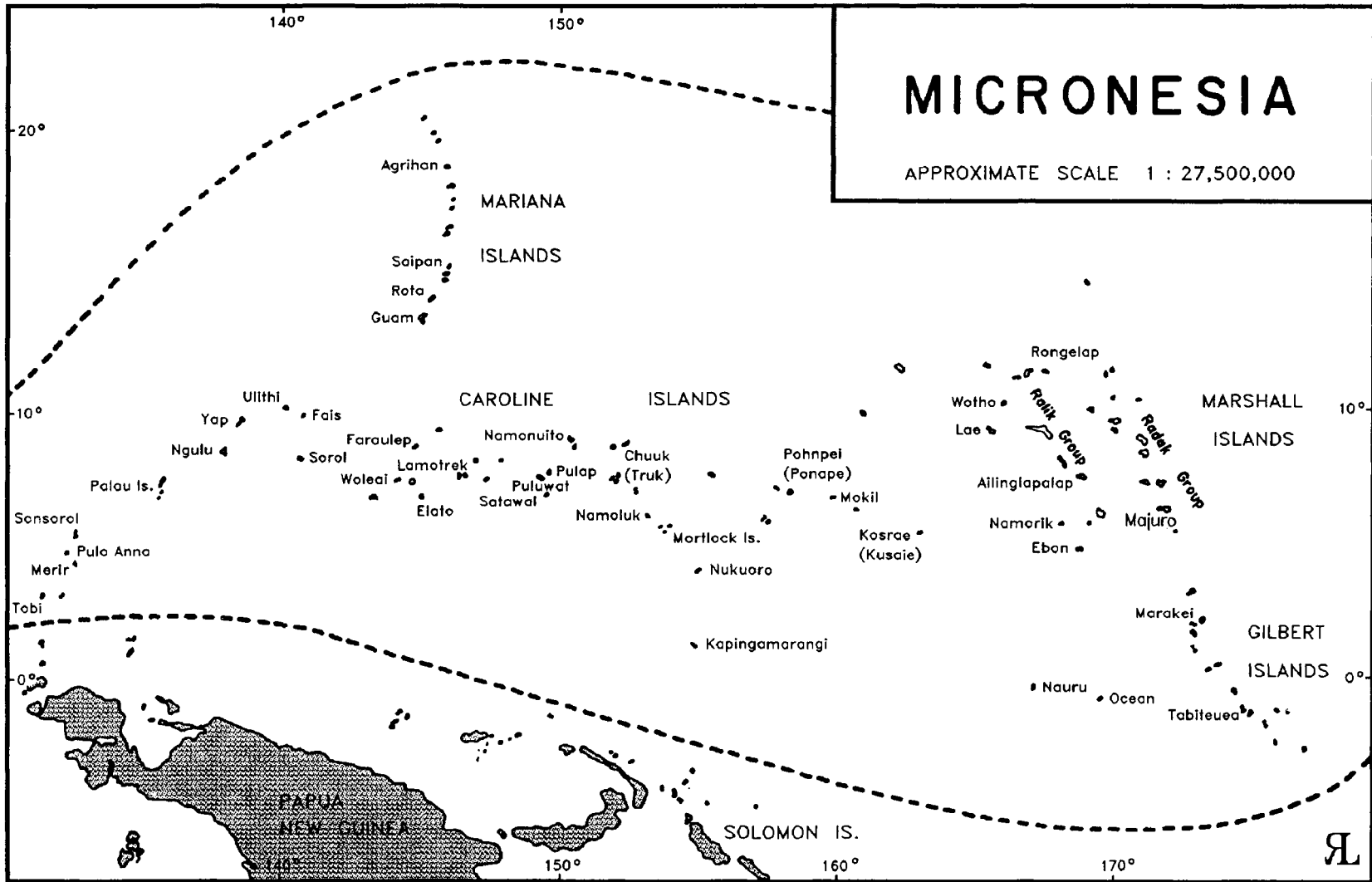
Note on sources

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

Note on place names

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





Document 1696H

Notes on the discovery of Faraulep by Pilot Juan Rodriguez in 1696

Source: MN ms. 96, fol. 361 & 365v (based on Fr. Cantova's map).

Note made by Admiral José de Espinosa when he lived in London in 1812-13

[fol. 361]

Farrorlip [sic] discovered in 1696.—

In 1696 the Pilot Juan Rodriguez, finding himself aground on Santa Rosa Bank, discovered Farroilep [sic] with its two coral islands and he determined that it was more than 45 leagues distant from the Island of Guahan and that it was between 10° and 11° N. latitude.¹

On Fr. Cantova's chart, from the southern part of Guahan to that nearest to Santa Rosa Bank, there are 15 leagues; the bank extends for 20 leagues from ENE—WSW and is about 10 wide. Farrorlip is SE of this bank and its northern tip is in 11° of latitude.

...
[fol. 365v]

Farroilep 10°50' N, 151°50' E of Cádiz.² This situation is given relative to Guahan, as taken from Fr. Cantova's chart.

1 Ed. note: This could hardly be Faraulep, which is in 8°30'N.

2 Ed. note: That longitude is 145°33' E of Greenwich, which is only 1° from the true longitude of Faraulep, but the latitude is way off... Gaferut would be a closer match at 9° plus, and 145° E of Greenwich.

Admiral Espinosa noted in other folios that his reference was Father Le Gobien's *Lettres édifiantes*, tomes 15, 16, and 18. I have been unable to find a manuscript quoting from real navigational data either. The references in Le Gobien, I think, come from: 1) a letter by Fr. Clain (Doc. 1697F), in which it is said that "this island [Carolina, or San Barnabé] was seen last year [1696] by another vessel that the tempest had blown off course in going from here [Manila] to the Mariana Islands." (ref. B&R 41: 48); and 2) Fr. Cantova's report (Doc. 1722D).

Andrew Sharp, in his *Discovery of the Pacific Islands*, pages 90-91, has reviewed Cantova's evidence, and concluded that Rodriguez did in fact discover Faraulep in 1696.

Saul H. Riesenber¹ thinks that Rodriguez had simply set down the position of Faraulep 1 or 2 degrees too far north.

The patache involved in this discovery was named **Concepción**. In January 1696, it was reported as being careened in anticipation of this voyage to Guam.² It left Cavite between 4 June and 16 June, with the new Governor Madrazo aboard. In a letter dated 10 October 1696, Madrazo reported his arrival at Guam on 26 July 1696.³ So, the discovery of Faraulep, and the shipwreck on Santa Rosa Bank, would have taken place earlier that month.

1 In his article "The Ghost Islands of the Carolines" in *Micronesica*, 11:1 (1975): 13.

2 See HM9: 653.

3 Original missing, but, for census taken by him in 1696, see Doc. 1696U in the future Supplementary volume.

Document 1696I

Instruction given to the Governor of the Marianas in 1696

Source: AGI Ultramar 562.

Instruction given by Governor Cruzat to General Madrazo, dated Manila 4 June 1696

Original text in Spanish.

Instruccion.—

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora, Cavallero del Orden de Santiago de el Consejo de Su Magestad, su Gobernador y Capitan General de estas Yslas Filipinas y Presidente de la Audiencia y Chancilleria que en ellas reside, &c:

Instruccion de lo que ha de observar y ejecutar el general Don José Madrazo en el puesto que va á ejercer de Gobernador Interino de las Yslas Marianas nombrado por este Gobierno y Capitania General de Filipinas en lugar y por muerte de el Sargento mayor Don Damian de Esplana.

Primeramente luego que llegue á dichas Yslas y tome posesion de el Gobierno de ellas, hará que el Sargento Mayor Don José de Quiroga, á cuyo cargo está al presente dicho Gobierno, ó quien en su lugar estubiere le entregue todos los reales géneros y demas cosas pertenecientes al Situado de dichas Yslas y infanteria de ellas, haciendose cargo de ello el dicho General Don José Madrazo con toda distincion y claridad en conformidad de lo que está dispuesto y mandado por una Real Cédula de trece de Noviembre de mil seiscientos y ochenta para distribuirlo como en ella se previene en la paga y socorro de la dicha infanteria que sirve en dichas Yslas.

2ª Por quanto el dicho Sargento mayor Don José de Quiroga, habiendo muerto Don Damian de Esplana entró en el Gobierno de dichas Yslas, en conformidad de lo que está concedido en su titulo en el entretanto que por este Gobierno se nombre persona que le sirva interin que S.M. (que Dios guarde) le provea en propiedad; y consiguiientemente percibió ó debió percibir y recaudar luego que falleció Don Damian de Esplana, todo lo que estaba en ser de dicho situado asi en reales como en géneros y que

despues ha recibido los situados que han venido de la Nueva España, para que todo ello tenga el paradero que conviene al Servicio de Su Magestad, el dicho General Don José Madrazo pedirá y hará que el dicho Sargento mayor Don José Quiroga de cuenta en forma de todo lo que hubiere sido á su cargo, haciendosele de lo que fuere con mucha distincion y claridad, y con la misma se recibirá en data lo que constare haber distribuido justificadamente en los socorros y pagamentos de dicha Ynfanteria, y lo que resultare de alcance asi en reales como en generos le obligaran inmediatamente lo exhiba y pague para dicho efecto remitiendo á este Superior Gobierno la dicha cuenta original de intrumentos de ella, para que se reconozca y de cuenta á Su Magestad si pareciere combeniente, y por la contingencia que hay de poderse perder en la navegacion se quedará el dicho General con copia auténtica de todo para que siempre conste.

3ª Y por que asi mismo conviene averiguar y recaudar todos los bienes que quedaron por fin y muerte de dicho Sargento mayor Don Damian de Esplana, se ordena y manda al dicho General Don José Madrazo que inmediatamente que entre en la posesion de su Gobierno haga averiguacion de dichos bienes, y cualesquiera que sean asi en reales como en generos, esclavos y otras alhajas lo embargara y remitirá á los oficiales de la Real Hacienda de esta Ciudad de Manila para que los tengan de manifiesto y se ejecute de ellos lo que fuere justicia y S.M. manda; para lo cual ha de hacer asi mismo averiguacion de si dicho Don Damian de Esplana hizo al tiempo de su fallecimiento algun testamento ó codizilo y lo remitirá junto con dichos bienes quedandose con testimonio auténtico de el[.]

[4.] segun lo dispuesto en la Real Cédula arriba citada, ha de recibir el dicho General Don José Madrazo los situados de reales y géneros que se le remitieren de la Nueva España de que se ha de hacer cargo con separacion de reales y géneros para distribuirlo en la infanteria que sirve en dichas Yslas Marianas, en la conformidad que Su Magestad tiene mandado, de todo lo cual y lo demas que en qualquiera manera recibiere ha de tener cuenta formada para darla siempre que se le pida y para que en su distribucion haya el orden que conviene, observará lo que en esta ira prevenido.

5. Ha de tener lista formada de toda gente que sirve á Su Magestad y goza sueldo en dichas Yslas, haciendo asiento de cada sugeto en que se espresa su nombre[.] patria, naturaleza y edad.

6. El dia primero de cada mes, y si fuere fiesta el siguiente ha de pasar muestra general de dicha gente, y socorrerá á cada persona en mano propia con los reales que les correspondieren de los situados que vienen de la Nueva España, segun y en la forma que Su Magestad lo tiene mandado cargandoles lo que asi recibieren mes por mes en dichos asientos.

7. Las municiones ó géneros que se remiten de la Nueva España y los que se embian á comprar á estas Yslas Filipinas; todo de cuenta de el situado de dicha Infanteria se repartirá enteramente entre ella de seis en seis meses, ó como á dicho General ó Gobernador le pareciere que lo necesita mas en cuyos asientos se les ha de cargar su valor segun el que constare haber tenido por las cartas cuentas que se remitieren de la Nueva España [y] de esta Ciudad de Manila.

8. *Y por que se ha tenido noticia que con el pretesto de fletes de dichos géneros y reales se han pagado por la traída de ellos algunas cantidades de reales á los Maestres de los Galeones que vienen de la Nueva España; lo cual ha sido y es injusto, pues siendo dichos Galeones de S.M. y viniendo de su real cuenta y orden dichos reales y géneros para aquella Infanteria, es obligacion de los Maestres el hacerse cargo de ello, y entregar en dichas Yslas Marianas todo lo que recibieren en Acapulco para el situado de ellas sin que por ello lleven ni descuenten cosa alguna por fletes ni por otra razon, lo cual se ejecutará asi en virtud de este Capitulo, á que no se ha de poder contravenir ni por los dichos Maestres de qualesquiera vageles de Su Magestad, ni por el Gobierno de dichas Yslas, [so] pena á los unos que serán castigados con todo rigor de derecho si lo intentaren, y á lo otro de que no se le hará bueno lo que pagare.*

10 [rather 9] *El estilo que han tenido los Gobernadores de dichas Yslas Marianas para llevar á ellas los géneros que necesitan de estas Filipinas para la Infanteria es embiar de el situado de ella la cantidad que le pareciere en cada un año, dirigiendola á un podatario ó correspondiente que tienen en esta Ciudad de Manila para que la emplee en lo que se avisa por dichos Gobernadores lo cual se ha ejecutado hasta aqui con independencia total de este Gobierno y de los oficiales de la Real Hacienda, cuya forma y costumbre demas de los inconvenientes que en si tienen por los gastos que se ocasionan y cargan á dicha Infanteria, y el riesgo á que se espone el dinero corriendo por mano de un particular, aun suponiendo que en las compras de los géneros obrare con legalidad, no es justo que habiendo Ministros Reales se permita que otra persona que las suyas tengan intervencion en el manejo de dicho situado real ni de Su Magestad lo tubiera a bien hallarse noticioso de ello, en cuya consideracion se ordena al dicho General Don José Madrazo, que desde ahora en adelante, todo el dinero que se hubiere de embiar á esta Ciudad de cuenta de S.M. y real situado de dicha Infanteria, venga dirigido á oficiales Reales con memoria de los géneros que se han de comprar dando siempre cuenta á este gobierno de todo ello por menor para que por el se de la providencia que mas convenga al mayor alivio y ahorro de dicha Infanteria, asi en cuanto á la calidad y precios de los géneros que se compraren como en su remision.*

10. *Por el titulo y real provision que S.M. despacho de Gobernador de dichas Islas Marianas al Maestre de Campo Don Antonio de Saravia, su fecha en Madrid á veinte y seis de Agosto de mil seiscientos setenta y nueve, entre otras cosas que se le mandaron fué que al tiempo de entrar á servir dicho cargo hiciese Padrones de los Indios tributarios de las dichas Yslas Marianas y cobrase indefectiblemente los tributos que debieren pagar en la precision y demas circunstancias que en dicho real titulo se espresan mas por menor y por que esto hasta ahora segun se tiene noticia no ha tenido efecto alguno asi por el corto numero de Indios que hay reducidos, y la poca estabilidad que se ha experimentado en ellos, como por la esterilidad de la tierra para que de todo ello se de cuenta á Su Magestad como es obligacion el dicho General Don José de Madrazo, contara toda la gente que en dichas islas hubiere reducida, haciendo padron en cada Pueblo con distincion de los casados y solteros, hombres y mugeres, viejos y niños en que pueblos hay iglesias, que religiosos administran en cada Pueblo, y si hay algu-*

na gente que no esté reducida á poblado y que no sea Cristiana, que distancia hay de Pueblo á Pueblo que circunferencia y lactitud [sic] tiene la Ysla en que residen los dichos religiosos, y el Presidio de la Ynfanteria. Si hay algunos Puertos, á que rumbo y de que fondo; que alimentos produce la tierra; que materiales de madera, piedra, y otros para poder fabricar Yglesias, casas y embarcaciones, y si hay otra Ysla que este sujeta al Rey Nuestro Señor y halla en ella cristiandad con Ministros, sobre todo lo cual informará dicho General á este gobierno con individualidad en cada una de las circunstancias referidas lo que hubiere espresando su sentir; y en cuanto al estado de dichas Yslas y si en ellas puede haber esperanzas de que se aumente la Cristiandad.

*11. En la Ysla nombrada la Zarpana [rather Saipan] una de las dichas Marianas, se perdió un Galeon nombrado **la Concepcion** el año de mil seiscientos treinta y ocho, cuya artilleria tiene S.M. mandado por repetidas cédulas se solicite sacar, lo cual hasta ahora no ha podido acabar de tener efecto, y por lo que conviene á su Real Servicio, le tenga el dicho General Don José Madrazo, se aplicara con la eficacia posible á recoger dicha artilleria valiendose de todos los medios que parecieren conducentes á su logro[,] ejecutando de ella lo que Su Magestad tiene dispuesto, y en todas las ocasiones que se ofrecieren dará cuenta á este Gobierno de lo que se hubiere obrado y conseguido en dicho particular.*

12. Su Magestad que Dios guarde tiene mandado se despache de estas Yslas Filipinas, un Patache de socorro á las dichas Marianas y por que puede subceder que algun año se hallen proveidas de todo lo necesario y que no necesiten de el para el siguiente mayormente con el socorro y habio [=avio] que reciben de los Galeones que vienen de la Nueva España, como subcedió el año de mil seiscientos y noventa y tres, en el cual quiso el Gobernador Don Damian de Esplana que el siguiente de seiscientos y noventa y tres, en el cual quiso el Gobernador no era necesario se le despachase dicho Patache, por hallarse proveido el Presidio de viveres y municiones para dos años, mediante lo cual se suspendió; en cuya consideracion siempre que llegare el mismo caso se ordena y manda al dicho General Don José Madrazo, execute lo mismo, avisando si es ó no inexcusable el despacho y embio de dicho Patache, por que sino fuere preciso no hay razon para que no se evitasen los considerables gastos que ocasionan á la Real Hacienda con cada despacho del referido Patache.

13. La cual instruccion y Capítulos de ella observara y guardará inviolablemente el dicho General Don José Madrazo, y otro cualquiera que le subceda en dicho Gobierno de Marianas en interin que S.M. no manda otra cosa y para que no pueda contravenir á su tenor el presente Escribano mayor de esta Gobernacion y Guerra se la entregará original haciendose la primera notoriedad de que ha de dar testimonio para que en la Secretaria de Gobierno juntamente con copia que sacará auténtica de esta instruccion.

Dada en Manila á cuatro de Junio de mil seiscientos noventa y seis años.

Don Fausto Cruzat y Góngora.

Por mandado de Su Señoría,

Don Juan Lorenzo de Sotomayor, Escribano mayor interino de la Gobernacion y Guerra de estas Yslas Filipinas, doy fé y verdadero testimonio, como hoy de la fecha lei é hize notorio la Instruccion de las tres foxas con esta segun y como en ella, y en cada Capitulo se contiene al General Don José Madrazo en su persona; quien dixo cumplirá con el tenor de ella; y para que conste en virtud de lo mandado por el último capitulo de dicha Instruccion doy el presente en esta Ciudad de Manila en seis dias del mes de Junio de mil seiscientos noventa y seis años y lo firmó dicho General José Madrazo.

Juan Lorenzo de Sotomayor.

Translation.

Instruction.—

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora, Knight of the Order of St. James, member of the Privy Council of His Majesty, his Governor and Captain General of these Philippine Islands and President of the Audiencia and Chancellery there, etc.

Instruction that must be observed and carried out by General Don José Madrazo in the post that he is going to fill as interim Governor of the Mariana Islands, appointed by this Government and Captaincy General of the Philippines to replace the late Sergeant Major Don Damian de Esplana.

Firstly, as soon as you arrive at said Islands and take possession of their Government, you will make Sergeant Major Don José de Quiroga, in whose care the said Government is at present, or whomever may be in his place, deliver to you all the money, goods and other things belonging to the subsidy of said Islands and infantry there, and you, General Don José Madrazo, are to take charge of it with complete distinctness and clarity in accordance with the disposition and order contained in a Royal decree dated 13 November 1680¹ in order to distribute it as foreseen therein as salaries and succor for said infantry serving in said Islands.

2° Inasmuch as said Sergeant Major Don José de Quiroga, upon the death of Don Damian de Esplana, became Governor of said Islands, in accordance with the terms contained in his letter of appointment, until a person is appointed by this Government to serve on an interim basis until H.M. (may God save him) provide someone on a permanent basis; and consequently, he perceived or should have perceived and collected as soon as Don Damian de Esplana had died, all that existed then in the form of cash, as well as goods, and that he received later on as subsidies coming from New Spain, so that the whereabouts of everything be appropriate to the service of His Majesty, you, General Don José Madrazo, are to ask and have said Sergeant Major Don José de Quiroga give an account in due form of everything that may be in his care, making sure that it be done with much distinctness and clarity, and you are to accept in the same manner what would have been distributed justifiably as succors and payments to said Infantry, but you are to oblige him to immediately show and hand over the surplus in cash or goods. To this effect, you are to remit to this Superior Government the original

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1680S1.

copies of this accounting report, so that it may be reviewed and reported to His Majesty if need be, and, given that it might be lost during the navigation, you are to keep an authenticated copy, to insure against loss of information.

3° And because it is proper to investigate and collect all the property that was left by the late Sergeant Major Don Damian de Esplana, you, General Don José de Madrazo, are ordered to carry out an investigation of said property as soon as you take over your Government, whatever it may be, in cash or goods, slaves and other valuables. You are to seize it and remit it to the officials of the Royal Treasury of this City of Manila for them to record it and do whatever justice and H.M. may order them to do with it. In this connection, you are also to find out if said Don Damian de Esplana made some testament or codicil at the time of his death and if so, you are to remit it jointly with said property, and retain an authenticated copy of the record of proceedings.

[4°] In accordance with the disposition of the above-mentioned Royal decree, you, General Don José Madrazo, are to receive the subsidies in cash and goods to distribute to the infantry serving in said Mariana Islands in accordance with the order of His Majesty; all of it and anything else that might be received, you are to record accurately in order to be able always to report about it whenever you are asked to, and so that the appropriate order be maintained in its distribution, you will observe what is provided herein.

5° You have to keep a list of all the men serving His Majesty and enjoying a salary in said Islands, by making a separate entry for every individual, recording his name, place and country of origin, and age.

6° On the first day of every month, or, if it be a holiday, the next working day, you are to pass said men in general review, and are to pay every person directly with the reals that correspond to him from the subsidies that come from New Spain, in accordance with and in the form that His Majesty has prescribed, and thus recording month after month what each one has received in said registers.

7° The ammunition or goods remitted from New Spain and those ordered from these Philippine Islands, all on the account of the subsidy of said Infantry are to be distributed completely among the men every six months, or as often as said General or Governor may find appropriate in accordance with need, but their values are to be recorded as debits, according to values assigned in the letters of accounts that might be remitted from New Spain [and] from this City of Manila.

8° And because it has been learned that under the pretext of freight charges some of said goods and cash have been paid out for the transport of some quantities of reals to the Masters of the galleons that come from New Spain, which has been and is unjust, given that said galleons belong to H.M. and the fact that said cash and goods are transported on his order for that Infantry, it is the duty of the Masters to take charge of it, and deliver to said Mariana Islands everything they receive in Acapulco for their subsidy, without their discounting anything for freight charges or for any other reason. This is to be carried out thus, by virtue of this heading, and it must be obeyed inviol-

ably, not only by said Masters of any vessel belonging to His Majesty, but also by the Government of said Islands, under penalty for the former of being punished with the full rigor of the law if they should try, and for the latter with no refund of any payment it may make.

10 [rather 9^o] The procedure followed by the Governors of said Mariana Islands up to now to obtain the goods they required from these Philippines for the Infantry consists in sending every year a certain sum from the subsidy, addressing it to a agent or correspondent holding a power-of-attorney residing in this City of Manila for him to spend in the way stated by said Governors. This procedure has been carried out so far with complete independence of this Government and the officials of the Royal Treasury; it is not just that said procedure and custom, besides its inherent disadvantages, on account of the [overhead] expenses that are occasioned and charged to said Infantry, and the risk that the money runs by being placed in the hands of a single individual, even if one supposes that he might act legally in the purchase of the goods, be allowed to continue, when there are Royal Ministers who must intervene in the handling of said Royal subsidy, and His Majesty would certainly object if he were aware of it. Therefore, from now on, you, General Don José Madrazo, are ordered to send all the moneys that may be sent to this City on the account of H.M. and royal subsidy of said Infantry, directly to the Royal officials, with a list stating the goods that must be purchased, and always reporting to this Government everything in detail, so that proper decisions be taken for the greater relief and saving of said Infantry, not just with regards to quality and prices of the goods to be purchased but also in their delivery.

10^o In the letter of appointment and royal provision that H.M. despatched to Master-of-camp Don Antonio de Saravia, as Governor of said Mariana Islands, dated Madrid 26 August 1679, among other things, he was ordered to take a census of the tributary Indians of said Mariana Islands as soon as he was to take over their Government and without fail to collect the tributes that should have been paid with the precision and other circumstances mentioned more specifically in said royal letter, but because so far, according to news received, there has been no follow-up, on account of the small number of reduced Indians, and the little stability experienced there, as well as the sterility of the country. In order for a report about all of this be given to His Majesty, as required, you, General Don José de Madrazo, are to count all the people who might have been reduced in said Islands, by making a census of each town, recording their married versus bachelor status, men and women, old and young, stating which towns have churches, what religious administer to each town, and if there are some people who are not yet reduced and not yet Christian, what distance there is between towns, what circumference and latitude the Island where said religious live, and the Garrison of the Infantry is located. If there are some ports, where are they situated, and how deep. What food products are available locally; what wood, stone and other building materials are available for the construction of churches, houses and vessels. And if there exists another Island subject to the King our Lord, having a Christian community with Ministers. You are to inform this Government about it all, with complete details

of your findings for every one of the above-mentioned circumstances, complete with your opinion of same, as well as the condition of said Islands and if there are some hopes that Christianity might be increased there.

11° In the Island named Zarpana [rather Saipan], one of the said Marianas, a galleon named **Concepción** was lost in the year 1638, whose guns H.M. has ordered by repeated decrees be salvaged, something which so far has not been completed. Therefore, given the appropriateness of the Royal service, you, General Don José Madrazo, are to apply yourself with the efficiency possible to salvage said guns, by taking advantage of all the means that might appear conducive to its success, by carrying out what His Majesty has ordered about it, and at every opportunity that might offer itself you are to report to this Government what has been done and achieved in this regard.

12° His Majesty—God save him—has ordered that from these Philippine Islands be despatched a relief patache to said Marianas but because in some year it might happen that they would already be supplied with everything necessary and that there be no need for the year that follows, mainly due to the succor and outfitting that they receive from the galleons that come from New Spain, as happened in the year 1693 when the Governor, Don Damian de Esplana, advised that there would be no need to send said patache for the following year 1693 [sic], since the Garrison was already supplied with food and ammunition for two years, by virtue of which it was cancelled. In the event that a similar situation may re-occur, you, General Don José Madrazo, are ordered to do the same, advising whether or not the despatch of said patache can be cancelled, because if it were not necessary, then there is no reason to send it, in order to avoid the considerable expenditures charged to the Royal Treasury with every despatch of the above-mentioned patache.

13° You, General Don José Madrazo, are to observe and obey the present instruction and its clauses inviolably, and so must anyone who might succeed you in said Government of the Marianas, until such time as H.M. might order otherwise, and to prevent its character from being doubted, the present Senior Clerk of this Department of Governance and War will deliver to you the original copy thereof, and hand it over to you officially, complete with a record of proceedings, to be kept in the Secretariat of the Government, jointly with an authenticated copy of this instruction.

Given at Manila, on the 4th day of June 1696.

Don Fausto Cruzat y Góngora.

By order of His Lordship,

I, Don Juan Lorenzo de Sotomayor, Senior Clerk by interim of the Department of Governance and War of these Philippine Islands, certify and officially declare that today I have read and made notorious the Instruction, whose clauses are written on and fill three folios, to General Don José Madrazo in person, who declared that he will comply with its contents; and in faith whereof, in view of the order contained in the last clause of said Instruction, I have given the present in this City of Manila on the 6th day of the month of June of 1696, and said General José Madrazo has signed it.

Juan Lorenzo de Sotomayor.

Documents 1696J

The case against Major Esplana's estate

J1. Letter from Governor Cruzat about Governor Esplana's estate trial, dated 16 June 1696

Source: AGI Fil. 16-1-7 (formerly 67-6-16); copy of main document in Colección Pastells, Fil. 8, pp. 159-161.

Notes: The AGI file is a large one, with 316 pages; there may be a duplicate of it in AGI Fil. 168, under papers dated Manila 26 May 1703. See also Doc. 1688C.

Original text in Spanish.

Señor

Con la noticia que tube de haver muerto el sargento maior Don Damian de Esplana Governador de las Yslas Marianas; y teniendola asimismo de que este havia remitido a esta ciudad algunas cantidades de pesos asi de su caudal propio, como de lo perteneziente a los situados de la ynfanteria de aquellas yslas que perzebio y administro; durante su Gobierno; me parezio ser de mi obligacion pasar al descubrimiento y recaudazion de lo uno y otro, asi por los cargos que le pueden resultar en la residencia (que supongo) se le abra de tomar de dicho ofizio, como por reintegrar a la ynfanteria lo que fuere de ella, y resultare ser alcanzado en las quantas de dichos situados, como se deduze lo sera, segun una carta que escrivio a este gobierno el Sargento maior Don Joseph de Quiroga, que lo es de dichas Marianas, diferentes papeles, que recogio del dicho Don Damian de Esplana.—

En cuya conformidad habiendo pasado a diferentes diligencias y al examen de algunos testigos y vista de ynstrumentos que se mandaron presentar al sargento maior Don Francisco de Atienza Ybañez[,] Castellano de Cavite[,] como podatario que fue del dicho Governador de Marianas; Resulto paravan en su poder 10,000 pesos pertenezientes al situado de la Ynfanteria de aquellas Yslas que se le remitieron los años de 1694, y 1695 los 4,000 pesos de ellos por Don Damian de Esplana y los 6,000 restantes por Don Joseph de Quiroga, que quedo en su lugar de ynterino, todo para efecto de comprar y remitir diferentes generos de ropa, y comestibles, con que proveer a dicha ynfanteria como ha sido costumbre hazerlo de las diligencias hechas, los que al presente

necesitava, provey decreto para que el dicho Don Francisco de Atienza Ybañez comprase de los generos que le tenia pedidos Don Joseph de Quiroga para dicho Ynfanteria hasta cantidad de 6,000 pesos como con efecto lo ejecuto y se remitieron en partida de registro en el Patache que este presente año se despacho a dichas Yslas Marianas; y de los 4,000 pesos restantes cumplimiento a los 10,000 pesos referidos mande se hiziese entrada de ellos en la Real Caja como se hizo segun constara de zertificacion de oficiales Reales para remitirlos en otra ocasion en los generos que dicha Ynfanteria necesitare.

Y en quanto al descubrimiento de vienes pertenezientes al dicho Don Damian de Esplana a resultado paran en poder de Don Joseph de Quiroga Sargento maior actual de las dichas Marianas 2,000 pesos para cuya recaudazion he dado los hordenes necesarios al Governador que e nombrado ynterino y que los remita a esta Real Caja en la primera ocasion.

Asimismo consta de los Autos que se an prozesado y de una Memoria que Don Damian de Esplana deyo para [a]testar como paravan en poder de los Religiosos de la Compañia de Jesus de aquellas Yslas 2,000 pesos que les presto el año de 1689, y se remitieron al Procurador General de su Prov^a de Philipinas; resultando juntamente de un rezivo que dio el Padre Juan de Montemayor, siendo tal Procurador General, su fecha de 11 de Septiembre de 1692 haver rezivido 4,000 pesos que le remitió el dicho Don Damian de Esplana y para la averiguacion de ambas partidas aunque despache primero y segundo ruego y encargo al Reverendo Padre Provincial de la Compañia de Jhs para que diese lizencia que el Procurador general declarase sobre ellas, no ha tenido efecto por haverse excusado con el pretexto de dezir, les esta prohibido por su Preposito General, hazer juramento en negocios tocantes a residencia de que puede resultar daño de tercero, y aunque se le recombino de que la diligencia solo era para asegurar el alcance que puede resultar de los situados Reales que dicho Don Damian de Esplana administro, sin embargo no se quiso allanar a dar dicha lizencia, por lo qual he suspendido pasar a mas diligencia hasta que V.M. provea lo que mas conbenga.

Tambien se averiguo haver rezivido los Procuradores de la Religion de Descalzos de San Francisco desta Ziudad 14,500 pesos pertenezientes al dicho Don Damian de Esplana sobre que se rezivieron ynformaciones y resulto ynstrumentalmente estar distribuidos los 10,500 pesos de ellos y por lo que toca a los 4,000 pesos havia dispuesto de ellos en virtud de carta horden de Don Damian de Esplana (la cual se acumulo a los Autos) y que los otros 2,000 pesos aunque estaban aplicados al Convento de Santo Domingo por limosna a Sancta Rosa, no los havia entregado por tener gastado la mayor parte de ellos, pero que estava prompto a exhibirlos quando los tuviese; mediante lo qual le despache ruego y encargo para que retenga en su poder los referidos 2,000 pesos hasta que otra cosa se mande.—

Asimismo resulto desta averiguacion parar en poder de Don Francisco de Atienza Ybañez 5,552 pesos de dicho Don Damian de Esplana, los quales mande entregase en la Real Caja; de cuió proveido apelo para la Real Audiencia, en la qual con vista de los Autos se declaro por no parte al dicho Don Francisco Atienza y en su continuazion

volvi a mandar se hiciese entrada en la Real Caja de dicha cantidad de que suplico, pidiendo termino hasta la venida del Galeon que de proximo se aguarda de la Nueva España, el qual le concedi hasta el mes de Agosto que viene con la calidad de que afianzase los dichos 5,552 pesos a satisfazion de ofiziales Reales como lo hizo.

De cuyas diligencias en cumplimiento de mi obligazion doy quenta a V.M. remitiendo el testimonio adjunto de todo lo actuado por mi en dicho particular con una Memoria o Ynbentario de los libros y demas papeles de Don Damian de Esplana que como queda referido me remitio el sargento maior Don Joseph de Quiroga para que en su vista provea y mande V.M. lo que mas combenga, asi en horden al descubrimiento que se ha hecho de dichos bienes como a la residencia y quantas que se hubieren de tomar al dicho Don Damian de Esplana.

Nuestro Señor guarde L.C. y Real P. de V.M. como la Christiandad a menester.

Manila y Junio 16 de 1696.

D. Fausto Cruzat y Gongora.

Translation.

Sire:

With the news that I received of the death of Sergeant Major Don Damian de Esplana, Governor of the Mariana Islands, and also the news that he had forwarded to this City certain sums in pesos, not only from his own funds, but also from those belonging to the subsidies of the infantry of those Islands that he had collected and administered during his term of office, it seemed to me that it was my duty to order a search and the recovery of all such monies, not only on account of the charges that are pending against him in the audit (that I suppose will have to be held of his term of office), but also in order to give back to the infantry whatever may belong to it, and might turn out to have been advanced to the accounts of said subsidies, as was in fact deduced they were, according to a letter that Don José de Quiroga, Sergeant Major of those Islands, wrote to this government, from the information he got from various papers collected from said Don Damian de Esplana.—

To this effect, having taken various steps to examine a few witnesses and in view of instruments that Sergeant Major Don Francisco de Atienza Ibañez, Warden of Cavite, was asked to produce in his capacity as agent for said Governor of the Marianas, the result was that 10,000 pesos belonging to the subsidy of the Infantry of those Islands were in his possession, having been remitted in the years 1694 and 1695, i.e. 4,000 of those pesos by Don Damian de Esplana, and the other 6,000 by Don José de Quiroga when he took over as interim Governor; all were for the purpose of purchasing and remitting various goods, such as clothing and food supplies, with which to provision said infantry, as the custom has been. Out of these steps, in order to send them what they needed for the present, I provided a decree so that said Don Francisco de Atienza Iba-

ñez would buy the goods that Don José de Quiroga has requested of him for said Infantry up to the sum of 6,000 pesos, as he in fact did, and they were remitted under a manifest aboard the patache that was despatched this year to said Mariana Islands.¹ As for the remaining 4,000 pesos, the complement to the 10,000 pesos in question, I ordered that they be turned over to the Royal Treasury, and this was done, as appears in a certificate signed by Royal officials, in order to remit them to said Infantry on another occasion when they might need them.

With regards to the search for property belonging to said Don Damian de Esplana, the result has been that 2,000 pesos remained in the hands of Don José de Quiroga, the present Sergeant Major of said Marianas. To recover same, I gave the necessary orders to the Governor whom I appointed on an interim basis to remit them to this Royal Treasury at the first opportunity.

In addition, the record of proceedings shows that Don Damian de Esplana left a memorandum to attest that there remained in possession of the Religious of the Society of Jesus of those Islands 2,000 pesos that he had loaned to them in the year 1689, money that was sent to the Procurator General of the Province of the Philippines; this is also proved by a receipt delivered by Father Juan de Montemayor, when he was Procurator General, dated 11 September 1692, and acknowledging the receipt of 4,000 pesos that said Don Damian de Esplana had sent him. And in order to investigate both sides of this story, although I sent a despatch, not once but twice, begging and entrusting the Reverend Father Provincial of the Society of Jesus for him to give permission to the Procurator General to make a declaration about it, it was fruitless because he excused himself with the pretext that they are forbidden by their General from making declarations under oath in affairs touching on audits of terms of office, when damage to third parties may result, and although he was once again invited to abide, in view of the fact that the step was only to find out if any advances had been made with the Royal subsidies that said Don Damian de Esplana administered, nevertheless he refused to yield and give such permission; that is why I have suspended this step until Y.M. decide what is appropriate.

Also it was discovered that the Procurators of the Order of the Discalzed Franciscans of this City had received 14,500 pesos belonging to said Don Damian de Esplana. Inquiries revealed, with documents provided as proofs, that 10,500 of these pesos have been distributed, and regarding 4,000 pesos, they had been disposed in accordance with a written order from Don Damian de Esplana (which was added to the record) and that the remaining 2,000 pesos, although they were applied to the Convent of St. Dominic as an alms to St. Rose, they had not been turned over because most of the amount had been spent, but the Order stood ready to turn them over when they had them. Therefore, I sent them a despatch, begging and entrusting them to retain the 2,000 pesos in question in their possession until something else be ordered.—

1 Ed. note: This was the patache, named Concepción, that Pilot Rodriguez took to Guam, by way of Faraulep, but wrecked on Santa Rosa Bank, with General Madrazo on board.

In addition, this search revealed that Don Francisco de Atienza Ibañez had in his possession 5,552 pesos from said Don Damian de Esplana, which I ordered be turned over to the Royal Treasury. He appealed my decision to the Royal Audiencia, but in view of the records said Don Francisco Atienza was declared to be not a party and in its continuance I once again ordered him to turn the money in question over to the Royal Treasury, but he submitted a request, begging leave not to comply until the arrival of the galleon that is expected soon from New Spain.¹ I accepted his request and granted him until next August, on the condition that he provide a performance bond for the said 5,552 pesos to the satisfaction of the Royal officials, which he did.

To comply with my obligation, I report these steps to Y.M., enclosing a record of all the proceedings that I have done in this matter, complete with a list or inventory of the books and other papers of Don Damian de Esplana which, as I have said, were sent to me by Sergeant Major Don José de Quiroga, so that in view of them Y.M. may order what may be convenient, not just in relation to the search that has been made of said property but also the audit of his term of office and accounts that should be taken of said Don Damian de Esplana.

May our Lord save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M. as Christendom needs.

Manila, 16 June 1696.

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora.

J2. The King's comments, dated Madrid 26 October 1700

Source: AGI Fil. 332, libro 19, fol. 159v-161, pp. 396-399.

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Al Governador de Philipinas aprobandole sus diligencias que hizo en orden a descubrir vienes de Don Damian de Esplana y prebiniendole lo que a de ejecutar. Fha con duplicado.

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora, Cavallero del orden de Santiago mi Governador y Capitan general de las Islas Philipinas y Presidente de la Audiencia de Manila en Carta de diez y seis de Junio de mil seiscientos y noventa y seis dais quenta con testimonio de las diligencias que havias hecho sobre descubrir los Bienes que quedaron de Don Damian de Esplana Governador que fue de las Islas Marianas y que de las cantidades que se havian hallado assi suyas propias como pertenecientes a los situados de la Infanteria de ellas quedaban aseguradas excepto la de seis mil pesos, que havia constado paraban en poder de los Religiosos de la Compañia porque aunque despachasteis, primero y segundo ruego, y encargo de Provincial, para que diese licencia, que el Procurador

¹ Ed. note: It is clear that Atienza had invested the money in stuffs sent for sale at the Acapulco fair, and did not then have it in cash.

General declarase lo que havia en este particular, no tubo efecto, por haverse executado, con el pretesto de estarles prohibido hacer juramento en negocios de donde pudiese provenir daño à tercero, y que asi lo participais para que se ordene lo que deveis executar, y en el punto de ajustar las quentas y tomar la residencia.

*Y visto en mi Consejo de Indias, habiendo oydo àl fiscal[,] ha parecido ordenaros se os aprueva el Celo, y vigilancia, con que haveis andado en esta materia y que considerandose, que para hacerle los cargos à Don Damian de Esplana, de todo aquello que mirase à restitucion, y que para que esta la haga efectiva, se ajusten las quentas del situado, y se satisfagan los alcances, que legitimamente se le hicieren, se tiene por preciso haya de **tomarle la residencia, sin embargo de haver fallecido**, y que respecto de no tenerse noticias de la persona, que podra ser en las Islas Marianas, mas avil, para que la tome paseis à nombrarla que tubiereis por mas a proposito, para que la publique, ajuste las quentas, y proceda en todo conforme à derecho, sustanciando con los testamentarios, ó herederos.*

Y en quanto à los seis mil pesos, que paran en poder de los Religiosos de la Compañia, tendreis entendido, que en despacho de este dia se encarga àl Ministro General de esta Religion mande àl Prelado de estas yslas, permita declaren los que lo devieren hacer pues solo mira à la cobranza, y exaccion de ellos, y no à nada, que sea penal por no pretenderse mas, que asegurar el derecho, que pudiere tener mi Real fisco à esta cantidad, de que estareis advertido, para su entero cumplimiento y de lo que resultare me dareis abiso.

Fha en Madrid à veinte y seis de Octubre de 1700.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Señalado del Consejo.

Translation.

The King.

To the Governor of the Philippines, approving the steps he took to search for the property of Don Damian de Esplana and warning him of what he has to do. Made in duplicate.

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora, Knight of the Order of St. James, my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of the Audiencia of Manila.

In a letter dated 16 June 1696, you reported with a record of proceedings about the steps you had taken to search for the property left by Don Damian de Esplana, late Governor of the Mariana Islands and that all the sums that had been found, not just belonging to him personally but also to the subsidies of their Infantry, were secured except for the sum of 6,000 pesos that were said to be in the hands of the Religious of the Society, because although you summoned their Provincial twice to give permission to their Procurator General to make a declaration regarding this specific matter, it had no effect, because he had excused himself with the pretext that they were forbidden to make

declarations under oath in affairs where damage could result to third parties, and so, you reported about it, asking to be told what to do, and about the point concerning the adjustment of the accounts and the carrying out of the management audit.

This having been seen in my Council of the Indies, along with the recommendation of the fiscal, I have decided that you should be told that I approve the zeal and care that you took in this matter and that, considering that it is necessary to charge Don Damian de Esplana with everything that might result in restitution, and that for this to be effective, the accounts of the subsidy will have to be adjusted, and the advances that were lawfully made be paid up, it is therefore considered necessary **to have the management audit of his term of office take place, though he has died**, and should there be no information as to a more competent person in the Mariana Islands to carry out this audit, you are to appoint one whom you may think more appropriate, in order to announce it, adjust the accounts, and proceed in everything in accordance with law, by substantiating same with the executors, or heirs.

And regarding the 6,000 pesos that remain in the hands of the Religious of the Society, you should know that in a despatch of this date the Minister General of this Order is entrusted to order the Prelate of these Islands to permit those who must to make their declarations, since the only concern is with the recovery of money from them, and nothing else that might come under the penal code, and that nothing is sought other than the legitimate right of my Royal exchequer to this money, about which you stand warned, the better to achieve full compliance, and you are to give me a report on the eventual result.

Made at Madrid on 26 October 1700.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Countersigned by the Council.

Editor's note.

In 1769, there was found among the Jesuit papers seized at the College of San Ignacio, a letter from Fr. Francisco de Borja y Aragon to Fr. Gaspar Marco¹, dated Hospice of San Francisco de Borja, 4 March 1701, in which he tells him that he had received a letter from Esplana's daughters and heirs in Chile, asking to help them to collect their inheritance. He turns over the power-of-attorney that he had received from them. There is no follow-up that I am aware of.

1 Ed. note: Fr. Marco was born at Biar, Valencia, in 1660 and died in Spain in 1716. He served for 15 years as procurator of the Jesuit college at Manila.

G I R O D E L M O N D O

D E L D O T T O R

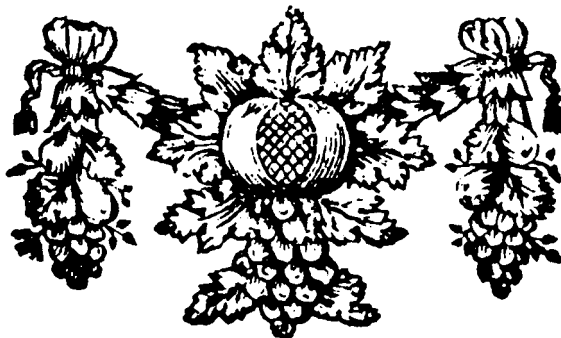
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Title page of Gemelli's Voyage Around the World.

Document 1696K

A voyage around the world by Giovanni Francesco Gemelli-Careri, via the Northern Marianas

Sources: Giovanni Francesco Gemelli-Careri's Giro del mondo (Naples, 1698-1700); see Bibliography, under 1696. English translation published in A. & J. Churchill's Collection of Voyages (in Vol. 4 of the 1st ed. London, 1704; and in other editions).

Editorial note: Since this is a secondary account, there are several, small, inaccuracies; they are too numerous to mention individually, but let the reader beware!

Introduction.

Next to Antonio Pigafetta, Magellan's companion, this Gemelli was not only the second Italian to achieve a circumnavigation, but the first Italian to go eastward around the world. Since curiosity was his main motivation, Gemelli may have been the first world-class tourist, because he had enough money with him to be accepted everywhere he went. Born in Radicena, in Calabria, Italy, in 1651, he became a lawyer and later a city administrator in the Kingdom of Naples. Around 1685, he lost his post due to political intrigue, and began his travels, firstly through Europe, then the Middle East, and finally Asia, where he went from Macao to Peking. Back to Macao, he sailed for Manila, and soon after took the 1696 galleon to Acapulco, arriving at Mexico on 24 January 1697. Gemelli published his journal as soon as he arrived back home in Naples, where he died in 1725.¹

Gemelli has been criticized by some historians as not too accurate when he describes things that he had not seen himself.² Captain Burney's opinion is as follows: "Gemelli has written a quiet narrative with little mixture of extraordinary incident, yet it gives cause for suspicion, by being in great part composed of descriptions of things he had not seen himself; and places which he does not pretend to have visited. His journal

1 Ed. note: See Guglielminetti's *Viaggiatori del Seicento*; Ghirlanda; Ciampi; etc. in *Bibliography*.

2 Ed. note: For instance, his description of the Imperial Palace in China is criticized by Father Du Halde.

relates his making a tour round the World, commenced from Naples and concluded by his return thither, performed partly by sea and partly by land, in the years from 1693 to 1699, a part of each included. Careri, according to his journal, travelled overland to India; in shipping to China; and thence to the Philippine Islands. **From Manila he sailed in a Spanish ship which carried the royal treasure to Acapulco.**¹ This is the only part of his journal which has connexion with South Sea navigation. Gemelli makes no claim to any discovery in his passage, but relates particulars which he professes to have learnt from pilots and mariners on board, who were experienced in that navigation. These consists of slight notices concerning the Islands Rica de Oro, Rica de Plata, San Sebastian, and Doña Maria La Xara; also of the Señas or floating weeds near the coast of California... Some particulars of the navigation from Manila to New Spain are awkwardly described; but those given as the reports of the pilots and mariners, by whatever means Careri obtained them, have more the appearance of being what he has represented, than of having been invented by himself.”

Original text in Italian

*Capitolo III (cont'd)*²

...
La Domenica 12 [Agosto 1696] cessò il vento fresco, ch'era durato tutta la notte, e ci lasciò in calma: osservato il Sole, si trovò a 14 gradi, e 13 m. si divisè quel giorno fra' Marinaj il panno, che loro dà il Re, acciò si disendano dal freddo. Si stette parimente in calma il Lunedì 13 ed, osservata l'altezza, si trovarono 14 gr. e 20 m.

Il Martedì 14, si mosse un vento Maestro; e si andò per Levante 4 a Greco. S'osservò il Sole a 14 gradi, e 34 m. Con l'istesso vento si pose la prora a Greco il Mercordì 15, osservandosi il Sole a 14 gr. e 45 min. Fummo in calma il Giovedì 16; però la corrente ne portò alquanto oltre; sicchè el trovammo a 14 gradi, e 53 m. d'altezza.

Il Venerdì 17, un vento ben leggiero, leggermente girò tutta la Bussola: e noi ci trovammo nell'istessa altezza. Il Sabato 18, si andò per Greco-Levante, con poco vento Maestro-tramontana; e si osservò il Sole a 15 gradi, e un minuto. Si cominciò a dar più picciola la porzione dell'acqua; perche ve n'era poca, e si avea a fare molto cammino. La notte si mosse un vento Ponente-maestro, che ne fece porre la prora a Levante; e così si camminò tutta la Domenica 19 in latitudine di 15 gradi, e 24 m. come parimente il Lunedì 20 ad altezza di 15 gradi, e 34 m. Sopravvenne la notte una gran tempesta, che fece vegghiar tutti; e tutto il Martedì 21 ne fece andare con gran bilanzi, e sbalzi. Cadde in quel giorno un poco di pioggia; onde procurò avidamente ciascuno raccorre acqua. Si osservò il Sole a 16 gradi, e 16 m., espirò Ponente-libeccio; che durò anche il Mercordì 22 e, tenendosi la prora per Levante 4 a Greco, si trovò il Sole a 16 gr. e 26 m. Andammo verso Levante, con vento Maestro, il Giovedì 23 e presa l'elevazione si trovò di 16 gr. e 44m. Il Venerdì 24 si mutò il vento in Tramontana: onde s'andò per Levante 4 a Greco. si osser-

1 Ed. note: This galleon was the San José, Captain Miguel Martinez.

2 Ed. note: From the second, Venice edition, of 1719, vol. 5 (see Figure), pp. 160-168.

vò la latitudine Solare di 16 gr. e 40 m. Spirò Libeccio il Sabato 25 e la prora si pose per Greco 4 a Levante, senza partirci dalla stessa latitudine.

La Domenica 26 si mosse un vento Ponente libeccio; ma non si tolse la prora dal medesimo cammino. Si osservò l'altezza di 17 gr. e 1 minuto. Così anche si andò il Lunedì 27 durando l'istesso vento; e'l Sole si trovò a 17 gr. e 15 m., però el Martedì 28 s'osservò a 17 gr. e 18 m. quantunque stati fossimo in calma.

Spirò Mezzogiorno il Mercordì 29 però poco si camminò; ed osservammo il Sole a 17 gr. e 34 m. di latitudine.

Il Giovedì 30 si mosse un Greco-levante, e andammo colla prora à Tramontana. Non si poté osservare il Sole. Il Venerdì ultimo da Ponente-libeccio divenne il vento Ponente- maestro; e nè anche si poté prendere l'altezza. Sul tramontar del Sole sopravvenne una gran pioggia; onde si posero tutti gli assetati marinaj, nudi, a raccorte acqua, co'loro cagiani, stuoje, e canali; e in poche ore si ebbero pieni tutti i vasi vuoti. Continuò tutta la notte un forte temporale, senza raccorsi acqua, per non aversi dove riporla; onde, coll'abondanza della medesima, si fecero tutti la morischetta.

Il Sabato, primo di Settembre, s'andò per Levante 4 a Greco, con vento Libeccio; e si trovò tenere il Sole d'elevazione 18 gr. e 50 m. Prima di giorno la Domenica 2, si mutò il vento in Levante forte, che mosse sì terribile fortuna, che non si poté dir Messa, nè osservare il Sole; ed obbligò i piloti ad abbassare amendue gli alberi superiori, di gabbia, e di trinchetto, per timore, che non si tompessero, e si perdesse la speranza di fare il viaggio; siccome altre volte era accaduto per difetto d'alberi. BSTavamo tutti vigilantissimi notte, e dì, per lo gran pericolo, in cui ci trovavamo; poiche l'onde, portavano molta acqua sul galeone, e di quando in quando gli davano terribili scosse. Si stette frattanto, colla vela maggiore, alla cappa; ed, essendosi esposta l'immagine di S. Francesco Saverio, il Generale gli fece voto del prezzo della medesima vela, che montava a 200 pezze; piamente attribuendo all sua intercessione la salvezza della medesima vela, e l'essersi il Mare acchetato. Tre ore prima di giorno divenne favorevole il vento.

Il Lunedì 3, ponendosi il vento a Maestro, si continuò a camminare per Greco-levante, e si riposero amendue gli alberi. Essendosi il medesimo giorno presa la prima Cacciorretta (spezie di pesce, così detto dagli Spagnuoli) si pose all'incanto, secondo il costume, altre volte notato. Il Generale ne osserì sino a 60 pezze d'otto da farsene un'offerta alla Madre Santissima della Concezione; però quattro marinaj vi giunsero cinque pezze, e così restò loro il pesce. Si presero poscia circa venti fra Cacciorrette, e Bonitti, pesci sanguinosi, della spezie degli scombri. Ritornò la notte il temporale, con pioggia; onde su d'uopo, a colpi di bastone, far uscire la marineria da sotto coperta, tanta era l'acqua, che cadea. Ciò ne impedì di osservare il Sole, anche nel seguente Martedì 4 in cui facemmo cammino coll'istesso vento.

Il Mercordì 5, cominciò a spirar prima Libeccio, e poi Mezzogiorno-libeccio. Essendosi camminato tutto il giorno, si osservò il Sole a 19 gr. e 33 m. d'altezza. Sul far del giorno il Giovedì 6, si videro quattro Isole delle Mariane; però il vento contrario non permise al piloto di passarle per 19 gr. e 20 m. come avea determinato. Fattici più ltre, si vedeva da lungi, verso Mezzodì, la più grande, che avea appunto la figura d'una lunga sella di cavallo. La seconda Isola verso la stessa parte, era un Vulcano-aguto, e rotondo, chiamato nelle Carte Griga, che dalla sommità mandava fumo. Dissero, che avea di circuito tre leghe, e che nelle falde, verso Mezzodì, era abitato: al che aggiunse il Contramestre del galeone, che, essendovi egli passato in un'altro viaggio, uscirono molti di quelli abitanti, in alcune barche, a portargli pesce, cocchi, buyo, e melloni buonissimi; però che d'allora in poi non erano venuti più ad incontrare il galeone; vedendo maltrattato un de'loro, con un colpo di lancia, da un temerario passeggiere.

Capitolo IV. Scoprimiento, e conquista delle Isole Mariane.

Queste Isole anticamente furono chiamate de las Velas; e quindi dagli Spanuoli, de los Ladrones; perocchè prendendovi alle volte terreno, nell'andare, e venire dalla Nuova Spagna alle Filippine; gli abitanti rubavano loro quanto potevano, e poscia fuggivano ne'monti. Prese possesso delle medesime, in nome del Re Filippo Secondo, a Gennaio 1565 Miguel Lopez de Legaspi; allor che, Comandante di quattro navi, e d'una fregata, andava alla conquista delle Filippine. Questo possesso però fu di semplici parole; perocchè non vi si pose presidio, nè vi si eresse Fortezza; nettampoco vi si mandarono Missionarj, per ridur gli abitanti ad abbracciare la nostra S. Fede: forse perche allora stimavasi quasi impossibile parlar di Religione ad uomini, che abborrivano ogni comunicazione di Spagnuoli, fuggendo ne'loro più folti boschi. Ne'tempi appresso, andando e venendo i Padri della Compagnia dalle Filippine, per le loro Missioni: mossi da zelo religioso (vendendo quella povera gente abbandonata, ed immersa nelle tenebre dell'Idolatria) proposero alla Maestà della Reina Madre, (all'ora governante, per la minore età del Rè) la coltura di questa vigna, insalvaticchita dal Gentilesimo; con darle a dividere, che avrebbe potuto, con frutto, seminarvisi l'ottimo frumento del Vangelo, fondandovisi una Missione dell'Istessa Compagnia. Condiscese, colla solita pietà, la Reina a tal dimanda; onde il Governadore di Manila, avuti gli ordini necessarj dalla Corte, armò bastevole soldatesca, e navi, per la conquista dell'Isole: e viandarono anche i Padri, che furono stimati necessarj. In breve spazio gli Spagnuoli si fecer padroni dell'Isola Yguana, posta a 13 gradi dalla parte di Settentrione, e della Sarpana: e, proseguendo quindi la conquista, giunsero, con poca, o niuna resistenza, a soggiogarle tutte, da'14 gradi sino a'venti, ove stá il Vulcano. I PP. Missionarj v'ebbero differente fortuna: perocchè essendosi arrischiati ad andar soli per l'Isola, predicando, vi furono maltrattati; e specialmente il P. Morales fu ferito d'una lanciata alla coscia, in un luogo presso al Vulcano. Quivi parimente 29 anni già sono, ricevette la corona del Martirio il P. San Vittore; perche avea battezzata una fanciulla senza licenza del padre: e si contano in tutto, sino al dì d'oggi, dieci Missionarj, recati a morte. Per tal cagione si sono ritirati i PP. nell'Isole d'Yguana, e di Sarpana, sotto la protezione de'presidj Reali.

*In cento settanta sette anni, che gli Spagnuoli hanno continuato un tal viaggio, passando per diverse tocche, han conosciuto, esser questa una catena d'Isole, da Tramontana a Mezzo giorno; cioè dalla linea (dove principia, e sta a fronte della Nuova Ghinea, posta dalla parte di Mezzo giorno) sino presso al Giappone per 36 gradi. I nomi, posti a tutte l'Isole scoperte, lungo questo spazio, sono i seguenti: **Iguana**, quella, che sta a 13 gradi; **Sarpana**, posta a 14 gr. **Buona villa** a 15, **Saespara** a 15 g. e 40 m., **Anatan** a 17 g. e 20 m., **Sarigan** a 17 gr. e 25 m., **Guagan** a 18 gr. e 40 m. Il **Vulcano di Griga** a 19 gr. e 33 m., **Tinay**, e **Maug** a 20 gr. e 45 m., **Urrac** a 20 gradi, e 55 m. Gli altri tre Vulcani, il primo a 23 gr. e 30 m., il secondo a 24 e'1 terzo a 29 [sic] gr. L'Isola di **Pattos** è a 25 [gr.] e 30 m., la **Desconfojsida** a 25 gr. e 50 m., Malabrigo a 27 e 40 m., la **Guadalupe** a 28 e 10 m., le tre Isole di **Tecla**, scoperte a'23 di Dicembre del 1664 dal galeone S. Giuseppe, da'34 gradi sino a 36. Visono altre Isole da'13 gradi, verso la linea, e Nuova Ghinea, non per anche scoperte.*

Vi è un'altra catena d'Isola, che comincia dalla Linea, 300 Leghe lontano dal Callao, e si stende verso Ponente, senza che mai se n'abbia potuto sapere il fine. Le più conosciute sono disabitate, e non tengono animali quadrupedi; ma solamente uccelli, che s'uccidono a colpi di legna; non essendo spaventati, per vestigia umane: siccome mi riferirono persone, che vi erano state. In queste Isole vanno a spalmare le loro navii corsali, che, per lo Stretto di Magallanes, passano al Mare del Sur. Sono appellate de los Galapagos, per la quantità, che visi truova di questi animali simili alle tartarughe grandi.

*La principale delle Mariane si è Yguana, e perciò quivi si fabbricò un forte Castello, guardato di presente da un presidio di 80 in 90 soldati. La seconda vien detta Sarpana, e vi ha presidio; però il Governadore abita in Umatta. Amendue sono spiagge, dove non ponno i vascelli avvicinarsi più, che tre leghe lontano da terra. In Agana sono due Colleggi: uno di fanciulli, l'altro di vergini Indiane; istruiti, e governati da dodici PP. della Compagnia; e mantenuti dal Re, con assegnamento di tre mila pezze d'otto l'anno; oltre a quello, che somministra per sostentamento de'PP. Spende generosamente Sua Maestà, per mantener queste Isole, 34 m. pezze d'otto l'anno, cioè per soldo del Governadore 3 mila pezze, e l'rimanente per lo Sargente-maggiore, e per cento soldati di presidio; e per mantenimento de'PP. Gesuiti, e de'riferiti Collegi. Viene tutto ciò, co'panni per vestire la milizia, dalla Nuova Spagna in Manila, col situ-
ado Reale. Di più si mantiene un petacchio, per condurvi tutto ciò, che vi fa d'uopo. La Case de'PP. della Compagnia sono di loto, perche altro materiale non danno l'Isole. Quelle degl'Indiani sono capanne, coperte di legno, o di foglie di nipa, a modo di grotte. L'Isola ha di circuito dieci leghe, ed è distante sei dalla Sarpana. Questa è meno grande; ne vi tengono casa i PP. Gesuiti, ma vi assistono secondo il bisogno. Vi è un picciol presidio di soldati, per tenere in freno quella barbra gente.*

Capitolo V. Fastezze degli abitanti, Religione, Frutta, Clima, e maravigliose barche dell'Isole Mariane.

Sono gli abitanti delle Mariane di statura gigantesca, corpulenti, e di gran forza; ponendosi sulle spalle un peso tal volta di 500 libbre, come se fosse un nulla. Sono anche valenti notatori, correndo sotto acqua, sino a prendere i pesci; e perciò sono quasi tutti rotti. Viveano, prima che vi entrassero gli Spagnuoli, sotto un Capo o Principale, erranti, e nudi per lo monte. Non conosceano il fuoco, ne uso di ferro, ma mangiavano il pesce crudo, (ed alcuni putratto), cocchi, e radici, bevendo acqua pura; quantunque tenessero quantità di cocchi, per far vino, ed olio. Non vi era, per lo passato, ne vi è oggidì, fra di loro contratto di vendita, ma solamente permutazione, come nella prima, e felice età del mondo; e per molte pezze da otto, che vi recassero gli Spagnuoli, non vi sarebbe chi vendesse loro un cocco, o una gallina; e si vedrebbero morir di pura fame, se non dassero tela in iscambio, panno ed altre cose di cui quelli han di bisogno.

In tutte l'Isole scoperte fin'ora, non si è trovato vestigio di religione, siccome mi riferirono più PP. Missionarj, che vi avean fatta lunga dimora, ma solamente una gran venerazione a'loro antepassati (e ciò non per amore, ma per timore) tenendo i teschi de'medesimi nelle loro case, ed invocandogli nelle necessità: donde si scorge però, che hanno qualche retta opinione dell'immortalità dell'anime e che vi sia un qualche luogo, per loro dimora, dal quale ponno dare ajuto, o far del danno. Hanno linguaggio differente da quei delle Filippine. Usano per armi lancia, colla punta fatta d'osso di gamba umana, o di pietre aguzze.

Quantunque in queste Isole gli alberi non siano così folti, e grandi, come nelle Filippine; non perciò il terreno non è ottimo produttore di tutto ciò, che fa d'uopo agli abitanti. Per lo passato non vi avea, che le frutta del paese, e alquante galline; ma poscia colla dimora de'Padri Gesuiti, e de'soldati, evvisi introdotto il riso, legumi, ed altro dell'Isole Filippine; e quanto agli animali, cavalli, vacche, e porci, i quali si sono mutiplicati assai ne' monti. Non vi erano nè anche sorci; però, col passo continuo de'vascelli, ora ve n'ha abbastanza per dar noja. Non vi nascono a patto alcuno animali velenosi.

Il maraviglioso frutto, e singolare di quest'Isola, è il Rima, che serve agli abitanti di pane, molto nutritivo. La pianta è folta, e frondosa: la frutta quanto una testa di uomo, di color del dattilo, ma spino-

so, come la Giacca di Goa; e vi ha un nocciolo nel mezzo, simile a una noce bianca. Egli cotto, e arrostito, serve di pane, e si conserva quattro, e sei mesi. Il sapore è di fico d'India, o plantano. Oltreattò abbondano i monti di palme di cocchi.

Il Ducdù è un albero simile alla Rima: e la frutta, al di fuori verde, s'assomiglia a una pera lunghetta. La polpa interiore si è bianca e molle, attaccata a circa 15 noccioli, che arrostiti hanno il sapor di castagna, come quei della Giacca. Vi sono medesimamente, per cibo comune, quantità di radici; cioè a dire, di Ubi, di Gave, di Camotte, e di altre. L'acque sono anche ottime. L'aria è migliore, e più temperata di quella di Manila; sebbene ella stia nel medesimo parallelo d'Yguana, e della Sarpana.

Stravagantissime sono le piccole barchette di queste Isole, si per la struttura come per la velocità. El-leno sono fatte in due curvi tronchi d'alberi, cavati, e cuciti insieme con vexuco [i.e. bejuco], o canna d'India. La loro lunghezza è di cinque in sei braccia; e, perché la larghezza non eccede i quattro palmi, e di facile si volterebbe sossopra; vi aggiungono a'lati altri pezzi di legno intero, i quali la tengono in equilibrio: e, quanto a passaggieri, come che appena è capace di tre marinaj Indiani, vi fanno nel mezzo un tavolato, disteso dall'una, e dall'altra parte sull'acqua; e quivi va la gente, che vuol far cammino. De'tre marinaj suddetti, uno sta sempre nel mezzo, a tor via l'acqua, che infallibilmente entra per sopra, e per le commisure della barca; gli altri due se ne stanno, a darle moto, e reggerla, nelle due estremiti. La vela è come quella, che noi chiamiamo Latina, fatta di stuoja, e lunga quanto è la barca; e perciò un vento in poppà, potendola far rivoltare facilmente, lo schifano quanto ponno. Di velocità non v'è alcuna sorte di barche, che possa agguagliarla, poichè fa dieci, e dodici miglia Italiane ad ora. Avendo a ritornare da qualche luogo, si muta solamente la vela, senza voltar la prora; e quella, ch'era poppa, divien prora; e colui, ch'era alla prora, divien timoniere, e per lo contrario. Avendosi ad accomodar la barca, sopra l'istessa vela si pongono le robbe, e'passaggieri; e prestamente si raggiusta, e raddrizza, essendosi rivoltata: stravaganze, che appena credono gli stessi Spagnuoli, che le veggono tutto il dì. Benchè siano acconcie solamente per cammino breve; pure, in caso d'urgente necessità, se ne partirono due da Yguana, attraversando un golfo di 900 miglia Italiane, per venire nelle Filippine; però se ne perdettero una.

Acciò il lettore meglio comprenda la sua struttura, ne ho fatto intagliare il disegno.

...

Translation from Churchill's Collection of Voyages

Part V — Of the Philippine Islands. CHAP. II (cont'd).

...

[As the galleon was approaching the San Bernardino Strait]

... the wind blew fresh at SE, so that about noon the pilot thought fit to sail, because there is no getting out at the *Embocadero*, or mouth of the channel, where the currents are always impetuous, without a wind that's stronger than they. The *Embocadero*, or straight, is 8 leagues in length, and 4 or 5 and in some places 6, over. 'Tis inclos'd like the court or yard of a house, on the one side with the coast of the island of Manila; by the islands of Burias, Ticao and Masbate; by the six little islands *de los Naranjos*, or of

Orange-trees, which are desert; by the fruitful island of Capul, by the Indians call'd Ava; by the Alupores;¹ and lastly, by the west coast of Palapa; and on the other by the island of Maripipu, inhabited by Talaxians [?], Tagapola, Mongol, Kamanda and Limbanquayan,² which all together render the passage out towards America very difficult, what way soever a man would go.

CHAP. III — The voyage continu'd to the Marian islands.

The wind holding brisk at SE, the pilots all agreed to make their way out of the straight, and accordingly about noon weighing the two anchors, the tide being then with us, they hoisted sail, and before sun-set were near the mouth of the straight, which is made by cape Malpal in the island of Capul, on the south of the small isle of Kalentan,³ where there are some flats near cape Tiklin and the island of Manila on the north, two leagues distant from one another. 'Tis to be obser'd, that between Kalentan and Tiklin there's water enough, for a quarter of a league over, for the galeon to pass, but the pilots will not venture into such a straight, nor into those that lie between the islands of Naranjos, and between Capul and Samar. As we were upon getting out, there fell such violent storms of rain, that together with the contrary current, whilst the moon was above the horizon, we could not, tho' the wind blew hard for us, advance one step, but rather lost ground, so that we were all night in great danger. I was astonished, and trembled to see the sea have a motion like water boiling over a hot fire, understanding that several ships, notwithstanding the help of their rudder, had been by the violence of the current whirl'd about and at last wreck'd.

Friday 10th [August 1696] the tide turning for us, we got out of the straight before noon. First, we pass'd near the coast of the island of Manila, the mountain of Bulesan [i.e. Bulusan], where is the burning eruption of Alvai [Albay], and the rock of St. Bernardin, in 13 degrees of N. lat., leaving them on our left, and about sun-set we had cape Espiritu Santo, or Holy Ghost, on our right; this being the most easterly point of the coast of Palapa[g], and the first the galeons discover coming from New Spain, as has been observ'd above. It lies in 12 degrees and 30 minutes of N. lat.⁴ Being come into the open sea, to our great satisfaction, our cables were coil'd between decks, being to cast anchor no more till we came into New Spain, and the boat was set adrift, that it might be of no hindrance, because we had another in case of need, as the Spaniards call it, in quarters, that is, in pieces ready to clap together. The SW wind blew hard all night, and the sea being rough, made many sick.

Saturday 11th the wind continued at SW, and taking an observation, we found ourselves in the latitude of 14 degrees. They that come from New Spain to the islands sail continually upon the same parallel of 13 degrees; for sailing from Acapulco, which is

1 Ed. note: That is, Dalupiri Island, between Capul and the coast of Samar.

2 Ed. note: All are small islands in the Samar Sea.

3 Ed. note: Kalintaan Islet at the southernmost point of Luzon Island.

4 Ed. note: This is quite an accurate position. It is in fact 12°40' N. lat., so, a 10-minute deviation from true.

in 17, to the 13 aforesaid, they always run in a streight line before the wind, on a smooth sea (whence that is call'd the Pacifick Ocean by the Spaniards) as if they were in a canal, without any roughness of water; so that they come in 60 or at furthest 65 days to the Marian Islands, and thence in 15 or 20 to the Philippines. On the contrary, those that go thence to New Spain have a very different voyage, for the sea may rather be call'd enchanted than boisterous; and, that they may gain ground, and not be drove back, as often happens, they are forced to run away to the northward, even to 40 or 41 degrees of latitude, sometimes coming in sight of Japan, that they may afterwards fall off till they meet with the Signs (being weeds the sea of California carries some hundreds of leagues) and so continue their voyage with the common winds that are more favorable. The pilot propos'd to pass by the islands *de los Ladrones*, at 19 degrees and 20 minutes of north latitude (whereas the general method is to pass them between 20 and 25) that he might from thence gain the greater latitude; this having of late years been found by experience to be the best course, and therefore he directed his course ENE.

Sunday 12th the fresh gale which had continu'd all night fell, and we were becalm'd; and by observation we found ourselves in the latitude of 14 degrees and 13 minutes. That day the cloth the king allows the seamen, to keep 'em warm, was divided among 'em.

Monday 13th the calm continu'd, and an observation shew'd us to be in the latitude of 14 degrees and 20 minutes.

Tuesday 14th the wind came up at NW, and we sail'd E by N; our latitude by observation 14 deg. 34 min.

The same wind continuing, we steer'd NE on **Wednesday 15th** and found the latitude of 14 deg. and 45 min.

Thursday 16th we were becalm'd, but the current carried us some way, so that we found 14 deg. 53 min. latitude.

Friday 17th a small gale turn'd about all the points of the compass, and we found our selves in the same latitude.

Saturday 18th we stood ENE, with little wind at NNW, and the latitude was 15 deg. 1 min. The allowance of water was cut shorter, because there was but little, and we had far to sail. At night the wind came up WNW, which made us lie E.

And so we held on all **Sunday 19th** in the latitude of 15 deg. 24 min. as also **Monday 20th** in 15 deg. 34 min.

At night a violent storm blew, which kept us all awake, and beat us very heavily all **Tuesday 21st**. That day a little rain fell, and every one strove greedily to gather the water. We found 16 deg. 16 min. latitude, and the wind blew at WSW, which held all **Wednesday 22d**, and our course being E by N found 16 deg. 26 min. latitude.

Thursday 23d we sail'd E with a NW winds, and found 16 deg. 44 min. latitude.

Friday 24th the wind was all north, so that we stood E by N, the latitude 16 deg. 46 min.

Saturday 25th the wind was SW, and we stood NE by E.

Sunday 26th the wind at WSW, but we alter'd our course, the latitude 17 deg. 1 min.

The same wind and course continued **Monday 27th**, latitude 17 deg. 15 min. but on **Tuesday 28th** we found 17 deg. 15 min. tho' we had been becalm'd.

Wednesday 29th the wind at S, but we made little way, and found 17 deg. 34 min. latitude.

Thursday 30th the wind ENE, we stood N. No observation could be taken.

Friday 31st the wind came about from WSW to WNW, and still no observation to be taken. About sun-set there fell a great rain, and all the thirsty sailors went out naked to gather the water, so all the empty vessels were soon fill'd. A great storm continued all night, without taking any more water for want of stowage; so that there being plenty, all the men dress'd their rice.

Saturday the first of September we stood E by N, the wind at SW, the latitude 18 deg. 50 min.

Sunday 2d before day the wind came about and blew hard at E, so that there was no saying mass, nor taking an observation; and the pilots were oblig'd to lower their top-masts for fear they should give way and hinder our voyage, as had happen'd other times for want of masts. We all watch'd day and night, the danger was so great; for the waves broke upon the galeon, and beat terribly upon its sides. We lay under a mainsail reef'd; and the image of St. Francis Xavier being expos'd, the Captain vow'd to make an offering to the value of the sail, which was worth 200 pieces of eight; devoutly attributing to his intercession the saving of the sail and calming of the sea. Three hours before day the wind came about fair.

Monday 3d, the wind coming to NW, we held on our course ENE, and hoisted our top-masts again. The same day the first *Cachorreta* (a sort of fish the Spaniards call by that name)¹ being taken, it was expo'd to sale to the highest bidder, according to the custom spoken of elsewhere. The Captain bid up to 60 pieces of eight, to make an offering to the blessed Virgin of the Conception; but four sailors bid 5 pieces more, and carried the fish. Afterwards about 20 *Cachorretas* and *Bonitos* were taken, these are fishes full of blood, somewhat like mackerel.² The storm blew again at night with rain, so that the sailors could not be got upon deck without beating, there fell such a violent shower.

This weather hinder'd our taking any observation the next day, being **Tuesday 4th**, but we held on our course with that wind.

Wednesday 5th, the wind first at SW, and then at SSW, the latitude 19 deg. 33 min.

1 Ed. note: As this word means "dog-fish" (*cachorro* means small dog, or puppy), this was a shark..

2 Ed. note: He is right; both the bonito and the mackerel are members of the tuna family.

[The Northern Marianas sighted]

About break of day **Thursday 6th [September 1696]**, we discover'd 4 of the Marian Islands, but the wind would not permit the Pilot to pass them by in 19 deg. 20 Min. latitude, as he had design'd. When we had advanced farther we saw at a distance towards the S, the biggest of them, which is exactly shap'd like a long saddle.¹ The second bearing upon the same point, was a steep round burning mountain, in the sea-charts call'd **Griga** [i.e. Agrigan], sending out smoke from the top.² They told me 'twas 3 leagues in compass, and was inhabited at the foot of the hill on the south side; to which the Master's Mate of the galeon added, that as he pass'd by at another time, a great many of those inhabitants came out in boats, to bring him fish, cocos, *buyo* [i.e. betel nuts] and excellent melons, but that they never after came to meet the galeons, because an extravagant passenger had struck one of their men.

Chap. IV — Of the discovery and conquest of the Marian Islands.

These islands were formerly call'd *de las Velas [Latinas]*; and afterwards by the Spaniards, *de los Ladrones*, or of Thieves, because they sometimes putting in there as they went and came between New Spain and the Philippine Islands, the inhabitants stole all they could, and then fled to the mountains. Michael Lopez de Legaspi took possession of them for King Philip the 2d, in January 1565, when he was going with four ships and a frigate to Conquer the Philippines; but this possession was only in words, for there was no garrison placed there nor fort built, nor were there any missionaries sent to convert the inhabitants to our holy faith; perhaps because it was thought impracticable to talk of religion to men, who shunn'd all manner of communication with the Spaniards, and fled to their thickest woods. Afterwards the Fathers of the Society going to, and coming from the Philippines on their missions, out of their religious zeal, seeing those wretched people forsaken, and plung'd in the darkness of idolatry, they propos'd to the Queen Mother, then Regent during her son's minority, the cultivating of that vineyard grown wild under paganism; persuading her that the seed of the Gospel might be sow'd there to good purpose, if a mission of their Order were founded. The Queen out of her wonted piety, granted their request; whereupon the Governor of Manila having receiv'd orders from Court, set out a convenient number of ships and men for the conquest of the islands, and with them went as many Fathers as were thought necessary. The Spaniards soon made themselves masters of the Island **Iguana** [i.e. Guam] in 13 deg. of North latitude, as also of **Sarpana**, and then continuing the conquest without any great difficulty, subdu'd them all from 13 to 20 deg. of latitude, where the burning mountain is. The missionaries had no such success, for venturing to go alone about the island preaching, they were ill treated; particularly Fr. Morales was hurt with a javelin on the leg,

1 Ed. note: Pagan Island.

2 Ed. note: I agree with Dahlgren that Gemelli confused Agrigan with the volcano island of Asuncion.

in a place near the burning mountain. In this same place Fr. San Victor receiv'd the crown of martyrdom 29 years ago, for having baptiz'd a young girl without her father's consent, and they reckon 10 missionaries in all were put to death. For this reason the Fathers are retir'd into the Islands Yguana and Sarpana, under the protection of the Spanish garrisons.

During 177 years the Spaniards have continu'd this voyage, passing between several islands, they have found this a continu'd row of 'em from North to South; that is, from the Line, where it begins, opposite to New Guinea, almost up to Japan, in 36 deg. of North latitude. The names given to all the islands discover'd in this space, are as follow. **Iguana** in 13 deg., **Sarpana** in 14, **Buena vista** in 15, **Saespara** [i.e. Saipan] in 15 deg. 40 min., **Anatan** in 17 deg. 20 min., **Sarigan** in 17 deg. 25 min., **Guagan** in 18, **Alamaguan** in 18 deg. 18 min., **Pagon** in 18 deg. 4 min. The burning mountain of **Griga** in 19 deg. 33 min., **Tinay** and **Mauga** in 20 deg. 45 min.,¹ **Urrac** in 20 deg. 55 min. The other three burning mountains, the first in 23 deg. 30 min., the second, in 24, and the third in 25 deg.² The Island *de Patas* [sic] is in 25 deg. 30 min., **la Desconocida** in 25 deg. 50 min., **Malabrigo** in 27 deg. 40 min. **Guadalupe** in 28 deg. 10 min. The three Islands of **Tecla** discover'd the 23d of December 1664, by the Galeon **S. Joseph** between 34 and 36 deg.³ There are other islands from 13 deg. of latitude, towards the Line and New Guinea, not yet known.

There is another chain of Islands beginning at the Line 300 leagues from Callao in Peru, and running westward, the end whereof is not yet known. Those that are best known are not inhabited, and have no beasts in them, but only birds that are kill'd with cudgels, being never frighted by man, as I was told by some that had been there. The pirates that go through the Straights of Magellan into the South Sea, repair to these Islands to wash and tallow. They are call'd *de los Galapagos*, because of the great quantity of those creatures found there, which are very like tortoises, or rather a species of them.

The chief of the Marian Islands is **Iguana**, and therefore a strong castle is built on it, guarded by 80 or 90 men. The second is **Sarpana**, in which there is also a garrison, but the Governor lives in Umatta. They are both flat, so that the ships can come no nearer than within three leagues of 'em. In Agana there are two colleges, the one of children, the other of Indian maids, instructed and govern'd by 12 Fathers of the Society, and maintain'd by the King, with an allowance of 3,000 pieces of eight a year, besides his bounty for maintenance of the Fathers. His Majesty generously spends

1 Ed. note: He omits the mention of Asuncion Island. As for Tinay, or Tinas, it may have been the specific name of one of the three islets of Maug at one time, that of the inhabited one (see Doc. 1685J).

2 Ed. note: The so-called Volcano, or Sulphur Islands, are three in number, Iwo-Jima and its sister islands. There is a typographical error in the second Italian edition quoted above. However, the English edition has another typographical error in the name of the island that follows; it should be "Patos", which means Ducks, not "Patas" which means Legs.

3 Ed. note: The former set of islands are the Bonin, or Ogasawara, Archipelago. The last three correspond to the Izu Islands, very close to the coast of Japan.

34,000 pieces of eight a year to keep these islands, the Governor's salary being 3,000 pieces of eight, and the rest for a Major, 100 soldiers, the Jesuits and colleges aforementioned. All this is sent from New Spain to Manila, with cloth for the soldiers. There is also a small vessel kept to carry all necessaries thither. The houses of the Fathers of the Society are made of mud walls, because the islands furnish no other materials. Those of the Indians are huts cover'd with boards, or palm-tree leaves like caves. The island is 10 leagues in compass, and is 6 from **Sarpana**. This [island] is not so large, nor have the Jesuits any house in it, but repair thither as there is occasion. There is a small garrison to curb those barbarous people.

Chap. V — Of the people, religion, fruit, climate and wonderful boats of the Marian Islands.

The **inhabitants** of the Marian Islands are of a gigantick stature, corpulent, and very strong; and will sometimes clap 500 weight on their backs as if it were nothing. They are great swimmers, and dive so swiftly that they will take fish. Before the coming of the Spaniards they liv'd under a chief, naked, wandring about the mountains. They knew not what fire was, or the use of iron; but did eat raw fish, sometimes rotten, cocos, and roots, drinking fair water.¹ There never was, nor is there at present, any selling among them, but only exchange;² and should the Spaniards carry never so many pieces of eight, no man would give them a coconut or a hen, and they might starve, did they not give stuff, cloth, or other things those people want in exchange.

No token of any **religion** has been hitherto found in any of the islands discover'd, as several missioners told me, who had been long there; only an extraordinary veneration for their ancestors, not out of love, but fear, keeping their skulls in their houses, and calling upon them in time of need; by which it appears they have some true notion of the immortality of the soul, and that there is some place for them to reside in, from whence they can do good, or harm. Their language is different from that of the Philippines. Their weapon is a spear pointed with the bone of a man's leg, or a sharp [sling-] stone.

Tho' in these islands the **trees** are not so large and thick as in the Philippines, yet the soil is proper to produce all things necessary for man's sustenance. Formerly there was nothing but the fruit of the country, and some hens; but afterwards the Jesuits and soldiers residing there, brought over rice, herbs, and other things from the Philippine Islands; and as for **beasts**, horses, cows and swine, they have increas'd considerably in the mountains. There were not so much as rats, but the ships have furnish'd them. No venemous creatures at all breed there.³

1 Ed. note: The following phrase was not translated: "although they have enough coconuts to made wine or oil."

2 Ed. note: The following phrase was not translated: "as in the original happy state of the world."

3 Ed. note: Rice, and rats, were indigenous to the Marianas. Hens were not.

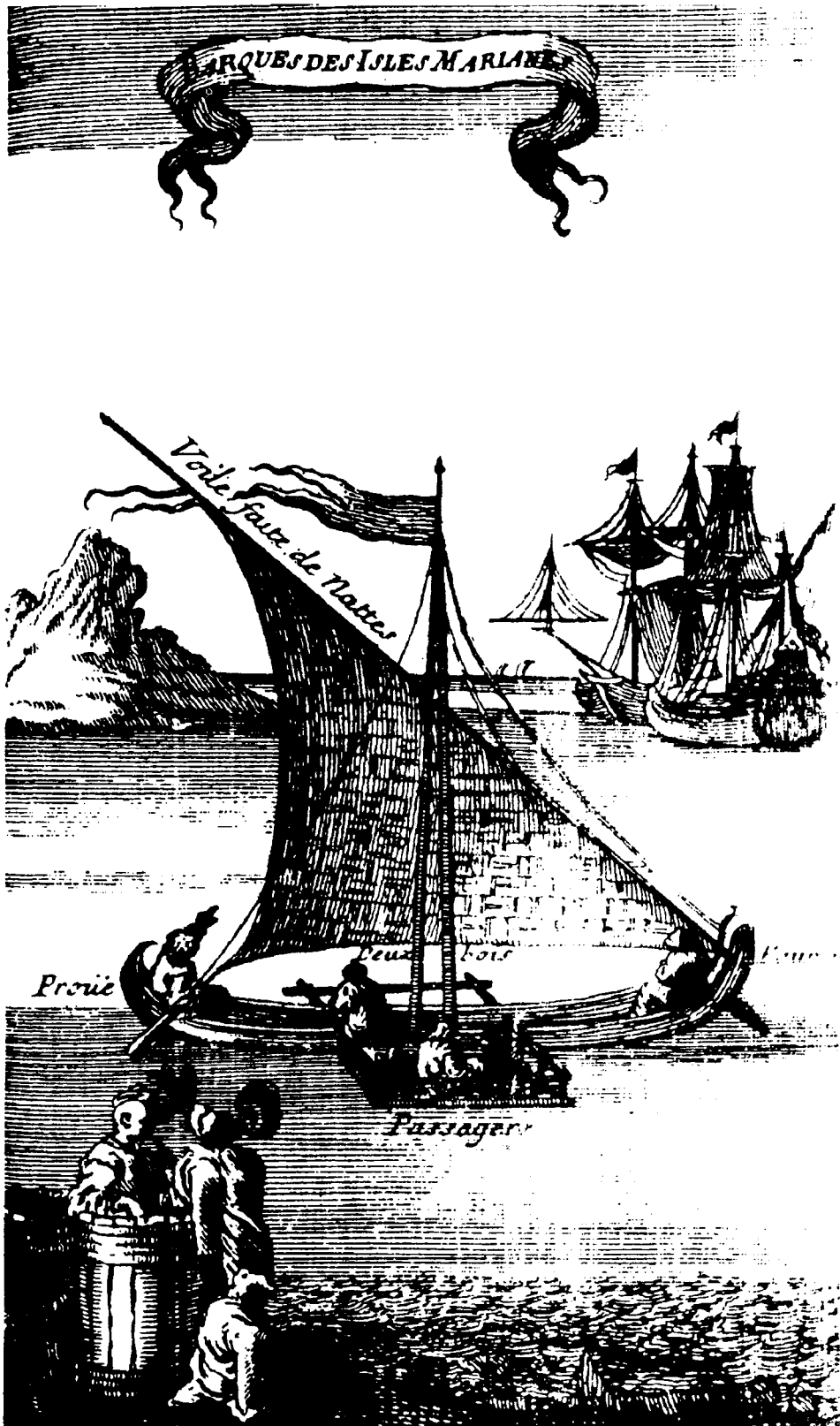
The most wonderful and peculiar fruit of these islands is the *Rima*, which serves the natives instead of bread, and is very nourishing. The plant is thick, and full of leaves; the fruit as big as a man's head, of a date color, but prickly like the *Giacca* [i.e. jack-fruit] of Goa; and in the middle is a kernel, like a white nut. Boil'd or roasted, it serves for bread, and keeps four or six months. The taste is like an Indian fig, or plantain. Besides the mountains abound in coco[nut] trees.

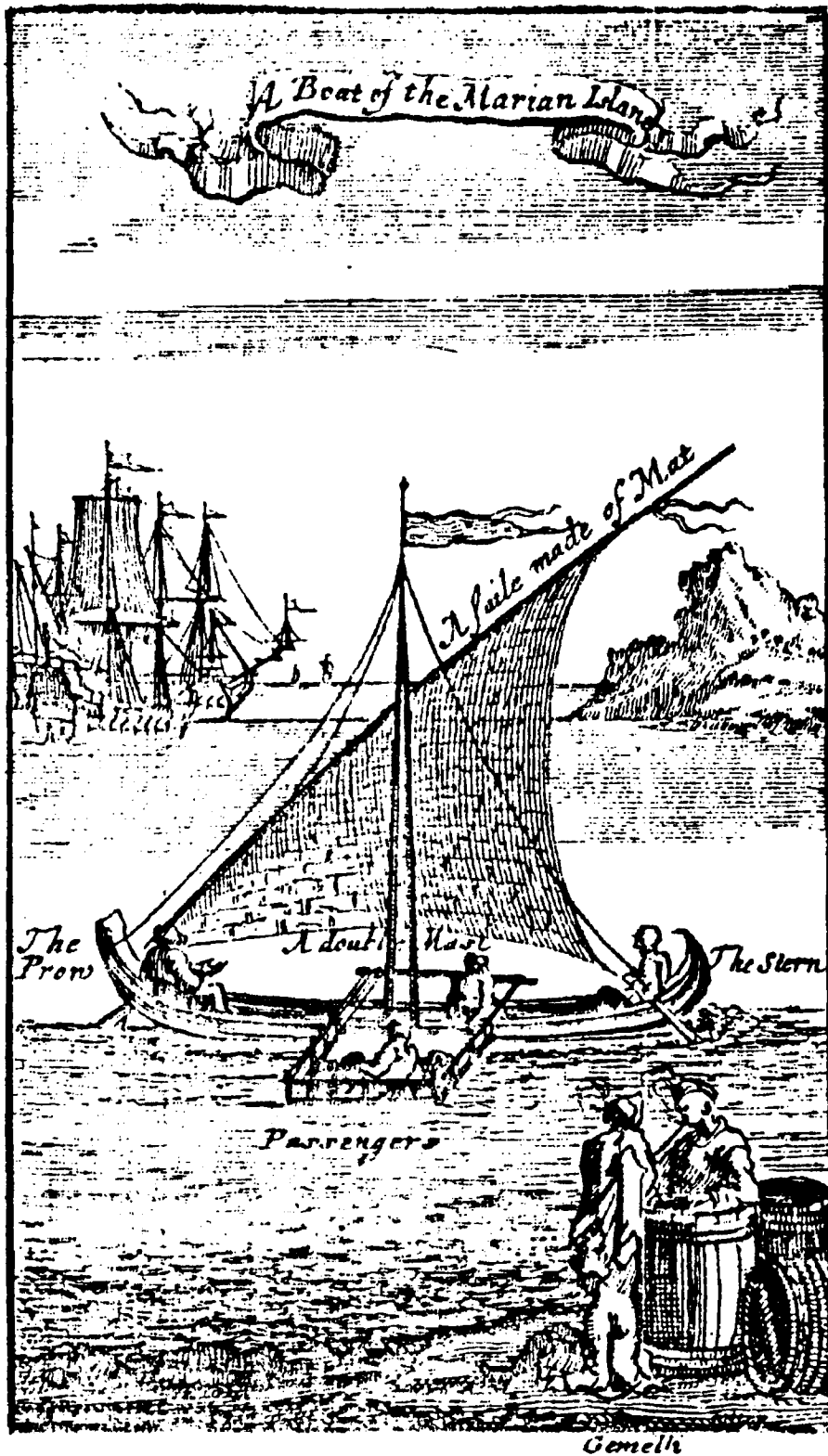
The *Ducdu* is a tree like the *Rima*; and the fruit, which is green without, is like a long pear. The inside pulp is white and soft, sticking to about 15 kernels which roasted, taste like chestnuts, as do those of the *Giacca*. For common food, there are abundance of roots, as *ubis*, *gavas*, *camottes* and others.

The water is very good. The air is better and more temperate than that of Manila, tho' that island be upon the same parallel with Iguana and Sarpana.

The little **boats** of these islands are very strange, as well for their make, as swiftness. They are made of two crook'd bodies of trees hollow'd, and sow'd together with Indian cane. They are about five or six yards long, and because the breadth of them is not above four spans, and they would easily overset, therefore they join to the sides pieces of solid timber, which poize them; and as for passengers, the boat being scarce able to contain three Indian sailors, they therefore lay boards across in the middle, hanging over the water on both sides, where those that will be carry'd from place to place sit. Of the three sailors aforesaid, one is always in the middle to ladle out the water, which certainly comes in over the sides, and at the seam; the other two keep one at head, and one at stern to move and steer the boat. The said is like those we call latin sails, that is, triangular, made of mat, and as long as the boat, which being therefore easy to overset when the wind is astern, they keep out of it as much as they can. No sort of boat whatsoever, can come near them for swiftness, for they run 10 or 12 Italian miles an hour. When they are to return from any place, they remove the sail without turning the boat about, so that which was the stern becomes the head, and he that was in the prow, is steersman. If any thing is to be mended in the boat, the goods and passengers are set upon the sail; and the boat is presently righted, and turn'd up if it was overset; things so wonderful, the Spaniards themselves can scarce believe them, though they see them every day. Though these be fit only for a short cut, yet in case of urgent necessity, two set out from Iguana, crossing a sea of 900 Italian miles, to go to the Philippine Islands; but one of them was cast away. That the reader may the better comprehend the manner of them, I have here added the cut of one.

(Next 2 pages) **A canoe of the Mariana Islands, as drawn by Gemelli in 1696.** *The French and English engravers have simply reproduced Gemelli's sketch, without modifications. Drawn from hearsay evidence, the drawing is not entirely accurate.*





CHAP. VI — The author's tedious and dreadful voyage to the port of Acapulco.

Friday the 7th [September 1696], the wind being E, we stood NNE without taking any observation.

Saturday 8th, the wind at SE, stood ENE and found 21 degrees of lat.

Sunday 9th, the wind SSE, stood NE, the lat. 21 deg. 40 min.

Monday 10th, the same wind and course continuing, lat. 20 deg. The sky appear'd of a violet color, with green clouds, which I, and the Fathers of the Society¹ upon as a prodigy, having never seen the like before. The pilot began his devotions for obtaining a good voyage, and at night there was dancing, and such sports as the ship could afford.

Tuesday 11th we were becalm'd; the lat. 22 deg. 10 min.

[Notice on magnetic variation of the compass]

Wednesday 12th, the wind at ESE, we stood NE, the lat. 22 deg. 37 min. Here it is fit to acquaint the reader, that during this long voyage, there is a strange variation of the needle observ'd; for which neither pilots nor mathematicians have assign'd any reason in 180 years, that voyage has been us'd. It begins at cape St. Bernardin, between 12 and 13 degrees of latitude, insensibly increasing for about half the way, to 18 or 20 degrees, for above a thousand leagues. There it begins to lessen, till they come to cape Mendocino, where it is observ'd to be 2 degrees. Now this variation in some places being NE, in others NW, and in some places more, in others less, it is therefore the more unaccountable.² There is no pretending it is caus'd by the loadstones, because the islands are at a vast distance, and perhaps a thousand leagues. The pilots perceive this variation when the sun is setting, for marking the true west point, they then see whether the north and other two cardinal points answer.

Thursday 13th, the wind being SE, we stood NE, the lat. 23 deg. 30 min. so that we were got out of the torrid zone into the temperate zone. That night it blew a great storm.

Friday 14th we stood N, the wind ENE, the lat. 24 degrees 12 min.

Saturday 14th, the wind at ENE, we still run due N. Towards noon, it blew so hard that the pilot was forced to lie by, backing the main-sail, and three hours before night the wind came more to NE. Such abundance of *Cachorretas* were taken all the day, that the seamen grew weary of them, and would give them to any body for asking. They greedily swallow'd the hook, being deceiv'd by a flying fish made of rags, which, as the ship ran under sail, could scarce be distinguish'd from the true, as we shall observe hereafter.

Sunday 16th, the wind being at SE, we stood NE by E, the lat. 25 deg. 5 min.

1 Ed. note: The Jesuits aboard the San José, who were the informants of Doctor Gemelli-Careri, were Fathers Irigoyen and Martín (see Doc. 1696B).

2 Ed. note: Nowadays, there is practically no variation between the Philippines and the Marianas, and increasing easterly variation as a ship progresses eastward of the Marianas.

Monday 17th, the wind SSW, run ENE.

Tuesday 18th, lay the same course, tho' the wind was SW. No observation could be taken either day. Four sharks were catch'd, and opening one of them, there were seven small ones found alive in its belly. This caus'd an argument or dispute between the Jesuits, the Dominican, and the Augustinian, to decide whether this fish brought forth young or not. Some foolishly said, the old one had swallow'd them to save their lives by vomiting them up again, and that they came from eggs laid and then kept in the opening under their jaws, as is said of other fishes, and particularly the trout. But the most receiv'd and likeliest opinion is this, that all fish bring forth their young hatch'd out of the egg, or form'd out of the spawn; for several persons well vers'd in sea affairs have told me, that there have been eggs found in sharks, and young ones at the same time.¹ To this purpose John Zavaletta,² a Biscainer, who had follow'd the whale fishing several years in Europe, said he had often found young whales in the belly of the old. That same day there fell much rain, and the sailors went out naked to catch the water, so that they fill'd all the empty vessels, and therefore, instead of shortning the men's allowance of water after two months and a half sail, it was increas'd.

Wednesday 19th, the wind at E, we stood NNE, the lat. 25 deg. 50 min. We had some diversion with sharks that were taken. One great one, was thrown into the sea again, with a board tied to its tail, none of the passengers caring to eat any more of them, and it was pleasant to see him swim about without being able to dive down. Two others were ty'd together by the tails, then being cast into the sea, the blind one oppos'd the other that would have drawn him down, thinking himself taken.

Thursday 20th, we were becalm'd till noon, at which time a little wind blew at SE and we stood ENE, the lat. 26 deg.

Friday 21st, the wind at SW, we lay the same course, and making much way, caught abundance of *Cachorretas*, with the same bait, of a flying fish made of rags, for those fishes running to catch it, were hung in the hook hid under it. That night the pilot's two mates began their nine days devotion, with abundance of lights, and gave sweetmeats to all the company; and at night there was dancing, and acting of parts made extempore.³

Saturday 22d, the wind at S, we stood NE by E, the lat. 27 deg.

Sunday 23d, held the same course, the wind at SE, the lat. 27 deg. 30 min.

Monday [24th], stood as before, lat. 28 deg. 12 min.

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- 1 I give it here the name of eggs, because the Italian word *Uova* in the author, signifies either eggs or spawn, and as some fishes spawn, others lay eggs, as do the tortoises, crocodiles, and sharks here mention'd.
 - 2 Ed. note: Not to be confused with Juan de Zelaeta, who crossed the Pacific in 1689 (B&R 42: 282-285), unless the Jesuits had heard that from Zelaeta, and told Gemelli about it.
 - 3 Ed. note: Meaning impromptu, improvised.

Tuesday 25th, the wind blowing fresh at SSE, we steer'd ENE, the lat. 29 deg. 3 min. That night we were very watchful to avoid two small rocks in the lat. of 30 deg.¹

Wednesday 26th, the wind at S, we stood NE to get a greater lat. which we found to be 29 deg. 58 min.

Thursday 27th, a great shower fell, and the wind blowing at E made us run N by E, the lat. 30 deg. 30 min.

Friday 28th, stood NE, the lat. 30 deg. 49 min., the needle varying a point NW.

Saturday 29th, the feast of St. Michael was kept, that being our Captain's name, extraordinary allowance was given, and a play acted. The wind blew at SE and we stood at NE by E, the lat. 31 deg. 58 min.

Sunday 30th, the lat. was 31 deg. 58 min, so that we thought our selves about the lat. of **an imaginary island, reputed to be rich in gold**, and placed in the sea-charts in 32 deg. wanting some few minutes, whereas it is certain nobody ever saw any such island. Till now we sail'd NE by E, the wind being SE then follow'd a calm till mid-night, after which the wind came up at SSE and we stood NE. That night the Master began his nine days devotion, treating the company, and dancing.

Monday the first of October, the wind continuing at ESE, we steer'd NE by N, the lat. 32 deg. 28 min. Afterwards the wind came to SE (abundance of *Cachorretas* and *Albacoras* being taken, by reason the ship made such swift way) and at night blew so hard at S that the Pilot was forced to lower his top sails and main yard.

A great storm blowing on **Tuesday 2d**, at S, and the sea beating hard upon us, we were forced to lie by the foresail back'd, and the waves beat so furiously on the rudder, that the whipstaff broke; the lat. 33 deg. 20 min. The wind came about to NW but the storm nothing abated; but rather increasing, the ship was toss'd upon vast mountains of water, and then again seem'd to sink to the abyss, the waves breaking over it. No fire could be lighted, and so all eat cold meat, and there was no chocolate to be made² and there was no standing or fitting in a place, but we were toss'd from side to side. About midnight I had like to be knock'd in the head, by two linstocks of the guns falling upon my bed.

Wednesday 3d, the same wind continuing, the storm was nothing abated; we steer'd NE by E. All this time we had seen sea fowls, but this day **two ducks** flew by us. Besides a sailor catch'd a little bird, like a **canary** bird, which being carry'd away by the wind, found no place to stay itself, but the rigging. The Captain endeavor'd to keep it in a cage, but being quite spent, with hunger and weariness, it dy'd the same day, and there was sand found in its belly. This little creature set the Pilot, his Mate, and the passengers upon arguing whence it could come; and they concluded it certainly came from

1 Ed. note: The two rocks were Tori Shima (sighted by Arellano in 1565) and Lot's Wife [Sohu Gan], both displaced far to the east on their chart.

2 The author was very dainty, to expect chocolate at all times.

Rica de Plata, an island 30 leagues distant southward, being carry'd away by the wind; the lat. was 34 deg. 7 min.¹

The pilots suppose the Islands **Rica de Oro** and **Rica [de] Plata**, with others about them to be the Islands of Salomon; but I am of opinion these are imaginary Islands, because as long as this voyage has been us'd they have never been seen. The situation and latitude of the Islands of Salomon is unknown; nor could they ever be found in so many years as they have been search'd after by the King's order. A galeon sailing from Manila for New Spain, was drove by tempest upon an island. The storm having remov'd and thrown away all the earth, about the hearth, or furnace in the cook-room, they took some from the island to put it in the place of it. When the galeon came to Acapulco, this earth being removed, they found under it a mass of gold...

...
On Sunday, October the 21st, our latitude was 36 deg. 37 min. The needle varied a point eastward. The sight of a **dove** rejoiced all on board. The old seamen imagined the dove was blown off by strong winds from an Island [sic] named **Doña Maria de la Jara** after a young Spanish woman, who in returning from Manila, not having patience to endure longer the inconvenience of the passage, threw herself into the sea thereabouts. There are in this island so great a number of pigeons that they darken the air. They are not land pigeons, though like them in the beak and feathers. Their feet are like those of the duck, and they are called sea-pigeons. The island is in latitude 31 degrees N.²

[Rest omitted, except for a paragraph on meals at sea, quoted by Dunmore and William Schurz,³ as follows:]

The ship swarms with little vermin which the Spanish call *gorgojos*, bred in the biscuit, so swift that in a short time they not only run over cabin beds and the very dishes the men eat on, but insensibly fasten upon the body. There are several sorts of vermin of sundry colors that suck the blood. Abundance of flies fall into the dishes of broth into which there also swim worms of all sorts... The King's allowance [was laid on the table]; in every mouthful whereof there went down abundance of maggots and *gorgojos* chewed and bruised. On fish days the common diet was rank old fish boiled in fair water and salt; at noon we had *mongos*, like kidney beans, in which there were so many maggots that they swam at the top of the broth, and the quantity was so great that, besides the loathing they caused, I doubted whether the dinner was fish or flesh.

[They attained their highest latitude, 39°N, on 19 November. It was not until 3 December that they saw the Signs, sighted California on the 14th, arriving at Acapulco on 20 January 1697.]

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- 1 Ed. note: Since this island is also nonexistent, the birds probably came from the Hawaiian Chain of islands, never discovered by the Spaniards before Captain Cook.
 - 2 Ed. note: This island too is nonexistent, although it is tantalizingly close to the positions of Kure and Midway Islands. However, it was not the name given to an island, but to a neighborhood dreaded for the many deaths that had occurred there over a long period of time.
 - 3 Ed. W. L. Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, p. 267.

Documents 1696L

The story of two pataches, both named San José

L1. Letter from Governor Cruzat to the King, dated Manila 30 May 1696

Source: AGI Fil. 16-1-4.

Original text in Spanish.

El Gobernador de Philipinas.

11. Da cuenta a V.M. como dos Pataches que fueron de la Nueva España con el situado de aquellas Islas, el uno nombrado San Joseph el año de 1694, y el otro San Joseph y la Bendición de Dios el de 1695; el primero se echo al traves por no poder servir mas, y el segundo se vendió en publica almoneda en 9,000 p. por no ser nezesario. Con testimonios a n° 10 y 11.

Señor

Haviendome partiçipado el Castellano del Puerto de Cavite como un Patache que se hallava en aquella Rivera nombrado San Joseph que el año de 1694 vino del Reyno de la Nueva España con el situado que el Virrey de ella remitió a estas yslas, era mucha el agua que hazia, y que rezelava llegase a terminas de que no la pudiesen venzer las bombas, por cuya razon le havia hecho reconozor a los Maestros de carpintería quienes le hallaron yncapaz de aderezo por tener podridas todas las principales maderas, pidiendome que yo resolviese quanto antes echarlo al través; comboque para ello â Junta General de hazienda en la qual con vista de la carta en que se me notizio lo referido; se resolvió por Auto de 2 de Diziembre de 1694 que el dicho Castellano con asistencia del Capitan de la jente de mar, Cavo de obra y Maestros de carpintería de la Rivera de Cavite reconoziesen de nuevo el Patache referido y hallando no estar capaz de poder hazer mas viaje se pasase a desguazar y que se recojiese y metiese en los reales Almazenes todo el fierro que se pudiese sacar, cuya diligencia ejecuto el Castellano segun y como se determino por la Junta y en conformidad de haverse hallado ser zierto lo que representò, se echo al traves y desguazo dicho Patache San Joseph del qual el fierro que se pudo sacar y aprovechar fueron 392 arrovas 16 libras que se yntrodujeron en los Reales Almazenes como todo lo referido constara del Testimonio y zertificazion que remito con esta de que en cumplimiento de mi obligazion doy cuenta a V.M., para que en ese Real y Supremo Consejo aya noticia de ello.

*Asimismo doy quenta a V.M. como el año proximo pasado de 1695 uno de los dos Pataches en que vino el situado de la Nueva España nombrado **San Joseph y la Bendizion de Dios** que el Virrey de ella apresto y compro para el efecto en el Puerto de Acapulco teniendole en la Rivera de Cavite sin que pudiese servir para despacharle a dicho Reyno por ser de poco porte y no tener buque suficiente para llevar el permiso de los vezinos destas Islas[,] presento escripto un Capitan Armenio que havia venido de la Costa de Choromandel al trato y comercio desta Ciudad ofreciendo comprarle y habiendo combocado para su determinazion â Junta General de hacienda de determino por Auto de 23 de Agosto de dho año proximo pasado que en atenzion a no nezesitarse de dicho Patache **San Joseph** para ningun efecto de Real servicio de V.M. se pasase a su benta[,] prezediendo tasazion de su valor[,] la qual se hizo ante el Castellano de Cavite por los oficiales de la Maestrança y segun ella ymporto la abaluazion con todos sus aprestos y aparejos excepto la Artilleria 7,898 pesos y 3 tomines en cuya vista por otra Junta de hacienda se mando nitificar al dicho Capitan Armenio hiziese postura dentro de terzero dia, quien se presento haziendolo de 7,000 pesos y por no ser cantidad competente se puso en pregones por si hubiese mayor ponedor y despues de las mejoras que hubo se remato ultimamente dicho Patache **San Joseph y la Bendizion de Dios** en cantidad de 9,000 p. los quales se yntrodujeron en la Real Caja segun que todo constara mas yndividualmente del Testimonio que remito a V.M. con esta C.C. y R.P. guarde Dios como la Cristiandad a menester.*

Manila y Mayo 30 de 1696.

D. Fausto Cruzat y Gongora.

Translation.

The Governor of the Philippines.

11. Reports to Y.M. how two pataches travelled from New Spain with the subsidy of those Islands, one named **San José** in the year 1694, and the other named **San José y la Bendición de Dios** in 1695. The former was broken up because it was no longer serviceable, and the latter was sold at public auction for 9,000 pesos because it was not needed.¹ With enclosures n° 10 & 11.

Sire:

The Warden of the port of Cavite having let me know about a patache that was found in that shore, named **San José**, that came from the Kingdom of New Spain in the year 1694 with the subsidy that its Viceroy sent to these Islands, was leaking very much and that he feared that it would soon no longer be possible to overcome the problem with the pumps, for which reason he had ordered it surveyed by the Master carpenters, who found it unfit to be repaired, because all of its main timbers were rotten. He was begging me to resolve the matter as soon as possible by condemning it. I immediately called a General Meeting of the Treasury, in which, in view of the letter by which I had been informed of the above matter, it was decided by Decision of 2 December 1694 that said Warden, with the assistance of the Captain of the seamen, Chief of Works and Master Carpenters of the shore of Cavite, to again survey the patache in question and, should

¹ Ed. note: It had been purchased from its owner, Captain Don Antonio de Figueroa, for 26,000 pesos (ref. AGN AHH 1240/2, fol. 103 & 137v. See Doc. 1695F).

they find it unfit to make another voyage, to start dismantling it and to have all the iron that could be salvaged placed in the Royal Warehouses. The Warden carried out this step, in accordance with the decision of the General Meeting and, in view of the fact that it was found out that what he had represented was true, said patache **San José** was broken up and as much iron salvaged from it as was possible, which was a total of 392 arrobas 16 pounds, that were deposited in the Royal Warehouses, as the whole thing is recorded in the Record of proceedings and certification that I remit with this letter. Therefore, to comply with my obligation, I report same to Y.M., so that that Royal and Supreme Council may be informed of it.

In addition, I report to Y.M. how, this past year 1695, one of the two pataches that came with the subsidy from New Spain, named **San José y la Bendicion de Dios** that its Viceroy outfitted and purchased for the purpose in the port of Acapulco, was anchored by the shore of Cavite without the possibility of sending it to said Kingdom, because it was too small and of too little capacity to carry the permitted cargo of the residents of these Islands, and that an Armenian captain who had come from the Coast of Coromandel to do some trade at this City, was offering to buy it. I called a General Meeting of the Treasury to resolve the issue, and it was decided by Decision of 23 August of said past year that, in view of the fact that said patache **San José** was of no use for the Royal service of Y.M., to proceed to its sale, but first to proceed to its evaluation. This was done before the Warden of Cavite by the officers of the Carpentry Section and according to it, the evaluation, including all the riggings and equipment, except for the guns, a total of 7,898 pesos and 3 tomins. Consequently, another General Meeting of the Treasury was held, and said Armenian captain was advised to take a stand within three days, which he did, offering 7,000 pesos, but this was not considered good enough, and it was placed on the auction block, in case a better offer be made. After some better offers were received, said patache **San José y la Bendición de Dios** was finally sold at 9,000 pesos, which were deposited in the Royal Treasury, in accordance with the detailed record of proceedings that I remit to Y.M. with the present.

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

Manila, 30 May 1696.

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora.¹

L2. Answer from the Queen Regent, dated Madrid 20 November 1700

Source: AGI Fil. 332, libro 10, fol. 165v-166, pp. 408-409.

Original text in Spanish.

La Reyna y Governadores

¹ Ed. note: Received at Madrid by way of the Atlantic Fleet, on 13 October 1698. Reviewed by the Council in August 1700.

Al Gobernador de Philipinas diciendole se aprueba la resoluzion que se tomo con los dos pataches que embio el Virrey de N^a Esp^a con el situado de aquellas Islas.

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora Cavallero de la orden de Santiago Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas y Presidente de la Audiencia de Manila.

*En carta de 30 de Mayo de 1696 dais quenta con los testimonios de que havendose determinado en Juntas Generales de Hacienda que conbocasteis que rrespecto de no ser de Buque suficiente para traher a la N^a Esp^a el permiso de los vecinos de esas Islas **las dos pataches San Joseph y San Joseph y la Bendizion [de Dios]** que en los años de 94 y 95 embio el Virrey Conde de Galve con el situado de esas Islas el primero se hechase al traves y el segundo se vendiese pasasteis a ponerlo en execucion haviendo aprovechado del 392 arrobas y 16 libras de fierro y vendido el otro en 9,000 pesos los quales quedavan enterado en esas Cajas y el fierro introducido en los Almacenes.*

Y visto en el Consejo de las Indias con lo que dijo el fiscal ha parecido aprover por aora lo que vos y la Junta de hacienda resolvisteis en este particular de que estareis entendido.

Fha en Madrid a 20 de Noviembre de 1700 años.

Yo la Reyna

El Cardenal Porto Carrero

El Inquisidor General Fr. Dr. Manuel Arias

El Conde de Venavente

Por mandado de su Mgd y Governadores, Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Translation.

The Queen and Governors—To the Governor of the Philippines, telling him that they approve the resolution that he took regarding the two pataches that the Viceroy of New Spain sent with the subsidy for those Islands.

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora, etc.

In a letter dated 30 May 1696 you reported, with official depositions, having decided in a General Meeting of the Treasury that you convened that, there being no ship large enough to carry the permitted cargo of the residents of those Islands to New Spain, the **two pataches named San José and San José y la Bendición [de Dios]** that, thanks to the Viceroy, Count Galve, were sent in the years 94 and 95, the former be broken up and the latter sold, you proceeded to do it, and were able to recover 392 arrobas and 16 pounds of iron and 9,000 pesos from the sale of the other one, which [money] was placed in that Treasury and the iron placed in the royal warehouses.

This having been seen in the Council of the Indies, with what the fiscal said about it, it has been decided to approve for now what you and the Meeting of the Treasury resolved in this matter, and the present is to inform you of same.

Given at Madrid, 20 November 1700.

I, the Queen.

Cardinal Portocarrero

The Inquisitor General, Fray Doctor Manuel Arias

The Count of Benavente

By order of her Majesty and Governors, Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Documents 1696M

The subsidies brought by two pataches from New Spain in 1695

M1. Letter from Church officials in Manila to the Viceroy, dated 25 June 1695

Source: AGNAHH 1240/2, fol. 168-171.

Original text in Spanish.

Excellentissimo Señor.

En los dos pataches que V.Ex^a despacho de socorro a estas Yslas, y dieron fundo en el Puerto de Cavite en 23 de el corriente, rezevimos por duplicado las de V.Ex^a su fha en Mexico 17 de Marzo de este presente año de 95 en la qual nos refiere V.Ex^a bienen dirigidos a este Cavildo 31,114 p 4t de quenta de los estipendios Eclesiasticos, hasta 22 de Agosto de este presente año de 95 segun el ajuste de quenta que hizieron los oficiales Reales de esa Corte aunque en dha quenta cometen dos graves yerros, como en esta representamos a V.Ex^a a cuya piedad rendimos las debidas gracias, no pudiendo tener de nuestro justo agradecimiento otro retorno que pedir a Dios continuamente gratifique el noble animo, y religiosa piedad, muy proprio de V.Ex^a y de su sangre, con que obre no solo para con los Ministros desta Yglesia y las tres suffrazaneas, sino para con esta pobre y afligida Ciudad y nuestra colonia de estas Yslas, y de su Christiandad.—

*Desde el año pasado de 1687 que arribo la Nao **Santo Niño** aviendo dexado de hazer viage el año antecedente de ochenta y seis, estan padeziendo los Ministros Eclesiasticos de estas quatro Yglesias, notables quiebras y retardaziones en la remision y percepcion de sus estipendios. Porque los dhos dos años de 86, y 87 por falta de Naos no se remitieron, y el de 88 vinieron librados 20,000 pesos por vea [sic] de socorro, y por estar entonzes, vivo el Señor Arzobpo. de esta Santa Yglesia, el Señor Obispo de Zebu y el de Sinopoli que era uno de los dos auxiliares de estas Yslas, no les cupo todos los Ministros mas que dos terzios poco mas o menos segun lo que a cada uno debia perzevir.—*

*El año siguiente fue el de 89 en la Nao **Santo Cristo de Burgos** vino un estipendio por entero. Y lo que faltaba para el ajuste de otro estipendio con los 20,000 pesos referidos q. vinieron el año de 88.—*

*De forma Señor, que desde 22 de Agosto del año de 86 que la Nao **Santa Rosa** truxo el estipendio cumplido a 22 de Agosto de dho año de 86 y contando desde 22 de Agosto del año de 89 passaron tres años cabales, y otros tantos estipendios avian de haver benido en dho tiempo...*

...

Manila y sala capitular de nuestro despacho 25 de Junio de 1695 años.

Exmo. Sor.

B.L.M. de V.Ex^a sus Capellanes

Translation.

Most Excellent Sir:

In the two pataches that Y.E. despatched as succor to these Islands, and which anchored in the port of Cavite on the 23rd of this month, we received two copies of Y.E.'s letter dated Mexico 17 March of the present year 1695 in which Y.E. makes a reference to the 31,114 pesos 4 tomins sent to this Chapter to cover the ecclesiastical stipends up to 22 August of the present year 1695, according to the accounting adjustment made by the Royal officials of that City, although in said accounting they commit serious errors, and the present is to make representations to Y.E. for whose piety we render due homage, and we have no other recourse but continuously pray God to reward the noble spirit, and religious piety, that is very proper of Y.E. and of your blood line, and that you show by your deeds, not only toward the Ministers of this Church and its three subordinate sees, but also toward this poor and afflicted City and our colony in these Islands, and our Christian community.—

Ever since the past year of 1687 when the galleon **Santo Niño** was forced to turn back, after it had given up the voyage in the previous year of 1686, the ecclesiastical Ministers of these four Churches have suffered noteworthy failures and delays in the payment and perception of their stipends: because in said years of 86 and 87, for lack of galleons, they were not remitted, and in 88 there were only 20,000 pesos released by way of succor, and since the Lord Archbishop of this holy Church, the Lord Bishop of Cebu and that of Sinopoli, who was one of the two auxiliary bishops of these Islands, were still alive then, there was not enough money for all the Ministers to receive more than two-thirds, more or less, of the stipends due them.—

The following year, i.e. in 1689, came a full stipend aboard the galleon **Santo Cristo de Burgos**, and what was missing from the adjustment of the other stipend with said 20,000 pesos that came in 88.—

Hence, Sir, beginning on 22 August of 86, when the galleon **Santa Rosa** brought a full stipend until 22 August of the year 1689, three full years went by, and as many stipends should have come during that time...

...

[In 1691, the galleon travelled to Manila. In 1692, it was the galleon Rosario. There was no galleon in 1693. The patache made the voyage in 1694. They claim the overdue amounts.]

...

Manila, from our office in the hall of the Chapter, 25 June 1695.

Most Excellent Sir.

Your chaplains who kiss the hand of Y.E.

M2. Letter from Governor Cruzat to the King, dated Manila 9 January 1696, postdated 3 June 1696

Source: AGI Fil. 16-1-5, pp. 1-3.

Original text in Spanish.

El Governador de Philipinas.

8. Repite la notiçia que dio por bia de la Nueva España de haver llegado de ella á aquellas Islas dos Pataches con el situado de un año entero en los quales no hubo noticia alguna del Galeon que se despachò el año de 1693 [and again in 1694] con que totalmente se perdieron las esperanzas que havia de el.

Señor

*En el Galeon **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** que el año proximo pasado salio destas yslas para la Nueva España, dí quenta a V.M. por carta de 25 de Junio de el [i.e. 1695], de haver llegado, y dado fondo en el Puerto de Cavite con toda felicidad el día 23 de dicho mes **dos pataches** que me despacho, vuestro Virrey Conde de Galve, con socorro de 233,388 pesos en Reales efectivos, los 202,278 pesos 4 tomines de ellos, para la Real Caja, y los 31,114 pesos 4 tomines restantes para los estipendios del estado eclesiastico, y juntamente vinieron algunos generos para provision destes reales Almazenes, con los quales se ajustò el situado de un año entero, de las que V.M. tiene señalados a estas yslas; cuija notiçia me a parezido volver a repetir por esta vía, para que en caso de que por algunos accidentes de la mar, se pierda, ô dilate la referida como es factible en navegaciones tan dilatadas y peligrosas, no falte a ese Real y Supremo Consejo dicha notiçia, por el cuidado y sospechas que pudiera ocasionar lo contrario, mayormente a vista de las fatalidades que se an acavado de experimentar, en los años de 1693 y 1694.*

El uno de los dos Pataches referidos, fue el que se despachò destas yslas el año de 1694 de que tengo dado quenta a V.M., y el otro, le comprò, y aprestò, el Virrey Conde de Galve en el Puerto de Acapulco, para que viniese en ambos dicho situado con maior seguridad, como se consiguio, pues lograron muy feliz y breve el viaje sin experimentar en el, ningun contratiempo.

Con el socorro de dicho situado quedan (Señor) estas Reales Cajas proveydas de todo lo nezesario para mucho tiempo pues quando llego havia en ellas pasados de 80,000 p. y despues aca se an recaudado mas de otros 80,000 p. de los ramos y efectos que la Real hazienda de V.M. tiene en estas yslas, mediante lo qual se halla todavía en ser todo

el dicho situado habiendo tenido hasta áhora sin tocar a el no solo para los socorros generales y demas gastos que se hazen cada mes, sino tambien para pagar como estan pagados 34,351 p. 5 tomines en que se an comprado un Patache [sic] de un Particular, para despachar al Puerto de Acapulco este presente año, por no ser suficiente ninguno de los dos que Arriva refiero, para llevar el Permiso de los vezinos destas yslas, ni tener V.M. en ellas otro que lo fuese segun doy quenta a V.M. en carta deste día.

Hasta que llegaron dichos dos Pataches hubo algunas esperanzas, del Galeon que se despachò el año de 1693 [y 1694], pero no habiendo traído ni aun la menor noticia de el, se acabaron de perder totalmente, pues es cierto que a no haversele tragado la mar; A qualquiera parte que huviese Arrivado, ô, dado en poder de enemigos, no podia dejar de haverse savido en dos años y medio, que à, que salió, destas yslas, cuya confirmazion a sido de general sentimiento para esta republica, no tanto por la Perdida de sus haciendas como por el mucho numero de personas que perezieron en este Naugrajo, que es lo mas lastimoso.

*Nuestro Señor Guarde L.C. y R.P. de V.M. como la Christiandad a menester.
Manila y Henero 9 de 1696.*

Añadido.

Señor, Repito la de Arriva por esta bía de la Nueva España: a cuyo contenido no se me ofreze cosa alguna que Añadir.

Manila y Junio 2 de 1696.

D. Fausto Cruzat y Gongora.

Translation.

The Governor of the Philippines.

8. Repeats the news that he gave by way of New Spain, saying that two pataches have arrived from there to those Islands, with the subsidy of one entire year, but without any news whatever of the galleon that was despatched in 1693 [and 1694]; so, the hopes that remained have been completely shattered.

Sire:

Aboard the galleon **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** that this past year left these Islands for New Spain, I reported to Y.M. in a letter dated 25 June of that year [i.e. 1695] about the arrival and anchoring in the port of Cavite with complete success, on the 23rd of said month, of **two pataches**¹ that your Viceroy, the Count of Galve, had despatched to me, with a subsidy of 233,388 pesos in cash, 202,273 pesos 4 tomines of which for the Royal Treasury, and the other 31,114 pesos 4 tomines for the stipends of the ecclesiastical estate, and at the same time there came some goods for reprovisioning the Royal Warehouses. With this money, the subsidy of an entire year was adjusted, the amount [per year] that Y.M. has earmarked for these Islands. It seemed to me reason-

¹ Ed. note: One returning small patache, that Arriola used to sail back to Acapulco via Marcus Island (see below), and another, the San José y Bendición de Dios (see Doc. 1696L).

able that I should repeat this news by this mail route, in case that some loss might occur through accidents at sea, or a delay might occur in the other mail, as is always possible in such long and dangerous passages, so that the Royal and Supreme Council will not miss said news, given that otherwise some worries and doubts might surface, specially when we have just suffered recent losses in the years 1693 and 1694.

One of the above-mentioned patache was the same one that was despatched from these Islands in the year 1694, about which I have given a report to Y.M.¹ The other one was purchased and outfitted by the Count of Galve in the port of Acapulco, in order for the subsidy to come aboard both of them, for greater security, but both made it successfully, and quickly, without experimenting the least contrary weather.

With the succor of said subsidy, this Royal Treasury, Sire, remains provided with everything necessary for a long time; indeed, when it arrived there were already over 80,000 pesos in it, and afterwards it has been resupplied here with another 80,000 pesos or more, from the branches and effects that the Royal Treasury of Y.M. has in these Islands. That is why the whole of said subsidy still remains available, and so far there has been no need to turn to it for the general succors and other regular expenditures every month; however, some 34,351 pesos and 5 tomms of it were used **to purchase a patache [sic] from an individual, to despatch to the port of Acapulco** this present year,² because neither of the two pataches mentioned above was big enough to take the permission of the residents of these Islands, and also because Y.M. had no other that could be sent, about which I am sending a report to Y.M. in a letter of this date.

Until these two pataches arrived, there was some hope for the galleon that was despatched in the year 1693 [and 1694], but not the least news of her whereabouts came, and the case was now hopeless. Indeed, it is certain that if the sea had not swallowed her, and she did reach some place, or fell under the power of enemies, news of that could not but have been learned, within the 2-1/2 years since she left these Islands. This confirmation has caused a general sorrow among the population of this republic, not so much on account of the loss of their properties, but because of the loss of so many people who perished in this shipwreck, and is the most deplorable aspect.

May our Lord save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M. as Christendom needs.
Manila, 9 January 1696.

Postscript.

Sire: I repeat the above-mentioned letter by this way of New Spain, and I have nothing to add to its contents.

Manila, 2 June 1696.

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora.³

-
- 1 Ed. note: The unnamed small patache, or sail boat, used by Captain Arriola to return to Acapulco. This letter proves that it returned to Manila in 1695.
 - 2 Ed. note: Rather a small galleon for that price. Her name was the San José, with Gemelli-Careri aboard (Doc. 1696K) on the eastward passage, and Bishop Camacho (Doc. 1697H) on her return passage.
 - 3 Ed. note: This letter was received at Madrid via the Atlantic Fleet on 13 October 1698.

Document 1696N

Letter from the King to Governor Cruzat, dated Madrid 24 September 1696

Source: AGI Fil. 331, libro 9, fol. 174-175.

Note: The small patache in question, unnamed, was the one that Captain Arriola used to get back to Acapulco, via Marcus Island, in 1694 (see Doc. 1694A2). It came back to Manila in 1695.

Royal approval of the purchase of a patache in 1694

Original text in Spanish.

Al Governador de Philip. aprovandole la paga que hizo de 6,500 pesos en que baluo el Patache que compro para embiar por socorro a la N^{ra} Sp^a

El Rey

Don Fausto Cruçat, y Gongora cavallero del horden de Santiago mi Governador y Capitan Gl. de las Islas Philipinas, y Presidente de mi Audiencia de Manila en carta de tres de Junio del año pasado de mil seiscientos y noventa y cinco. Dais quenta de que haviendo ocurrido el dueño de el Patache que despachasteis por socorro a la N^{ra} Sp^a para el de noventa y tres a pedir satisfacion de los siete mil pesos en que se abaluo passasteis ha haçer diligencias para que nuevamente se aberiguase su legitimo valor, y havandose ejecutado se declare hera de seis mil, y quinientos pesos, cuja cantidad se le libro, y pago en esas cajas de que remitis testimonio.

Y visto en mi Consejo de las Indias ha parecido avisaros el reçivo de una carta, y aprovaros lo que en esto obrasteis que a sido muy conforme al çelo que mostrareis en todo lo que es de mi mayor servicio

De Madrid a veinte y quatro de Septiembre de mil seis cientos noventa, y seis.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rei nuestro Señor,

Don Bernardo Antonio de Pardinias Villar de Francos.

Translation.

To the Governor of the Philippines, approving the payment of 6,500 pesos he made, which was the valuation of the patache that he purchased to send to New Spain to get the subsidy.

The King.

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora, Knight of the Order of St. James, my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, and President of my Audiencia of Manila.

In a letter dated 3 June 1695, you reported that, when the owner of the patache that you despatched to New Spain to get the subsidy for the year 1693 [rather 1694] came to request the payment of 7,000 pesos, the amount of its valuation, you took steps to have a new valuation done to determine its true value, and after it was carried out, it was declared to be worth 6,500 pesos, which sum was paid out to him from that Treasury, of which you remitted a record of proceedings.

After this was seen in my Council of the Indies, I have decided to advise you of the receipt of your letter, and tell you that I approve what you did in this matter, which has been very much in accordance with the zeal that you demonstrated in everything that is of my greater service.

From Madrid, on 24 September 1696.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Bernardo Antonio de Pardinas Villar de Francos.

Documents 16960

Letters from the King to Governor Cruzat, dated Madrid 17 October 1696

O1. Royal order forbidding foreigners to take jobs aboard the Manila galleons

Source: AGI Fil. 331, libro 9, fol. 180v-181.

Original text in Spanish.

Al Governador de Philipinas ordenandole no permita se embarque en las Naos de aquella carrera estranjeros con plaças de artilleros ni otros ofiços.

El Rey

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora Cavallero del orden de Santiago mi Governador y Capitan General de las Yslas Philipinas y Presidente de la Audiencia de Manila en mi Consejo de las Indias, se ha tenido notiçia del gran numero de estrangeros que con plazas de Artilleros Marineros y otros ofiços navegan en las Naos de esa carrera y por que de esto pueden resultar muy perjuidiçiales consequençias, os encargo para obrarlas que en conformidad de lo que esta prevenido en la Ley treinta y siete Libro noveno del Titulo quarenta y çinco de la Nueva Recopilazion çerca del punto hagais que preçisa y puntualmente se observe sin que se falte a su cumplimiento que asi es mi voluntad y del reçivo de este despacho me avisareis.

Fha en Madrid a diez y siete de octubre de mill seiscientos y noventa y seis.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Bernardo Antonio de Pardinias Villar de Francos.

Translation.

To the Governor of the Philippines, ordering him not to permit foreigners to board the galleons of that run, either by filling posts of gunners or in any other posts.

The King.

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora, Knight of the Order of St. James, my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of the Audiencia of Manila.

My Council of the Indies has been told about the great number of foreigners who, filling the posts of gunners, seamen and other posts, sail aboard the galleons of that run, and because many prejudicial consequences may result from this, I entrust you to act in accordance with the existing provision of Law 37, Book 9 of Title 45 of the New Code of Laws regarding this point, and to make sure that it be observed precisely and readily, without fail, as such is my will, and you are to acknowledge the receipt of this despatch.

Made at Madrid, on 17 October 1696.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Bernardo Antonio de Pardinas Villar de Francos.

O2. Letter regarding the recognition of Pilot Francisco Lazcano

Source: AGI Fil. 331, libro 9, fol. 181v.

Note: This letter was in answer to Lazcano's initial request, Doc. 1687P2. It was stuck in the Council from 1690 until 1696.

Original text in Spanish.

Al Governador de Philipinas encargandole atienda y favorezca a Francisco Lazcano en lo que se ofreciere de su combeniençia.

El Rey

Don Fausto Cruzat, y Gongora, Cavallero del orden de Santiago mi Governador y Capitan General de las Yslas Philipinas y Presidente de la Audiencia de Manila.

En vista de representacion hecha en mi Consejo de las Yndias por Francisco Lazcano expresando sus servicios ejecutados por espacio de diez y seis años en el exerciçio de Piloto en la Armada de Barlovento y en esas Yslas y que se halla sin remuneracion alguna.

Ha parecido encargaros que en lo que se le ofreciere de su combeniençia le atendais para favorecerle segun los meritos que concurrieren en su persona.

De Madrid a diez y siete de Octubre de mill seiscientos y noventa y seis años.

Yo de Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Bernardo Antonio de Pardinas Villar de Francos.

Translation.

To the Governor of the Philippines, entrusting him to take care of and favor Francisco Lazcano whenever possible and convenient.

The King.

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora, Knight of the Order of St. James, my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of the Audiencia of Manila.

In view of the representation made in my Council of the Indies by Francisco Lazcano, detailing his services carried out for the period of 17 years in the profession of Pilot with the Windward Fleet and in those Islands, and that he found himself without any salary.

I have decided to entrust you to take care of him whenever it be convenient to you in order to favor him in accordance with the merits that might be ascribed to his person.

From Madrid, on 17 October 1696.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Bernardo Antonio de Pardinas Villar de Francos.

Document 1696P

Letter from the King to Major Quiroga, dated Madrid 12 November 1696

Sources: AGI Fil. 331, libro 9, fol. 192v-193; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 14.

Note: This is the answer to Quiroga's letter, Doc. 1695B.

Answer to his letter regarding the death of the former governor and the reduction of Rota

Original text in Spanish.

Al Governador en interin de las Islas Marianas en respuesta de una carta sobre la muerte del propietario, y reduçion de una de las Islas sublebadas el año de ochenta y quatro.

El Rey

Sargento Mayor Don Joseph de Quiroga y Losada mi Governador y Capitan General en ynterin de las Yslas Marianas[,] en carta de veinte y tres de Mayo de noventa y cinco dais quenta de quedar a vuestro cargo el Gobierno en interin de esas Yslas por muerte del Governador propietario Don Damian de Esplana y haverse reducido a mi obediencia una Isla del Norte de las que se sublebaron el año de ochenta y quatro y que por falta de viento no haviais pasado a las otras, que estan mas distantes pero hariais luego que le hubiese favorable y ofreçais dar noticia de lo que resultare.

Visto en mi Consejo de las Indias, ha parecido aprovaros todo lo executado en los puntos referidos y deziros se espera aviso de lo que hubiereis adelantado esta empresa por lo que ella puede resultar en aprovechamiento de las almas de los infieles que se reduçen al gremio santo de la Iglesia.

De Madrid a doze de Noviembre de mill seiscientos y noventa y seis.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Bernardo Antonio de Pardinias Villar de Francos.

Translation.

To the interim Governor of the Mariana Islands in answer to a letter regarding the death of the officially-appointed Governor, and the reduction of one of the Islands that rebelled in the year 1684.

The King.

Sergeant Major Don José de Quiroga y Losada, my Governor and Captain General by interim of the Mariana Islands.

In a letter dated 23 May 1695, you reported that you remained in charge of the Government of those Islands following the death of the officially-appointed Governor, Don Damian de Esplana, and that you had reduced to my obedience one of the northern Islands, from those that rebelled in the year 1684, and that for lack of wind you had not gone to the others that are more distant, but that you would do so as soon as it became favorable, and you offered to give news of the eventual outcome.

This having been seen in my Council of the Indies, I have decided to approve everything that was done in the above-mentioned points and to tell you that I hope that this enterprise was in fact pursued, given what might result in the matter of the salvation of souls of the heathen who might be reduced to the holy fold of the Church.

From Madrid, on 12 November 1696.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Bernardo Antonio de Pardinas Villar de Francos.

Document 1696Q

Letter from the King to Governor Cruzat, dated Madrid 30 December 1696

Source: AGI Fil. 331, libro 9, fol. 119v-220.

Note: The King wants a full account of the costs of the 1683 patache that went to the Marianas, as a follow-up to Doc. 1687F & 1689G.

Original text in Spanish.

Al Governador de Philipinas ordenandole hagase enteren en aquellas costas las cantidades que se enuncian hubo de excesso en la embarcazion que el año de 83 hizo fabricar Don Juan de Vargas para embiar a las Yslas Marianas.

El Rey

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora, etc.

Por despacho de cinco de Junio de mil seiscientos y ochenta y siete mande al Almirante Don Gabriel de Curuzelaegui vuestro antecesor en esos cargos ynformase los gastos que causo la embarcazion que el Maestro de Campo Don Juan de Bargas Hurtado apresto el año de ochenta y tres para las Yslas Marianas, y despuesie que el contador de quantas y resulta bolviere a reconocerlo que estos ymportaron y que las partidas y adiciones que sacase hechassen orden se restituyesen y enterasen sobre cuyo cumplimiento la Audiencia Governando lo Politico con carta de veinte y ocho de Mayo de mil seiscientos y ochenta y nufe]be remite testimonio de que de las diligencias efectuadas parece que en el año de ochenta que se fábrico y apresto esta embarcazion hubo de excesso seis mil y ochenta y quatro pesos quatro tomines y siete granos y en el viaje que hizo el de ochenta y tres quatro mil quinientos y veinte y seis pesos y seis tomines.

Visto en mi Consejo de las Yndias habiendo ohido al fiscal, y constado por las quantas de ofziales reales de esa ciudad que se han remitido asta el año de noventa y cinco, no se ha hecho entero de estas cantidades en mis cajas reales, ha parecido mandaros hagais se cobren de los ofziales que entonces eran y de sus herederos ô fiadores, y en su defecto de los que aprobaron sus fianzas; y en de unos y otros de aquellos de cuyo

cargo fue el que se hiziese el entero, y de haverlo ejecutado assi me dareis quenta en la primera ocassion.

De Madrid a treinta de Diziembre de mil seiscientos y noventa y seis.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Bernardo Antonio de Pardiñas Villar de Francos.

Translation.

To the Governor of the Philippines, ordering him to add the sums that are mentioned as excessive to those costs of the vessel that Don Juan de Vargas ordered built in the year 1683 to send to the Mariana Islands.

The King.

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora, etc.

In a despatch dated 5 June 1687, I ordered Admiral Don Gabriel de Curuzelaegui, your predecessor in those functions, to report on the expenditures caused by the vessel that Master-of-camp Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado outfitted in the year 1683 for the Mariana Islands, and to arrange for the accountant to review the accounts, to determine the total of these expenditures, and to reconcile the entries and additions in order to effect restitution. To this effect, the Audiencia, when governing the political side of the Government, with a letter dated 28 May 1689, sent a record of proceedings by which it appears that in the year [i.e. 1680] that this vessel was built and outfitted there was an excess of 6,084 pesos, 4 tomins and 7 grains, and in the voyage that it made in 1683 one of 4,526 pesos and 6 tomins.

This matter having been seen in my Council of the Indies, and the fiscal heard, and since the accounts of the royal officials of that city that have been remitted until the year 1695, said sums have not been recovered in full by my royal treasury, I have decided to order you to make sure that they be recovered from those who were then officials, and from their heirs or assigns, and failing them, from those who posted bonds for them; and either the ones or the others representing the official responsible must repay the whole, and once you have carried this out, you are to give me a report at the first opportunity.

From Madrid, 30 December 1696.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Bernardo Antonio de Pardiñas Villar de Francos.

Document 1696R

Subsidy for the Marianas, for 1695 and 1696

Source: AGN AHH 1240/2, fol. 132-142.

Original in Spanish

Señores Jueces Oficiales de la Real Hacienda y Caja de la Ciudad de Manila de las Yslas Philipinas.

El Exmo. Sor. Virrey Conde de Galve se sirvió expedir un mandamiento sobrecartado, cuyo tenor es:

...

Gobernador y Sargento Mayor del Presidio de Marianas.

Quatro mil pesos a Don Damian de Esplana difunto, y a Don Diego [sic] de Quiroga Gobernador, y Sargento Mayor de las Yslas Marianas, dos mil à cada uno en cuenta de los sueldos vencidos ô que hubiesen de devengar con dhas plazas
 4,000 p

Soldados de Marianas.

Treinta y tres mil y ochocientos pesos à los sesenta ynfantes de la Dotacion del Presidio de Marianas en cuenta de sus sueldos tocantes a los años de mil seiscientos y noventa y cinco, y mil seiscientos y noventa y seis 33,800 p

Seminarios de Marianas.

Diez mil pesos a los dos seminarios, donde los niños y niñas Marianos se instruyen en las costumbres Christianas y politicas, para su mantenimiento dhos dos años
 10,000 p

Religiosos Misioneros de Marianas.

Ocho mil setecientos y veinte y cinco pesos a los Religiosos de la sagrada Comp^a de Jesus misioneros de Marianas por su estipendio tocante a dhos años de noventa y cinco, y noventa y seis 8,725 p

Religiosos de la Comp^a de Jesus que pasan de mission a Philipinas.

Novcientos y cinquenta y siete pesos, cinco tomines, y un grano à los Padres Augustin Fabregas, y Salvador Molins de dha sagrada Comp^a de Jesus que el año pasa-

do de mil seiscientos y noventa y cinco vinieron de Castilla, y el presente de noventa y seis pasan de mision à estas Yslas por el viatico, y entretenimiento hasta que se embarcaron en Cadiz[,] pasage desde alli a la Veracruz, y sustento y Avio hasta desembarcar en Cavite 957 p 5t 1

...

*Guarde Dios a V.M. muchos años.
Mexico à 10 de Marzo de 1696 años.
D. Sebastian de Guzman y Cordova
D. Joseph Francisco Canal
Joseph de Urrutia*

Translation

Gentlemen official judges of the Royal treasury in the City of Manila in the Philippine Islands.

His Excellency the Viceroy, Count of Galve, was pleased to issue an order in writing, whose contents is as follows:

...

Governor and Sergeant-Major of the Garrison of the Marianas.

4,000 pesos to Don Damian de Esplana, deceased, and to Don Diego [sic] de Quiroga, Governor and Sergeant-Major of the Mariana Islands, 2,000 to each one towards their salaries, due or owing, to said positions 4,000 p

Soldiers in the Marianas.

33,800 pesos to the 60 infantrymen of the establishment of the Garrison of the Marianas, towards their salaries for the years 1695 and 1696 ... 33,800 p

Seminaries of the Marianas.

10,000 pesos to 2 seminaries, where the Mariano boys and girls are taught Christian and civilized customs, for their maintenance for 2 years 10,000 p

Religious missionaries of the Marianas.

8,725 pesos to the Religious of the sacred Society of Jesus, missionaries of the Marianas, for their stipend for the said years of 1695 and 1696 8,725 p

Religious of the Society of Jesus on a mission band to the Philippines.

957 pesos 5 tomins and 1 grain to Fathers Augustin Fabregas and Salvador Molins of said sacred Society of Jesus who last year 1695 came from Spain, and in the present year 1696 go on to the Philippines, for their travelling expenses, and sustenance until they embarked at Cadiz, passage from there to Veracruz, and sustenance and outfitting until they disembark at Cavite 957p 5t 1g

...

May God save Your Graces for many years.
Mexico, 10 March 1696.
Don Sebastian de Guzman y Cordova
Don José Francisco Canal
José de Urrutia

Document 1697A

Letter from Fr. Bouwens to Fr. de Pape, dated Saipan 24 March 1697

Source: AGR 2: 170-171v.

Original in Latin.

Reverende in Christo Pater

P. E.

Liræ mihi inscriptæ a R^a V^a post biennium hic accepi in Insula Zaypan ineunte Julio [1696]. Gratissima fuere quæ nuntiabant, miserrimum Patriæ statum si encipias. Quis etenim sine gravissimo dolore vel procul absens calamitatis illas audiat, quæ tot iam annis florentissimas Provincias pergunt urgere tam pertinaciter: faxit Deus ut Regi vere pio vereque Catholico conserventur dominii istic sui reliquiæ, si quæ etiamnum supersunt: Reliqua, uti confido, siquidem minus custa [costa?] fuerint surrepta, Deo bene propitio seu vi, seu sponte restituentur.

Gratias habeo R. V. pro adscriptis, qui Provinciæ præsumi illorum alii mihi noti sunt; alii vero non item. At omnium et singulorum precibus Sanctisque Sacrificiis quam eninixissime me commendo, eorum et ipse non omnino immemor dum quotidie facio ad aram apud Zaipanos, quos Deo Regique restitutos alterum iam annum excolo, ut ex datis hinc unis alterisque Ræ Væ, siquidem redditæ fuerint, immotuisse crediderum. Alias itidem [sic] a me datas intercidisse haud equidem admiror: Ne vero, quæ illis inserveram ignorentur penitus, paucis hic repetam.

Anno 86 oneraria Manilensis nobis prætervecta feliciter quidem binas, quæ necessitate urgente hic stabant in anchoris Pyratias effugit sed maximo suo periculo in latentes sub mari scopulos impegit se redibusque insedit ad plures etiam leucis protractis. Excusso amissoque gubernaculo per triduum insudatum est illi restaurando, resarciendoque donec tandem propitiori numine iter prosequi licuit, schapa [rather scapha] illic relicta una cum 10 ex turba nautica qui non ita post et ipse vela fecere Deo Divisque in vota vocatis. Navim ne visu quidem assecuti post incommodissimam periculosissimamque navigationem portum Manilanum tennere salvi omnes atque incolumenes mare per 300, ut minum leucas, emensi.

Nos interea annus com[m]eatu, secum etenim, quæ Mexico ad victum vestibisque militibus submittebantur nobisque necessaria, Manilam secum avenerat navis prætoriana, omnino destituti vix substitimus. Neque Manila eo anno, uti nec proxime subsequuto [1687] quidquam accepimus navigio, quod huc destinabatur, eo biennio iter inchoatum relegere coacto. Hinc Insularum Gubernator D. Damianus Esplana rerum pertæsus regimini su- [hole] -sse venia ad hoc nec petita a Regis, qui Manilæ residat [hole] nec obtenta. Audito itaque illius adventu cof[n]jectus in vincu- [hole] -n leve capitis adiit discrimen; quod tamen redimit pecuniæ m- [hole] vi.

Dum hæc geruntur(?) [hole] Manilæ, nihilo melius res evenit apud nos. Nam licentiori --it iam pridem assueti milites frenum non admittebant. Con-[juratio]-ne igitur inita parum abfuit, quin Tribunum suum D. Josephum [de Qui]roga, dum sacrum auditurus templum adiit ipsa sacræ ascens- [hole] violenter obrincaverint. Substitit apud nos: at non diu [2-cm hole] -peram ea ipsa die tumultuarie domum nostram adv- [hole] -asque vi parietibus (ut erant ex ligno constructum) [3-cm hole] -s ne quidquam resistantibus ac deprecantibus extrahunt ---ruduntque in arcem ubi non semel præsentissimum vitæ periculum adit vir apprime virtuosus; atque insigni in Deum ejusque Matrem erat fiducia armatus, fortiter patienterque tulit calamitatem, quæ virum non modum innocentem, verum et de omnibus perquam benemeritum tam [170v] diu oppressit, donec tandem facti pænitens, qui tragædiam excitaverat, hominem meliori usus consilio sibi nobisque restituit, turbamque tumultuantem ita compescuit, ut tribus ad palum alligatis fauces præcludi jusserit, eo quod aures occluserant saniora suadentibus. Dissidio vix ita composito aderat ex Philippinis una cum duobus Patribus negotiorem causa hinc eo ante triennium altero, altero autem ante biennium ablegatis navigium illud, quod omnis 86 et 87 ventorum vi coactum iter huc inde conficere non potuebat, com[m]eatu, quem Regis sumptibus submittebant Manilani, abunde satis instructum. Singularis in eo eluxit Dei in nos Providentia: Nam si octiduo citius appulisset navis, vi et armis a portu illam repellendo conjurati rem in ultimam desperationem conjecissent.

*Anno proxime sequenti 89 priore nihilo minus periculosa D. Tribunum excipit agitatio. Nam D. Damianus Esplana lite ut dixi magna nummorum vi composita Regimini huic admotus citra meritum nobis mittitur ex Philippinis Redux. Necdum exclierat in littus, quando D. Tribunum si non pro inimico, certe pro emulo habitum omni quo poterat modo iniquissime exagitare cæpit, perrexitque usque dum ultimum exhalaret spiritum **annum 94 mense Augusto**. Bis sine causa hominem imprimis nobilem, innocentem, de ipse quam optime meritum, virtussissimum exilio iniquissime mulcavit, injuriis opprobriisque illius exemplo etiam a militibus oneratum. At Deus patienter omnia toleranti non defuit; reque ipsa, quantum illi debeatur ab omnibus anno 90 palam fecit. Altera ex duabus navibus, quæ Mexico hac reduces eo anno Manilam repetebant, scopulos hisce allisa centum plus minus ex naufragio una cum 20 Religiosis Franciscanis hic subsistere cogebantur, reliquis altera nave Manilam asportatis. Non pauci ex iis, qui hic remanserant ob crimina alibi commissa ad triremes damnati, ut erant gens facinorosa, conjurationem longe atrocissimam, impiissimamque machina-*

bantur in vitam Gubernatoris, Tribuni, omnium nostrum. Jam prope aderat atrocitati exequendæ condita dies, quando Deo pro sua in omnes commiseratione ita disponente res D. Tribuno nihil tale suspicanti innotuit. Cautè sane ac prudenter ad unum omnes comprehensos in vincula conjicit, atque a vestigio ablegat ad Gubernatorem (in portui 8 leucas ab Agadña distante vitam dege-- cum majori meliorique parte præsidii) qui hominem verum qu--- gerebantur ignarum de periculo iam suppresso edoceat volatit--- ex templo, compectaque veritate 23 ex convictis confessis, ad palum alligatis fauces postridie summo mane elidi jussit[.] Sub dimidiem mensis Decembris Franciscani Hospitem et ex no- [hole] cum quatuor evocati a R. Pe. Provinciam conse- [hole] -am [hole] -se navigatione usi non minus prolixè tru- [5-cm hole] nam incommoda, nec citra vitæ pericul- annona- [hole].

A- [8-cm hole] ; al--- (4 leucas distat Manila pridie qu- [hole] seu sponte, seu ex mal[e]volentia ---cep--- [hole] -gravit annuo nostro come--- sa[r]cinisque a-- uni--- [hole] -s --stem, rebus omnino o[m]nibus igne voracd--- [hole] ---men ex vectoribus desiderato. Damnum -par-l- [hole] ---m missioni illatum u- 40 imperialum millia --- [hole] ---r-ergressu, vique?

Anno deinde sequenti [hole]--- Guhan, f--torem violentissima tota -- [hole]--- -rasem perser- -sime dilaniata tantum no--ui-- - [hole]---scepta f-- uti et quæ 94 D. Gubernatori e --- [hole] --- diffu]ncti in Rotam insulam per D. Tri[bun]um, quid [hole] R---- alteri differrecessat, donec aut in solidum illi conf-- ---ur reginæ --- citra cædem e- Omnia illi evanere ex sententia et felicissime --- --- sanguinem¹ [171] sanguinem: latius omnia perscripta non repeto: Posteriora adjungo.

Dimidiato Julio anni superioris adfuit nobis Manila, quo ante biennium negotiorum causa fuerat ablegatus R. P. Mathias Cuculino natione Bohemus. Incommoda prorsus ac periculi plena navigatio bonum Patrem validudine pridem attrita pene instulit e vivis ante quam terram attingeret. Certe superiorem insula nobis præfecto haud diu frus licuit: Mense namque Decembri eodem ipso anno vivere desiit varus dolorum morborumque aculeis confectus. Difunctorum æfficiam suffectus R. P. Antonius Cundari e Provincia Sicula, vir magnæ charitatis, et apprimè religiosus, missionis religionisque sacro sanctæ incrementum sedulo promovet. Sub initium mensis Martii solemnissimam dixit novenum in honorem S. Fci. Xaverii privatis nostrorum, publicisque militum votis in patronum electi, Ducemque expeditionis in insulam (unam aut plures) versus Austrum primum detectam anno 86. Eadem rursus oculus(?) assecuti anno proxime præterito quotquot recto itinere Manila huc advehebantur 20 vix leucas a nobis abesse constantissime asseverant: sævissima tempestate exagitati iisdem quis supra dixi sub mari latentibus scopulis, at sine periculo, insedere undipedesque ex voto hic exiliere in littus navigii velo onusti, quod Deo in anathema oblatum 60 parvulis vestiendis suf-

1 Ed. note: Defective document which has been badly repaired. The last few lines have been glued, facing one another wrongly on one side of the sheet only, making me believe that it had been originally ripped while it was being written.

fecit. Quadrimestri eoque amplius in Statione exacto Manilam navis repetiit centum plus minus secum eo aVectis fruges tantum consumere notis.

29 Aprilis sex ex patriis hisce lembulis cursum divinere ad Austrum: nautis Indis Hispani adjuncti, qui certius navigarent: at diebus nescio quot navigando frustra consumptis re infecta rediere, uti iam iterum ac tertio acciderat, quod sane mirum in tantillo leucarum intervallo. Reliqua satis prospere procedunt. Trecenti hic subsistunt ex Insulis magis septemtrionibus quarum incolæ, quia adivi vix possunt, Zaypanis meis adjungi voluit D. Tribunus, cujus jussa iam forte omnes fuissent executi, si lembuli adfuissent quibus maria ista trajicerent.

Interea Philippinarum Gubernator submissit suo potius ductus emolumento quam Regis obsequis, qui amoto Tribuno præset regimini. Etiam cives Manilani, rem ut minus æquam improbatunt, augurati et non sine fundamento D. Tribunum Insulis a Rege præfectum iri ex merito. Navis, quam præstolamur in dies, rem declaravit.

A semestri socius hic mihi adjunctus R. P. Joannes Schirmeysen vir plane industrius, atque ad Indicas missiones quasi a natura formatus. Is mecum, etsi laboribus, si qui sunt, non omnino imperum, hanc Xri. vineam excolit fructu, haud sane contemnendo: -m-m- qui more patria turpiter inter se conversabantur post sufficientem in fide instructionem suscepto baptisate im---ssimum lagrime injere usque ad 200 pa-a et forte--ra: Ultra 1,200 sacro fonte lustrati more vivunt, ritemque¹ confitentur satis concione plerique, paucis hactenus ---- ut sacro epulo reficiantur. Concionibus ---tius mysteriorum --- -atione ac missæ Sacrificio intersunt satis frequentis diebus(?) domesticis(?) festisque obligatoriis, ita ut templum sane amplum illis(?) ino---iendis(?) vix(?) sufficiat, 200 circiter parvuli quot hebdomadis --nv-i-us die Mercurij, ut fidei actibus imbantur(?) audit sacrificio, ---- -soque alternatum rosario. Viciniores pueri puellæque sacro ii ---- - ut quotidie. Illi quidem ad introitum simul omnes(?) elatu(?) vocat respondent sacerdoti, tum et hæ cum illis alterna--- prosequuntur rosarium, quod finitam excipit salve voce patria. [Paul]-atim(?) templum ingres---is sive parvulis sive adultis præfertur ---- quod bini asserviat(?) longo ordine sequuntur dominicam orationem --- -ndo etc predes ---uibus templum iam ingressis terminantur actu contritionis. 2^a post-- - -na docentur pueri quæ præscribit rituale -- administratione sacramentorum et sepulturæ, quæ omnia iam no-unt de memoria; insuper Ave Maris Stella, sub tuum præsidium[,] De Profundis, Asperges, Benedictus, Laudate Dominum de Cælis, responsum pro fidelibus defunctis, litanias Lauretanis, hasque decantant diebus [171v] sabbatinis concurrente multitudine e pagis templo vicinis. Ritum sepulturæ Ecclesiasticæ iam edocti defunctos adultos storea sua involutos pulla veste obtegunt, sublatosque in humeros deferunt ad templum longa serie consanguinitis vicinisque pheretrum subsequentibus. Dominica proximior pro defunctis illa septimana omnes simul altiori voce recitant rosarium. Et sane erga multos non obscure singularis Dei eluxit misericordia, maxime vero erga parvulos quorum multi ubi annos vitæ plurimos videbantur

1 Ed. note: Neighboring text hard to decipher on account of wetness that once affected the paper.

polliceri sacro fonte vix abluti alii post horas pauculas, alii vero post unum alt[e]rumve diem deferebantur ad sepulturam.

Finem facio adjunctis quas anno elapso accepi a R. P. Petro van Hamme, ad quem vicissim bona R. Væ venia tra-mis mihi Liræ inscriptas. S[anctissim]is Ræ Væ Sacrificiis quam enixissime me commendo.

Fatiguan in Insula Zaypan 24 Mar[tii] 1697.

R. Væ servus in Christo

Gerardus Bouwens

[P.S.] Cum delatione obsequii salutem adscribo ex animo R. Pri. Provinciali[.] R. Pres. ex reliquis n[ost]res Professoribus superstiti Antonio Grandon, una cum aliis tum omnibus, tum singulis in Provincia notis, eorumque suis me commendo sacrificiis.

Loose translation.

Reverend Father in Christ,

Peace be with you.

The letter which Y.R. sent me from Lier¹ took two years to reach me in the Island of Saipan at the beginning of July [1696]. The news you sent were most welcome, if only our country were not in such a mirable state. Who indeed would hear such calamities without very deep sorrow even from afar? Many years ago they were very flourishing provinces and pressing forward so tenaciously. May God make our truly pious and truly Catholic king preserve what is left of his dominions there, if they are still his. If anyone were to sneakily take what is left, I hope that it would be restituted through God's providence, or by force, or spontaneously.

I have to thank Y.R. for the added news about those who are known to me in that province; the others are indeed not the same. I very strongly commend myself to the prayers and holy sacrifices of one and all. I myself am still not forgetful of them when I step up to the altar before the Saipanese, whom I take care of since last year when they were restored to God and the King, so that the letters with news from here that I sent through Y.R. to other individuals, if indeed they were returned [to you], I am inclined to believe that they were stopped. I wonder if other letters from me have been similarly intercepted; and indeed I would not be sorry if you were to reproduce them. That is why I will repeat a few news from here.

In the year 1686 one of the two galleons from Manila to us were both happily forewarned of the urgent need to flee, on account of pirate ships at anchor here, only to encounter a worse danger in the form of a submerged rock, upon which she ran aground and even had to be towed over many leagues. The pilot's mate was sent off to try and restore it, sweating for three days to repair the damage, until finally she was able to pursue her voyage, but one launch was left there with 10 men from among the seamen, and they afterward sailed on their own after having implored a more propitious divine will, God and the Holy Virgin, to save them. They had lost sight of the ship. They made a

¹ Ed. note: Lier, or Lierre in French, is a Belgian town situated between Antwerp and Malines.

very uncomfortable and very dangerous sea voyage of 300 leagues, if I am not mistaken, to the port of Manila, which they all reached safe and sound.

Meanwhile we had to wait, for the space of one year in fact, for the supply of clothing for the soldiers and other necessaries to be remitted to us from Mexico, by way of the returning Manila galleon; we were completely destitute of everything. Nothing came from Manila that year; not even the following year [1687] did we receive a ship, as the [annual] ship had not completed the voyage the two previous years. Hence the governor of the Islands, Don Damian Esplana,¹ [was] fed up by the administration, as the things requested from the King, through the Viceroy who resides at Manila, were not coming. Therefore, I used to hear him conjecture with a light head about reaching a decision, about how he would recuperate the moneys...

While these things were to be taken to Manila, nothing better occurred to us. Indeed, some licentious soldiers refused to be refrained. Therefore, they plotted a conspiracy against their commanding officer, Don José de Quiroga. A few of them went after him, while he was present in the sacred temple and applied force while he sought refuge among us. That same day they came to our house and made noise heard through the walls of our residence (as they were built of wood) but no-one could resist them and prevent their deprecations. They took him to the fortress where there would have been a most immediate risk to the life of this man, virtuous above all, and armed with singular trust in God and his Mother. He bore calamity strongly and patiently, but not overly innocent, truly deserving of honor above everyone and so long withheld, until finally not content with the work that would incite a tragedy, he came out a better man by restituting the custom of consultation between him and us. The trouble and disturbance was thus held back. He ordered the three leaders to be tied up and executed. They had closed their ears to healthier advice. I had hardly arranged the division [of duties when one ship] arrived from the Philippines with two Fathers who had gone there on business, after a three-year lapse, although for two years previous, that is the years 1686 and 1687, it had been prevented by the force of the winds to made the passage from there to here. The King had made provisions for this ship to come with enough supplies from Manila, thanks to the providence that God had shown toward us. For if both times the ship had arrived faster, by force of arms they would have been able to repel the mutiny born out of sheer desperation.

The following year of 1689 it came earlier and arrived without danger in time to relieve the Commander from the mutiny, for Don Damian Esplana returned from the Philippines with a large force... He had not yet stepped ashore when he looked upon the Commander, if not as an enemy, surely as a rival, and it was the beginning of an enmity that lasted until he gave up the ghost **in the month of August 1694**. Twice without cause he oppressed this noble and innocent man, rewarding his extreme merit and virtue with exile, even oppressing him with military duties. However, he suffered

1 Ed. note: The page that follows is mutilated, with many holes, so that the translation is only approximate.

everything for God; this very thing became openly known to all in the year 1690. Two ships, which were returning from Mexico to Manila that year, hit reefs causing hundreds of shipwrecked people. One of them carried 20 Franciscans who remained to live here; the other ship departed for Manila with the rest. There were many of the shipwrecked people who had been condemned to the galleys for their crimes, so that they were rebellious people; it was not long before they plotted a most atrocious and impious mutiny against the life of the Governor, the Commander, and all of us. The day of infamy had already been selected, when God, out of commiseration for his people, arranged for the Commander to find out a thing which he had not suspected anything about. Of course, he prudently played one against the others to identify those involved, and for the rest he sent to the Governor (who was living at the port some 8 leagues from Agaña with the greater and better part of the garrison). The man was totally unaware of the danger which he learned was now volatile. From the temple the truth was confessed about the pact made by 23 ex-convicts. The next day in the morning they had their throat tied to a post and were ordered shot. By the middle of the month of December our Franciscan hosts left us, along with four of ours recalled by the Rev. Fr. Provincial; after a long and uncomfortable crossing they nevertheless escaped death as they had overhere.

At [Cavite], which is 4 leagues from Manila, the day before [departure], either spontaneously, or through mischief, the fire destroyed everything,¹ perhaps by design of the passengers. Our House and Mission lost 40,000 reales(?) in that disaster.

Then the year ... in September ... Guam ... very violently ... In 1694 the Governor sent the Commander to the Island of Rota, to end the differences [with the natives], until either they accepted ... there for the murder [of the priests and soldiers]... All of them accepted the decision and very happily [returned?] blood for blood(?) I do not repeat everything that has already been written about. I enclose more news below.

In the middle of last July our Superior was present in Manila, where two years previously Rev. Fr. Mathias Cuculino, a native of Bohemia, had been sent. The good Father had an uncomfortable crossing, full of danger, as in the past, so that he was almost taken from the living before he reached the land. Certainly such prejudice had not been suffered by a superior of our island for a long time. For in the month of December of that same year, he survived an attack of painful skin eruptions. To replace those who had died, Rev. Fr. Antonio Cundari, from the Sicilian Province, a man of great charity and a first-class religious, promoted the advancement of the mission and religion by holy zeal. At the beginning of the month of March, he initiated a very solemn novena in honor of St. Francis Xavier, for us in private and for the public, the soldiers having chosen him for their patron saint, and also the leader of the expedition to the

1 Ed. note: Despite the mutilated document, I can guess that the author is referring to the fire that destroyed the San Gabriel, while it was at anchor and ready to depart for the Marianas, in 1692.

island (one or many) toward the south, first detected in the year 1686.¹ He went again the following year to try and find what [the galleon] that went straight to Manila [in 1686] had come across scarcely 20 leagues from us, as they invariably asserted. The said people had been subjected to a very furious storm and ran over some hidden shoals, and to escape danger they vowed to carry the sail of the boat barefoot, when back ashore; it was sufficient for them to offer as a gift to God to provide clothing for 60 children. It took them over four months for the boat to reach the port of Manila, with about 100 known local fruits [coconuts?] on board.

On 29 April [1690] six local canoes headed southward. Some Spaniards were added to the Indians sailors to make the navigation safer. And I do not know how many days they spent sailing before returning without success; it was the third time this happened, over the space of so few leagues. The rest [of the affairs] are proceeding apace. Three hundred inhabitants of the big northern Island of Saipan where I went were able to use force. The Commander wished to have me join him; his now-strong orders could have been carried out, if the small canoes had been able to cross those seas.

Meanwhile the Governor of the Philippines rather submitted to his own judgment the emolument which the King had given, for the administration by this faraway Commander. Even the citizen of Manila disapproved of this unjust treatment, toward the office of Commander of the Islands and royal prefect gotten out of merit. A ship, which we were expecting within days, decided the issue.

Within six months I was given a partner here, Rev. Fr. Juan Schirmeysen, a truly industrious man, and trained for the missions of the Indies almost by nature. He and I, although we struggle, we do not mind at all cultivating fruit out of the vineyard of Christ; I do not mind it at all. [They] who used to shamefully preserve the local customs among themselves, after sufficient instruction in the faith, I admitted them to baptism, up to 200 of them; over 1,200 might abandon their customs and be admitted to baptism. The public gatherings are well attended, but few up to now [are ready] to receive the sacred meal. The public meetings, during which the mysteries of the ... and of the sacrifice of the mass [take place], are frequently attended, on Sundays and compulsory holidays, so that the church is hardly big enough to contain them. On Wednesdays, about 200 children come to the weekly [catechism lesson?], in which the articles of the faith are [explained], mass is heard, and on alternate [week] the rosary [is recited]. The boys and girls of the neighborhood come daily. Some of them show the others how to respond to the priest, then they and I alternately continue with the rosary, to finish with the singing of the Salve in the local language. Little by little they come into the church, the children leading the adults, in a long procession, which continues until the offertory prayer on Sundays, etc. and when they are all inside, we finish with the act of con-

1 Ed. note: A reference to Alonso Soon, the Chamorro Major of the native troops for the west coast of Guam, who was sent southward twice, in 1689 and 1690, with a Guam-built boat, to look for some Caroline Islands, but did not sight any.

trition. On the second day of ... the children are taught the rituals concerning the administration of the sacraments and for burials, which they all know already from memory, besides the *Ave Maris Stella*, *Sub tuum præsidium*, *De Profundis*, *Asperges*, *Benedictus*, *Laudate Dominum de Cælis*,¹ the response for the departed faithful, the Loreto litanies, and on Saturdays they sing along with the crowd from the church of the neighboring village. They have already learned thoroughly the rite of the Church for the burial of deceased adults who are buried wrapped in their mats, covered with a dark cloth, whom they carry on a stretcher upon their shoulders toward the church followed by a long line of their relatives and neighbors. On the Sunday that follows, all attend the high mass for the dead and recite the rosary. Of course, there are not many who are [not] singularly [affected?] by God's mercy, specially indeed the children who for many years we say that, a few hours after receiving baptism, would [receive] the sacred promise; some others indeed after one or two days would be carried off to their burial.

I close by saying that last year I received a letter from Rev. Fr. Peter van Hamme,² to which was enclosed one from Y.R. dated from Lier. I very strongly commend myself to the holy sacrifices of Y.R.

Fatiguan in the Island of Saipan, 24 March 1697.

Gerard Bouwens.

[P.S.] With some delay in my compliments I give a heartfelt greeting to Rev. Fr. Provincial, and all the rest of the Rev. Fathers who were our Professors, specifically Anthony Grandon, as well as to one and all known to me in the Province, and I commend myself to their sacrifices.

1 Ed. note: Those were prayers in Latin (probably their versions in the local language), said aloud during mass or on special occasions, e.g. *De Profundis*, during a burial.

2 Ed. note: See Doc. 1695E.

Document 1697B

Letter from the King to Governor Cruzat, dated Madrid 22 April 1697

Source: AGI Fil. 331, libro 9, fol. 247v-248v.

The King insists that the laws on the manning of galleons be respected

Original text in Spanish.

Al Governador de Philipinas haga [lo que] se neceçitan para la mas segura navegacion de aquellas Islas

El Rey

*Don Fausto de Cruzat y Gongora Cavallero del havito de San Tiago mi Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas y Presidente en mi Audiencia Real de Manila ó a la persona o personas a cuió cargo fuere su gobierno, visto y considerado en mi Consejo de las Indias lo que por diferentes cartas, y una de 18 de Junio del año de 1695 represento en Audiencia con autos de la causa de arriuada del Galeon **Santo Cristo de Burgos**, ha pareçido preveniros para ocurrir a los ynconbenientes que resultan destas arriuidas esteis en quenta de que se observe la ley 40 Titulo 45 del libro 9 de la recopilacion de Indias que trata de las çircunstançias que hai de tener los Pilotos y marineros que se emplearen en navegacion tan dilatada y peligrosa, porque es muy necesario sean los mas haviles y expertos, y cuideis tambien de que el General ó Cavo de la nao ó naos que desde esas Yslas se despacharen a la Nueva España de fianzas en conformidad de lo dispuesto en la ley 42 del çitado titulo y libro, y asi os mando lo observeis y hagais observar preçisa y puntualmente para que por este medio se eviten fraudes, y perjuiçios y del reçivo y cumplimiento deste despacho me dareis quenta.*

De Madrid a 22 de Abril de 1697.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Bernardo Antonio de Pardiñas Villar de Francos.

Translation.

To the Governor of the Philippines who is to do what is required to make the navigation of those Islands safer.

The King.

Don Fausto de Cruzat y Gongora, Knight of the order of St. James, my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President in my Royal Audiencia of Manila, or to the person or persons in whose charge their government may be.

My Council of the Indies has seen and considered what by various letters, specially one dated 18 June 1695 received from the Audiencia, with records of the case of the return in distress of the galleon **Santo Cristo de Burgos**, I have decided to warn you, to prevent the disadvantages that result from these returns, to make sure of the observance of Law 40, Title 45 of Book 9 of the Code of the Indies that deals with the circumstances that must apply to the Pilots and seamen who are employed in such a long and dangerous navigation, because it is very necessary for them to be the most skilled and expert, and you are to take care also that the General or Commander of the galleon or galleons that are despatched to New Spain from those Islands put up a bond, in accordance with the dispositions of Law 42 of the above-mentioned Title and Book, and thus I order you to observe and make others observe this in a precise and ready manner, so that by this means frauds be avoided, and prejudices, and you are to acknowledge the receipt of and compliance with this despatch.

From Madrid, 22 April 1697.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Bernardo Antonio de Pardiñas Villar de Francos.

Documents 1697C

Two letters from Governor Cruzat to the King in 1697

Sources: AGI Fil. 17-1-1 and 17-1-6.

C1. Letter dated Manila 16 May 1697

Original text in Spanish.

El Governador de Philipinas

Da quenta a V.M. del recivo de una Real zedula sobre el despacho que el Virrey de la Nueva España hizo del Generalato de una Nao a Don Francisco de Arcocha con testimonio a n° [12].

Señor.

Por Real zedula de 12 de Septiembre de 1693 fue V.M. servido mandarme noticiar, como havendose visto en ese Real y Supremo Consejo y Junta de Guerra de el, la carta en que dí quenta a V.M. del despacho que el Virrey de la Nueva España hizo del Generalato de una Nao destas yslas, a Don Franzisco de Arcocha vezino de ellas; se mando Juntar con lo escripto por el Virrey, con cuyo reconocimiento y de lo demas que hu- biere en la materia, se pasaria a tomar la deliverazion que fuese mas conforme a razon y justia: en cuyo particular solo se me ofreze dar quenta a V.M. del rezivo de dicha Real zedula, como lo hago con el Testimonio adjunto.

Nuestro Señor guarde L.C. y R.P. de V.M. como la Cristiandad a menester.

Manila y Mayo 16 de 1697.

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora.

Translation.

[From] the Governor of the Philippines.

He reports to Y.M. that he has received a Royal decree regarding the despatch of the title of General of a galleon that the Viceroy of New Spain granted to Don Francisco de Arcocha, enclosing a record of proceedidngs bearing n° [12].

Sire:

By Royal decree of 12 September 1693, Y.M. was pleased to order me to take note that the Royal and Supreme Council and its War Committee had seen the letter by which I reported to Y.M. that the Viceroy of New Spain had granted the title of General of the galleon of the Philippine Islands to Don Francisco de Arcocha, a resident of this city. An order was given to have the letters of the Viceroy collected, and examined, so that a reasonable and fair decision might be taken, after due deliberation of their contents.

In this wise, I take this opportunity to report to Y.M. that I have received said Royal decree, as stated in the attached file.

May Our Lord save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M. as Christendom needs.
Manila, 16 May 1697.

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora.¹

C2. Letter dated Manila 20 May 1697

Original text in Spanish.

El Governador de Philipinas.

Da quenta a V.M. del rezivo y cumplimiento de un despacho general sobre la libertad, alibio, y buen tratamiento de los yndios con Testimonio a n° [9].

Señor

Por un despacho General su fecha de 22 de Noviembre de 1693 ynsertas en el, diferentes zedulas Reales sobre la libertad, alibio y buen tratamiento de los yndios, fue V.M. servido mandar que todos Governadores, y demas ministros de las Indias guarden[,] cumplan y ejecuten, prezisa y puntualmente lo dispuesto por dichas Reales zedulas, y que velen con todo cuydado sobre su observancia, no pormitiendo que los encomenderos obliguen a los yndios a serviçio personal, ni a otra contribuçion que la del tributo que devieren pagar.—

En cuyo cumplimiento por lo que toca a estas yslas Philipinas, continuando en el desvelo y cuidado que al mismo fin he puesto desde que entre en este Gobierno, procurare vijilar sobre la ynbiolabilidad execuzion de lo que V.M. manda; para lo qual hor-denè, se hiziese notorio al fiscal desta Real Audiencia, y que se le entregase copia autentica de dicho despacho y zedulas en el insertas, para que pida lo que mas combenga al alibio, buen trato, y conservacion de los yndios, y juntamente mandè despachar recargos(?) y encargos a los Prelados de las RElijiones destas yslas, para que en todas las Provinçias de ellas por los ministerios que tienen a su cargo, manden a sus subditos pongan expezial cuidado en el buen tratamiento de los yndios, y de que no se les haga agravio ni vejaçion alguna, y que en caso de que se contrabenga a ello por algun encomendero, y otra persona, lo partizipan a este Gobierno, para poner el remedio com-

1 Ed. note: This letter was received at Madrid on 13 October 1698.

beniente; y para que en ese Real y supremo consejo conste del referido, y del rezivo y obedezimiento de dicho despacho general remito a V.M. el testimonio adjunto.

*Nuestro Señor guarde L.C. y R.P. de V.M. como la Cristiandad a menester.
Manila y Mayo 20 de 1697.*

Translation.

The Governor of the Philippines.

He reports to Y.M. that he has received and complied with a general despatch regarding the freedom, relief, and good treatment of the Indians, enclosing record of proceedings n^o [9].

Sire:

There were various Royal decrees concerning the freedom, relief and good treatment of the Indians (inserted in a general despatch dated 22 November 1693) in which Y.M. was pleased to order all Governors, and other ministers of the Indies to respect, comply with, and carry out exactly and in a timely manner the orders contained in said Royal decrees, and to see to their careful observance, not letting the owners of land-grants force the Indians into doing personal services, nor any other contribution, except the tribute that they must pay.

In compliance thereof, as far as these Philippine Islands are concerned, to carry on with the care that I have taken since I came into this Government, I will try and make sure that what Y.M. orders will be strictly observed. To this effect, I have ordered this matter to be brought up to the attention of the Fiscal of this Royal Audiencia, along with authenticated copies of said despatch and enclosures, so that he may request what is most convenient for the relief, good treatment and preservation of the Indians. At the same time, I ordered the issue of entreaties and orders to the Provincials of the religious Orders in these Islands, for them to order all their provinces in turn to take special care of treating the Indians well, and not to do them any harm or harrassment, and, in case some land-owner, or another person, were to contravene this, they are to let this Government know, so that a suitable remedy can be found. And, in order for that Royal and Supreme Council be aware of the above, and of the receipt of and compliance with said general despatch, I remit the enclosed record of proceedings to Y.M.

May Our Lord save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M. as Christendom needs.
Manila, 20 May 1697.

Document 1697D

Letter from the Viceroy to the King, dated Mexico 31 October 1697

Source: AGI Fil. 17-1-15.

Original text in Spanish.

El Virrey de N^a España

*Da quenta a V.M. de haver llegado el Navio **San Joseph** de Philipinas al Puerto de Acapulco en 19 de Henero de 697, y de las diligencias que interpuso para su buelta, executandola en 25 de Marzo habiendole negado al comercio la remission que intentava de los 24,000 pesos que en lo antezedente havia conseguido.*

*Haviendo surgido en el Puerto de Acapulco en diez y nueve de Henero del año pasado de seis cientos y noventa y siete el Navio nombrado **San Joseph** de las Yslas Philipinas antes y despues de todas las providencias combenientes para su buelta, y remission de situados, gente, armas, y municiones consiguiendo saliese à navegar el dia veinte y cinco de Marzo del mismo año con el desconsuelo de no haver conzedido à aquel Comercio la misma remission de los veinte y quatro mill pesos que en la antezedente del año de noventa y cinco consiguieron por su corto buque y lastimosos descalabros con la perdida de las dos antezedentes Naos del Conde de Galve mi antecessor con parecer del fiscal y Junta general a cuya pretencion aunque justificada con la antezedente por ser menor este Navio no asenti pareciendome que carezia -- desta facultad mi Gobierno, y que solo V.M. la tiene para dispensar lo passionado de aquel comercio, obligado siempre à pagar setenta y quatro mill pesos por cada Nao, ya sea de gran porte, ó de menos buque de que doy quenta a V.M. con el testimonio de Autos adjunto para que mande lo que fuese servido.*

Guarde Dios la C.R.P. de V.M. los muchos años que la Cristiandad a menester.

Mexico 31 de Octubre 1697.

Don Joseph Sarmiento.

Translation.

The Viceroy of New Spain

Reports to Y.M. about the arrival at the port of Acapulco of the ship **San José** from the Philippines on 19 January 1697, and about the efforts he made for its return voyage, which took place on 25 March, and his refusal to let the traders have the rebate of 24,000 pesos that they had been granted the last time.

After the ship named **San José** coming from the Philippine Islands had anchored at the port of Acapulco on 19 January of last year 1697, before and after all the appropriate efforts were made for its return voyage, and remission of the subsidies, men, weapons and ammunitions, it effectively departed on 25 March of the same year, with the disconsolateness of the traders who did not get the same discount of 24,000 pesos that they had gotten, in the previous year of 1695, on account of the small capacity of the ship and the lamentable damage suffered in the loss of the two previous galleons, from the Count of Galve, my predecessor, at the recommendation of the Fiscal and general Council. Though the same reason was presented, on account of this ship being smaller, I did not agree because it seems to me that my Government lacks the authority to do so, and that only Y.M. can do something about the grievances of the traders, who are always obliged to pay 74,000 pesos for every ship, whether it be large or small. So I inform Y.M., enclosing the record of proceedings, so that you may order what you please.

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

Mexico, 31 October 1697.

Don José Sarmiento.¹

1 Ed. note: Received at Madrid on 13 December 1698.

Documents 1697E

Subsidy for the Marianas, for 1697

E1. Approval by the Viceroy

Source: AGN AHH 1240/2, fol. 181-190.

Original text in Spanish.

Señores Jueces Oficiales de la Real Hazienda y Caja de la Ciudad de Manila de las Yslas Philipinas.

El Exmo. Señor Conde de Moctezuma Virrey deste Reino teniendo noticia; por consulta nuestra del servicio que el Sor. Govor. Don Fausto Cruzat, y Gongora ofrecio al REY nuestro Señor (que Dios guarde) de quenta de situados rezagados, en carta de doce de junio de mil seis cientos y noventa y cinco ...

...

Marianas.

Y veinte y nueve mil quatrocientos y cinquenta pesos que tambien emos librado este año, los un mil pesos de ellos a Don Diego [sic] de Quiroga, en quenta de sus sueldos vencidos, y que á de devengar con las plazas de Sargento maior propietario, y Cavo Governador de Marianas; diez y ocho mil y novecientos pesos á los sesenta soldados de la Dotacion del Presidio de aquellas Yslas por sus sueldos tocantes á todo este presente año de mil seiscientos y noventa y siete; quatro mil quinientos y cinquenta pesos á catorze Religiosos de la sagrada Comp^a de Jesus, doce sacerdotes, y dos coadjutores por los estipendios que desde primero de enero hasta fin de Diziembre de dho año, an de devengar ocupados en aquella mision; y los cinco mil pesos restantes para mantener dho tiempo dos seminarios, donde los niños y niñas Marianos se instruen en las costumbres Christianas, y Politicas, todo en conformi-dad de ordenes de Su Magd. y del superior Gobierno desta Corte 29,450p

Guarde Dios a V.Ms. muchos años.

Mexico á nueve de Marzo de mil seiscientos y noventa y siete.

D. Sebastian de Guzman y Cordova

Joseph Francisco Canal

Joseph de Urrutia

Translation.

Gentlemen official judges of the Real treasury in the City of Manila in the Philippine Islands.

His Excellency the Count of Moctezuma, Viceroy of this Kingdom, being aware, through our consultation, of the service that His Lordship the Governor Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora did to the King our Lord (whom may God save) with regards to subsidies that had fallen behind, in his letter dated 12 June 1695...

...

Marianas.

And 29,450 pesos that were also released this year, 1,000 pesos of which to Don Diego [sic] de Quiroga, towards his salaries, past and future, for the permanent position of Sergeant-Major and that of Governor of the Marianas; 18,900 pesos to the 60 soldiers of the establishment of the Garrison of those Islands for their salaries with respect to the present year of 1697; 4,554 pesos to 14 Religious of the sacred Society of Jesus, 12 priests and 2 coadjutor brothers for the stipends that since 1st of January until the end of December of said year will become due to those busy there in that mission; and the remaining 5,000 pesos for the maintenance during that time of two seminaries, where Mariano boys and girls are taught Christian and civilized customs, all in accordance with the orders of His Majesty and of the superior Government of this City
 29,450 p

...

May God save Your Graces for many years.

Mexico, 9 March 1697.

Don Sebastian de Guzman y Cordova

José Francisco Canal

José de Urrutia

E2. Manifest of Jesuit property aboard the galleon San José, dated 24 March 1697

Source: AGNAHH 332.

Original text in Spanish.

Certificacion del rex^o del año de 1697.—

Registro de el Galeon S. Joseph año 97.

En la Ciudad y Puerto de Acapulco a veinte y quatro dias del mes de marzo de mill seiscientos y noventa y siete años el Capitan Joseph de Aguirre maestro del Galeon Capitana de Philipinas San Joseph del cargo del General Don Miguel Martinez que esta de proximo para hazer tornaviaje a dhas Yslas[,] otorgo aver rezivido y tener a bordo de dho Galeon del Contador Juan Martinez de Lejaría(?) residente en este Puerto siento y setenta piasas en esta manera:

—*quarenta y quatro caxas, nueve fardos[,] tres tercios de Suela[,] dos tercios de cacao pertenezientes a los soldados del Presidio de las yslas Marianas con mas siete mill y setecientos pesos en Reales y dhas sinquenta y ocho piasas ban marcadas con la del marjen.*

—*sesenta piasas las quarenta y siete caxas[,] cinco barriles[,] un fardo[,] dos tercios[,] tres tercios de cacao[,] un tercio de costal y un cajon señalado con la marca del marjen todo perteneciente a los Padres misioneros de dhas islas Marianas.*

—*quarenta y cinco piasas[,] las veinte y siete caxas[,] tres cajones de jabon[,] dies tercios de miniestras[,] un fardo[,] tres tercios de suela y un tercio de cacao perteneziente a los Colexios de dichas Yslas Marianas marcado todo con la del marjen.*

—*Y las siete piasas restantes cumplimiento de las siete y setenta espresadas[,] las cinco caxas[,] un tercio y un barril perteneziente al Hermano Simon de Castro de la Compañia de Jesus que ba embarcado en dicho Galeon para dichas yslas Marianas sin marca y con el titulo de dicho Padre [sic] todo lo qual se oblige a entregar como ba expresado ensuso y bien acondicionado en dichas Yslas Marianas a los dichos Presidio[,] Padres misioneros y demas ynteresados.—*

Hasi mismo otorgo haver rezivido quarenta y nueve piasas[,] las quatro cajas y un tercio de cacao con la marca del marjen perteneziente al Colegio de la Compañia de Jesus de la Ciudad de Manila de las yslas Philipinas[,] dos tercios con la marca del marjen pertenezientes a la Provincia de la compañia de Jesus de dhas Yslas Philipinas y las demas al Padre Procurador general de ella con la marca del marjen compuestas de treinta y cinco caxas[,] un caxon[,] dos barriles y quatro tercios de cacao[,] de todas las quales dhas piasas se dio por entregado sobre que renunció leyes del no entrego [sic = de la entrega] y su prueba y las demas del caso con la General del derecho y lo firmo siendo testigos don Joseph de Trabudua[,] Andres de Artiaga y Antonio de Proa presentes:

Y hago mi signo en testimonio de verdad

Antonio Alfonso Ponze de Leon, escribano publico.

Translation.

Certificate of the manifest for the year 1697.—

Manifest of the Galleon San José in '97.

In the City and Port of Acapulco on the 24th of March 1697, Captain José de Aguirre, master of the Philippine galleon and flagship **San José**, commanded by General Miguel Martinez, that is about to make her return voyage to said Islands, acknowledged having received from Accountant Juan Martinez de Lejarriar(?), residing at this port, and to have on board, the following 170 pieces:

—44 boxes, 9 bundles, 3 half-loads of sole-leather, 2 half-loads of cacao, belonging to the soldiers of the Garrison of the Mariana Islands, plus 7,700 pesos in cash. Said 58 pieces are marked with the mark shown in margin.

(Facing page:) **Page from the manifest of the galleon San José in 1697.** It shows the standard shipping marks for the Mariana Islands.

—60 pieces[,] of which 47 boxes, 5 barrels, 1 bundle, 2 half-loads, 3 half-loads of cacao, 1 half-load of jute bags, and 1 crate, marked with the mark shown in margin, all belonging to the missionary Fathers in said Mariana Islands.

—45 pieces, of which 27 boxes, 3 crates of soap, 10 half-loads of dry peas and beans, 1 bundle, 3 half-loads of sole-leather, and 1 half-load of cacao, belonging to the Colleges of said Mariana Islands, all marked with the [mark] in margin.

—And the remaining 7 pieces, making up the above-mentioned 170, are: 5 boxes, 1 half-load and 1 barrel belonging to Brother Simon de Castro of the Society of Jesus who is going aboard said galleon to said Mariana Islands; they bear no mark other than the name of said Father [sic]; all of which he obliged himself to deliver in accordance with the above marks, and in good condition, at said Mariana Islands to said Garrison, missionary Fathers, and others concerned.—¹

Likewise, he acknowledged the receipt of 49 pieces, of which 4 boxes and 1 half-load of cacao, marked as shown in margin, belonging to the College of the Society of Jesus in the City of Manila in the Philippine Islands: 2 half-loads with the mark in margin belonging to the Province of the Society of Jesus in said Philippine Islands and the remainder to their Father Procurator General with the mark in margin, consisting of 35 boxes, 1 crate, 2 barrels and 4 half-loads of cacao, all of said pieces he acknowledged having received, and he swore to that effect, in accordance with the standard legal phrases, and he signed same, in the presence of the following witnesses: Don José de Trabudua, Andrés de Artiaga, and Antonio de Proa.

In faith whereof, I have placed my own signature,
Antonio Alfonso Ponce de León, notary public.

1 Ed. note: However, Br. Castro died at sea before he reached the Marianas (see Doc. 1697I).

Documents 1697F

Letter from Fr. Paul Clain [Klein] to Fr. General about the Caroline Islands, dated Manila 10 June 1697

Sources: Latin versions can be found at ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 333-344; at AGR Jesuits, Prov. Flandro-Belgique, Box #1431-1437; and at Strahov Library in Prague, under ms. DH IV 5(g). A Spanish version exists (see below). Also published in German, in Stöcklein's Welt-Bott II, n° 37; and also in French, in Fr. Le Gobien's Histoire (1700), pp. 395-410 and in his Lettres édifiantes, e.g. 1707 ed., vol. 1, p. 115+ and vol. 4, p. 672+; also in 1717 ed., pp. 112-136; also in 1781 ed., tome 15, pp. 196-213; etc. in many other editions.

Notes: This is probably the Latin report translated into French by Fr. Le Gobien and published by him in his "Lettres édifiantes" (Paris, Aimé Martin, 1707, vol. 4). Fr. Klein (his real name) was born in Steiermark, Austria, in 1646, joined the S.J. in 1664 and served most of his life in the Philippines. This is the narrative given by the Indians of the Caroline Islands in 1696 and 1697 to Fr. Francisco Prado when they drifted from their islands and landed at his parish in the town of Guiuan (Samar, Philippines). This information was recorded by Fr. Clain, who was then visiting Samar in 1697. His report was in turn presented to the King of Spain by Fr. Andrés Serrano in a memorial. For the King's reaction, see his letter to the Audiencia of Manila in 1704 (Doc. 1704D).

F1. Original version in Latin

Admodum Reverende in Chr[ist]o Pater Noster.

Navi quæ superioris anni litteras meas, ad A[dmodum] R[everentiam] P[atrem] V[estram] ferebat, hinc digressa, advenit quæ ex Nova Hispania expectabatur; tulitque A.R.P.V. litteras, quibus me Novi hujus Provinciæ Præsidis R.P. Antonini Tuccio, natione siculi socium esse jubet. Cum eo ergo Provinciæ visitandæ intentus, eam illius partem quam Pictorum Regionem vocant peragravi. Insulis tota constat præ grandibus, ex quarum una, ad aliam per maria magnis fluxibus et refluxibus obnoxia, navigatur. In his septuaginta septem Christianorum millibus, in his, quæ salutem eorum concernunt procurandis, quadraginta et unus Sacerdotes nostri præsunt, cum duobus Fratribus, qui temporalium curam habent. Fateor tenerrimo me commiserationis sensu in Oppidis singulis affectum fuisse, pauperulorum Indorum statum considerantem quorum ad huc multi cum æternæ suæ salutis periculo, sacramentis Ecclesiæ minime pro-

curati decedunt, ob Sacerdotum videlicet paucitatem, quorum plurimi binis Oppidis præfecti, dum ad unum, salutis incolarum causa accedunt, in altero miselli Sacerdotis præsentia, ob distantiam destituti, inexpiati morte abripuiuntur. Quem quidem affectum auxit adhuc aliorum plurimorum, in Insulis Latronum [quæ Pais vocant] quidem vicinis, sine tamen aliquo cum eis commercio agentium, hoc demum anno [evidentius comperta destitutio. Resita se habuit. Dum Provinciam cum Provinciali ut dixi] visitando obiremus, ecce tibi in ultimo ac Australiore Insulæ Pictorum orientaliorum, quam Samal [= Samar] vocant, oppido Guivan vocato viginti novem Palao (ita gentem vocant) reperimus, quos ventorum Orientalium, quos brisas vocant, a mense Decembri usque ad Majum hic magno impetu maria occupantium vehementia trecentas ipsas leucas ab insulis suis abreptos in prædictum insulæ Samal Oppidum, duobus phaselis seu naviculis minoribus, quas hic paraos vocant, vectos, ejecerat. Casum ita accidisse referunt: ex una, in aliam suarum insularum proficiscebantur personæ omnino quinque supra triginta (qua de causa, ipsi adhuc utpote linguæ hujatis ignari non explicant) cum repente obortus ventus validior, accessum ad Insulam quam petebant, imo reliquas omnes confines denegavit. Itaque in altum abrepti frustra multoties terram repetere, frustra aliquod notorum sibi littorum Insularumve accedere enixi sunt. Septuaginta ipsis diebus, ultro citroque ventis jactantibus, et accessum negantibus inutili labore consumptis, donec tandem omni jam Insularum suarum consequendarum spe, et cibo potuque penitus destituti, ac macie prope jam consumpti, vento se permittere, et ad terram, quæque demum in occidente occurreret appellere statuerunt: cum ecce in conspectum veniunt, illius quam dixi Insulæ: Oppido Guivan adverso littori accedentes et ab incolarum Oppidi uno, in ripa maris stante conspiciuntur, qui statim ex navicularum factura, hic plane non usitatarum, quid reseset suspicatus canalem seu sinum maris quo syrtis et breviam quæ recto cursu petebant, declinarent, manu linteoque indicabat. Sed illo vix conspecto, pavoræ ingenti occupati miselli altum repetere cœperunt, mox tamen vento adverso versus littora iterum appulsi; cumque iterato viam syrtibus declinandis homo signis commonstravit, altero adhuc conatu in altum regredi commisi sunt; sed frustra; vento viam regrediendi omnem intercludente. Itaque ubi littori proximiores facti sunt, nec tamen viam quam spectator indicabat capiebant, manifesto in breviam impingendi periculo, mari se Guivananus commisit, natatuque ad navicularum alteram tetendit, viam brevibus evadendis Gubernator ostensurus. Sed vix ad naviculam pervenerat, cum quotquot ea vehebantur viri aque ac mulieres infantulis onustæ in mare se projecerunt, et ad reliquam naviculam adnatarunt, unum sibi ignotum hominem fugentes: qui ubi se solum in navicula vidit, natatu fugientes secutus, et jam in secundam naviculam ascendens, eam versus sinum brevibus immunem dirigere cœpit, vectoribus antiquis jam nihil moventibus, seque jam tanquam captos victoris arbitrio permittentibus.

Ita eos securo tramite ad littus advexit ipso die SS. Innocentium 1696 navique exscendentes, ipse, et qui accurrerant incolæ, vino, ciboque oblato refocillare aggressus est. Et palmarum quidem Hujatium (quas coccas vocant) fructus, qui cibum castanearum fere carne similem sed oleosorem, simulque potum abundantem aquæ saccharo

*dulcoratæ similem præbent, avidissime sumpserunt, sed orizam aquam elixam (quam hic, ac tota Asia panis loco est) admirabundi inspexerunt, granaque singula scorsim arrepta intuentes, mox abjecerunt, quod vermiculorum genus quoddam esse falso crederent: ubi vero radices majores, quas **palavan** vocant, ari illic radicibus similes, sed prægrandes, allatæ sunt, ibi vero gaudio tripudiabant, avidissimeque sese eis explebant.*

Interim advocatæ fuerunt mulieres duæ, similiter olim ventorum vehementiæ in Oppidum idem appulsæ, quæ interpretes agerent, quod jam linguæ Hujatis aliquantum gnaræ essent, per quas ea demum quæ inferius dicam declararunt. Earum alteram mox ex indiciis quæ eis præbuit cognatam suam agnoscentes, illacrimati sunt. Re tota ad unum ex nostris Patribus, qui Oppidi Guivan curam habet, delatam, eos in Oppidum, ac mox ad se adduci jussit, in cujus conspectum simul ac venerunt, humi se omnes prostraverunt, ex reverentia qua Oppidani cum Patre loquebantur, Regem eum totius Oppidi, e cujus nutu vita sorsque imposterum sua penderet, æstimantes, vitam nimirum ac misericordiam ea corporis prosternatione orantes. Sed ille misellorum afflictione tenerius commotus vicissim blanditiis parvulos (qui octo omnino erant, tresque ex eis adhuc ex matrum uberibus pendentes) animare, cæterisque omnem opem auxiliumque, et quæ eis necessaria essent offerendo, omnes consolari adnixus est. Oppidani vero certatim a Patre petere, ut eos in domos suas adducere, deque necessariis ad victum vestitumque eis providere, imo constanter eos domi suæ habere, eorumque curam agere sibi liceret; quod ea demum lege eis Pater concessit, ut non singulos, sed binos, qui aliquem percuperet haberet; ne soli, ac sinæ linguæ periti consortio agentes, mæstitia tabescerent. Ac qui matrimonio juncti erant, ut erant aliqui, ab invicem ne abstraherentur.

*Triginta omnino supererant: nam 5 cibi inopia ac navigationis tam prolixæ malis reliquis, in mari defuncti fuerant, quibus aliquot ab eorum appulsu diebus senex alius accessit, in ipso Oppido Guivan mortuus, prius tamen sacris Baptismi aquis ablutus. Narrant ergo isti, Insulas ex quibus oriundi sunt, esse numero 32 quas quidem a Marianis non longe distare, navicularum quibus advecti sunt similitudo, velorumque quibus utuntur uniformitas, ostendit. Australiores vero esse et circa decimum aut undecimum latitudinis Borealis gradum sitas, inde colligitur, quod recto ipsi cursu ab oriente in occidentem delati sunt, cumque in Oppido Guivan contermino appulerint, sub eodem cum illo Oppido parallelo sitas esse conjicitur. Insuper earum unam esse eam, quam annis superioribus navis Philippinica ab ordinario sub cursu (qui sub parallelo 13 gradus est ab oriente in occidentem) inter Austrum occidentemque deflectens, a longe conspexit, numquam alias visum ac proinde ab aliis **Insulam Carolinam**, ab aliis **D. Barnabæ**, a Regis nostri cujus auspiciis et **D. Apostoli** cujus festo die conspecta est, glorioso nomine appellatum: moxque iterum anno ipso elapso 1696 navis hinc in **Insulas Latronum** profecta, et tempestatis via cursu suo abrepta conspicata fuit. Eam ac reliquas si quæ forte ei conterminæ essent, multoties Insularum harum Gubernator perquiri, a nave annis fere singulis in Marianas tendente jusserat, sed fructra. Deo nimirum illarum gentium manifestationem, ac ut speramus in brevi futuram conversionem ad hæc usque tempora reservante.*

Ex 32 insulis solas tres hominum habitatione destitutas, volucrum solum nidificatione servire dicunt, reliquas incolis omnino numerosis refertas, quorum de numero, si interrogentur, arenæ aut pulveris cumulum manu arripiunt, ostenduntque; tantam esse hominum multitudinem indicare volentes. Earum nomina, esse aiunt: Pais. Lamululutup. Saraon. Yaoropie. Valayyay. Satavan. Cutac. Yfaluc. Piraulap. Yati, Pic. Piga. Lamurrec. Puc. Falait. Caruvaruvong. Ylatu. Lamuliur. Taras, Saypen. Tacaulap. Rapiyang. Tavon. Mutucusau. Piyalu. Olotan. Palu. Cucumiyat. Piyalucumung. Quæ solis vero volucris habitatae sunt, has: Piculat. Hulatant, Tagyan.¹

Omnium Principem Insulam esse dicunt Lamurrec, ubi nimirum Insularum omnium Rex habitet, cui Pagorum omnium præsidis subjecti sunt. Horum ergo unus cum uxore sua, quæ Regis filia est, huc appulit, et ambo quamvis semi nudi, aspectu tamen suo, agendique modo, nobilitatem suam faciunt manifestam. Vir toto corpore [variis] pictus est lineis, figuras varias formantibus, viri alii raris tantum hinc inde lineis, pluribus alii, alii paucioribus; fæminæ, puerique nullis. Ex 29 enim qui superstites sunt, 19 ipsi sunt masculi, decem fæminæ, infantes omnino tres. Ætas eorum varia, alii senes, alii juvenes, alii mediæ ætatis. Aspectus et faciei color non valde ab Hujatibus incolis discrepans. Vestiendi modus in viris, subligaculum seu leve ad renes et partes corporis verecundiores præcinctorium, fasciæ modo ventri et cruribus hinc inde circumligatum, et sesqui ulna linteæ grossioris, vel aperto in medio foraminæ capiti immittendo adaptato, ante ac retro defluens, vel adductis parte anteriori ac colligatis extremitatibus temere a tergo dependens. Idem quo ad humeros et pectus fæminis thorax, sed acinctura ad genua linteum paulo longius aliquoties (bis vel ter) ventri ac femoribus circumductum. Idioma omnino ab Hujatibus idiomaticis, imo et ab eo quod Marianis Insulis familiare est, distinctum, aliquatenus tamen in pronunciandi modo Arabico persimile. Quæ reliquarum Princeps est fæmina, annulos, collique ornamenta varia gerit, alia e testudinis corio (hic Carey vocant) alia ex ignota nobis materia, succino flavo aliquantum persimili, sed minime transparente.

Modus quo in mari victum sibi ipsis 70 diebus parabant iste erat [:] corbem quondam ex lignellis rariusculis, funiculis quibusdam in cancellorum modum inter se colligatis confectum, orificio, ex amplo in angustum desinente (qui nimirum piscibus ingrediendi facultatem concederet, egrediendi vero adimeret) in mare ex naviculis demittebant, piscesque sponte ingressos eximebant, edebantque aquam vero pluviis e Cælo cadentem corticibus coccorum (quos palmæ Hujatis fructus dixi) humani cranii figura ac magnitudine, excipiebant bibebantque. Nullas suis in Insulis vaccas habent, adeoque conspectis iis quæ in Oppido herbam passim carpebant, fuga sese proripere parabant, uti et ad caniculæ quæ in Patris nostris domo erat latratum; nullas quoque norunt feles, cervos nullos, equos, nulla in universum animalia terrestria: quin et aves,

1 Ed. note: The rendering of the sounds in the names of these Caroline islands are only approximate; the proof of this is that the names of three of the islands are repeated, but written differently the second time.

si gallinas tantum (quarum tamen ovis non vescuntur, licet vescantur, gallinis) excipias et aves quasdam maritimas piscatrices. In tanta rerum omnium inopia hilares sunt, suaque sorte contenti, quin et suos habent cantandi ac tripudiandi modos, non prorsus omnis artificii expertes, tantum enim, artificiosis manuum brachiorumque motibus, in omnibus simul una cantantibus, seu toto choro, uniformibus associant, non equidem inconcinne, sed tamen barbare seu rustice. Magna eos tenet admiratio civilitatis, ac politiæ Europææ [sic], rerumque nostratium omnium, utpote illis incognitarum, non modo rituum Ecclesiasticorum, ac ejus qua sacra ac divina Officia peraguntur Majestatis, sed etiam aliorum, v. g. modo nostratium musicorum incantando, saltando, ac aliis hujusmodi Hispanis usitatis, sed præsertim armorum bellicorum, et pulveris pyrii, instrumentorumque ipsorum præsertim psalterijs imo et coloris Europæorum omnino candidi, nam ipsi et Hujatis subfusci sunt.

*Nullam, quod hactenus ex eis elicere licuit, Dei habent claram cognitionem, nulla Idola quæ aliquem cultum eis dando adoraverint, nihil denique præter vitam omnino barbaram, cibo et potui quærendo intentam, nisi quod Regi et pagorum Præsilibus magnam habeant venerationem promptique omnino obediant. Nullas etiam habent statas edendi ac bebendi horas, sed ubi aliquid osculenti poculenti inveniunt, si fament sitiuntque, comedunt ac bibunt, sed parum quavis vice: neque enim una aut duabus comestionibus toti diei provident. Venerationis ac officii genus, eis familiare est, arrepta ejus quem venerantur manu aut pede faciem sibi totam ea velut perungere, suaviter videlicet per faciem totam circumducendo. Inter pauperrimam supellectilem suam, attulerant ascias quasdam non ex ferro, sed ex prægrandi conchilio, quod hic **taclobo** vocant fabricatas, et affricu ad lapides quosdam exacuatatas, unamque solam e ferro, sedque unius digiti majoris magnitudinem non excederet; cumque hic instrumentorum lignariæ artis multitudinem, occasionæ onerariæ quæ in Oppido fabricabatur conspexissent, magno stupore affecti sunt, singula seorsim studiosissime inspicientes, adeo etiam metalla eis negavit avara tellus. Cum vero Pater noster singulis ferri portionem sat grandem dedisset, magno nimirum gaudio id exceperunt, quasi tantumdem eis auri largitus esset: adeo ut ubi ad somnum capiendum se componebant, capiti eas substernerent, ne forte dormientibus furtim auferrentur.*

Armorum genus aliud nesciunt quam lanceas ex humanis ossibus confectas, suntque se ipsis valde pacifici, et a rixis alieni, quod si tamen a jurgiis ad amplius quid rixa inter eos excrescat, pugnis tantum capiti adversarij impactis se vindicant, aut capillis invicem vulsis, quod tamen rarius fit, ajunt enim statim accedere alios, qui rixantes componant ac in amicitiam reducant. Nec tamen stupidi sunt aut hebetes, sed genij lætioris ac vivacis. Nec etiam corpulenti (quales Marianarum incolæ) sed bene proportionati ut Hujates. Capillum alunt æque ac mulieres, pariterque utriusque a capite in humeros defluere sinunt. Ubi in Patris nostri conspectum adducendos se audierunt colore quodam flavissimo se totos pinxerunt, quod nimirum id venustatis quoddam genus inter eos videatur: Equidem rerum hic ad victum, vestitumque abunde suppetentium copiam, adeo capti sunt, ut sponte se obtulerint ad regrediendum in patriam aliosque Insulanos suos huc attrahendum, communicationemque inter has et illas Insulas stabiliendam.

Et negotio plurimum operæ collaturus videtur Insularum harum Gubernator, eo etiam fine, ut regionem illam Regis nostri imperio adjungat, quod si fiat, sane quantum fidei reique Christianæ propaganda ostium patebit! Eorum senior jam alias in Caragam, unam ex Insularum harum Provinciis vento ejectus, sed in infideles tantum montium, desertarumque littorum incolas incidens, nihilque de Provinciarum harum abundantia edoctus, in patriam remearerat, et nunc huc feliciore sorte allatus est. Parvuli jam Baptismo Sacramento abluti sunt. Reliqui fidei mysteria ediscunt. Sunt peritissimi urinatores, nuperque piscando duas gemmas grandes e conchilijs extraxisse dicuntur, sed ignorantia valoris et pretij eas in mare abjecisse.

Hæc ideo ad P. V. scribo, ut novem sibi ac Filiis suis Divinæ gloriæ propagandæ ostium apertum gratulitur, quique tantis laboribus sufficiant socios submittere non omitat. Cæterum me Sanctissimis A.R.P. V. Sacrificiis Paternoque affectu commendo.

Manilæ 10 June 1697.

Admodum Rdæ Pat[ernitati]s Vestræ

Servus et filius in Chr[ist]o,

Paulus Clain.

F2. Official version in Spanish, edited by Fr. Andrés Serrano

Sources: AGI Fil. 215, formerly 69-5-29; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 4. Published in Madrid in 1705 (see Doc. 1705I) as Chapters I & II of Fr. Serrano's Breve Noticia, and in appendix to his book: Los Siete Principes, which is available at BNM, under book numbers R35966, R33192.

Note: This version is to be compared with the later version done at Manila (Doc. 1709A6).

Original text in Spanish.

M[uy] R[everendo] P[adre] N[uestro].

Ya avia partido de aqui la navegacion que llevaba las cartas que escribí à Vuestra Paternidad el año passado quando llegò de la Nueva España la otra que se esperaba y traía el horden de V[uestra] P[aternidad] que me mandaba fuese compañero del nuevo Provincial, de esta Provincia Padre Antonio Tuccio[,] Siciliano; y haciendo con él la visita de nuestras Casas, anduve todo el país, que en español se llama de los Pintados compuestos de grandes Islas apartadas unas de otras con diversos estrechos de mar, en que suelen correr las aguas, y sus flujo y refluxo hacen la navegacion dificil, y peligrosa en estas Islas son setenta y siete mil los Christianos, que estan al cuydado y enseñanza de quarenta y un Misioneros de nuestra Compañia, con dos de nuestros hermanos, que cuydan de lo temporal.

No puedo explicar con palabras quanta fue mi compassion y ternura à vista de estos pobres Indios, muchos de los quales mueren sin recibir los Sacramentos de la Iglesia, no sin evidente peligro de su salud eterna, por falta de sacerdotes, que les asistan, y socorran en sus enfermedades: porque la mayor parte de los nuestros tienen cuidado à un mismo tiempo de muchos pueblos entre sí distantes, de donde nace que mientras en un lugar exercitan sus Ministerios no pueden acudir à los que mueren en otro.

Pero mucho mayor fue mi dolor, y lastima, con la noticia que tuvimos de otras muchas tierras, y pueblos de Indios totalmente desamparados, que habitan las Islas llamadas Pais [sic]; las quales aunque no distan[tes] de las Yslas Marianas, con todo esso no tienen con ellas comunicacion alguna. La noticia de estas Islas y de sus pueblos, la tuvimos de esta manera.

Haziendo la visita con el Padre Provincial, como dixé arriba à V.P., llegamos al Pueblo de Guiguan en la Isla de Samar, ultima, y la más meridional de los Pintados Orientales. Aqui hallamos veinte y nueve Indios naturales de estas nuevas Islas, trasportados de la fuerza de los vientos de Levante, que llaman Brisas, y reinan en estos mares desde el mes de Diciembre, hasta el de Mayo. Arribaron aqui en dos pequeñas embarcaciones, ó canoas, que llaman Paraos (de donde han tomado los Indios la [de]nominacion)¹ y contaron en esta substancia el suceso de su benida.

Avianse embarcado en numero de treinta y cinco personas para pasar à una Ysla vecina, y poco despues se levantó un viento furioso, con el qual, no pudiendo coger la Isla à que iban, ni otra de los vecinas, fueron arrebatados y llevados à alta mar y aunque se esforzaron mucho por tomar tierra, donde pudiesen ser conocidos, no fue posible y se dexaron llevar por setenta dias, navegando à la discrecion de los vientos. Ultimamente, perdida toda esperanza de poder volver à su tierra, y viendose ya acosados, y medio muertos de [la] hambre, por haverles faltado que comer y beber, se resolvieron de seguir el [rumbo del] viento, para buscar puerto en la primera Isla que encontraran en la parte del Occidente.

Apenas tomaron esta resolucion, quando en breve tiempo se hallaron à vista de Guiguan. Hallabase en la ocasion en la ribera del mar un Indio de este Pueblo, que luego les descubrio de lexos, y jugando por la forma de sus embarcaciones, que eran de extraña región, y que andaban perdidos, tomando en la mano un pañuelo, les hizo señas, para que entrasen en el Puerto por la parte que les mostraba porque no diesen en unos escollos, que tenian vezinos [en] que podían peligrar. Pero aquella pobre gente quedó tan espantada de ver aquel hombre, de ellos no conocido, y de la señal para ellos no acostumbrada, con que les llamaba, que poseidos del miedo, comenzaba à volver la vela para irse la mar afuera: Si bien el viento recio y contrario à su designio, siempre los tiraba acia tierra. Bolbió el Indio de Guiguan à mostrarles con señas el camino que debían seguir, para no dar en los escollos: mas ellos no entendiendo las señas, se aturdian(?) más y trataban de la fuga; lo cual conocido, el alentado Indio se arrojó al mar, y à nado tirò acia unas de las dos embarcaciones para servir à ambas de guía y piloto. Logró el intento y arribò en esta forma à una de las dichas embarcaciones, mas la gente que estaba dentro de ella se espantò de modo del ánimo del Indio, que toda, sin quedar persona, se arrojò luego al agua, hasta las mujeres con los niños, que traían à sus pechos, y nadando se fueron huyendo à la otra embarcacion, donde estaban sus com-

1 Ed. note: The author makes an error in interpretation; “parao”, or its variant, means a canoe in most Malay-type languages, but has nothing to do with the name of the Palau Islands, whom name is derived a root crop.

pañeros. Mas el Guiguano puesto en la canoa abandonada, siguió promptamente à los fugitivos hasta darles alcance y sosegados de la pasada turbacion se dexaron gobernar y guiar de él, hasta tomar tierra no ya como libres, sino como si fueran sus prisioneros.

*De esta manera entraron en la playa de Guiguán el día de los Sanctos Innocentes veinte y ocho de Diciembre del año de mill seiscientos y noventa y seis y luego que se supo en el Pueblo acudió toda la gente de él à ver à los forasteros. Traxeron al punto un refresco de cosas comestibles, y vino, y haviendoselo puesto delante, lo recibieron con muestras de agradecimiento, y comieron y bebieron con grandes ansias, especialmente del fruto de la palma, de que hacen una vianda semejante à las castañas y una bebida muy sabrosa y dulce, algo semejante al [oxi-]miel. Y al contrario, dandoles arroz cosido en agua (que es pan comun de estos asiáticos) lo miraban como atónitos; y tomándolo despues en la mano, y observandolo grano à grano, lo arrojaban con horror, juzgando que cada grano de él fuese un pequeño gusano. Cuando vieron que despues les trajeron algunas raizes, que llaman **Palavan**, semejantes à los que ellos comen, se alegraron notablemente y empezaron à comer de ellas con gran priessa, hasta quedar del todo satisfechos.*

En este interin fueron à llamar dos mujeres (que en otro tiempo y con semejante accidente arribaron à estas partes) à fin de que sirviesen de ynterpretes, por ser ya prácticas en la lengua del país; y por su medio se entendieron las particularidades, que aqui diré. Una de estas mujeres, por ciertas señas y indicios, que dió, fue conocida por parienta de uno de estos Ysleños desgarrados, lo qual causo en todo ellos mucha ternura, y lagrimas.

Aviendo sido avisado de todo este suceso uno de nuestros Padres que tenia el cuidado del Pueblo y Mision de Guiguán, dispuso que los llevasen à su casa; y luego que llegaron à su presencia se echaron todos por tierra movidos de respecto, y reverencia con que vieron hablar con él à los naturales del Pueblo, creyendo que era el Rey de quien la fortuna de todos los Indios de aquella tierra dependía; y con este acto de submission, y obsequio pretendian de él alcanzar misericordia. El Padre enternecido grandemente de su miseria y trabajo, empezó primero à alcanzar à los niños que eran ocho, y los tres aun de leche; despues se puso à consolar à los demás y à animarlos, ofreciéndoles todo lo que hubieran menester. En estos se empezó una gustosissima porfía entre los habitantes de Guiguán, pidiendo cada uno con ynstancia llevarlos à su propia casa para proveerlos de comida, y vestido y de lo demas necesario para la vida. Y tuvo fin esta porfía con un medio, y fue señalarles à los que hacian instancia, dos à cada uno, por haver discurrido el Padre, que estarian mejor acompañados y más contentos, assi por la comunicacion, y habla de una misma lengua, como tambien por ser algunos de ellos casados, y traer consigo sus mujeres.

Abianse reducidos estos Ysleños à solo treinta; porque cinco, consumidos del trabajo, y falta de alimentos de tan larga navegacion, avian muerto en la mar. Y uno de mucha edad despues de algunos días de aver tomado tierra, passó à mejor vida, instruido bastantente en las cosas de nuestra Sancta fee, y bautisado.

Y llegando à tratar de las cosas de su país, dixeron que constava de treinta y dos Yslas (aunque despues en el Mapa que formaron à su modo, señalando las Yslas con piedrecillas, pusieron muchas mas) las quales parecen no estar muy distantes de las Marianas, según se puede juzgar por la estructura, ó fábrica de sus pequeñas embarcaciones, y por la forma de su vela, que es muy semejante à la de las Marianas, y por la forma de su vela, que es muy semejante à la de las Marianas.

*Tambien parece que estas Yslas sean mas Australes que las Marianas, à onze ó doze grados de latitud septentrional, y debaxo del mismo paralelo que Guiguan, estos estrangeros viniendo derechos de oriente à occidente, llegaron à la playa de este Pueblo mismo. Assi mismo es creible ser una de estas Yslas, la que descubrio de lexos el año de mill seiscientos ochenta y seis un navio de Philipinas, aviendo dexado el rumbo ordinario, que es de el leste à oeste del baxo del decimo tercio paralelo y aviendo declinado un poco acia el sudueste, la descubrió la primera vez y algunos llamaron esta Isla, **la Carolina**, por el nombre del Rey Carlos Segundo, y otros San Barnabé por haver sido descubierta el dia que la Iglesia celebra la fiesta de este Apostol. Esta misma Ysla fue tambien vista el año de mill seiscientos y noventa y seis de una nave que partio de aqui acia las Yslas Marianas, y una recia tempestad la extraviò de su camino.*

El Governador de Philipinas diò muchas vezes orden al navio que va casi todos los años à las Marianas de buscar esta Isla, y las otras, que se cree ser circunvecinas, mas este orden fue siempre en vano, y sin execucion, reservando Dios à este tiempo el descubrimiento de todas estas Yslas, y como nosotros esperamos, la entera conversion de sus Pueblos. Añaden estos Isleños, que entre estas treinta y dos Islas, ay tres que no son havitadas sino de aves; mas, que la demas son extrañamente pobladas; y preguntando quan grande seria el numero de sus habitadores, respondian tomando en la mano puñados de arena para significar la multitud innumerable de ellos.

*Los nombres de estas Yslas segun dixeron (aunque despues variaron en el Mapa que formaron segun su fantasía) son: **Pais, Lamululutup, Sarao[n], Yaoropic, Valayiai, Satavan, Cutac, Yfaluc, Piraulop, Yetai [or Ytay], Pic, Piga, Lamurec, Puc, Falait, Cazavaruvong, Ylatu[m], Lamuliur, Favas [Taras?], Saypen [or Soypen], Faculap [Taculap?], Rapiyang, Favon [Tavon?], Muta, Cusau [or Mutucusau?], Piylu, Olatan, Palu, Cucumyat, Piga Lueunung [or Piyalucunung].** Las tres que no son habitadas, sino de pajaros, son: **Piculat, Hulatan, Tagyan.***

La principal en dignidad de todas estas Yslas se llama Lamurec, y en esta tiene su corte el rey, que domina à todas, à quien están sugetos los Governadores, ó Cavos de cada una de ellas. Entre los treinta Indios susodichos avia uno de estos Governadores con su mujer, la qual era hija del Rey; y aunque medio desnudos mostraban en su porte un ayre de grandeza, y señorío con que se daban à conocer y respetar entre los demás; el marido tenía el cuerpo pintado de ciertas lineas que forman diversas figuras; y los demás hombres tenían tambien semejantes pinturas, quien más y quien menos; mas las mujeres y los niños no tenían nada de esto.

Entre estos avían dies y nueve hombres y dies mujeres de diferentes edades. El semblante y color muy semejante al de los naturales de Philipinas. Los hombres no tienen

otro havito, que una especie de señor con que cubren desde los lomos, hasta arriba de las rodillas, y dan con él algunas bueltas à la cintura. Sobre las espaldas llevan más de braza y media de tela gruesa; de la cual hacen una forma de capucho con que cubren la cabeza y dexan pender negligentemente acia las mismas espaldas. Los hombres y las mujeres usan casi un mesmo género de vestido; y sola la diferencia està en que las mujeres llevan un paño algo mas largo que descende desde la cintura hasta las rodillas.

Su lengua es diferente de la de Philipinas, y Marianas. La manera de pronunciar es avecina à la de los Arabes. La mujer que parecía la mas principal, traía muchos anillos en los dedos, y adornos en la garganta, como collares, y gargantillas, algunas de concha de tortuga, que llaman Carey, y otras de otra materia, que no conocemos, algo semejante al Ambar gris, aunque no es transparente.

El modo con que se sustentaron los setenta dias que estuvieron en la mar à la discreción de los vientos, fué de esta forma. Echaban en la mar una especie de nasa, hecha de muchas ramas de arbol bien amarradas: esta nasa tenia una grande apertura, ó boca ancha, para que entrase facilmente los pezes y se iban estrechando, de suerte que una vez dentro no podian ya salir. Y con este pescado se alimentaban aunque crudo; y para beber recogian del agua que caía del cielo en el casta de fruta, que llaman coco, que lo es de la palma de esta tierra y de la figura y grandeza de una calabera de hombre.

En todas las dichas Yslas no ay bacas, y luego que vieron una que pacía yerba, quedaron tan espatados que se pusieron à [h]uir y lo mismo hicieron al oyr ladrar à un perrillo en la casa del Padre. Tampoco saben lo que sea gato, ciervo, cavallo, ni otro animal quadrúpedo; ni conocen otras aves del aire que las que suelen volar sobre la mar, y cogen sus pezes; pero tienen pollos, y gallinas, de los quales se alimentan; pero no comen sus huevos. Y con tanta penuria de las cosas necesarias para la vida, no obstante viven alegres y contentos de su suerte. Usan del canto y danzas bien ordenadas; cantan todos juntos, y hacen los mismos gestos, y movimientos con bastante proporcion, y harmonia. Quedaron admirados del Gobierno y Política de los Europeos; de las quales no tenían conocimiento alguno. Admiran tambien, no solo la magestuosa gravedad de las ceremonias y ritos eclesiásticos en celebrar los officios divinos, mas tambien la música, los instrumentos y danzas de los Españoles, las armas que usan, y sobre todo las de fuego, y el efecto y actividad de la pólvora. Assi mismo admiran la blancura de los Europeos, porque ellos son todos de color bazo, y tostados del Sol, como los naturales de Philipinas.

Hasta aora no hemos conocido, que tengan alguna noticia de la Divinidad, ni que adoren Idolos; sino que su modo de vida es del todo bárbaro, que solo atienden à comer y beber, en que ponen todo su estudio. Tienen un gran respeto à su Rey y à los Cavos superiores de sus Poblaciones, y les obedecen con grande puntualidad y exacción. No tienen hora señalada para su comida; comen y beben en qualquier tiempo y en qualquier lugar, quando tienen hambre y sed, y hallan cosa que les agrade; ma comen poco por cada vez, y nunca de modo que baste para mantenerlos por un dia entero. Tienen sus términos de cortesia y urbanidad, que consiste en tomar la mano, ó el pie de aquel à quien pretenden honrar, y con la misma mano se tocan levemente la cara; tenían entre

*sus pobres alhajas algunas pequeñas sierras [rather hachas] no de hierro sino de la concha del **Taclobo**, que es una especie de Tortuga grande del mar, la qual agusan sobre piedras para hazer de ellas semejantes ynstrumentos. Tambien tenían una de hierro de la largura de un dedo, y con ocasion que en este Puerto se hazia una embarcacion grande de carga; quedaron muy admirados cuando vieron tanta suerte y multitud de ynstrumentos de hierro, observandolos cada uno de por sí con particular atención, por no tener metadas en su país.*

El Padre Misionero hizo dar à cada uno un pedazo de hierro, y lo recibieron con tan extraordinario contento, como si fuese un alhaja preciosa; y cuando dormian se los ponian de cavezera por miedo de que no se lo hurtasen. No tienen uso de otras armas, que las lanzas hechas de hueso humano. Son de natural pacífico, y rara vez riñen entre sí, y quando alguna nez se enojan, se compone presto la pendencia dándose algunos golpes con la mano sobre la caveza, y las mas vezes suele mediar alguno que facilmente los pacífica lo qual no obstante no se puede decir, que sean de genio frio, floxo ó melancálico; antes son vivaces y briosos. De cuerpo son bien proporcionados, y en el talle semejantes à los Philipinos, y no tan gruesos como los de Marianas. Los hombres y las mujeres dexan crecer sus cavellos que les cae sobre las espaldas con donayre. Cuando vieron estos Indios que los querian llevar à la presencia del Padre se pintaron todos sus cuerpos de un color amarillo que virve, entre ellos de gala para el público.

En suma, se han enamorado tanto de nuestro modo de vivir, vestir y abundancia de todo, que se han ofrecido de su propia voluntad de volver à su Patria para traer otros à fin, de que se entable un perpetuo comercio y correspondencia. Y nuestro Governador ha prometido cooperar à ello con todo empeño; no solo por aumentar estados à su Magestad mas tambien por abrir esta gran puerta à la dilatación de la fee Cathálica. El más viejo de estos Indios, fue en otra ocasion arrojado de los vientos à las costas y Provincia de Caraga, una de nuestras Islas y dio en manos de los gentiles, havitadores de los Montes, de quienes no pudo tener noticia de la abundancia y riqueza de estas Islas, y se volvió à su país; del qual ha vuelto otra vez al nuestro con harta mayor fortuna. Ya se han Baupuzado los niños, y los otros se van ynstruyendo en los misterios de nuestra Sancta Fee. Son valientes nadadores; y dixeron que no ha mucho, uno de ellos cogió dos grandes perlas del fondo del mar, cubiertas con sus conchas y despues la arrojó al mismo mar, por no conocer el valor de ellas.

Todo esto he escrito à V.P. persuadido del grande gusto que recibirá de nueva tan ventajosa para los hijos de V.P. que no tendrán la suerte de llevar la luz del evangelio à esta tan dilatada región, y nuevo país. Esta nuestra Provincia tiene necesidad grande de operarios para emprender tan grande empresa. Esperamos que V.P. nos consolará enviando muchos. Concluyo, rogando à V.P. no se olvide de nosotros en sus Sanctos Sacrificios, &c.

Explicacion del Mapa de estas Islas, y de algunas dudas, y otras noticias, que se dieron à N.M.S.P. Clemente XI.

La Carta Geographica de estas Islas, contienen [sic] ochenta y siete de diversos tamaños; de las quales dieron razon los Indios de quienes se habla arriba; y las señalaron con sus nombres, segun parece por dicha Carta. Y para significar la diferencia, que avia en grandeza de unas à otras Islas, usaron de piedras, unas pequeñas, y otras mayores, puestas en tierra, segun la situacion, que concibieron en su phantasia tener en la mar dichas Islas. Y aunque es verdad, que antes de aver hecho riguroso examen de las Islas, de que tenian conocimiento, solamente nombraron treinta y dos, que son las que refiere la relacion, que se puso en el capitulo I. Mas despues de recapitada bien la memoria, nombraron, y señalaron hasta ochenta y siete, testificando aver estado, y visto todas dichas Islas; y añadieron aver otras mas Islas; pero que por no aver estado en ellas, no las ponian en cuenta. De donde por ventura nació la discrepancia entre algunos nombres, que estan en el Mapa, y los que estan en la sobredicha relacion, confundiendo los de las unas Islas con los de las otras; y quizás poniendo algunos nombres de las otras Islas, de que tenian sola noticia, à la que vieron, y en que estuvieron. Lo qual tambien se puede atribuir à la rusticidad, y poca memoria, que comunmente tienen los Indios. Y pues consta de la realidad de las Islas, lo demas sera question de solo nombre, que no haze al caso.

Asimismo refirieron los Indios sobredichos, que saliendo una Fragata, ò qualquiera otra Embarcacion ligera de la punta de Guiguan, y governandose al Leste quarta al Sudeste [rather Sudeste], en tres dias de camino se descubre la primera Isla del Mapa, que es la de la letra A, la qual tiene 30 dias de Boxeo, o rodeo en sus ligeras Embarcaciones, y con viento favorable. La Isla, que tiene la letra B, es la propia de estos Indios. La Isla, de donde salieron, quando se desgaritaron, y arrebatò el viento, queriendo volver à la suya, tiene la letra C. La Isla donde vive el Rey (que es la que tiene la letra D) tiene dos nombres, que son: Falu, ò Lamurec. El numero, que està entre Isla, y Isla, significa los dias, que son menester para atravesar de una Isla à otra. Pero el numero, que està en medio de cada una de ellas, denota los dias que se gastan en boxearlas.

Mas de diez y ocho años antes de la venida, y arribo de estos Indios (que sucedió el año de 1696) avian venido, y arribado tambien otros muchos Indios, naturales de las mismas Islas, arrojados de los vientos; de los quales unos fueron à parar à las Costas de Caraga, que es en la Isla de la Mindanao, y otros à la Isla de Leyte, ò Samar, donde estan las Misiones de la Compañia de Jesus; algunos de los quales refirieron lo siguiente.

Primero, aver visto à muchos Indios de la Isla de Samar, por otro nombre Ybabao en sus mismas Islas; los quales passando de un Pueblo de su Isla de Samar à otro, el viento del Occidente los tirò à dichas Islas.

Segundo, que el hermano del Rey de estas nuevas Islas, passando de una à otra, fue arrebatado con su Embarcacion, y compañeros, y llevado del viento Leste, ò Oriental à la dicha costa de Caraga, donde se hizo Christiano. Y embiando despues el Rey cien Canoas à buscarlo entre sus Islas, una de dichas Canoas fue assimismo arrebatada del

viento Leste, y llevada à la dicha costa de Caraga. Y persuadiendole los de la Canoa de parte del Rey su hermano, que se bolviessè à sus Islas, èl por entonces no lo quiso hazer, aunque despues se bolviò con una pequeña Embarcacion. De donde claramente se colige con quanta facilidad pueden comunicarse las Islas Philipinas con estas nuevas Islas.

Tercero, que una de las dichas Islas es de solas mugeres, las quales se gobiernan, y conservan al modo de las antiguas Amazonas. De suerte, que una vez al año los Indios de las vezinas Islas van à dicha Isla, y se detienen en ellas por algun tiempo, en compaña de dichas mugeres, y despues se buelven à sus Islas. Y en bolviendo al año siguiente, si hallan aver nacido varones, los llevan consigo sus padres, y si hembras, las dexan con sus mismas madres. Y con esta industria de la naturaleza se conserva aquella Isla en poder de solas hembras.

F3. Translation by Frances B. Marshall

Source: B&R 41: 39-56.

*Notes: The title used by Fr. Le Gobien was: "Letter written from Manila, 10 June 1697, by Father Paul Clain of the Society of Jesus to Reverend Father Tirso Gonzalez, general of the same Society, on the new discovery that has been made of 32 islands, south of the Mariana Islands." For comparison purposes, other English translations exist, e.g. that by Lockman in *Travels of the Jesuits* (London, 1762) is close enough to the original and picturesque in style; that of Callander is heavily summarized. The German versions in *Der Neue Welt-Bott* and in *Die Katholischen Missionen* both came from Le Gobien.*

[To our Most Reverend Father General in Christ]

After the departure of the vessel which was commissioned with the letter which I wrote during the past year to your Paternity, there arrived another which brought me the order to accompany the Reverend Father Antonio Tuccio, of Sicily, the new provincial of this province. Making with him the circuit of our houses, I have taken a survey of the country of the Pintados [=Visayas]. There are large islands separated from one another by arms of the sea, in which the tide renders navigation difficult and dangerous. There are in these islands 77,000 Christians, under the spiritual direction of 41 missionaries of our Society, who have with them two of our brothers who provide for their subsistence.

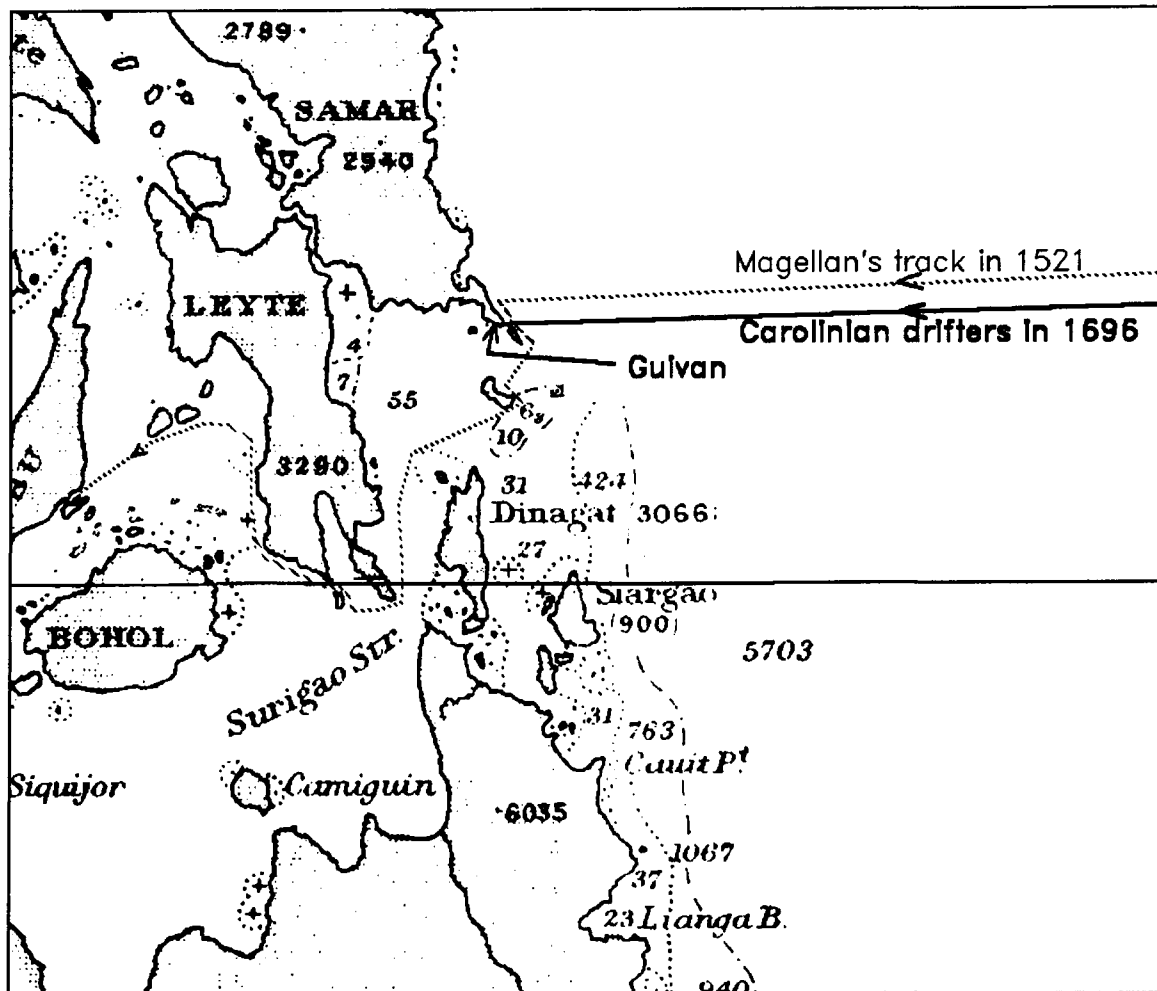
I can scarcely express to you, my Reverend Father, how I have been moved at the sight of these poor Indians, of whom there are many who die without receiving the sacraments of the Church, in great danger of their eternal salvation, because there are so few priests here, that the majority of them have charge of two villages at the same time. When it happens that they are occupied in one place, fulfilling the functions of their ministry, they are not able to assist those who die in the other. I have been still more

greatly moved by the forsaken condition in which we found several other persons, who died in the islands that are called **Pais**.¹ Although these islands are not far from the Marianas, their inhabitants have no intercourse with those of the latter group. The discovery of this new country has this year been made certain, as is here recounted.

In making the visitation with the Father Provincial, as I have already said, we arrived at the village of Guivan, on the Island of Samal, the largest and southernmost island of the Eastern Pintados. We found there 29 Palaos, or natives of these newly-discovered islands. The easterly winds which rule over these seas from the month of December to the month of May had blown them 300 leagues from their islands to this village on the Island of Samal. They had come on two small vessels, that are called here "paraos." This is how they relate.

They had embarked, 35 persons in all, intending to go to a neighboring island, when there arose a wind so violent that they were not able to gain the island where they wished to land, or any other in the neighborhood, and were carried out to the open sea. They made many efforts to land on some shore or some island known to them, but without avail. They sailed thus at the will of the winds during 70 days without being able to make land. Finally losing all hope of returning to their country, and seeing themselves half-dead with hunger, without water and without food, they resolved to abandon themselves to the mercy of the winds, and land on the first island they could find toward the west. Scarcely had they taken this resolution, when they found themselves in sight of the village of Guivan on the Island of Samal. A man from that village who was on the seashore saw them, and, judging by the structure of their little vessels that they were some strangers who had lost their way, he took a piece of cloth and made them a signal to enter by the channel that he indicated, in order to avoid the rocks and the banks of sand upon which they were about to run aground. These poor men were so frightened at seeing this stranger that they began to put back to sea; however much effort they made, they were not able to turn about, and the wind blew them a second time toward the shore. When they were near, the Guivan man made them understand by signs the route that they should take; but, seeing that they were not taking it, and that they would surely be lost, he threw himself into the sea, and swam to one of those two small vessels, with the design of acting as pilot and of conducting them safely to port. Scarcely had he reached the vessel when those who were on board, even the women carrying their children, threw themselves into the water to gain the other vessel, so much did they fear the approach of this stranger. This man, seeing himself alone in the small vessel, followed after them; and, having entered into the second, he cleared all the rocks and piloted it safely into the harbor. During this time the poor people remained motionless, and gave themselves up to the guidance of the stranger, whose prisoners they considered themselves.

1 Ed. note: The original version in Latin says the Ladrones, but what is meant are what was later called, firstly the Pais or Palaos Islands, then the Carolines. Fr. Serrano in F2 above changed Ladrones to Fais, and this was copied by Fr. Le Gobien. The Carolinian drifters were in all likelihood from Fais.



Carolinians drifted to the Philippines in 1696.

They landed on St. Innocents' Day, 22 December 1696. The inhabitants of Guivan gathered on the shore, received them with charity, and brought them some wine and some food. They ate eagerly some cocoanuts, which are the fruits of the palms of this country. The meat in them is somewhat like that of chestnuts, except that it has more oil, and that it furnishes a kind of sweetened water which is agreeable to drink. The natives presented them with rice boiled in water, which the people use here and in all of Asia, as one does bread in Europe. They looked at it with wonder, and took some grains of it, which they immediately threw on the ground, imagining that they were worms. They exhibited much pleasure when some of the large roots that are called *palavan* were brought to them, and eagerly ate them.¹

¹ Ed. note: Probably taro.

Meanwhile the natives brought two women whom the wind had thrown upon the same shore at Guivan some time before. As they knew a little of the language of this country, they served as interpreters, and it is through them that we learned what I am about to relate. One of those women found among these strangers some of her kindred, and they no sooner recognized one another than they began to weep. The father who had charge of this village,¹ had them come to Guivan. Some, when they saw him and perceived the respect that was shown him, imagined that he was the king of the country, and that their lives and their fate were in his hands. In this belief they threw themselves in his hands. In this belief they threw themselves upon the ground to implore his mercy, and to beg that he would grant them their lives. The father, touched with compassion at seeing them in such great desolation, did all that he could to console them; and, to mitigate their fears, he caressed their children, of whom three were still at the breast, and five others a trifle older, and promised their parents to give them all the help that was in his power.

The inhabitants of Guivan vied with each other in offering to the father to take the strangers into their houses, and to furnish them with all things that they needed, both food and clothing. The father committed the strangers to them, but on condition that they should not separate those who were married (for there were some married ones among them); and that they should not take fewer than two together, for fear that those who were left alone would die of grief. Of 35 who had come aboard the ships there now remained no more than 30; five had died during the voyage, because of the lack of food and the privations of the long journey. A little while after their arrival still another died, who had the good fortune to receive holy baptism.

They said that their country consisted of **33 islands**.² They cannot be very far from the Marianas, to judge from the structure of their vessels, and by the form of their sails, since these are of the same style. There is strong indication that these islands are farther to the south than the Marianas, in 11 or 12 degrees north latitude, and upon the same parallel as Guivan; since the strangers came straight from the east to the west, and landed on the shore of this settlement. There is also ground for believing that this is one of the islands that was discovered from afar some years ago: a vessel belonging to the Philippines (in 1686) having left the customary route, which is from east to west along the 13th parallel [from Acapulco], and having veered somewhat toward the southwest, saw it for the first time. These people called this island **Carolina** [=Yap], in honor of the king (Charles II, King of Spain); and the others called it St. Barnabas, because it was discovered on the day when the Church celebrates the feast of this apostle.³ This island was seen last year [1696] by another vessel that the tempest had blown out of its course, in going from here [Manila] to the Mariana Islands.⁴ The Governor of the Phil-

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- 1 Ed. note: He was Father Francisco Prado, as we learn from a declaration by Fr. Clain in 1711 (see Doc. 1711C8).
 - 2 Ed. note: However, both the Latin and Spanish texts say 32, not 33, islands.
 - 3 Ed. note: The island discovered in 1686 was Yap; it was mountainous (see declarations of 1711).
 - 4 Ed. note: Rather it was Faraulep, or Gaferut (see Doc. 1696H).

ippines had often given orders to the ship which went nearly every year to the Marianas, to seek this island and the others that were thought to be near; but these orders had been useless, God reserving to this time the discovery of them, and as we hope, the complete conversion of these people.

The strangers added that of these 33 [sic] islands there were three which were inhabited only by birds, but that the others were thickly peopled. When asked what was the number of the inhabitants, they took a grain of sand or of dust, and intimated to the father in this fashion, the innumerable multitude of men who lived there. **These islands are named: Pais, Lamulututup, Saraon, Yaropie, Valayyay, Satavan, Cutac, Yfaaluc, Piraulop, Ytai, Pie, Piga, Lamurrec, Puc, Falait, Caruvaruvong, Ylatu, Lamuliur, Tavas, Saypen, Tacaulat, Rapiyang, Tavon, Mutacusan, Piylu, Olatan, Palu,¹ Cucumyat, Piyalucunung. The three which are only inhabited by birds are Piculat, Hulutan, and Tagian.**

Lamurrec is the largest of all these islands. It is where the king of all that country holds his court. The chiefs of all those settlements submit to him. There was found among these strangers one of the chiefs with his wife, who is the daughter of a king. Although they may be half-naked, they have manners and a certain air of dignity, which makes one recognize well enough who they are. The husband has all his body painted with certain lines, the arrangement of which forms various figures. The other men of this tribe have also some similar lines, some of them more than the others; but the women and the children do not have them at all. There are 19 men and 10 women, of different ages. The contour and the color of their faces are very similar to those of the natives of the Philippines. The men have no other dress than a kind of girdle which covers their loins and thighs, and which is wound several times about their bodies. They have upon their shoulders more than an ell and a half of coarse cloth, of which they make a kind of hood, which they tie in front, and allow to hang carelessly behind. The men and the women are dressed in the same fashion, except that the women have their wearing apparel a little longer, descending from the waist almost to the knees.

Their language is different from that of the Philippines, and resembles that of the Mariana Islands. Their manner of pronouncing words is something like that of the Arabs. The woman who appears to be of highest station has many rings and necklaces of tortoise-shell, that are called here *carey*, and others of a material that is unknown to us. This material, which somewhat resembles ambergris, is not transparent.²

This is the manner in which they lived upon the sea during the 70 days while they had been at the mercy of the waves. They threw into the sea a sort of weir, made of several small branches of trees tied together. This weir had a large opening to allow the fish to enter, and ended in a point to prevent their going out. The fish that they caught in this manner were all the nourishment they had, and they did not drink any water

1 Ed. note: This root word means "island", but in modern Carolinian it is applied to a "navigator" (see Ridgell et al. in ISLA magazine 2:2 (1994): 182), whereas "pik" was always used there to mean "sand islet."

2 Ed. note: This may be the first reference ever to Palau-type money beads.

except that which the rain furnished them; they caught it in the shells of cocoanuts—which are the fruit of the palms of this country, as I have already said; they are of the shape and size of a man's skull.

There are no cows in those islands. The natives tried to run away when they saw some cows browsing the grass, just as when they heard a small dog bark in the house of the missionaries. There are neither cats nor deer, nor horses, nor, in general, any four-legged beast. There are but few birds, except those which live on the sea. They have, however, fowls which they eat; but they never eat their eggs.

In spite of this lack of all things, they are happy and content with their lot. They have some songs and dances in tolerably regular time. They sing all together and make the same gestures, which has a pleasing effect.

They are surprised at the government, the politeness, and the manners of Europe, of which they have no knowledge. They admire not only that august majesty of the ceremonies by which the Church celebrates divine worship, but also the music, the instruments, the dances of the Spaniards, the weapons which they carry, and, above all, the gun-powder. They admire also the whiteness of the Europeans; for the inhabitants of this country are all of swarthy complexion.

They appear until now to have had no knowledge of God, nor do they worship idols. We have noticed in them only a life altogether barbarous. All their care is to seek for food and drink. They have a great deference for their king and the chiefs of their villages, and they obey them with the greatest exactitude. They do not have regular hours for their meals. They drink and eat at any time and wherever they may be, when they are hungry and thirsty, and when they find wherewith to satisfy themselves. But they eat little at a time, and one of their meals is not enough to last them for the whole day.

Their civility and mark of respect consists in taking the hand or the foot of the one to whom they wish to honor, and in rubbing it gently over their face. They have among their possessions some saws [sic] not made of iron,¹ but of a large shell that is called here *taclobo*,² which they sharpen by rubbing against certain stones. They have also one of iron, as long as a finger. They were much astonished on the occasion of a trading vessel being built at Guivan, to see the great variety of tools for carpentry which were used. They looked at all these, one after another, with much wonder. They do not have metals in their country. The missionary Father gave them each a good-sized piece of iron, which they received with more joy than if he had given them so much gold. They had so much fear that it would be taken away from them that they put it under their heads when they wanted to sleep. They do not have any arms except lances or darts made of human bone. They are very peaceful among themselves. When it happens that there is a quarrel among them, it is settled by a few blows of their fists upon each other's heads. But this rarely happens; because, if some wish to come to blows,

1 Ed. note: Fr. Serrano made a mistake when he translated "ascias" by "sierras." They were not saws, but axes, rather adzes.

2 Ed. note: Filipino word for the giant *Tridacna* clam.

others separate them and make them stop the dispute. They are not, nevertheless, stupid or heavy; on the contrary, they have fire and vivacity. They are not as stout as the natives of the Mariana Islands, but they are well proportioned, and of nearly the same height as the Filipinos. Both men and women let their hair grow, which falls upon their shoulders.

When these strangers learned that they were to be conducted into the presence of the missionary Father, they painted themselves all over the body with a certain yellow color, which they consider a great adornment. They are so satisfied at finding here in abundance all that is necessary to life, that they have offered to return to their own country in order to attract here their compatriots, and to persuade them to enter into intercourse with these Islands. Our Governor is much pleased with this design, in view of the fact that he has subjected all this country to the King of Spain; and this would open a wide door for the propagation of the Gospel. The eldest of the strangers had once been thrown upon the coast of the province of Caraga in one of these Islands; but, as he found only some infidels who dwelt in the mountains and along these deserted shores, he had returned to his own country, without having known of the abundance and the riches of these Islands. He had been more fortunate in this second [drift] voyage. The children have already been baptized, and the others have been instructed in the mysteries of our religion. They are very skilful in diving; and it is said that they recently found, while fishing, two large pearls in the shells, which they threw back into the sea, because they did not know their value.

I write you all this, my reverend Father, persuaded that you will be glad to learn news so advantageous to those of your children who have the good fortune to carry the faith into this new country. We have need of workers, for there is much work to do. We hope that you will have the kindness to send some workers to us, and will not forget us in your holy devotions. I am with profound respect, my very reverend Father,

Your Paternity's very humble and obedient servant and son,

Paul Clain, missionary of the Society of Jesus.

At Manila, 10 June 1697.

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Explanation of the Map of these Islands, and of a few doubts, and other notices, that were given to His Holiness Pope Clement XI.

The Geographic Map of these Islands showd 87 of them, with various sizes, that were described by the above-mentioned Indians, who pointed them out with their names, as shown on said Map. And, to explain the differences in the relative size of the islands, they used stones, some small and some bigger, placed upon the ground, in accordance with the position which they conceived said islands to occupy in the sea. Although it is a fact that, before a rigorous examination of the knowledge they have of the Islands was tested, they had only named 32 (which are those stated in the account, reproduced in chapter 1), however, after they had a chance to review their memory, they named and pointed out as many as 87 islands, and they testified to have been, and seen, all said Islands. And they added that there existed many more Islands, but that, since they had not visited them, they did not retain them. Hence, there perhaps arose a discrepancy between some of the names that appear on the Map, and those that are in the above-mentioned account, with the names of some islands with the names of other islands; and perhaps placing the names of some other islands that they had heard of, to the list of those they had seen, and visited. This kind of thing can be attributed to their lack of sophistication, and little memory, that Indians commonly suffer from.¹ Well then, that is the reality of the Islands; the rest would be known to them by name only, and they do not matter.

In addition, the above-mentioned Indians, stated that, if a frigate, or any other vessel, were to leave the point of Guiguan [sic] and head E 1/4 SW [rather SE], after three days of navigation the first Island on the Map would be sighted, i.e. the one marked with the letter A² and 30 days are required to circumnavigate it in their light craft, and with a favorable wind. The Island that is marked with the letter B is the home island of these Indians.³ The Island from which they departed, when they got lost, and were pushed off by the wind, when they tried to return home, is marked with the letter C.⁴ The Island where the King lives (which is marked with the letter D) has two names, and those are: Falu, or Lamurec.⁵ The number shown between pairs of islands means the minimum number of days it takes to sail the distance between them. However, the number printed in the center of each one of them means the number of days spent in circumnavigating them.⁶

1 Ed. note: Lack of sophistication, perhaps, but it was a mistake to doubt the memory of the Micronesians, because it was excellent, as all primary-source documents have mentioned.

2 Ed. note: On the chart, the letter A is placed on an island called Panlog, i.e. Palau.

3 Ed. note: On the chart, the letter B is placed next to an island named Paiz, i.e. Fais.

4 Ed. note: On the chart, the letter C is placed next to an island named Amoxsot, i.e. Lamotrek.

5 Ed. note: On the chart, however, the letter D is placed next to only one island, named Falu. Since "falu" means "navigator" in Carolinian, the Indians probably were saying that their navigator came from Lamotrek.

6 Ed. note: See analysis of this map in Doc. 1697G.

F4. Reaction of Pope Clement XI to the above story

Source: Chapter 3 of Fr. Serrano's Breve Noticia, in which he described his audiences with the Pope.

Original text in Spanish.

Efecto, que obró en el ardiente zelo de N.M.S.P. Clemente XI la relacion sobredicha, y la que en su Carta particular le dió el Arçobispo de Manila, y en presencia los Procuradores de la Provincia de Philipinas, como testigos de vista de este descubrimiento.

Aviendo ido à besar el Pie de su Santidad los Procuradores de la Provincia de Philipinas le llevaron una copia de la relacion sobredicha, traducida en lengua Italiana, y una carta del Arçobispo de Manila del mismo contenido, y un hermoso Mapa, con la descripcion de las yá nombradas Islas, y otras mas, que despues con mayor examen añadieron los Indios de ellas. Y aviendo sido recibidos de su Santidad con muestras de suma benevolencia, y agrado, los oyò brevemente en esta primera Audiencia, por ser Lunes, dia de Consistorio, è instar yá la ida de su Santidad à la Sala de èl; y recibiendo de su mano los papeles dichos, quedò en verlos despacio, y dandoles medallas de filigrana de plata, con Indulgencia plenaria para el articulo de la muerte, los despidiò con su bendicion, citandolos para Audiencia mas larga el Viernes siguiente.

Bolvieron dichos Procuradores el dia señalado à ver à su Santidad, quien los tuvo en Audiencia en su Retrete casi una hora, con grande gusto suyo. Y despues de averles concedido diversas gracias espirituales para sí, para sus parientes, y Misiones de Philipinas, el mismo Santissimo Padre entrò luego à tratar muy de proposito de las nuevas Islas, de cuyo conocimiento, y noticia estava yá bien enterado, por las cartas, y relacion; y cogiendo con su misma mano el Mapa, ò Carta Geographica, hizo varias preguntas, propias de su santo zelo, que en substancia fueron acerca de su situacion, grandeza, numero, y calidad de sus habitantes, vezindad à las Philipinas, condoliendose, y admirandose, de que estando tan cercanas à Region, en que tiene su dominio el Rey Catolico, y donde ay una Christiandad tan florida, huviessen estado tanto tiempo desconocidas, y sin introducir en ellas la luz de la verdadera Fè. Y aviendo dilatado en esta conversacion con mucho gusto suyo, por ser aficionadissimo à todo lo que es convertir almas à Dios, y dilatar el Reyno de Christo; y mostrando gran deseo de la conversion de estos pobres Isleños, concluyò diziendo, que remitiria todos aquellos papeles à la Sagrada Congregacion de Propaganda Fide, para que sus Eminentissimos Cardenales discurriessen el expediente, que se podia dar para acudir à esta necesidad, de cuyo remedio pendia la salvacion de tantas almas, y el mayor servicio Divino. Con esto despidio benignamente à dichos Procuradores, dandoles su bendicion.

Despues de aver estado dichos papeles muchos dias en la Sagrada Congregacion de Propaganda, pidiò nueva Audiencia uno de los Procuradores dichos, y aviendo se le concedido, y sido introducido por el Eminentissimo Cardenal Datario à la presencia de su Santidad, esta le recibì con la afabilidad, que acostumbra; y llegando à tratar de las nuevas Misiones, y efecto, que avia tenido la remission de este negocio à la dicha Con-

gregacion, dixo su Santidad, que segun el parecer de ella, despacharia diversos Breves Apostolicos, para que la deseada conversion de dichas nuevas Islas se efectuasse mas pronta, y eficazmente: y que los Breves serian; uno para el Rey Christianissimo [de Francia], para que fuesse medianero con el Rey Catolico [de Española]; otro para el Rey Catolico, como à quien inmediatamente tocava el poner por obra esta santa expedicion; y otros dos para los Arçobispos de Mexico, y Manila, para que por su parte, y por medio de sus Ovejas, y Fieles cooperassen à obra de tanta gloria de Dios, y bien de la Uiversal Iglesia. Como su Santidad lo dixo, assi lo executò, y dio sus Breves, que son como se sigue.

Translation.

Effect that the above-mentioned narrative had upon the burning zeal of our most Supreme Pontiff, Clement XI, and the personal Letter sent to him by the Archbishop of Manila, and in the presence of the Procurators of the Province of the Philippines, as eyewitnesses of this discovery.

When the Procurators of the Province of the Philippines had gone to kiss the foot of His Holiness, they brought for him a copy of the above-mentioned narrative, translated into Italian, and a letter from the Archbishop of Manila referring to the same incident, and a beautiful Map, with a description of the new Islands recently named,¹ and many more that afterwards the Indians from there added after more interrogation. And having been received by His Holiness with signs of extreme kindness, and pleasure, he listened to them briefly during this first Audience, on account of it being Monday, on the day of the Consistory, where His Holiness was awaited; and receiving from their hands the said papers, he took time to inspect them slowly, and gave them medals of silver filigree, with an plenary Indulgence for the hour of death, then he bid them goodbye with a blessing, after he had invited them to a longer Audience scheduled for the following Friday.

Said Procurators returned on the appointed day to see His Holiness. He kept them in his apartment for almost one hour, much to their pleasure. And then, after he had granted them many spiritual favors for themselves, for their relatives, and the Philippine Missions, His Holiness himself brought up the pertinent subject of the new Islands, about which he was already familiar as he had consulted the letters and the narrative. Picking up the Map, or Geographic Chart, with his own hands, he asked various questions, suggested by his own holy zeal, which in substance were about their location, size, number, and condition of their inhabitants, vicinity with the Philippines, and he sympathized and wondered how come they are so close to a Region that is under the dominion of the Catholic King, where there is already such a flourishing Christianity, but they have been unknown for such a long time, without the true Faith being introduced there. And having lengthened this conversation with great pleasure on his part, since he is very fond of everything that concerns the conversion of souls to God and the

¹ Ed. note: The future Carolines were then named New Philippines.

propagation of the Kingdom of Christ, and having shown a great desire of the conversion of these poor Islanders, he concluded by saying that he would turn over all these papers to the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, so that their Eminences the Cardinals would discuss the file, and what could be done with respect with this need, upon whose remedy depended the salvation of so many souls, and the greater service of the Divine Majesty. Finally, he kindly dismissed said Procurators, by giving them his blessing.

After said papers had been for many days in the Sacred Congregation for the Propaganda, one of the Procurators asked for an Audience, and after it was granted, and he had been introduced to His Eminence the Cardinal Secretary in the presence of His Holiness, the latter made him welcome with his usual friendliness. When the subject of the new Missions was broached, and the effect that the referral of this business to said Congregation had caused, His Holiness said that, along with its recommendation, he would despatch various Apostolic Briefs, so that the desired conversion of the said new Islands would be carried out faster, and more efficiently; such Briefs would be: one to the most Christian [French] King, so that he would act as an intermediary with the Catholic [Spanish] King, since it was the latter who was most concerned by this holy expedition; and two more to the Archbishops of Mexico, and Manila, so that on their part, and by means of their flock and faithful they might cooperate in a work of so much glory to God, and welfare of the Universal Church.

As His Holiness had said, so it was done, and he issued the following Briefs.¹

1 Ed. note: For follow-up story and more information of this Map of the Carolines, see Doc. 1704D, 1705C to 1705K, and 1708B.

Document 1697G

Analysis of island names on the 1696 Map of the Carolines, by R.L.

Description of the printed maps of the New Philippines, or Caroline Islands.

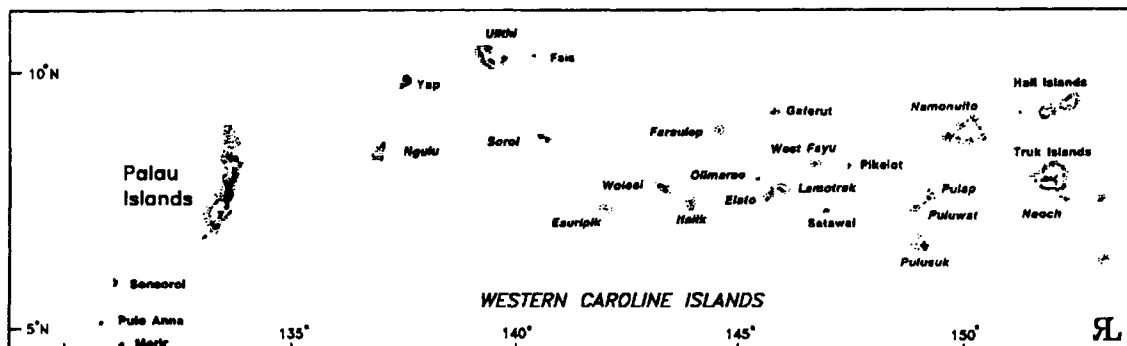
One of the few original charts, done in Spanish, is that published by Fr. Serrano on the last page of his book "Siete Principes," whose title is: "**Carta de las Nuevas Philipinas descubiertas debaxo del patrocinio de Phelippe V Rey de España.**" It was engraved by Gonzales, and is almost square in shape. The latitude scale runs vertically on both left and right sides, from 2° S up to 17° N. The Caroline Islands are shown as circles east of the Moluccas and Mindanao. The first circle, or archipelago, of 28 islands is shown east of the Moluccas; it begins clockwise with an island named "Piguele" and ends with an island named "Raox". The second group of 17 islands is laid out along an horizontal line, east of the Strait of San Juanico (Samar-Mindanao), from "Panlog" on the left to "Eu" on the right. The third group further north, shows 11 islands, from "Falip" to the WNW to "Amoxsot" on the right, or to the ESE. The fourth group has 4 islands, 3 of them are named as follows: Ett Pie, Faxuile. Finally, the last group of 26 islands runs almost vertically, from "Fayo" at the top, down to "Piexas" at the bottom.

Note: References are made to Bryan's Place Names (see Bibliography) and to Riesenbergs article on "Ghost Islands" in Micronesica.

F1. Latin	F2. Spanish	Comments	Modern
A. 32 islands (text & maps)			
Pais	Pais	Variant: Paiz. Bryan's Car. 40	Fais
Lamululutup	Lamululutup	See Cantova 1722	Ulithi
Saraon	Sarao	Bryan's Car. 39	Sorol

Yaoropie	Yaoropic	Variant: Yaropie. Car. 38	Eauripik
Valayyay	Valayiay	Car. 37	Woleai
Satavan	Satavan	Car. 26	Satawal
Cutac	Cutac	Also Cata. Other name for	Puluwat
Yfaluc	Yfaluc	Car. 36. Called Piguilap in 1664	Ifaluk
Piraulap	Piraulop	Car. 33. Aulupu in 1664.	Faraulep
Yati	Yetai	Variants: Ytay, Ytai. Car. 33.5	Eate
Pic	Pic	Car. 33.3 Islet, part of Faraulep	Pigue
Piga	Piga	Idem	
Lamurrec	Lamurec	Variant: Lamorsot. Car. 28.	Lamotrek
Puc	Puc	Car. 28.1 islet, part of Lamotrek	Pugue
Falait	Falait	Car. 28.4 islet. Freit (1664)	Falaite
Caruvaruvong	Cazavaruvong	Var. Caruvaruvonp. Car. 29.7	Orairuguron
Ylatu	Ylatu	Variant: Ylatum. Car. 29	Elato
Lamuliur	Lamuliur	Car. 29.5	Lamolior
Taras	Favas	Variant: Tavas. ¹ Car. 29.6 islet	Toas
Saypen	Saypen	Variant: Soypen. ²	
Tacaulap	Faculap	Faraulep repeated, or Car. 37.12.	
Rapiyang	Rapiyang	Perhaps a man's name, or seaway.	
Tavon	Favon	Perhaps a man's name, or seaway.	
Mutucusau	Muta Cusau	Variant: Mutacusan. ³	
Piyalu	Piylu	Perhaps a man's name: Piailug ⁴	
Olotan	Olatan	Perhaps a man's name, or seaway.	
Palu	Palu	Either Pulusuk, Pulap, or simply Navigator ⁵	
Cucumiyat	Cucumyat	Perhaps a man's name, or seaway.	
Piyalucunung	Piga Lueunung	Variant: Pyalcunung ⁶	
Piculat	Piculat	Bird I. Pikelot: true name of	W. Fayo
Hulatan	Hulatan	Bird I. Also Pik: true name of	Pikelot
Tagyan	Tagyan	Bird I. Fayo, true name of	Gaferut

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- 1 Capital F and T are often confused in transcriptions.
 - 2 The mythical island of Sepin, said to have been located somewhere north of, but close to, Yap. For instance, see Nakayama & Ramp (1974) and Riesenbergs "Ghost Islands."
 - 3 Perhaps a sea area named Mathow Cusau(?).
 - 4 Or the proper name of the Pialu or Western pass into the Truk lagoon (Bryan's Car. A-61/62). See below.
 - 5 In the accompanying notes, Palu is equated with Lamursec, or Amorsot = Lamotrek. Unlikely to be Palau.
 - 6 Perhaps a man's name, a seaway, or the Pialu Pass on the W side of Truk.



True positions of the western Caroline Islands.

Name on chart	Comments	Modern equivalent
B. 87 islands (maps only)		
a) bottom circle: Ifaluk & Woleai		
Piguela	Piguelap was same as Ifaluk in Doc. 1664D	
Ontocoso		
Farale	Car. 36.1b	Falarik
Losacay		
Falivelap	Variant: Falirelap. Car. 36.2	Falalap
Comul		
Olivelara	Variant: Ulirelara	
Muriet	Car. 37.17	Faluele-mariete
Faliugalaf	Car. 37.19	Faluele-galao
Faliulapala	Car. 37.18	Faluele-palape
Alangari	Car. 37.20	Elingarik
Ulimaray	Car. 37.21. Also called Ulemaray	Otegal
Pogol	" " Same as above	"
Pirigaraca	Car. 37.22	Peregaregar
Faratay	Variant: Faxatay.	
Salva	Car. 37.7	Saliap
May		
Faramalo	Variant: Taxamelo. Car. 37.8	Falamalok
Farali	Variant: Faxali. Car. 37.10	Faralies
Taramit	Variant: Taxamit. Car. 37.9	Taramat
Falu	Or Lamuirec, Lamuroc	Lamotrek
Farilies	Variant: Faxilies. Car. 37.10	Farailles
Alingaray	Car. 37.11	Angaligarail

Tacaylap	Tacaulap above. Car. 37.12	Tagaulap
Marioc	Variant: Manioc. Car. 37.5	Mariaon
Ulier	Variant: Uliex. Car. 37.1	Woleai
Raor	Variant: Raox. Car. 37.3	Raur
Parwu	Variants: Pariva, Paziro. Car. 37.2	Pariau
b) Center line = Western Carolines		
Sarol	Either Sorol, or Sonsorol, probably	Sorol
Panlog	Large island	Palau
Malog	Perhaps a misprint for	Ngulu
Yap		Yap
Olotup		Ulithi
Paiz		Fais
Pug	Islet of Ulithi: Car. 41.23	Pig
Loto	" " " " Car. 41.19. Lodow, or	Lossau
Fataray	" " " " Car. 41.18. Fadalai, or	Fassarai
Mayaya	" " " " Car. 41.16	Magayan
Magomer	" " " " Car. 41.8. Magomog, or	Mogmog
Pitagarus	" " " " Car. 41.43. Petogoros, or	Potangeras
Yasor	" " " " Car. 41.12. Yasol, or	Asor
Falalap	" " " " Car. 41.13. Falalop, or	Falalep
Luxep	" " " " Car. 41.4. Loshiap, or	Losiep
Yaor	" " " " Car. 41.3. Ear, or	Iar
Calaot	" " " " Car. 41.2. Kilap, or	Gielap
Eu	" " " " Car. 41.6. Eu, or	Pau
c) NW—SE line = Central Carolines, part 1		
Falip	Car. 30.2 part of Olimarao	Falipi
Olimarau	Car. 30.1	Olimarao
Olutil	Car. 29.2 part of Elato	Oletel
Falipe	Car. 29.4 " " "	Falipi
Tauas	Car. 29.6 " " "	Toas
Olor	Car. 29.7 " " "	Ulor
Las	Rather Fas, native name for Gamen Reef, Car. 35	
Feley	Car. 28.4 part of Lamotrek	Falaite
Boo	Or Bov. Car. 28.1 " " , Buku, or	Pugue
Carvolvol	Perhaps a misprint for	Satawal
Amorsot	Variant of Lamursek, or	Lamotrek
d) Top center group = Central Carolines, part 2'		
Ett	Car. 33.5 part of Faraulep	Eate
Pie	Rather Pic. Car. 33.3	Pigue
Faruile	Car. 33.4	Faraulep

e) **N—S on the right = Eastern Carolines**

Fayo	Car. 15C	E. Fayo
Olol	Car. 17.11 part of Namonuito	Ulul
Pisarap	Car. 17.9 " " "	Pisaras
Lamuet	Variant Lamuel, perhaps Car. 17.7	Weniot
Magol	Car. 17.1	Magur
[Truk, or Chuuk Lagoon]		
Pis	Car. 16A69	
Faravolvol	Name of a north pass? Car. 16A66	Falalu?
Falato	Car. 16A-4, or A-6	Fanatu
Apigap		
Tolobas	Car. 16D. Alias Dublon	Toloas
Coop	Car. 16E. ¹	Uman
Pariali	Variant: Paziali. Perhaps	Tarik
Sabo		
Corobol		
Fagatale	Variant: Tagatale. Perhaps	Falabeguets
Sabolocolop	Repeat of Sabo + Corobol?	
Olot	Variant: Oloc, Otoc. Car. 16J	Udot
Torres	Car. 16A61, or	Tol?
Tata	Variant: Tatam. Car. 16M1 on Tol.	Pata
Param	Car. 16H	Param
Polie	Car. 16M4	Polle
Faor	Variant: Faox	
Colapa		
Pisumur	Variant: Pisumux. Car. 16A-1 or A-3	Pisemeu
Pieras	Variant: Piexas. Perhaps back at Pisaras.	

1 Chamisso calls Uman by the name of Guop, because it was owned by Kuop atoll.

Documents 1697H

Reports of Archbishop Diego Camacho's visit to the Marianas

H1. Letter to the King, dated aboard galleon San José 10 July 1697

Source: AGI Fil. 75-7-... (formerly 68-1-33); copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 8, fol. 169-170v; one paragraph quoted in Astraín VI, p. 833.

Original text in Spanish.

Señor

En carta de ocho de este puse en noticia de Vuestra Magestad mi partida de Acapulco y a los ochenta y seis días de navegacion llegamos a las Yslas Marianas Vispera de San Juan y pareciendome ser de mi obligacion por la inmediacion que tienen a mi Arzobispado participo a V.M. la alegre noticia que tuvimos de haberse vuelto a reunir todas al gremio de Nuestra Sagrada Religion asistiendo nuestro Señor no menos a el grande celo y espiritu del Sargento mayor Don Joseph de Quiroga que hacia oficio de Governador que al de los Padres de la Compañia para cuia conserbacion se necesita de algunos sujetos militares (que estos los tomara al Governador quando gustare de los que vienen y en virtud de Cedula de V.M. que para este fin tienen) como hasta veinte Padres de la Compañia sobre los doce que allí tienen porque nunca esten mas expuestas a perderse que aora segun me dixo el nuevo Governador en los dos días que me detuve en que pude tomar bastante Razon de lo que sucedia en las Yslas. Estas son abundantisimas de Carne como baca[,] ganado de Cerda, Aves, frutos, Arroz, y tres cosechas al año de maiz y sus avitadores Yndios nada amantes del dinero[.] antes lo desprecian[,] pues solo tomavan en precio de lo que traian a bender a la nao unas malas Camisas y vestidos para cubrir sus carnes, por lo indecente que viven. Y asi Señor el punto principal a que se reduce esta es a dezir a V.M. que con el mismo zituado que asta aqui se pueden mantener hasta cinquenta soldados mas y veinte Religiosos siendo cierto lo que a Vuestra Magestad a asegurado su Governador Don Fausto Cruzat de estar prompto el zituado en Manila. Empieso por lo Militar para que se infiere lo mismo

asi en los Religiosos; En estas Islas habra oy como 160 soldados con poca diferencia de estos seran los sesenta casados y sin sueldo por haver pedido al Governador que los exima de que ellos no asistan a otra cosa que a trabajar combirtiendo su procedido en beneficio de sus casas y familias pero sin negarse a servir a V.M. siempre que se ofrezca alguna revelion a que siempre han de asistir por estar todas las Yslas cercados de Agua con que agregandole algunos soldados de los que estan se eceptuaran algunos casados de los que estavan quedando mas numero para el fin con el mismo sueldo para el Yntento. La Razon para que esto sea bastante es porque asta aqui estava el zituado en Mexico del qual pedia asi el Governador como los Padres se le combirtiese la mitad o lo mas partte de el en mantenimiento y ropa asi para la Milicia como para Padres y colegios, esto en Mexico por lo subido de los precios se llevaba la mitad o la mas parte del Zituado pero restituído este a Manila en donde sino valen las cosas tres partes menos se compran por la mitad con que reduzido este zituado aca se logran en las Yslas el fin de tener su ropa que puede venir de Manila en la fragata que sale todos los años trayendo tambien mantenimiento necesario y lo restante en dinero del zituado combertiran los interesados en lo que gustaren.

Y aplicando esto mismo infiero el mismo fin a lo espiritual y a que me persuado concurrira muy gustosa la religion de la Compañia que emplea aqui sus hijos en el bien espiritual de las almas. Y si para los religiosos no bastare podra V.M. si gustare agregarles de los cinco mill que llevan los Colegios dos a los religiosos sobrando con los tres para los Colegiales y colegialas que oy ay aunque se aumenten quarenta mas y si por algun accidente faltaren la Planta de Manila con anticipar un año de zituado en las Yslas y remitir los siguientes el dinero al governador de las Yslas y alli baia lo necesario me parece se lograre el mismo fin; esto es lo que he podido reconocer en los dos dias en que alli me detuve.

V.M. dispondra lo que fuere servido que sera lo mas acertado como el que yo no falto a pedir a nuestro Señor Guarde la Real Persona de Vuestra Magestad como la cristiandad a menester.

*Abordo de este Galeon **San Joseph** y Julio de 1697.*

Diego Arzobispo de Manila

[Endorsement:] A bordo del Galeon San Joseph a Su Magestad Julio 10 de 1697.— Carta a Su Magestad de D. Diego Arzobispo de Manila.—Participa la noticia que tuvo cuando llegó a las Islas Marianas de haberse vuelto a reunir todas al gremio de la Fé Católica con la cooperación del Sargento Mayor Don José de Quiroga.

Translation.

Sire:

In a letter dated the 8th of this month, I let Your Majesty know of my departure from Acapulco and after 86 [rather 84] days of navigation we arrived at the Mariana Islands on the eve of St. John's Day [i.e. 23 June 1697] and since it is of my obligation, given their proximity to my Archdiocese, I am informing Y.M. of the happy news that we received, to the effect that the Islands have all returned to the fold of our sacred

religion. Our Lord was assisted in no small measure by the great zeal and spirit of the Sergeant-Major, Don José de Quiroga, who was filling the post of Governor, and those of the Fathers of the Society. For their preservation a few military men are required (but such men will be taken from the passing galleons by the Governor, as needed, in view of a decree of Y.M. that they have for this purpose) as well as 20 Fathers of the Society, over and above the 12 living there now, because they will never be more at risk of being lost than at present, according to what the new Governor told me during the two days that I detained myself there, and was able to gather enough understanding of what was going on in the Islands. They have a very abundant supply of meat, from cows, pigs, fowls, fruits, rice, and three crops of corn per year. The Indian inhabitants are not at all fond of money; rather, they scorn it. Indeed, they only accepted in barter for what they brought for sale alongside the galleon some bad shirts and clothes to cover their flesh, on account of their indecent manner of living.

And so, Sire, the main point of this letter is to tell Y.M. that with the subsidy paid so far up to 50 more soldiers can be maintained and 20 religious, and it is true what your Governor, Don Fausto Cruzat, told Your Majesty about the subsidy being readily available from Manila. I begin by talking about the military aspect, but the same thing can be implied about the religious. In these Islands, there are today about 160 soldiers more or less; of that number, about 60 are married and without salary because they have asked the Governor to exempt them from any attendance other than working, and converting its proceed into income for their households and families; however, they stand ready to serve Y.M. in case of some rebellion, as they must because all of these Islands are surrounded by water. Therefore, by adding some soldiers, those who are there now and are married will be exempted, and a larger number of them will be available for the purpose, with the same overall salary package. The reason why this ought to be enough is because so far the subsidy was supplied from Mexico, and the Governor as well as the Fathers would ask that half of it, or most of it, be converted into food supplies and clothing, not only for the militia but also for the Fathers and colleges. Now then, because of the high prices in Mexico, half or the most part of the subsidy was eaten up, but if it be restored to Manila, where things are worth three times less, this subsidy could be reduced by half, and yet here in the Islands they will get the same clothing that could then come from Manila aboard the frigate that leaves every year, carrying also the necessary foods and the rest of the subsidy in cash, to be converted by those interested into what they please.

And by applying the same reasoning, I infer the same purpose in things spiritual, and I am persuaded that the Order of the Society that employs its sons here in the spiritual welfare of souls will be very pleased. And if it should not be enough for the religious, Y.M. could be pleased to take 2,000 pesos from the 5,000-peso budget of the Colleges, leaving the remaining 3,000 for the college boys and girls who live there now, even if 40 more be added to their number. And if by some accident the roster from Manila should fail, it would be sufficient to pay the subsidy one year in advance to the Islands and in the following years send the money to the Governor of the [Philippine]

Islands, to send the necessities there; it seems to me that the same purpose would be fulfilled. This is what I was able to recognize during the two days that I was there.

Y.M. will arrange what you please, which should be the most appropriate. As for me, I do not fail to ask Our Lord to save the Royal person of Your Majesty as Christendom needs.

Aboard this galleon **San José**, July 1697.

Diego, Archbishop of Manila.

[Endorsement:] Aboard the galleon San José to His Majesty, 10 July 1697.— Letter to His Majesty from Don Diego, Archbishop of Manila.—He reports the news that he got when he arrived at the Mariana Islands, that all of them have been brought back to the fold of the Catholic Faith with the cooperation of Sergeant-Major Don José de Quiroga.¹

H2. Letter dated Manila 18 January 1698

Source: AGI Fil. 17-4-23 (formerly 67-6-17); copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 8, pp. 171-172.

Original text in Spanish.

Señor

Por las noticias que adquiri en Nueva España y lo que personalmente toque me precisa (por la obligacion en que V.M. me ha puesto) a dextr a V.M. el dolor que me ha causado el dinero que consumen las Compañias que vienen a estas Islas reducidas à soldados imaginarios, sirbiendole à V.M. de el gasto que constara de las Relaciones que fueron de Mexico pero de ningun serbizio. Lebantanse ocho compañías en la Nueva España cuios capitanes pagan la graduacion, no salen de Mexico con los soldados, llebanle a V.M. el sueldo y quedanse en sus casas graduados. Nombranse otros capitanes de los sugetos que han de pasar a estas yslas; estos reciben los soldados si es que llegan algunos reduciendose alli las ocho compañías a veinte o treinta muchachos llenando el numero de los pasajeros que por ynterposiciones con los Oficiales Reales, les asientan plazas, les pagan el sueldo, y en llegando a dar fondo en esta tierra, se halla V.M. con quatro muchachos. Puncto digno de llorarse, por no serbir mas que a V.M. de gasto y de ningun fruto.

Llegue a las Marianas el dia veinte y tres de Junio al amanecer y en dos dias que estube alli reconoci la alegria de la nueva conquista de las Yslas que el Sargento maior Don Joseph de Quiroga, que hazia ofizio de Governador y de los Padres de la Compañia, para cuiu conservacion se necesita de algunos sugetos mas militares (que estos los tomara alli el Governador de los que vienen de Mexico, si fueran de substancia) y hasta veinte Padres de la Compañia sobre los que estan: porque de otro genero estan expuestas las Yslas a perderse; estas son abundantisimas de carne, nues, frutos, arros y tres

¹ Ed. note: This letter was received at Madrid on 12 January 1700. The King will acknowledge it in Doc. 1700B.

cosechas al año de Mais; y sus habitantes Yndios nada amantes de el dinero; pues solo tomaban en precio de lo que traian à vender a la nao unas malas camisas y vestidos usados para cubrir sus carnes, por lo indecente que viven; y asi, Señor, tengo por preziso decir a V.M. sobre este punto, que con el mismo situado que hasta aqui, se pueden mantener hasta cinquenta soldados mas, y veinte Religiosos, siendo cierto lo que supimos hasta alli de asegurar el Governador de estas Yslas Don Fausto Cruzat el situado de ellas, sin que viniese de Mexico; y no lo siendo (como aqui ya lo he reconocido) se puede tomar el mismo temperamento. Empiezo por lo militar, para que despues infiere lo mismo en los Religiosos. En las Yslas Marianas se hallarian como ciento y sesenta soldados; de estos los sesenta casados y sin sueldo, por haver pedido al Governador, que los exima de que ellos no asistan a otra cosa; que a trabajar, convirtiendo su procedido en beneficio de sus Casas y familias, pero sin negarse a serbir a V.M. siempre que se ofrezca alguna Rebelion, à que no podra nunca faltar, asi por estar de yslas cercados como porque han de asistir a su deffensa propia; con que casados de los que estaban, quedando mas numero para el fin, y con el mismo sueldo para el intento; y para que con menos sueldo baste (respecto de no ser cierta la planta que se discurria en Mexico de no venir situado aqui) con anticiparle un año, se logra embiar de aqui la ropa, de que se necesita en Marianas con la mitad de lo que por entero en esta de lo que viene de Mexico. La qual ropa puede ir tambien de aqui à los Padres; pues de cinco mill pesos que V.M. convierte en los Collegiales y Collegialas, con mill tienen bastante para la ropa y comida que gastan, quedando quatro; y sin mas desembolso para mantener los veinte y aun mas Religiosos. De esto V.M. dispondra lo que fuere serbido pues lo que aseguro es, ser esta noticia cierta.

Aqui he hallado esta plaza mui bien asistida (que por haverme criado en la de Badajoz tengo alguna experiencia). El Governador Don Fausto Cruzat [es] muy zeloso, desinteresado, amante de la Justicia, y mas de la Hacienda de V.M. y no menos de la paz y de el Estado Eclesiastico, con quien deseo la union, que yo siempre mantener. Los tres Ministros de V.M. que salen para Mexico van mui acreditados. Aqui queda por Presidente de la Sala, Don Geronimo Barredo y Valdes, que segun la experiencia y comprehension que tiene en estas Yslas, ha sido providencia quedarse por aora; pues con eso los Ministros que vienen se podran instruir; y de los quatro que vinieron conmigo, Don Joseph Pavon, Oidor; Don Joseph Torralva à quien nuebamente se le ha conferido la Fiscalia, tiene gran comprehension y ha entrado con grandes creditos. De Don Juan de Espinosa y Don Francisco Gueruela no he oido toda aquella generosidad que de los demas; pero siendo hechuras de V.M. todos tendran presentes sus obligaciones.

Esto es, Señor, lo que hasta aqui me ha parecido participar; y V.M. disponga lo que fuere serbido que sera lo menor que yo debo pedir a Nuestro Señor guarde a V.M. los dilatados años que deseo con entera sucesion y como la christiandad ha menester.

Manila y Henero 18 de 1698 años.

Diego Arzobispo de Manila.

Translation.

Sire:

From the news that I acquired in New Spain and what I personally wish to inform Y.M. about (on account of the obligation that you placed me under) is the pain that has caused me the moneys spent on the Companies that come to these Islands but are composed of imaginary soldiers, thus occasioning some expense to Y.M., as the Relations from Mexico will show, but being of no use. Eight companies are raised in New Spain, whose captains pay for the post, but they do not leave Mexico with their soldiers; they take a salary from Y.M. and remain at home with their rank. Other captains are appointed from among the individuals who are to pass to these Islands; they receive the soldiers, whenever a few show up, but these 8 companies there are reduced to 20 or 30 boys, filling the number of passengers, and then with the connivance of the Royal Officials, they are given posts, are paid a salary, but when the ship drops anchor in this country, Y.M. finds yourself with 4 boys. This matter is something to cry about, as it only causes expenses to Y.M. and is of no benefit.

I arrived at the Marianas on the morning of the 23rd of June and during the two days that I was there, I recognized the happiness of the new conquest of the Islands made by Sergeant-Major Don José de Quiroga, who was filling the post of Governor, and the Fathers of the Society. For their preservation a few more military subjects are needed (and these would be selected there by the Governor from among those coming from Mexico, if they turn out to be of some use) and up to 20 Fathers of the Society over and above those there present, because otherwise the Islands are in danger of being lost. The Islands have an abundant supply of meat, nuts, fruits, rice and three crops of corn per year. Their Indian inhabitants are not at all fond of money; rather, they scorn it. Indeed, they only accepted in barter for what they brought for sale alongside the galleon some bad shirts and used clothes to cover their flesh, on account of their indecent manner of living. And so, Sire, the main point of this letter is to tell Y.M. that with the subsidy paid so far, up to 50 more soldiers can be maintained and 20 religious, and it is true what we learned until then, that your Governor, Don Fausto Cruzat, told Your Majesty about their subsidy, without it needing to come from Mexico, and if it did not (as I have already learned to recognize here) the same compromise can be reached.

I begin by talking about the military aspect, but will infer the same thing about the religious afterwards. In these Islands, there are today about 160 soldiers; of that number, about 60 are married and without a salary, because they have asked the Governor to exempt them from any attendance other than working, and converting its proceed into income for their households and families; however, they stand ready to serve Y.M. in case of some rebellion, as they must because they cannot escape, as all of these Islands are surrounded by water, and they must assure their own defense. Therefore, by adding some soldiers, those who are there now and are married will be exempted, and a larger number of them will be available for the purpose, with the same overall salary package. And in order for less salary to be sufficient (regarding the fact that the roster that is planned from Mexico may not be certain when the subsidy does not come here),

by advancing it for one year, it would be possible to send the clothes that the Marianas need from here, with half of what they now get with the full subsidy when coming from Mexico. Said clothing could be sent to the Fathers from here as well; indeed, out of the 5,000 pesos that Y.M. converts for the college boys and girls, 1,000 would be sufficient for the clothing and food that they spend, leaving 4,000; and that would be enough to maintain 20 and even more Religious, without any further disbursement. Y.M. will arrange what you see fit, since what I report to you comes from certain information.

Here I have found this place very well fortified (since I have been raised in Badajoz, I have some experience). The Governor, Don Fausto Cruzat is very zealous, disinterested, a lover of justice, and more so of the Treasury of Y.M. and no less of peace and of the ecclesiastical estate. It is my wish to maintain full cooperation with him always. The three Ministers of Y.M. who are leaving for Mexico have accumulated much credit for themselves. There remains here as President of the Court Don Geronimo Barredo y Valdés, and according to the experience and understanding that he has of these Islands, it has been a godsent that he remains for now; indeed, the newly-arrived Ministers will be able to learn from him. Out of the four who came along with me, Don José Pavon is member of the Audiencia; Don José Torralba has recently become Fiscal, and he has a great understanding and brings great credibility to this position. I have not heard the same generous comments about Don Juan de Espinosa and Don Francisco Gueruela as with the others; however, they are creations of Y.M. and all will keep their obligations in mind.

This is, Sire, what seems to me that I should tell you so far. Y.M. will decide what you see fit, and the least I can do is to ask Our Lord to save Y.M. for as many years as I wish, with much success, as Christendom needs.

Manila, 18 January 1698.

Diego, Archbishop of Manila.

Editorial notes.

In the Ventura del Arco mss. in NLA, the voyage of 1697 is summarized as follows; "Archbishop Camacho embarked at Acapulco for Manila on March 30, 1697. The lading of the ship was made in great haste, because there was in Acapulco a fearful pestilence. Several died from this pest on the ship, within a few days—among whom were the fiscal of His Majesty, and a Jesuit and a Dominican. On the 19th of July they encountered a terrible storm, from which they escaped only through the intercession of St. Francis Xavier, a Jesuit [i.e. Fr. Morales] casting into the water an order of the saint in which he promised that they should have no [cause for] fear. On July 24, at 3 p.m., they anchored in the port of Palapag, where they suffered from a typhoon. On the 8th of September, the archbishop made his public entry into Manila." (B&R 42:25).

Archbishop Camacho was soon stirring up a controversy with the regular orders, imposing tithes and visitation rights upon them. The full details of this controversy are contained in B&R 42.

Document 1697I

Fr. Morales passed by Guam, his old posting, in 1697

Source: RAH 9/2669 doc. n° 65.

Notes: This may be the same text as the article published on page 66 of the Revista Militar, vol. 2 (Manila, 1885).

Letter to Fr. Xaramillo, postdated Manila 19 January 1698

Original text in Spanish.

Mi Padre Procurador General Antonio Jaramillo

Pax Xpti &a

*Aunque con pocas esperanzas de encontrar la Nao que sale de Philipinas; (por lo dilatado que emos traydo el viage con calmas y bonanzas) anticipo estas brebes noticias de nuestra Navigacion. A ultimo de Marzo nos dimos a la vela desde Acapulco con vientos favorables a los principios. Al tercero dia murio el Nuevo Fiscal que passava à Manila Don Balthassar de Agüero. **A 6 de Abril de calentura etica passo a mejor vida el H° Simon de Castro que passava a Marianas.** Siguieronse en el discurso del viage asta otro 12 ó 14 difuntos assi de soldados y jente de mar, como de los forzados.*

El dia 23 de Junio amanecimos sobre la principal Ysla de las Marianas llamada San Juan, al cavo de 85 dias de Navegacion. Por muerte de el Governador Don Damian de Esplana nombro en interin el Governador de Philipinas al General Don Joseph Madrazo, quien les queda gobernado, con mucha aceptacion y paz; y con singular estimacion de la persona del Sarjento mayor Don Joseph de Quiroga. Por muerte del Padre Mathias Cuculino, queda por Vice Provincial el Padre Antonio Cundari. Luego que fallecio el Governador Esplana entro en interin a gobernar dicho sarjento mayor quien por especial cedula de su Magd. governa las vacantes asta que nombra el Governador de Manila. En dicho interin de su gobierno que fue cerca de dos años apresto su gente para la restauracion de las doce Yslas demas al Norte donde se avian hecho fuertes los apostatas por espacio de mas de doce años singularmente en la tercera y quarta Ysla

donde la difícil subida de un peñol les avia persuadido toda seguridad. Partio con bastante numero de gente y armas dicho sarjento mayor Quiroga y Lossada llevando en su compañía al Padre Vice Provincial que entonces era Padre Mathias Cuculino y vencidas muchas dificultades en dilaciones resistencias, y contrarios temporales sujetaron los rebeldes y castigados los principales cavezas admitieron la demas muchedumbre ya rendida. Despoblaron la quarta ysla llamada Tinian o Buena Vista: sacando sus abitatores poco sossegados; y trasplantandolos a la primera ysla de San Juan; donde con la cercania del presidio y tierras que se les an señalado para su havitacion, van formando Pueblos y cumpliendo con las obligaciones de Catholicos. Con la nueva conquista se hallan los Apostolicos Missioneros con nueva precissa necessidad de otros doce sacerdotes; pues de los que al presente se hallan, solos tres quedan discurriendo por las Yslas nuevamente recuperadas; y los demas apenas bastan para las poblaciones de la primera Ysla, siendo forzoso acudir un solo sujeto a quatro y mas poblaciones bien numerosas. Con que estan esperando el socorro de nuevos Missioneros; por ser muy pocos los que pueden al presente sacarse de Manila donde se hallan tambien faltos de sujetos; por no aver passado Mission desde el año de 88.

En dichas Marianas nos mantubimos de una buelta y otra sin poder dar fondo; pero à bastante cercania de la Ysla; y el dia 23 y 24 se les descargo todo el socorro muy a gusto con el tiempo bonancible. Estuvieron a bordo estos dos dias el Governador Madrazo; Sarjento Mayor Quiroga; varios Capitanes; y los Padres Vice Provincial Antonino Cundari; Padre Miguel de Aparicio, con muchos de los niños Collegiales; y el Padre Philipe Maria Moscati; Los demas Missioneros, Padre Bustillo, Cardeñosso y otros no pudieron venir por hallarse distantes y con algunos enfermos de cuydado en sus Misiones. Socorrieron a la Nao con copiosos refresco de puercos, terneras, çandias, plantanos, piñas, batatas, y melones, nada ynferiores a los de España. El dia 25 de Junio nos hicimos a la vela dejando mas de treinta entre soldados y gente de mar a peticion del Governador. Proseguimos en demanda de las Yslas Philipinas todos con salud; aunque con la penalidad de contrastes, y calmas; quiera el Señor asistirnos para que con brevedad descubramos la tierra desseada.

Repito en esta el mismo encargo que desde Mexico a la propartida en carta toda de mi letra a favor del oydor Don Juan de Espinossa sobrino del Señor Don Gabriel. En orden a fomentar la brebe promocion, y acenso deste cavallero a una de las vacantes Garnachas de la Ciudad de Mexico. De los sucessos de la Congregacion de 15 de Noviembre de 96 años esperamos con ansia las noticias y puede V.R.^a por [H]olanda y Batabia escribir a Manila, remitiendo las cartas al Embajador de Londres que llegan segurisimos, y pongame V.R.^a a los pies de mi Señora la Duquessa, Señor Don Gabriel y toda la sancta familia. Encomendo muy mucho los acensos del Señor Don Joseph Pavon muy afecto, y saludes al Señor Don Joseph de Castro, y Don Josseph de Leticia a quien llevo en memoria para Manila y ajencias que se ofrecieren.

Hasta aqui el dia 23 de Julio de 97 que dimos fondo en Palapa y aviendo salido ya la Nao el dia 9; encamino estas noticias por la Costa en un Barco que sale para Malaca esta tarde y en otro que saldra para Bantan de aqui a 15 dias, serè mas largo. Digo

que despues de malos temporales y achaques, en especial de mi compañero el Hermano Manuel (que saluda a V.R^a) llegamos con salud a Manila, no a descansar sino a sentir nuevas tempestades en los muchos pleitos que se hallan todos las Religiones por las novedades delijencias, visitas, y otros que verá V.R^a en los despachos que le van, con poderes de todas las Religiones que se hallan mui unidas y en toda hermandad y correspondencia con que es menos el desasosiego. V.R^a con el empeño que save, nos asista a todos. Dentro de 15 dias sale otra enbarcazion en derechura a Bantan, en la qual yrà despacho mas pleno, y los dos Procuradores Padre fr. Jayme Mimbela de Santo Domingo y fr. Juan Antonio de San Augustin Recoleta, a quienes, unidos los cinco Provinciales han elexido y dado sus poderes para que con la total asistencia y direccion de V.R^a parescan en la Corte. Entretanto V.R^a cuydado, por si se detubieren, y no perder tiempo, ni ocasion de abisar por olanda del recizo de estos despachos y poderes con los testimonios de lo que a saver fuere resultando. Quedo por aora aqui en San Miguel donde asiste el Padre Provincial Antonino Tuccio que entró por Patente por Octubre de 96, y lo haze muy bien. No obstante tantas dessazones de pleitos. V.R^a no tiene por menor a N. Padre general, de ellos, porque la brevedad no me permite hazerlo en carta separada no mas en esta que N. S. guarde a V.R^a a quien buelvo a encargar se sirva recavar del Señor Marquez del Castillo, el rezivo juridico de los 1669 pesos 1 t[omin](?) que de remision del Maestro de Campo Don Luis de Matienzo fueron a mi cargo, y entregue a su Señoria el año de 85 y vengán juridicos, como tengo pedido, porque aca aun no se ha canzelado la obligacion, sobre que escrivo a dicho Señor Villatoro en fecha de 19 de Enero de 1698 &c.

San Miguel y Henero 19 de 1698.

[Unsigned]

Translation.

My dear Father Procurator General Antonio Xaramillo.

Peace of Christ, etc.

Although there is little hope of our being able to meet the galleon leaving the Philippines (because our voyage has been delayed by calm weather and light winds), I am preparing these brief notes about our navigation. We set sail from Acapulco on the last day of March with favorable winds at first. On the third day out, the new Fiscal on the way to Manila, Don Balthazar de Aguero, died. **On 6 April, Br. Simon de Castro, who was on the way to the Marianas, passed to a better life, from hectic fever.** There followed other deaths during the course of the voyage, up to 12 or 14 more dead, among the soldiers, seamen, and convicts.

On 23 June at daybreak, we came to the main Island of the Marianas, named San Juan, at the end of 85 days of navigation. Because of the death of the Governor, Don Damian de Esplana, the Governor of the Philippines has appointed as interim Governor, General Don José Madrazo, who is governing them with much acceptance and peace, and with a special esteem for the person of Sergeant-Major José de Quiroga. Because of the death of Father Matias Cuculino, Father Antonio Cundari remains Vice-

Provincial. As soon as Governor Esplana died, said Sergeant-Major took over the government on an interim basis, in accordance with a special decree of His Majesty providing for same, until the Governor of Manila appointed another. During his interim term of service, which lasted close to two years, he made his men ready for the restoration of the 12 Islands further north, where the apostates had made themselves strong during the period of over 12 years, specially in the third and fourth Island [sic] where the difficult access to a crag had made them feel completely safe. Said Sergeant-Major Quiroga y Losada left with a sufficient number of men and weapons, taking along Father Vice-Provincial, who was then Father Matias Cuculino, and after overcoming many difficulties in delays, resistances, and contrary storms, they subjected the rebels and punished the principal leaders, but they accepted the rest of the crowd that had already surrendered. They depopulated the fourth island, called Tinian or Buenavista, taking out its inhabitants who were a little stunned, and transplanting them to the first Island of San Juan, in the vicinity of the garrison and in lands that have been assigned to them for their habitation, they are forming towns and complying with the duties of Catholics. With the new conquest the apostolic missionaries find themselves with a new urgent need for 12 more priests; indeed, out of those who are there at present, only three are left to travel throughout the newly-reconquered Islands, and the rest hardly suffice for the settlements of the first Island, it being necessary for one single subject to cover four or more well-populated settlements. Therefore, they are hoping for the succor of new missionaries, because very few can at present be taken out of Manila where there is also a lack of subjects, because no mission band has passed since the year 1688.¹

At said Marianas, we maintained ourselves by tacking back and forth, being unable to anchor, but close enough to the Island. On the 23rd and 24th all the succor was unloaded, at their great pleasure, and with fine weather. During these two days, Governor Madraza remained on board, with Sergeant-Major Quiroga, various Captains, and Father Vice-Provincial Antonino Cundari, with Father Miguel de Aparicio, and many of the College boys, and Father Felipe Maria Muscati. The other missionaries, i.e. Father Bustillo, Cardeñoso, and others could not come, because they were far away and with some sick to take care of in their missions. They brought copious refreshments to the galleons, pigs, calves, watermelons, bananas, pineapples, [sweet] potatoes, and melons, no way inferior to those of Spain. On the 25th of June, we sailed off, leaving more than 30 men, soldiers and seamen, at the request of the Governor. We proceeded in search of the Philippine Islands, all healthy, although we had to put up with shifting winds, and calm weather. May the Lord help us so that we may soon sight the desired land.

I repeat here the same request that I made on the eve of my departure from Mexico in a letter completely written with my own hand in favor of the Audiencia member, Don Juan de Espinosa, nephew of Don Gabriel, in order to favor the brief promotion, and

1 Ed. note: That is, left Spain in 1688, but arriving at Guam and Manila only in 1689.

accession of this gentleman to one of the vacant *garnachas*¹ in the City of Mexico. We anxiously await the result of the Congregation held on 15 November 1696, and Y.R. can write to Manila by way of Holland and Batavia, by remitting the letters to the Ambassador in London, which arrive very safely, and please Y.R. give my respects to my Lady the Duchess, to Don Gabriel and the whole of their saintly family. I very much recommend the accessions of Don José Pavon, very affectionate, and greetings to Don José de Castro, and Don José de Leticia whom I keep in mind for Manila and agencies that may offer themselves.

[Postscript]

The last notes were written on 23 July 1697, when anchored in Palapa. The [outgoing] galleon had already left on the 9th. I am sending these news by the Coast [of Coromandel] aboard a ship that is leaving for Malacca this afternoon. In another letter, due to leave for Bantam within 15 days, I will write more. I say that after the bad storms and illnesses, specially in my companion, Brother Manuel (who sends his greetings to Y.R.) we arrived healthy at Manila, not to rest but to suffer from new storms in the way of many lawsuits that are embroiling all the religious orders on account of the novelties, steps, visitations, and other things that Y.R. will see from the despatches that are addressed to you, with powers-of-attorney from all the orders that are very united and in complete fraternity and collaboration, and thus with less disquiet. May Y.R. with the endeavor that you know best, help us all. Within 15 days, another vessel will leave to go directly to Bantam, which will contain a longer despatch, along with two Procurators, Father fray Jaime Mimbela of the Order of St. Dominic, and fray Juan Antonio de San Agustin, a Recollect, who have been chosen by the five Provincials together and given their powers for them to appear at Court with the complete assistance and direction of Y.R.² Meanwhile Y.R. should take care, in case they are detained, not to lose any time, or opportunity to advise by way of Holland of the receipt of these despatches and powers with the records of the on-going proceedings. I remain for now here in San Miguel where resides Father Provincial Antonino Tuccio who received his Patent in October 1696, and he does it very well.³ Nevertheless, the lawsuits are so

1 Ed. note: Old slang term for a judge's robe, or the dignity of a counsellor.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Mimbela arrived at the Philippines in 1694 (B&R 43:85). With Fray San Antonio and Fr. Xaramillo, he helped Fr. Berart, O.P., to write the Memorial of the religious orders (full text in B&R 42:64-112), and had it printed when he reached Madrid in 1700. The King settled the controversy in a decree dated Aranjuez 20 May 1700. As for Mimbela, he ended up as a bishop in Peru.

3 Ed. note: Fr. Morales was to replace him as Provincial in 1699.

bothersome. Will Y.R. please keep our Father General fully informed about them, because lack of time does not permit me to do so in a different letter than this one. May Our Lord save Y.R., whom I again entrust to please beg the Marquis of Dicastillo for a notarized receipt for the 1,669 pesos and 1 tomin that I had received from Master-of-camp Don Luis de Matienzo and which had been in my care, and which I turned over to His Lordship in 1685;¹ make sure they are notarized, as I have asked them to be, because the obligation has not yet been cancelled overhere, regarding which I am writing to said Mr. Villatoro a letter dated 19 January 1698, etc.²

San Miguel, 19 January 1698.

[Unsigned]³

1 Ed. note: Fr. Morales lived at Madrid between 1683 and 1689.

2 Ed. note: Diego de Villatoro seems to have been a lobbyist often petitioning the Council of the Indies.

3 Ed. note: However, the context and other circumstantial evidence point to Fr. de Morales as the author. He had been living in Mexico since 1689, but the new procurator, Fr. Irigoyen, probably brought him an order from his Provincial, Fr. Magino Sola, to return to Manila. San Miguel was then a village on the Pasig River outside the walls of Manila.

Documents 1697J

Two more letters sent to Fr. Xaramillo

J1. Letter from Dr. Pedro de Silva, dated Manila 6 January 1697

Source: RAH 9/2669, doc. 54.

Notes: Dr. Pedro de Silva was a graduate of the Jesuit College of Manila, who became a secular priest. This letter was received in Spain on 14 October 1698.

Original extract in Spanish.

Mi Padre Antonio Xaramillo.

Pax Christi, etc^a

Ya no me acuerdo las cartas que tha(?) repetidas tengo a V.R^a en tantas ocasiones como e escrito a España...

...
Yo me ordene con el Señor Obispo de Troya, que esta aora intimo nuestro, acabe con mis estudios a Dios gracias y tube el acto maior...

Las Islas Marianas estan conquistadas asta la 14, y reducidas a 5 por Quiroga, el que esta por Governador aora no es para ello, que es D. Joseph Madrazo ya le avia avisado a V.R^a el Padre Morales, que fuera de Quiroga esta y quiere serlo el General D. Bernardo de Andaya, y el Capitan D. Antonio Basarte que esta [hijo de la Comp^a que nos esta oy sustentando, y no save lo que se tiene, y tan virtuoso que es el exemplo desta Ciudad y mui afecto aquellas Yslas y creame V.R^a que soy solo quien le conoze, el dicho ya le conocera V.R^a ya savia V.R^a como ban el [sic] Padres Juan de Yrigoién, y Pedro Martin por Procuradores. Aqui claman todos por Missioneros por[que] ya no ay sujetos.

Doy a V.R^a los agradecimientos del favor que me a echo en remitir las Cartas a mi Padre por mano del Rector de mi tierra Llerena, y suplico a V.R^a prosiga, y remita aora ellas...

...
*Paisano y afecto de V.R^a a quien guarde Dios muchos años.
Enero 6 de 1697.*

*De V.R.^a Paisano y afecto siervo,
Pedro de Silva.*

Translation.

My dear Father Antonio Xaramillo.
Peace of Christ, etc.

I no longer remember how many letters I have written to Y.R. on so many occasions that I wrote to Spain...

...

I was ordained by the Bishop of Troya, who is now our intimate friend. I have finished with my studies, thank God, and took the major step...

The Mariana Islands have been conquered as far as the 14th, and reduced to 5 [sic] by Quiroga. The man who is now Governor, that is Don José Madrazo, is not up to it. Father Morales had already advised Y.R. that it should belong to Quiroga, General Don Bernardo de Andaya¹ wishes the post, and so does Captain Don Antonio Basarte who is a former student of the Society and the man who is now sustaining us, but he does not know what is going on; he is such a virtuous man that he serves as an example for this whole City and is very affectionate toward those Islands. Believe me, Y.R., I am the only one who knows him, but Y.R. will have a chance to learn of him as Fathers Juan de Irigoyen and Pedro Martín are going as procurators. Here everybody cries out for missionaries, because there are no subjects.

I give Y.R. thanks for the favor that you have done me in forwarding the letters to my father, through the hands of the Rector of my hometown, Llerena, and I beg Y.R. to continue, and forward these new ones...

...

Your countryman who affectionately wish that God may save Y.R. for many years.
6 January 1697.

Y.R.'s countryman and affectionate servant,
Pedro de Silva.

J2. Letter from Fr. Serrano, dated Manila 29 April 1697

Source: RAH 9/2669, doc. 58 (2 copies).

Note: Received in Spain on 14 October 1698, and answered by the fleet of 1699.

Original extract in Spanish.

*Mi Padre Procurador General Antonio Mathias Xaramillo
Pax Christi etc^a*

¹ Ed. note: Bernardo de Endaya, who arrived at Manila in 1684, was the brother of Thomas de Endaya.

*Por la costa escrivi a V.R^a mui a la larga respondienddo juntamente a una de V.R^a que recevi con la Nao intitulada **Nuestra Señora del Rosario, San Francisco Xavier y Santa Rosa...***

Han muerto este año el Padre Provincial Magino Sola; su amigo y abuelo de V.R^a el Padre Isidro Clarete, y el Padre Nicolas Cani... Entro a gobernar esta Prov^a en lugar del Padre Magino Sola el Padre Antonino Tuccio Rector entonces del Colegio de Manila. Bino asignado de Roma por su compañero el Padre Pablo Clain, con que deajo la chatreda [sic] de Theologia.

...

*Aora dos años embie a Mexico un libro mio fabricado en la soledad de Indan[g], cuyo asunto es manifestar al mundo la grandeza y excelencia suma de los **Siete Principes de los Angeles**, que asisten al Trono de Dios y de la utilidad de su devoçion; el qual libro no sé aun si se a impreso: porque la limosna que yo embie, que fue de trecientos pessos, no bastava para la impression, por ser necessarios mil y docientos, segun era la grandexa del Tomo. Y porque ay en Madrid cuesta menos el imprimir escrivi al Padre Procurador General de esta Prov^a en Mexico que se lo remitiera a V.R^a con la limosna de los Trecientos pesos y algo mas, que puede ser embie yo este año para que V.R^a se sirva de disponerla ai ayudandose si fuere posible de la industria y cuidado de mi condicipulo, y paisano el Padre Christoval de Alcaras o del Padre Bartolome Alcasar paisano tambien y casi contemporaneo en los estudios a los quales puede V.R^a disponer que se embie el Libro para que lo revean, enmienden, corrijan, quiten, añadan, y ordenen del mejor modo que les pareciere; lo qual no solo no me sera motivo de sentimiento, sino de mucho gusto: porque en dar a luz dicho Libro no miro otra cosa que la mayor gloria de Dios y que se de el culto y veneracion que se deve a tan grandes Principes mui favorecedores del mundo, de la Yglesia, y de los Reynos, y mui olvidados de todos...*

...

Concluyo en encomendandome mui de veras en los Santos Sacrificios y oraciones de V.R^a cuya vida guarde Nuestro Señor como desseo y suplico.

Manila y Abril 29 de 1697 años.

Muy siervo de V.R^a

Jhs

Andres Serrano

Translation.

My dear Father Procurator General Antonio Matias Xaramillo.

Peace of Christ, etc.

By way of the Coast [of Coromandel] I wrote to Y.R. a very long letter, and also answered another from Y.R. which I received with the galleon named **Nuestra Señora del Rosario, San Francisco Xavier y Santa Rosa [in 1696]...**

Those who died this past year include Father Provincial Magino Sola; the friend and grandfather [sic] of Y.R., Father Isidro Clarete, and Father Nicolas Cani... Father Antonino Tuccio, then Rector of the College of Manila, has replaced Father Magino Sola in the administration of this Province. An order came from Rome, assigning Father Pablo Clain as his companion; that is why he left the chair of Theology.

...
[He goes on to give the news of the College of Manila and news about the Philippines.]

Two years ago I sent to Mexico a book of mine that I wrote in the solitude of Indan[g], whose purpose is to show to the world the greatness and extreme excellence of the **Seven Princes of the Angels** who stand by the Throne of God and to demonstrate the usefulness of the devotion to them. I do not yet know if this book was published,¹ because the alms that I sent, which was 300 pesos, was not sufficient for the printing, as 1,200 pesos were needed, according to the size of the volume. And because overthere in Madrid it cost less to print, I wrote to Father Procurator General of this Province in Mexico to forward it to Y.R. along with the alms of 300 pesos, and something more that I might send this year so that Y.R. be pleased to arrange the matter overthere, by making use, if possible, of the industry and care of my fellow student, and countryman, Father Cristobal de Alcaraz or Father Bartolomé Alcazar, also my countryman and almost my contemporary in studies, to whom Y.R. could arrange that the book be sent, so that they may review, amend, correct it, remove from or add to it, and arrange it the best way they see fit; I would not consider this deplorable, but would welcome it very much if they do, because in authoring said book, I look no further than the greater glory of God and an increase in the cult and veneration that are due to such great Princes, very much appreciated by the world, the Church, and the Kingdoms, but very much forgotten by everyone...

...
I conclude by commending myself very earnestly to the holy sacrifices and prayers of Y.R. whose life may Our Lord save as I wish and beg Him to.

Manila, 29 April 1697.

Y.R.'s faithful servant,

Jhs

Andrés Serrano

1 Ed. note: It was indeed printed (see Bibliography, for the year 1705).

Document 1697K

The Jesuits' vain attempt to explore the Carolines in 1697

Sources: 1) Fr. Murillo Velarde's Historia de Filipinas (1st ed. 1716); 2) copied, almost verbatim, by Fr. Delgado's "Historia general sacro-profana...", Book 1, Chapter 24 (see Bibliography).

Note: The following text is by Fr. Delgado.

Brother Xavier went out in a sloop but became shipwrecked in Samar

Original text in Spanish.

Ofreció prontamente la provincia de la Compañía de Jesús de Filipinas todos los sujetos que fueron necesarios para el descubrimiento de aquellas islas y cultivo de aquella nueva viña, y salieron algunos en varias ocasiones para esta empresa, frustrándose siempre con noble sentimiento de todos, porque acaso no debe haber llegado el tiempo preordinado para la divina previsión para la conversión de aquella gentilidad.

*El año de 1697, por Septiembre, se dispuso en Manila con limosnas de varios piadosos una goleta, y en ella se embarcó el Hermano Jaime Xavier de la Compañía de Jesús, bastante inteligente en la náutica, con orden de pasar por Guiguan [sic], donde se hallaba el Padre Francisco Prado, para que desde el pueblo salieran los dos á buscar las islas de Palaos; tenía asimismo dicho padre prevenida una embarcación grande, al uso de las visayas llamadas **sacayán** en lengua de los naturales.*

*Llegó por Noviembre la goleta á Balanguigan, pueblo cercano á Guiguan; desembarcóse el hermano no sin especial providencia de Dios; porque aquella misma noche entró un temporal ó **baguio**, than deshecho que, garreando las anclas, sacó la goleta mar afuera, donde se sumergió con toda la tripulación que llevaba, sin que hasta ahora se haya sabido más de ella.*

Pasó no obstante á Guiguan dicho hermano y reconoció la embarcación que había prevenido el padre, y no le pareció capaz para salir con ella al mar grande, con lo cual se volvió á Manila...

Translation.

The province of the Philippines of the Society of Jesus promptly offered all the subjects necessary for the exploration of those islands and the cultivation of this new vineyard, and a few went out on various occasions for this enterprise, but were always frustrated, much to the noble regret of everyone, because perhaps the time predestined by divine providence had not yet arrived for the conversion of those heathen.

In September 1697, a sloop was made ready in Manila with alms from various residents, and aboard it Brother Jaime Xavier, a man knowledgeable in navigational matters,¹ embarked, with an order to pass by Guiguan [=Guivan], where Father Francisco Prado resided, in order for both of them to depart from said town for the Palaos Islands. The Father had also prepared a large boat, used in the Visayas and called by the natives *sacayán* in their language.²

In November, the sloop arrived at Balanguigan, a town near Guivan. The Brother stepped ashore, and this was not without a special providence from God, because that same night, a storm or *baguio* [=typhoon] occurred, one so furious that the sloop dragged its anchors and was pushed to the high sea, where it capsized, drowning all the crewmen who had been on board, as nothing was ever heard of them.

Nevertheless, said Brother went on to Guivan and he surveyed the boat that the Father had reserved, but he did not think it suitable to go out to the high seas with it. Therefore, he returned to Manila...

Editors' remark.

See primary-source references, quoted in Doc. 1705I, in the form of a letter by Fr. Morales, and another by Fr. Gonzalez (in answer to Fr. Tuccio).

1 Ed. note: Fr. Murillo Velarde adds the important detail that Br. Xavier was Dutch, meaning Flemish.

2 Ed. note: This word simply describes a "transporter," or trading canoe. It was probably a large double-outrigger canoe of the *barangay* type.

Document 1698A

Draft annual report for 1697-98

Source: RAH 9/2678, doc. n° 6.

Note: This appears to be a copy of something Fr. Bouwens might have written, for his style of punctuation, his writing Chiavarij, etc. but it must have been penned by Fr. Cundari, another foreigner, as new Superior.

Original text in Spanish.

Puntos para la carta annua de esta Mision de Marianas de la Compañia de Jesus año de 1698.

Componese esta Mission de diez sacerdotes, un Hermano Coadjutor y dos Donados[.] en Agaña que es la cabezera residen el Padre Vice Provincial Antonino Cundari, el Padre Diego de Zarzosa, Ministro de Españoles i Indios, el Hermano Jaime Chiavarij con el cargo de la botica y exercicio de Medico y zirujano con otros ministerios domesticos y el Hermano Joseph de Espinosa, Donado que le ayuda en ellos. En el Colegio de los Niños estan el Padre Miguel de Aparicio, Rector de los Seminarios, y el Hermano Melchor de Santa Cruz, Donado. En Pago, administra el Padre Thomas Cardeñoso, en Agat el Padre Lorenzo Bustillo, en Finna [sic] el Padre Basilio Leroulx, en Merizo administra el Padre Felipe Maria Muscati dos Partidos por falta de Ministro[.] en la Isla de Rota esta solo el Padre Juan Tilpe, y en la de Seipan administra el Padre Gerardo Bouvens, el partido de Fatiguan, y el de Anaguan el Padre Juan Sermeisen, adonde poco ha se acabó de levantar nueva yglesia.

El zelo del aprovechamiento propio y de los proximos esta en su vigor en los nuestros y es mas de loar la incesante asistencia a los ministerios con Indios y Españoles consideradas las pocas fuerzas de los Ministros asi por estar los mas achacosos, como por ser tan contados que no ai quien pueda aliviar, o remudar a otro.

De los ministerios que son los mismos que se dixo el año pasado con Españoles i Indios se cogen abundantes frutos que sirven de consuelo y aliento para trabajar a los que por falta de fuerzas pudieran tener algun desmaio o desaliento.

En las mugeres casadas con los soldados de este Presidio se ven por lo general buenos exemplos de christiana devocion, y santo temor de Dios, a que se cuidan con la frecuencia de los santos sacramentos de la confesion y comunion, y la asistencia puntual a oir la palabra de Dios. Una de estas nuevas Christianas casada con un Español mos-

trava algun desafecto y mala cara a su marido, el qual reparo en ello y le pregunto la causa: ella le respondió que poco aprovecharia el decirsela, mas que si queria oirla avia de ser en la yglesia delante del Padre Vice Provincial. Vino el marido en ello, y estando ambos en la yglesia delante de dicho Padre le dixo la muger con zelo Christiano: la causa de mostrarte mala cara es porque he visto que a la muchacha que esta en nuestra casa depositada por orden del Padre le muestras mas amor del que debieras con acciones menos decentes y la has solisitado dos vezes aunque sin efecto por averse ella resistido; has porfiado, en que ha de dormir dentro de nuestro pavellon reclamando yo que no es esto conforme a la decencia; y por eso te he negado el debito: díme, añadió con un ardor que atemorizava a el marido y lo tenia atonito; si esto lo saven los soldados y los Indios que diran de tí que eres Christiano antiguo y español? y que exemplo tomaran los que son nuebos en la fee? E no teniendo que responder por ser verdad lo que su muger le oponia confesó que tenia razon y que proponia enmendarse en adelante y no dar ocasion de justa quexa a su muger.

[The case of the saintly Mariano boy, Manuel Maañao]

Del Colegio de los Niños se llevo Dios para sí a un Colegialito llamado Manuel Maañao como santo sazonado para el Cielo: fue su muerte a los 22 de febrero de este presente año de 1698 y de tanta ternura y consuelo por la buena disposicion con que se preparó para ella que a dos sacerdotes que le asistieron y a todos los Niños del Colegio saco las lagrimas a los ojos la debocion y tiernos afectos con que hablava con Christo Crucificado y con su santissima Madre pidiendo con fervorosos suspiros perdon de sus pecados y verse libre de las penas del Purgatorio de que mostrava tener tanto miedo como si las viera con los ojos. Dos meses antes empezó a prepararse para la muerte este Angelito porque avisado que la calentura etica que tenia ya arraigada le iria consumiendo poco a poco empezó a hazer una vida de un Novicio fervoroso: Confesava y comulgava cada ocho dias, rezava el Rosario con mucha devocion, traía continuo cuidado de su alma recurriendo a Dios, a la Virgen Santissima, y a los Santos de su debocion con frequentes oraciones y jaculatorias: hizo la novena de San Francisco Xavier pidiendo al Santo no tanto la salud, que estava resignado en morir, quanto una buena muerte, y asi confiamos de la bondad de Dios nuestro Señor y de la intercesion de su Santissima Madre y de S. Francisco Xavier que voló su alma al Cielo libre de las penas del Purgatorio de que tan fervorosamente pedía librarse por los meritos de la Passion de Christo nuestro Señor.

Generalmente se ven en estos nuevos Christianos muchas muestras de ir echando en ellos buenas raizes la fee. Hazen mucho aprecio de los sacramentos de la yglesia y los piden con tiempo en sintiendose gravamente enfermos haziendose llevar a la yglesia: tienen caval concepto del sigilo, de manera que de los mas no se recela que callen pecados por verguenza y los que pudieran tener algun empacho con su proprio Parroco buscan a otro, para descargar su conciencia y en quanto a el dolor y proposito dan bastantes muestras de tenerlo y de hazer concepto de la eternidad de las penas del Infierno y del premio de la Bienaventuranza.

Uno entre otros en el partido de Agat aviendose confesado con muestras de mucho dolor para morir y recevido el viatico, durando despues con la misma enfermedad nueve mes y pidio otras veces la comunion y viendose ya a lo ultimo se hizo traer a la yglesia llorando amargamente sus pecados pidiendo a Dios perdon de ellos, y que por su Passion y muerte lo librase de las penas de el ynfierno: y eran tantos los extremos que hazia por el temor del ynfierno que fue menester consolarlo y alentar su esperanza con la consideracion de la Passion de Nro. Redemptor Jesu Christo que tan copiosamente satisfizo por nuestros pecados. Con esta instruccion cesó su congoja y hablando tiernamente con Christo crucificado que tenia en las manos le pedia por sus sacratissimas llagas de manos, pies, y costado tubiese misericordia de su alma y la encaminase a la vida eterna: hizo una confesion general con muchos sollozos y lagrimas y se volvio consolado a su casa donde exercitandose en tiernos coloquios con Christo Crucificado sin apartado de la vista y de la consideracion con fervorosos actos de fee, esperanza y caridad y contricion de sus pecados ynvocando los dulcissimos nombres de Jesus y de Maria espiro con gran consuelo de los que estaban presentes y esperanza de que fue a gozar de Dios en su gloria.

Vienen a confesar muchos entre año sin ser llamados conociendo el grave peso de las culpas y procurando exonerar sus conciencias de tan pesada carga. Muchos hazen confesiones generales de la vida pasada acusandose con toda expresion de todos sus pecados y de las circunstancias mas graves de ellos.

En admitir a la comunion a los recién convertidos se va con mucho tiento haziendoles tener hambre de este pan soberano, mas algunos se disponen tan bien para ser admitidos y dan tantas muestras de fee y vida christiana que se les consede con mucha satisfaccion y consuelo de los Ministros Evangelicos.

Muchos se señalen en la devocion tierna con la Passion de Christo nuestro Señor y espesialmente se les conoce su piadoso afecto quando se disponen para morir teniendo el santo Crucifixo en las manos. Siendo llamado el Padre Ministro de la Isla de Rota para sacramentar a un Indio le hallo sin habla ni muestras de sentido[.] aplicole el crucifixo a los labios y luego empezo a moverlos y a abrir los ojos, ya siendo el santo Christo con las manos lo besó con ternura y se abrazó con el, y aunque no podia hablar daba muestras de entender lo que el Padre le decia y de tener mucho dolor de sus pecados con que recivio la absolucion sacramental con mucho consuelo de los presentes.

Juan Hohot vecino de Sinaaña buen christiano y que ha dado muestras de su fee peleando valerosamente contra los alzados el año de 84 y aora ultimamente contra los mismos en la conquista de las Islas del Norte[.] aviendo enfermado su muger[.] la traxo [sic] a sacramentar a la yglesia y la deposito despues en casa de un soldado Español para que tubiese mas a mano la asistencia de los Padres y los remedios corporales: quiso Dios llevarla para sí estando mui bien dispuesta y el la aiudo a bien morir con tanto fervor y con tales razones y tan tiernos coloquios con Jesu Christo y su Santissima Madre que enternecia y admirava a los soldados que lo oían y digeron despues que el religioso mas fervoroso no pudiera hazerlo mejor. Otra muger casada con un Capitan Español aiudo a bien morir a su Madre con el mismo fervor y con ternura y admiracion

de su marido que no cesava despues de ponderar las razones tan tiernas y eficaces con que la hablava de la Gloria y de la hermosura de la Santissima Virgen y de las cosas de la otra vida alentandola a desear el ver a Dios en el Cielo en compañia de la Virgen y de los Santos.

Semejantes a estos se pudieran contar otros muchos casos que por ser poco debersas sus circunstancias se omiten y todos muestran quan liberal anda la misericordia de Dios con sus escogidos, que no son pocos, a lo que se puede piadosamente colegir, los que tiene su Magd. en estas Islas.

Tienen generalmente mucha devocion a la Santa Cruz como a instrumento de nuestra Redempcion y la erigen en sus casas y sementeras para defenderse y defenderlas de los acometimientos del poder ynfernal. A los entierros acompaña el Pueblo rezando el Rosario por el alma del difunto y en sus casas en los que rezan cada dia los encomiendan a Dios. En muchos se ve horror a las ofensas de Dios especialmente a las escandalosas: un soldado pidio a un Indio le solicitase a una muger y el respondio con christiano desembarazo que no queria irse por su causa a el Infierno. Otro Indio del partido de Merizo aviendo encontrado en lo escondido del monte una casilla que presumio seria acogida de algunos deshonestos para sus torpezas le pego fuego para quitarles la ocasion.

Finalmente se pueden contar por frutos de los Ministerios de esta Mission los bautismos que se han hecho desde primero de Maio del año pasado de 97 hasta fines de Abril de este presente de 98 que son 521, y los difuntos adultos que han muerto con los sacramentos de la yglesia que son 306, y los Niños con la gracia bautismal que son 65, de todo lo qual rendimos a Dios nuestro Señor las gracias y a la piedad Catolica de nuestro gran Monarca Carlos Segundo que con tanta piedad socorre a esta Apostolica Mission.

Translation.

Points for the annual report of this Mariana Mission of the Society of Jesus for 1698.

This Mission consists of 10 priests, 1 Coadjutor Brother and 2 Oblates. In Agaña, which is the capital, there reside Father Vice-Provincial Antonino Cundari, Father Diego de Zarzosa, Minister to the Spanish and Indians, Brother Jaime Chavarri with the responsibility for the pharmacy and practising as physician and surgeon, plus other internal ministries, and Brother José de Espinosa, an oblate who assists him in everything. In the College for Boys are Father Miguel de Aparicio, Rector of the Seminaries, and Brother Melchor de Santa Cruz, an oblate.¹ The minister of Pago is Father Tomás Cardeñoso; that of Agat is Father Lorenzo Bustillo; that of Finna [sic] is Father Basi-

¹ Ed. note: There is no mention of Brother José Sanchez, who may have arrived before 1696. He is probably the oblate said to have resigned (see Doc. 1699A).

lio Leroulx; that of Merizo is Father Felipe María Muscati who looks after two districts, for lack of ministers.¹ In the Island of Rota, Father Juan Tilpe is alone, and in that of Seipan, Father Gerardo Bouvens administers the district of Fatiguan, and Father Juan Sermeisen that of Anaguan, wherethe construction of a church has just been completed recently.²

The zeal for self-improvement and toward their neighbors is in full vigor among our people, and what is most admirable is the ceaseless attendance to the ministries by Indians and Spanish alike, considering the fact that the Ministers have shaky health, not only because most of them have regular illnesses, but also because there are so few of them that there is no-one who could relieve, or replace another.

Regarding the ministries, that are the same as those mentioned last year, with Spanish and Indians, abundant fruits are gathered that serve as consolation and encouragement to work for those who might otherwise become tired or discouraged, on account of their [physical] strength.

Among the women married to the soldiers of this Garrison there generally can be seen good examples of Christian devotion and holy fear of God, which are cared for with frequent attendance to the holy sacraments of penance and communion, and the punctual attendance to hear the word of God. One of these new Christian women, married with a Spaniard, was showing some displeasure and a bad face to her husband. The latter noticed it and asked her the reason for it. She answered that little would be gained by telling him, but if he wished to listen to her, it had to be inside the church before the Father Vice-Procincial. The husband agreed, and when they were both in the church before said Father, the woman told him with a Christian zeal: "The reason why I am making faces to you is because I have noticed that you show more love than you should to the girl who is in our house, placed there by order of the Father, with acts less decent, and you have solicited her twice, although without success because she resisted it. Your have insisted that she should sleep inside our bedroom, but I have protested that such a thing is contrary to decency. That is why I have refused to do my duty to you. Tell me," she added with a eagerness that terrorized her husband and astounded him, "if the soldiers and the Indians should hear of it, what would they say about you, who is an old Christian and a Spaniard? and what example would derive from it those who are new in the faith?" Unable to answer his wife with anything, because it was true what she said, he confessed that she was right and that he would amend himself in future and not give his wife an opportunity for a just complaint.

[The case of the saintly Mariano boy, Manuel Maañao]

From the College for Boys God took to Himself a small college boy named Manuel Maañao, as a saint ripe for Heaven. He died on 22 February of this year 1698 and he caused such tenderness and consolation in the two priests who assisted him, and in all

1 Ed. note: The other church was at Umatac.

2 Ed. note: Fatiguan is called Chalan Kanoa today, and Anaguan is now Garapan.

the boys of the College, on account of the good disposition with which he prepared himself, that it made them cry to witness the devotion and tender affections with which he spoke with Christ on the cross and with His most holy Mother, asking with zealous whispers pardon for his sins and to avoid the punishments of Purgatory, of which he showed so much fear that he seemed that he could see it with his own eyes. Two months previously, this little Angel began to prepare himself, because he had been advised that the hectic fever that he had, had already taken root and was consuming him little by little.¹ He began to live the life of a zealous Novice: he went to confession and took communion every 8 days, recited the Rosary with much devotion, and took continuous care of his soul, by resorting to God, to the most Blessed Virgin, and to the Saints of his devotion, with frequent prayers and utterances. He made a novena to St. Francis Xavier, asking the Saint not so much for health, as he was resigned to die, but for a good death, and thus we trust in the kindness of God our Lord and in the intercession of His most Blessed Mother and of St. Francis Xavier that his soul flew to Heaven, free of the punishments of Purgatory, which he so zealously begged to be freed from, through the merits of the Passion of Christ our Lord.

Generally these new Christians give many signs that the faith is taking firm root in them. They very much appreciate the sacraments of the Church and they ask for them in time when they feel themselves to be gravely ill, by having themselves carried to the church. They have a proper idea of the secret of the confessional, so that most of them do not fear it, enough to keep quiet about their sins out of shame; those who might be bashful with their own parish priest look for another to discharge their conscience, and with respect to the sorrow and purpose, they give enough signs that they have them and to understand the eternity of the punishments of Hell and of the reward of Heaven.

One among many others, in the district of Agat, had confessed with signs of much sorrow before dying, and had received the viaticum, but his illness lasted 9 months. He was then able to ask for communion many times, and when he saw that his final hour had come, he asked to be taken to the church, crying bitterly for his sins, begging God to pardon them, and to free him from the punishments of Hell through His Passion and death. He went to such extremes for fear of Hell that it became necessary to console him and encourage him to hope in view of the Passion of our Redeemer Jesus Christ who so copiously made amends for our sins. After this instruction, his anguish ceased and speaking tenderly with Christ on the cross, which he held in his hands, he asked that, through the most holy wounds on His hands, feet, and side to have pity on his soul and lead it toward eternal life. He made a general confession with many sobs and tears and went home consoled. There, he kept exercising himself in holding tender colloquies with Christ on the cross, without taking his sight and consideration from it, with zealous acts of faith, hope and charity, and contrition for his sins, and, invoking

1 Ed. note: Although he caught this infection in December 1697, it had been brought to Guam in June 1697 by the galleon San José.

the sweetest names of Jesus and Mary, he expired, at the great consolation of those who were present and the hope that he went to enjoy God in His glory.

Many come to confession during the year without being called, knowing the grave weight of the sins and trying to exonerate their consciences from such a heavy load. Many make general confessions of their past life with the full expression of all of their sins and of the more serious circumstances of them.

In admitting the newly-converted to communion, much circumspection is taken, making them hunger for this sovereign bread, but some prepare themselves so well to be admitted and they give so many signs of faith and Christian living that they are granted it with much satisfaction and consolation on the part of the Gospel Ministers.

Many stand out by their tender devotion to the Passion of Christ our Lord and their pious affection can be seen clearly when they prepare themselves to die, when they hold the holy Crucifix in their hands. For example, when the Father Minister of the Island of Rota was called one day to give the sacraments to an Indian whom he found to be speechless and with no signs of consciousness. He applied the crucifix to his lips and then he began to move them and to open his eyes. The crucifix was then in his hands; he raised it to his lips to kiss it tenderly and embraced it. Although he could not speak, he gave signs that he could understand; so, the Father told him to be repentant of his sins and then he gave him absolution, with much consolation for those present.

Juan Hohot, a resident of Sinaaña, is a good Christian who has given signs of his faith by fighting valorously against the rebels in the year 1684, and most recently against those same people in the conquest of the northern Islands. His wife became sick. He brought her to the church for the sacraments and afterward deposited her in the house of a Spanish soldier so that she would be closer to the assistance of the Fathers and the physical remedies. God decided to take her to Himself, when she was very well prepared. Her husband helped her to die with so much fervor and with such reasoning and such tender colloquies with Jesus Christ and His most Blessed Mother that the soldiers who heard him were moved and surprised so much that afterwards they said that the most zealous religious could not have done better. Another woman married to a Spanish captain helped her mother to die well with the same fervor, so moving and surprising her husband that afterwards he would not cease to mention the very tender and efficient reasons that she used to speak of the Glory and of the beauty of the most Blessed Virgin and of the things of the afterlife, by encouraging her to wish to see God in Heaven, in the company of the Virgin and of the Saints.

Many other such cases could be narrated but they are similar and their circumstances not too different and thus are omitted. All of them demonstrate how liberal the compassion of God is toward His chosen ones, enough to lead one to piously speculate that His Majesty has not a few of them in these Islands.

Generally they have much devotion to the Holy Cross as an instrument of our Redemption and they erect some in their homes and plantations to defend themselves and them from attacks by infernal powers. The town people accompany the burial processions, reciting the Rosary for the soul of the deceased and in the homes of those who

say it every day, they commend them to God. Many show horror when God is offended, specially toward scandalous women. For instance, a soldier had asked an Indian man to solicit a woman for him, but he answered back with a Christian excuse, saying that he did not want to go to Hell because of him. Another Indian man from the district of Merizo, having come across a shack well hidden in the bush and suspecting that it was a place of dishonest rendez-vous for some people to satisfy their torpidities, set fire to it to remove the occasion from them.

Finally, the baptisms that can be counted as fruits of the ministries of this Mission and made between the 1st of May of last year 1697 until the end of April of this year 1698 total 521. The number of adults who have died with the sacraments of the Church is 306, and the children who have died with the grace of baptism are 65 in number. We render thanks to God our Lord for all of this and to the Catholic piety of our great Monarch, Charles II, who so piously succor this Apostolic Mission.¹

¹ Ed. note: Baptisms of children newly moved from the northern Islands would have been higher than normal that year, or in any case higher than the number of births.

Document 1698B

Jesuit annual report for 1698, by Fr. Bouwens

Source: "Onuitgegeven Brieven van eenige Paters der Societeit van Jesus, Missionarissen in China, van de XVIIde en XVIIIde eeuw, met anteekeningen, door P. Visschers R. C. Priester." Edited by Fr. Visscher (Arnhem, Josué Witz, 1857); letter on pp. 33-42.

Note: A French translation exists in the archives of the Southern Belgian Province of the Jesuits at Brussels. Both Latin and French versions were used by me for the English translation below.

Letter addressed to Fr. Conrad Janning in Antwerp, dated Guam 20 November 1698

Original text in Latin.

Reverendo Patri in Christo,

P. Conrado Janningo Soctis Jesu, Antverpiæ.

Relatio eorum quæ gesta sunt in missione Mariana anno 1698.

Ad tres insulas: Guahan, Rota, et Zaypan pacifice traducti sunt, quotquot reliquas incolebant magis boreales. Causam dedit innata Indis omnibus inconstantia. Trecenti plus minus, subactis anno 95 a tribuno militum D. Prætoris Damiani Desplana Marianas has insulas ad tempus gubernabat, Agiguan, Tinian, et Zaypan, illius jussu in harum ultima pedem fixerant; reliquis, quo moram excusarent, navicularum defectum prætexentibus. Interea Prætor Manilanus auctoritate Regia inde submisit, qui exauctorato D. Josepho, regimen susciperet insularum. Hinc successu caruit, qui sperabatur, res bene inchoata; quin imo ex iis, qui in insula Zaypan jam fixerant domicilia, nunc hi, nunc illi tacite subducebant sese, vel sponte sua amore Patriæ allecti, vel instigati a suis, quo fugam meditarentur. Eam anno superiore arripuere nocte intempestiva sub finem mensis junii plus minus quadringenti, quorum alii suscepto baptismo legitime contraxerant in facie Ecclesiæ: alii sacris necdum initiati vivebant more Patrio. Ut rem audivi primo mane, litteras expedivi ad R. P. V. Provincialem, suis etiam adjunctis ad D. Gubernatorem. Quid multa? Superioris dispositione delectuque D. Gubernatoris jussus fui lustrare totam illam plagam Septemtrionalium insularum adjunctis duodecim militibus una cum suo ductore, qui vim arceret armis, si quæ forsant intentaretur a barbaris, qui, ne, ut alias, moram necerent defectu navicularum, quibus maria

illa trajicerent, cogente D. Prætoře 140 expediti sunt hisce ex insulis quæ incoluntur: Guahan, Rota, et Zaypan.

24^a Septembris vix portum classis reliquerat, cum ecce ventus vehemens e vestigio tam ferociter mare adoritur, ut malis aliquot vim turbinis non ferentibus, omnes navicularum stationes seligere coacti sint. Post triduum resarcito damno felicius navigare cæpimus, ita ut post diurnam nocturnamque velificationem sese in conspectu dederit insularum magis vicina, Anatahan vulgo nuncupant, accessu perquam difficillima ob rupes, cautesque quibus undique circumcingitur, omni prorsus portu, omni navium statione destituta: rupes et saxa pro statione habuere naves, humeris eorum (qui advenerant) in altum sublata. In interiora insularum antra, montiumque cacumina sane altissima incolæ se receperant insolenti navium numero, ubi primum illas detexerant, perterriti. At nostris nihil hostiliter agentibus ad tuguria sua reversi, supra 300, qui insulam incolebant, baptizatis parvulis, fretum istud transmisere non sine discrimine; nam decem ac forte plures ferociens mare deglutivit prius quam insulæ huic proximam attingerent. Eadem Neptuni Æolique inclementia, minori quidem damno, at non incommodo, nos ex adverso in vicinam insulam deportavit, Sarigan nomine; haud facile dixero, quo ad ingressum egressumque labore, quo naufragandi periculo. Centum, non plures hanc incolebant. Iis in catalogum relatis, ac sacro fonte parvulis, quos offerebant, expiatis, triduo post mare iterum ingressi sumus; at ego noctem ob malum naviculæ, qua vehebar, vi ventorum dissectæ, agere coactus in proxima substiti non tam insula quam caverna, reliqua classe navigationem ulterius prosequente. Advolarunt illico, qui me in humeros sublatum, per rupes et saxa prærupta exposuere in terram, hærentibus ad littus lembulis aliquot, ita jubente, qui reliquis præerat; ut si forte necessitas postularet, accederent ad subsidium. At nihil periculi a gente perquam officiosa atque pacifica quæ hospitem benevole ac liberaliter pro tenuitate exceptit: verum ob stomachi nauseam, corporisque agitationes continuas decubui quidem, at somnum capere haud potui marinis undis ad cutem tantum non immersus. Postridie summo mane..... offerunt accomodatas, allatisque parvulis aquas lustrales infudi, iisque una cum grandioribus in album relatis lembum conscendi sine jentaculo, sine comæatu, reliquos assecuturus, qui præcesserant.

Insulam Alamagan prætervecti, Pagan illi proximam deteximus. Utriusque lustrationem in reditum nostrum rejecit Classis Præfectus, qui reliquas naves collecturus in priorem divertit. Ego interea ex condicto iter accelerabam in insulam Agrigan nemine comitante ex sociis, nemine subsequente, donec una tandem sub vesperam, alteraque detegeretur ex toto navium numero, quæ nescio quo dispersæ delitescabant. Ubi propius accesserant, amicus Indus inuotuit alter; alter vero ad insulam Alamagan Ductore nostro recurrerat, unde redux in Agrigan, ubi habebat domicilium, eo secum avehebat, qui anno 84 in insula Rota fœde læserat V. P. Carolum Borangam Austriacum, qui, post annuam Madriti moram, præcluso in Philippinas aditu, abeuntibus nobis ad Indos anno 71, ad suos ipse redux Viennam, voti vocationisque Indicæ post integrum decennium compos, Marianas tenuit, iisque triennium strenue excultis gloriosam mortem non ita pridem.... ibidem suffectus eripuit. Sacrilegus itaque aggressor ille Ductori ignotus iter suum mecum prosecutus, ubi exiluerat in terram deinceps nusquam comparuit. Sub mediam noctem post tales nimborum ventorumque furias, ut de vita prope desperarent, qui ad Pagan insulam navigabant, et Agrigan attigimus. Multo murmure perstrepebat littus. Desilire recusavi in terras, donec elucesceret, ut fraus detegi posset, si quæ subesset. Instare illi rogando: at frustra. Suis itaque lembulis propius ipsi accedere, amice omnia offerentes. Verum satis jam superque experientia ipsa nos docuit: tunc vel maxime cavendum, cum omnia tuta pollicentur præcipue Mariani, simulandi, fraudes insidiasque paratas blande ac suaviter contegendi artificii, si qui sint alii. Ad pedes mihi tale haudquaquam sus-

picanti se abjicit eorum non nemo iis doloris indicia, ut lacrymas compatiendi prope elicuerit incerta suspicione: ex iis esse aliquem, qui ob admissa annis præteritis sacrilegia eo receperant sese, quo supplicium effugerent, meque interveniente veniam deprecabundus postularet. Nomen jubenti prodit; quo audito innotuit fidelissime illum famulatum fuisse V. P. Theophilo ab Angelis, quem una cum reliquis nostris anno 84 gloriosa lauro coronatis transmisit ad superos communis horum conjuratio. Interroganti respondit: inopinato nostrorum adventu insulanos summopere esse percultos: cæterum nihil (quod quidem ipse nosset) hostiliter illos moliri. Tunc serio se mihi offerre, ut redeunti inserviret, et ipse rediturus ad suos, quod et præstitit omnium admiratione ob singularem præ reliquis sedulitatem atque modestiam.

Instanti, qui me advenerat, indulsi, ut parentes, cognatosque conveniret in terra illi patria gentis animos exploraturus. Rediit elucescente aurora, sancteque juravit: nihil omnino subesse periculi. In terram exsilii, illico adstiteri illi lanceis fundisque armati in mei tutelam, donec adesset, qui reliquam classem collecturus discesserat. Interea refectis utcumque viribus, nam integro biduo vix quidquam deglutiveram, adfuit qui expectabatur Classis Præfectus, paucis admodum ex tanta navium multitudine comitantibus; siquidem reliquæ in varias insulas prioris anfractus sese receperant aut abdidérant, ut commeatus conquirent pecunia laborare jam cæperant. Ego subinde evocatus ad moribundum, vix sacro illum fonte post assensum, nutu, non loquendi facultatem jam amiserat, præcipuis fidei mysteriis præstitis, abluendam, cum extemplo melius habere cæperit adeo ut intra quatrimum una cum aliis conscensa nave fretum istud transmiserit sospes atque incolumis. Ex adultis nescio quot morti proximi advolarunt ad superos (ut pie confido) ubi primum in Xto fuerant regenerati. Sesquimense hic substitimus, missis interea, quæ ex duabus insulis (has tantum ad Septembrionem, reliquas adire mihi non licuit) evocarent pauculos, (quingenta et aliquot erant universi omnes, qui illas in colebant). Jussa fecere haud inviti: tempestate nanque non ita pridem illic exorta vix quidquam illis supererat reliquum ad vitam diutius tolerandam. Volentes itaque lubentesque se nobis stitire, parvulis ultra ad baptismum oblatis, qui una cum reliquis hac in insula ablutis ad 150 numerantur.

Dum hæc satis prospere ita gerebantur, nescio quid reluctantes meditabantur pauci illi, qui præ reliquis habebantur conspirationis rei, huc, quo tutius laterent, receperant sese, adjungere se illis indigenarum nonnulli, qui patrium solum ægrius deserebant. Recognita, armis, si opus foret, eos aggredi decrevit militum ductor, adscitis ad expeditionem comitantibus Indorum fidelioribus. Haud facile dixerim quot viarum anfractus, quot rupes montium cacumina, præcipitiaque fere inaccessibilem reddebant stationem quam occupaverant certamini jam accincti: ad illorum conspectum umbilico tenus mare ad littus ingressi arma sua expedire milites; ac primum eminus metum adversariis incutere; tum cominus Marianis amicis permixti serio explodere donec uni alterive... trajecta in fugam omnes catervatim se præcipitarunt. In castra deducti plus minus triginta, qui alia via dilapsi incidere in eos, qui latebant in insidiis: captos bene habere jussit ductor, atque ita allexit primum magnatos, tum reliquum vulgus, qui bapatisatis parvulis, aliisque post perceptam fidei doctrinam, qui ob senium, ac infirmitates citra periculum navigare non poterant, in Pagan proximam huic insulam sunt abacti, ulterius inde pro opportunitate deportandi in Guahan. His ita peractis insulam suis jam incolis destitutam lustravimus, igne ut jusserat D. Gubernator, Indorum tuguriis quaquaversus injecto, ne quid superesset, quod abeuntes sollicitaret ad reditum; ac frustra tentatis omnibus, ut latebris suis extraherentur, qui sibi mali conscii veniam desperabant: itineri jam accincti 19 Novembris navigatione satis prospera Pagan insulam attigimus reduces, ibique acceptis a D. Gubernatore litteris illico ablegavit Ductor, qui responsum ferret de rei gestæ suc-

cessu. Reliquas insulas continua navigatione prætervectus, qui ferebat fasciculum, ventorum ferociam tantisper declinaturus in ea, quæ Rota dicitur, facto naufragio vix mortem evasit cum socio, navicula missa ad scopulum dissectaque in frustra, dum portum ingreditur. Quadringentos non excedebant, qui fixis domiciliis Pagan incolebant: quinquaginta ex illis 7 octove naves una cum sua supellectili occuparant, qui ad unum omnes tempestate inter navigandum exorta misere periere ad insulam Alamagan 10 leucarum intervallo distantem, unde discesserant. Fortunati eo infortunio quos ad vitam æternam præordinaverat Deus: siquidem coelum excepit, quos antequam terram desererent, fons sacer abluerat innocuos ac innocentes. In insula procella triduum desæviit, ut citra damnum, quod illi sane magnum minatur quotidie ignis subterraneus, quo toto ferme exurit. Vix 12 leucas ambitu suo insula complectitur; et quod mireris, tantillo spatio septem vel octo montes vesuvii duabus tertiis jam combustis, quod reliquum est, continuo pene incendio depopulantur.

8^a Decembris immaculatæ Virgini sacra reditum prosecuturi Alamagan attigimus, ubi per aliquot menses, sociis militibus perfide ac proditorie in mare detrusis atque submersis anno 84, præsentissimum vitæ periculum tum quidem evasit V. P. perquam amantissimus socius P. Petrus Coomans, quem non ita post eo ipso in loco ubi ego nunc fixum habeo templum ac domicilium, gloriosa et in conspectu Domini pretiosa morte sustulere Zaypani instigantes ad sacrilegum patricidium, et pro ea, qua inter eos tunc pollebat auctoritate, jubente nescio quo invererato....., qui in insula Guahan, cujus erat indigena, anno 80 nobis deprecantibus suspendium evaserat, quod erat promeritus. Biduo nos detinuit Alamagan, rupes præalta, ac spissa ex solido lapide, ad cujus radices pagulos duos inhabitabant ducenti universi. Hos in insulam Guaguan aversos secuti sumus eodem die. Quamquam supra memini non tam insulam esse quam cavernam, eam tamen hospitibus advenis ita occupatam offendimus, ut nobis non esset locus in diversorio. Ductoris itaque jussu sine mora detrusi in mare lembulis, qui saxa rupesque habebant pro statione, abeuntium mapalia occupaturi in antrum illud successimus; atque ibi vel invitis, subsistendum fuit defectu navicularum, quas partim ad avehendos, qui loco excesserant, partim ad com meatum, cujus pecunia jam laborabatur, convehendam, ablegaverat expeditioni Præfectus. Ego quod reliquum erat panis nautici, carnisque porcinae ad celebranda natalitia distribui inter socios, non potus minus quam cibi indignos: nam præter aquæ scaturiginem sane tenuissimam, quam ad radices rupis littori proximam acris salsugo identidem crescente æstu inficiebat, ne guttulam quidem tota hæc insula babeat.

Jam reduces aderant naviculæ, quæ ad prosequendam navigationem desiderabantur. Iis itaque consensu die Protomartyri sacra iterum nos mari commisimus. Coelo sereno, ventoque satis pacato Sarigan deteximus, eamque prætervecti illis exceptis, qui Ductore jubente insulam lustrarent, si qui forte ante desertum reperiissent, aut latebris se occultassent, ne eas deserere cogerentur, talem experti fuimus temporis inclementiam, ut de evadendi periculo vix affulgeret spes ulla. Ast Deo nobis bene propitio Anatahan appulimus nocte ingruente, quam egimus in antro pluviis quæ densissimæ decidebant, ventisque tempestuosis expositi. Ubi lucescere cæpit, eam insulæ partem adnavigavimus, ubi priori adventu stationem habuerat classis nostra: istic namque in reditum suum Indorum tuguria servari jusserat militibus Ductor, reliquis per totam insulam injecto igne absumptis. Negotii non nihil hic... ab iis, qui cæteris in Zaypan insulam huic versus austrum proximam delatis, abrupta, quam instituere cæperant, navigatione, domesticas lateras repetierant. Iterum sæpiusque conquisiti præcluso tandem effugio stitère sese jussa facturi aliorum exemplo. Me itaque 14 januarii meis restitutum sub fine ejusdem mensis Zaypan redux tenuit classis reliqua; ibique refectis utcumque viribus pro temporis opportunitate hospites advenasque

nunc hos hunc illos ulterius deportavit in insulam Guahan ubi pro re feliciter acta redditus publica demonstratione Deo gratiis benigne fuere excepti.

Eoque ego evocatus sub dimidium mensis aprilis jubente R. P. V. Provinciali, ac D. Gubernatore approbante novam Residentiam inchoavi. 1,200 ad instructionem assig.... eorum, qui recens advenerant; simulque destinabar ad aliam expeditionem versus austrum navigio Gubernatoris industria ac labore hunc in finem confecto. Patriis lembulis frustra sæpius res intentata utinam optatum nunc sortiatur effectum!

*Me suis sacrificiis eum commendatum habere ne gravetur R. V. meique in iis dignetur me minisse.
Ex insula Guahan 20 novembris 1698.*

*R. V. Servus in Christo,
Gerardus Bouwens.*

Translation.

To Reverend Father in Christ,
Fr. Conrad Janning, S.J., in Antwerp.¹

Narrative of the events in the Mariana Mission for the year 1698.

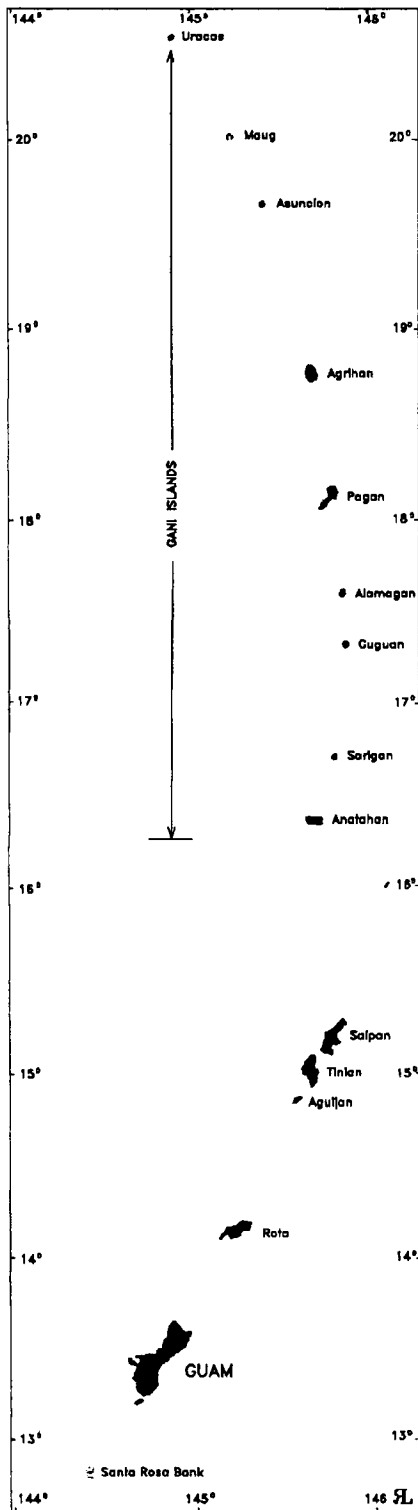
All the inhabitants of the northern islands have been transported to the three islands of Guahan, Rota and Saipan. What gave rise to this measure was the natural inconstant behavior of the Indians. When in 1695 Don José de Quiroga, who succeeded to Don Damian de Esplana as interim governor of the Mariana Islands, had reduced to the crown of Spain Aguijan, Tinian and Saipan, about 300 of these northern islanders had obeyed his order and settled at the latter island; the others, in order to gain some time, used as an excuse the lack of canoes to carry out the compulsory move.

[1,200 Chamorros still lived in the Gani Islands in 1697]

In the interim, the Governor at Manila appointed a successor to Don José. This event was the reason for the failure of the enterprise so happily begun; even those who had already settled at Saipan fled one after the other, either out of love for their native land or simply to follow others. It was during a rainy night in June of last year [1697] that about 400 disappeared [from Saipan]. Some of whom had received baptism and gotten married in the church, while the others still lived in accordance with their native customs. As soon as I learned about this sudden departure, I despatched some letters to the Rev. Fr. Vice-Provincial and to the Governor. They both ordered me to visit all the northern islands with an escort of 12 soldiers who could repel any force in case the savages would attack us. So that they would no longer use the excuse of lack of transport, the governor sent along 140 canoes from the island of Guahan, Rota and Saipan.

On September 24th, the fleet had hardly left port when such a violent wind arose that it broke the masts and that all the boats had to go back to their shelter. After three

¹ Ed. note: Fr. Janning was born in Groningue, Holland, in November 1650, entered the S.J. in 1670 and for 35 years was a Bollandist studying the lives of the saints. He died at Antwerp on 13 August 1723.



days employed repairing the damage, we set out once more. The wind had become favorable by then and, at the end of 24 hours, we came in sight of the nearest island, called **Anatajan**. Access to it is very difficult on account of the shoals and rocks that surround it on all sides and prevent ships from going near it. The reefs themselves were used as a port, because our people carried their canoes there upon their shoulders.

As soon as the islanders had seen us, they had fled toward the center of the island to some caves and to the peaks of its tall mountains. However, as soon as they were re-assured as to our peaceful and benevolent attitude, they came back to their huts. There were about 300 of them. I baptized their small children and they took their places in the canoes, but unfortunately, 10 or more of them became the victims of a sudden storm that hit them before they could reach the island of Saipan.

As for us, we had to fight against the fury of the waves, although we did not suffer any loss. So it was at the cost of a thousand dangers and incredible toil that we succeeded to reach the next island, **Sarigan**. It did not have more than 100 inhabitants. I wrote down their names in my record book and gave baptism to their small children.

After a halt of three days, we continued our voyage, but damages to the boat carrying me forced us to go and spend the night at the island, rather the cave of **Guguan**, whereas the rest of the fleet kept on going toward **Alamagan**. The [Guguan] islanders came forward right away, took me upon their shoulders and carried me through the reefs and rough rocks as far as the shore. In the meantime, a few canoes stayed in the roads; the commander wished it to be so, in case I should need some help. However, what was there to fear from such a peaceful and hospitable people who welcomed me with all the signs of goodwill that their poverty allowed them? Seasickness and fatigue made me willingly accept a bed, but the salt water that had made my clothes entirely wet prevented me from getting much sleep.

The next morning, the islanders came to offer their children for me to baptize. I recorded their names and those of their parents and, before I had time to take any food, I went to sea again and hurried to catch up with those who had gone ahead.

We bypassed Alamagan and soon sighted **Pagan** Island. The leader of the fleet postponed its exploration until the return portion of our voyage, and took his fleet in shore for refreshment. As for me, as agreed, I went ahead on my journey to the island of **Ag-rigan** without being accompanied or followed by any one of my companions. Toward evening, we sighted two of our boats that had taken shelter I don't know where. When we came near them, I recognized two Indians and one of them was a friend of mine. The other had with him the assassin of Fr. Carlos Boranga, the Austrian, who had, after spending a year waiting at Madrid, been assigned to the Philippines and made his way to the Indies with us in 1671; he came from Vienna and had been waiting for one decade before getting his wish to serve in the Indies, then he got the Marianas where he spent three years before he met with his glorious death....¹ This perfidious man travelled with me, but once disembarked he no longer reappeared.

We arrived at Agrigan at about midnight with such bad weather that those who were on the way to Pagan came very close to being lost. The waves were beating furiously against the shore. I wanted to wait until daybreak before disembarking, the better to be prepared against a sudden attack, in case the islanders had decided to surprise us, [even] after they failed to convince me to step ashore. They came out themselves with their canoes and gave a thousand signs of friendship, but experience had taught me that one must specially be on his guard against the Mariana people when they make beautiful promises, so expert are they at hiding the trap they set for you. All of a sudden, I see one of these islanders fall at my feet, showing signs of such a vivid sorrow that I was touched by them so much that they brought tears to my eyes. I instantly judged that he could not be anyone but an assassin who, in order to avoid a just punishment for his crimes, had sought refuge in Agrigan and now begged me to get mercy for him. I order him to tell me his name. I then learned that he had been in the past the faithful companion of Fr. Teófilo de Angelis who gathered the palm of martyrdom with some others of our Fathers in 1684 during an uprising of the Mariana people. He let me know that our sudden arrival had raised the alarm of the whole island, but that we had nothing to fear. He then offered to become my servant during the crossing that would take him back to his family. As it turned out, his prompt service and modesty became the admiration of all the passengers.

My first care was to send this man to the interior of the island to find out if any hostile act was being prepared against us. He came back at about sunrise and swore to me that we were in no danger. I then stepped ashore among those islanders who were armed with spears and slings to defend me, to await the arrival of the fleet. I made use of this interval of time to take some refreshments, because during the last two days I had practically eaten nothing. However, the leader of the expedition arrived, followed by only

1 Ed. note: From 1681 to 1684. He was killed in Rota.

a few canoes; all the others had sought different landing sites in order to replenish their provisions. I was then called to the bedside of a dying man. He had lost the use of his speech but he would mark his agreement to all the mysteries of the faith by nodding his head. I baptized him, but hardly had the water touched his forehead that he felt cured. Four days later, he even was able to follow the others aboard our canoes and never felt any sign of his illness afterwards. I just cannot say how many adults who, baptized at the point of dying, flew straight to heaven, as I hope.

We remained here one and a half months and during that time we had the people living on the small islands north of Agrigan brought in. They came in all the more willingly that they had a hard time finding a livelihood in their poor homeland. They also brought me their small children to be baptized; the number of these little angels that I thus had the pleasure of generating at Agrigan comes up to 150.

Everything was going fine according to our wishes when suddenly those whom we suspected of being the leaders of the rebels disappeared into the interior of the island. As soon as the captain noticed it, he took with him a few Indians, known for their faithfulness, and went looking for them.

It is impossible to describe the rocks, the mountains and precipices that impeded the movement of the troop. The rebels were finally discovered as they were making ready to resist. Our soldiers waded into the sea up to their hips and took aim at their adversaries. As soon as the latter saw some of their own numbers fall, they fled. About 30 of them were brought back to camp; they had fallen into the hands of the soldiers waiting in ambush. The captain treated them with much kindness, something that soon attracted the others a few at a time, their leaders first, then the rest. They were instructed into the Christian religion, their children were baptized, and those whose advanced age or infirmity made a long voyage inadvisable were transported to the neighboring island of Pagan, to await the opportunity of a transport to Guahan.

The island [of Agrigan] no longer had any inhabitants; we criss-crossed it in all directions and burned down all the Indian huts, in accordance with the order given by the governor, in order to remove their desire of ever returning to their native land. For lack of time, it was necessary to give up the search for the hiding place of the guilty ones who did not hope to get their pardon.

We left Agrigan on 19 November [1697] and happily made it to **Pagan**. The inhabitants of this island numbered about 400; 50 of them who were aboard 7 or 8 canoes with their baggage were shipwrecked near the island of Alamagan. In spite of their misfortune, they had been baptized before embarking and thus were predestined to the eternal life. The storm raged for three days over Pagan and added its damages to those of the underground fire. A curious thing is that the island, which has no more than 12 leagues in circumference, has within this small space from 7 to 8 volcanoes that have already ruined two-thirds of the land and done some damage to the rest of the land that has so far escaped their devouring action.

On 8 December [1697], on the feast-day of the Immaculate Conception, we arrived at **Alamagan** where in 1684 Father Peter Coomans, my dear old companion, saw all

the soldiers accompanying him treacherously thrown into the sea. He himself escaped danger then but soon gathered the palm of martyrdom at the very spot where I have built a church and residence [at Saipan]. Indeed, he fell under the fire [sic] of the Saipanese who had been incited against him by one criminal from Guahan who had in 1680 escaped the death penalty only thanks to our intervention and our prayers. We stayed a couple of days at Alamagan, a steep rock at the foot of which there were two villages sheltering 200 inhabitants. They all joined us on board and we arrived at **Gu-guan**. I have already said that this island resembles more a cave than an inhabited place. Still we found there so many strangers that there was no more lodging for us. Right away, the canoes that had been beached upon the rocks were launched again and we settled down in the islanders' huts. We were forced to stay there for a while for lack of transport, because many canoes had already left with some Mariano people and others had gone to get some provisions. As for me, to celebrate the feast of Christmas, I distributed what was left of the biscuits and pork meat among my companions. However, as the only water available on the island was a small spring near the shore with water that tasted salty, it became unbearable on account of the great heat.

Finally the long-awaited canoes arrived and we continued our voyage on St. Stephen's Day [i.e. 26 December 1697]. We soon came to **Sarigan** Island and, after having received aboard the Indians who had received the order to beat the island to look for people who might have sought refuge in the interior, we were hit by a furious storm. However, thanks to the protection of Providence, we were able to make it to **Anatahan** at nightfall. The next day we headed for the side of the island where our fleet had stopped before. That is where the captain had made sure that the Indian huts be preserved, whereas all the others were to be burned to ashes.

[Saipan partly evacuated in 1698]

I was back among my people in Saipan on 14 January [1698]. The rest of the fleet followed me there only at the end of the month. After they rested for a while, the Mariano people were transported a few at a time to Guahan. There a solemn act of thanksgiving to God was celebrated for the happy result of the expedition. I myself was called back there at mid-April by Rev. Fr. Vice-Provincial, and began a new residence¹ there with the agreement of the Governor. There I instructed 1,200 strangers whom I had helped to bring to Guahan.

At the same time, I was appointed to undertake another expedition toward the south. A ship had been specially built for that purpose. May it please God to finally bless an enterprise that has been unsuccessful so many times before when undertaken in native canoes! I commend myself to the holy sacrifices and to the memory of Your Reverence.

From the island of Guajan, 20 November 1698.

Your servant in Jesus Christ,
Gerard Bouwens.

1 Ed. note: At Inarajan, on the SE coast of Guam.

Document 1698C

Letter from Fr. Xaramillo to Fr. Papebroch, dated Madrid 5 June 1698

Source: Library of the Bollandists, St. Michael's College, Brussels, in Vol. 65 of the Correspondence of the Bollandists, fol. 186.

Notes: According to B&R 53: 316 (published in 1908), there were then 4 letters from Fr. Xaramillo to Fr. Papebroch in the Bollandist Library, while it was still located at Antwerp. Sommervogel (vol. 8, col. 1323) also says that there were 4 letters, but gives only 2 dates for them (2 May 1697 and 5 June 1698). In 1993, only 1 letter remained, as follows.

Original letter in Spanish.

Al R. P. Daniel Papebrochio

P. C.

El P[adr]e Rector del Colegio Imperial me a dado una carta de Vd. mui atrasada, y, así por ella como por otra noticia e tenido y tengo particular consuelo sabiendo goza V. R. salud, la qual pido a Dios se sirva de conservar a lo menos hasta el felicissimo día en que vea V. R. concluida su causa, o por mejor decir la de los santos con el dichoso fin que todos deseamos, y sepa Vd. que esta mi memoria, y suplica es cotidiana.

Agradezco el trabajo e la traducción que a de saver [hacer?] a la tercera parte. Deseo saver como se a recibido en Roma el examen jurídico theologico a los Preambulos del Pe. Fr[ancisco?] Sebastian, el synopsis de las curiosas questiones y el estado que toda la causa tiene en aquella ciudad.

La segunda parte de mi Apología prometida en la primera, estava solo una idea(?) y oy es imposible el parecer, e intentar lo contrario sería mui nocivo para las Provincias de España. Si llegasse el día en que en el Decreto de Roma se declare no averse encontrado proposición alguna heretica en los catorce tomos prohibidos, sería una insignissima victoria.

V. R. me escriba de suerte que aunque la carta se pierda no tenga de que asisse [existe?] la intención mas fisca [fixa?]. Nro. S. g[uard]e a V. R. en suos Stos. Sacrificios, y oraciones me encomiendo.

Madrid y Junio 5 1698

Siervo en Xrto de V. R.

Antonio Xaramillo

[P.S.] *Venga la respuesta en pliego del P. R[ector] del Coll^o Imperial].*

[186v, address:] *A N. M. R. P. Daniel Papebrochio de la Com^a de JHS. Antverpia.*

Translation.

To Rev. Fr. Daniel Papebroch

Peace in Christ

The Father Rector of the Imperial College [in Madrid] has given me a letter from Your Reverence, after much delay, and, through it as well as from other news that I have received, I take a special pleasure in learning that Y.R. is enjoying good health, and I pray God to deign to continue to give you good health, at least until the very happy day in which Y.R. will have completed your cause, or better said, that of the saints with the happy conclusion that we all wish.¹ I would like Y.R. to know that I think and pray for Y.R. every day.

I am thankful for the work and the translation that must be made of the third part. I wish to know how the legal and theological examination of the Preambles of Father Fr[ancisco?] Sebastian has been received in Rome, as well as the synopsis of the curious questions and the status that the entire cause has in that city.

The second part of my Apology that I promised in the first part was only an idea(?) and today the opinion is impossible, and to try the opposite would be very harmful to the Provinces of Spain. If the day comes for a Decree from Rome declaring that not one heretical proposition has been found in the 14 forbidden volumes, it would be a very significant victory.

Y.R. should write to me, so that, even though the letter might become lost; I would be able to get a better idea of the intention on the matter. May Our Lord keep Y.R. Please remember me in your masses and prayers.

Madrid 5 June 1698.

Y.R.'s servant in Christ,

Antonio Xaramillo

[P.S.] The answer from the Fr. Rector of the Imperial College is enclosed.

[186v, address:] To our Most Rev. Fr. Daniel Papebroch of the Society of Jesus, Antwerp.

¹ Ed. note: The work of the Bollandists and their *Acta Sanctorum*, or series of books on the Life of the Saints was still going on 300 years later. It does not seem possible that this correspondence had anything to do with the Mariana martyrs. **I have found no reference to Fr. Sanvitores in the Bollandist Library** . There is nothing listed under the word Sebastian either.

Document 1698D

No patache was sent to the Marianas in 1698

Source: AGI Fil. 332, libro 10, fol. 110v-111, pp. 308-309.

Note: The patache that was sent that year was headed for Palau in the Carolines, but it was unsuccessful. This letter from the King is in answer to one (missing) sent to him by Governor Cruzat and dated Manila 30 May 1698.

Letter from the King to Governor Cruzat, dated Madrid 27 May 1700

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Al Governador de Philipinas avisandole el recivo de su carta en que dio quenta de no embiar el año de 98 Patache à las Islas Marianas.

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora Cavallero del horden de Santiago mi Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas y Presidente de la Audiencia de Manila.

En carta de treinta de Mayo del año passado de mill seiscientos y ochenta y ocho dais quenta con testimonio de como en aquel año no se despachava Patache à las Islas Marianas por haveros escrito el Governador de ellas, se hallava probenido de todo lo necessario hasta el siguiente de noventa y nueve.

Y haviendose recibido seos participa esta noticia para que os halleis con ella.

De Madrid a veynte y siete de Marzo de mill y setecientos.

Yo el Rey

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Domingo Lopez de Calo Mondragon.

Señalada del Consejo.

Translation.

The King

To the Governor of the Philipines acknowledging receipt of his letter in which he reported that he was not sending a patache to the Marianas in 1698.

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora, Knight of the Order of Santiago, my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of the Audiencia of Manila.

In a letter dated 30 May of the past year of 1698 you sent a report, with legal enclosures, saying that a patache was not being sent to the Mariana Islands that year, because their Governor had written to say that the Islands were provided with everything necessary until the following year of 1699.

As this news was received, we let you know about it so that you may be informed of same.

From Madrid, 27 March 1700.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Domingo Lopez de Calo Mondragon.

Documents 1698E

The Inquisition to Fr. Bustillo, dated Mexico February 1698

Source: AGN Inquisición 650, folios 182-183.

Introductory note.

Volume 650 (ex-Tome 300) of the archives of the Inquisition of Mexico, File #2 for 1684, is indexed as "Record #2 of the letters sent by this Tribunal to the Philippines and Marianas from 1684 to 1747," and is dated 1887. Those documents relevant to the Mariana Islands will be reproduced from now on in their respective chronological places.

E1. Letter to Fr. Bustillo, dated Mexico 18 February 1698

Original text in Spanish.

Al Rdo. Padre fr. [sic] Lorenzo Bustillo, nuestro Comissario en las Yslas Marianas.

En este Tribunal se recibio la carta de V[uestra] P[aternida]d 1^a de 14 de Mayo del año passado de 1696, con el testimonio que consta haver muerto Don Damian de Esplana, Governador que fue de essas Yslas Marianas, con muestras de verdadero Catholico, y satisfecho á sus dichos, y proposiciones. Y con su vista, [h]a parecido decir a nuestro Comissario, que esta bien lo que diçe haver hoberado en esta Causa, lo que el haver suspendido proseguir a mas diligencias en ella.

Guarde Dios esta Inquisicion de Mexico, a febrero 18 de 1698.

SS. Inquisidores: Mier y Arnusto, y Deza. Ante el Secretario Rumbo.

Translation.

To Rev. Fr. Lorenzo Bustillo, our Commissioner in the Mariana Islands.

The first letter from Your Paternity, dated 14 May of the past year 1696, was received by this court, along with the affidavit stating that Don Damian de Esplana, the former Governor of those Mariana Islands, has died showing signs of a true Catholic, and was true to his words and good intentions. Under the circumstances, we thought it proper to tell our Commissioner that what he did in this case is alright, also his having stopped the proceedings in this matter.

May God save this Inquisition of Mexico, 18 February 1698.

Gentlemen Inquisitors: Mier y Arnusto, and Deza. Before Secretary Rumbo.

E2. Letter to Fr. Bustillo, dated Mexico 19 February 1698

Original text in Spanish.

Al Rdo. Pe. Lorenzo Bustillo, nuestro Comissario en las Islas Marianas.

En este Tribunal, se recivio de V. Pd. 2a. de 15 de Mayo del año passado de 1696, en que da quenta de haver embiado por esta desde essas Islas á la Ciudad de Manila, á Antonio de Lara, soldado, á entregar al Rdo. Padre Fr. Balthasar de Santa Cruz, nuestro Comissario en ella; y ha parecido decir a V. Pd. que qualesquiera Autos que hiciese, los retenga originales en su poder, remitiendo solamente á este Tribunal testimonio de estos por ante el Notario del Santo Officio, por el riesgo de perdersse en esta larga y peligrossa nabegacion.

Guarde Dios esta Inquisicion de Mexico, a febrero 19 de 1698.

SS. Inquisidores: Mier, Arnusto, y Deza. Ante el Secretario Rumbo.

Translation.

To Rev. Fr. Lorenzo Bustillo, our Commissioner in the Mariana Islands.

The second letter from Your Paternity, dated 15 May of the past year 1696, was received by this court, the one in which you report having sent overhere from those Islands via the City of Manila Antonio de Lara, a soldier, to be turned over to Rev. Fr. fray Balthasar de Santa Cruz, our Commissioner overthere. We have thought it proper to advise Your Paternity that you should keep for yourself the original copies of any records of proceedings, and send to this court only a duplicate copy certified by the Notary of the Holy Office, on account of the danger of it being lost in this long and risky navigation.

May God save this Inquisition of Mexico, 19 February 1698.

Gentlemen Inquisitors: Mier, Arnusto, and Deza. Before Secretary Rumbo.

Documents 1698F

Subsidy for the Marianas, for 1698

F1. Approval by the Viceroy

Source: AGN AHH 1241.

Original text in Spanish.

Señores Juezes Oficiales de la Real Hazienda y Caxa de la Ciudad de Manila.

Año de 1698.

El Exmo. Señor Conde de Moctezuma Virrey deste Reyno por Despacho de quince del Corriente mes en conformidad de resolucion de Junta general expedida, ha dispuesto y mandado que ciento y viente y seis mil quatrocientos y cinquenta y cinco pesos que en la Carta quenta del Despacho de la Nao del año de mil seiscientos y noventa y siete sacamos de alcance liquido al Situado de esas Yslas en favor desta Real Caxa, los excluyamos de aquella quenta y consideracion y degemos aplicamos à compra de Asogues en la Gran China por la suma falta que se padese aqui de ellos para Beneficio de las Minas segun su Ex.^a tiene participado al Sor. Governador Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora y que hecha la exclusion formemos en la quenta del socorro deste año reemplazando Doscientos y cinquenta y tres mil setecientos y quarenta y ocho pesos y dos tomines que ymporta el Situado de reales y generos y el valor de los cinquenta y nueve quintales y treze libras y medio de asogue que truxo el presente Galeon con las partidas de embio y de desquento siguientes:

...

Yslas Marianas.

Y treinta y dos mil trescientos y tres pesos quatro tomines y dies granos que tambien hemos librado este año[,] los un mil seiscientos y cinquenta de ellos al General Don Joseph de Maderazo [sic] Governor y Capitan General de las Islas Marianas en ynterin por su sueldo de dos años contados desde primero de Agosto de mil seiscientos y noventa y seis que tomo posesion del Gobierno hasta fin de Jullio de mil seiscientos y noventa y ocho respecto cada año de seiscientos y sesenta escudos de a diez reales[,] mitad de mil trescientos y veinte que quedan asignados à los Governadores propietarios; ocho-

cientos y veinte y cinco pesos à Don Diego [sic] de Quiroga Sargento Mayor de dhas Islas tocantes à un año de su sueldo segun la asignacion que aora se le [h]a hecho[;] Diez y ocho mil y novecientos pesos à los sesenta soldados de la Dotacion de aquel presidio por sus sueldos de todo este presente año[;] quatro mil quinientos y cinquenta pesos à catorze Religiosos de la Compañia de Jesus, dose Sacerdotes y dos Coadjutores por los Estipendios que el mismo año an de devengar ocupandose alli en la propagacion del Santo Evangelio; Cinco mil pesos para mantener el propio tiempo dos Seminarios donde ynstruyen los niños y niñas Marianos en las costrumbres Cristianas y politicas; y los mil trescientos y setenta y ocho pesos quatro tomines y diez granos restantes por la limosna del Vino y Azeite nesasario para que dhos Religiosos alumbrasen al Santissimo Sacramento del Altar y celebrasen el Santo Sacrificio de la Misa los años de mil seiscientos noventa y siete, y mil seiscientos y noventa y ocho 32,303p 4t 10.

...

Guarde Dios à V.Ms. muchos años en toda felicidad.

Mexico a veinte de Março de 1698.

Antonio Juan Deza Ulloa.

Joseph Francisco Canal.

Joseph de Urrutia.

Translation.

Gentlemen Official Judges of the Royal Treasury of the City of Manila.

Year of 1698.

His Excellency the Count of Moctezuma, Viceroy of this Kingdom, in a despatch of the 15th of this month, following a resolution issued by the General Meeting, has decided and ordered that the 126,455 pesos that, in the Accounting Letter with the despatch of the galleon of 1697, we paid as cash in advance to the Subsidy of those Islands to be credited to this Royal treasury, we were to exclude from that account and consideration and to take and apply it to the purchase of quicksilver in China, on account of the extreme need for quicksilver that we feel here for use in mining, as His Excellency has already written about to His Lordship the Governor, Don Fausto Cruzat y Góngora. Once this exclusion has been made, while making up the account of the succor of this year, we are to replace 253,740 pesos and 2 tomins that normally represent the Subsidy in cash and in kind, and the value of the 59 hundredweights and 13-1/2 pounds of quicksilver that the present galleon has brought, with the positive and negative entries that follow:

...

Mariana Islands.

And 32,303 pesos 4 tomins and 10 grains that we have also released this year, that is, 1,650 pesos to General José de Maderazo [sic], interim Governor and Captain General of the Mariana Islands, for his salary for two years counting from the 1st of August 1696 when he took possession of the government until the end of July 1698, at

the rate of 660 escudos of 10 reals each, which is half of the 1,320 that are assigned to permanent Governors; 825 pesos to Don Diego [sic] de Quiroga, Sergeant-Major of said Islands, representing his salary for one year, in accordance with the assignment that has just been granted him; 18,900 pesos to the 60 soldiers of the establishment of that garrison, for their salaries for the whole of this year; 4,550 pesos to 14 Religious of the Society of Jesus, 12 priests and 2 coadjutors, for the stipends that are earmarked for them this same year, while they are propagating the holy Gospel; 5,000 pesos for the maintenance during the same time of two Seminaries where Mariana boys and girls are being taught Christian and civilized customs; and the remaining 1,368 pesos 4 tomins and 10 grains are the alms for the wine and oil that said Religious need for the lamps burning before the most holy sacrament of the altar and to celebrate the holy sacrifice of the mass, during 1697 and 1698 32,303p 4t 10.

...

May God save Your Graces for many years in complete happiness.

Mexico, 20 March 1698.

Antonio Juan Deza Ulloa

Joseph Francisco Canal

Joseph de Urrutia

F2. Manifest of the galleon San Francisco Xavier

Source: AGN AHH 332. Note: The full name of this galleon was the San Francisco Xavier, Principe del Mar. It came from the Philippines in 1697 (see also Doc. 1699E).

Original text in Spanish.

Testimonio de la remision de piezas a Marianas y Philipinas este año de 98. Nao S. Xavier.

Testimonio de registro del Galeon San Francisco Xavier.

En la Ciudad y Puerto de Acapulco a veinte y ocho de Marzo de mill seiscientos nobenta y ocho años: Ante mi el escribano y testigos, Don Antonio Gomes de Arze Maestro del Galeon Capitana de Philipinas, que esta de proximo para hacer su torna-biaje a ellas a quien doi feê; que conosco. Registro por parte de Don Francisco Perez Nauaz encomendero y rezidente en este Puerto emboz [=en voz] y en nombre del Rdo. Padre Francisco Aragon y Borja de la Comp^a de Jesus Procurador General de esta Nueva Esp^a de su Provincia de las Yslas Philipinas y misiones de Marianas lo siguiente:

—Sesenta y seis piezas con la marca del Marjen que la Componen sinquenta Cajones enguangochados; un fardillo enjergado: dos surrones de Cacao goatemala; un tersio de Suela; tres Cajones de Jabon y sinco barrilles de vino; lo qual ba â entregar y Consignado a los padres Misioneros de dhas Ysllas;

—Y con la segunda marca quarenta y siete piasas en la forma siguiente: treinta y nueve Cajas; un tersio de Suela; tres Cajones de Jabon; un surron de Cacao Goatemala; un fardillo enguangochado; y dos Cajones enguangochados, y en la mesma forma, Consignados al Colejio Seminario de dhas Ysllas de la Jubendud;

—*Y con la tercera Marca del Marjen tresse piasas en la forma siguiente: siete Cajas de la mesma manera que las antesedentes; dos barriles de vino; un surron de Cacao de la Costa; una Piasa que se compone de un Cajonsillo y un barrilillo embuelto en un Guangoche; dos barrilillos embueltos en la mesma Comformidad; Consignados al Padre Gaspar Marco de dha Compañia Procurador General del Colejio de San Ygnacio de dha Ciudad; todas las quales dhas Piasas de susso mencionadas ha resevido segun de ellas ba fha mension; de que se da por entregado a su bolunttad; sobre que renuncia las leyes de la entrega y su prueba como en ellas se contienen; y se obliga â que llevandole Dios con bien al Puerto de Cavite u otro de dhas Ysllas dara y entregara las referidas Piasas como van mencionadas y para los sujetos y Probincias que se nominan ô a quien su poder y caussa hubiere y derecho representare, segun y en la forma que las ha recevido y a ello se obliga con su persona y bienes havidos y por haver en toda forma y otorgo resivo y partida de rexistro emforma y la firmo siendo testigos Don Joseph Trabudua[,] Miguel de Aranz y Manuel de Arcos presentes.*

Don Antonio Gomez de Arze

Antonio Manuel de Molina escrivano Real y de Real Hazienda.—

Conquerda con la partida de rexistro original que de susso a fha mension a que me refiero y se saco este tanto por triplicado de pedimiento de la parte en el dia de su otorgamiento y ba en papel del sello quarto por no haverlo de otro de que doi feê:

Y hago mi signo en testimonio de verdad.

Manuel de Molina, escrivano Real de Real Hazienda.

Translation.

Certificate for the shipment of pieces to the Marianas and the Philippines this year of 1698. Galleon San Xavier.

Certificate of the manifest of the Galleon San Francisco Xavier.

In the City and Port of Acapulco, on 28 March 1698: Before me the notary and witnesses, Don Antonio Gomez de Arce, master of the Philippine galleon and flagship, that is about to leave on her return voyage to them, whom I know and would vouch for: he acknowledged having received from Don Francisco Perez Navas, landlord and resident of this port, and agent for Rev. Father Francisco Aragon y Borja of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General in this New Spain for his Province of the Philippine Islands and the missions of the Marianas, as follows:

^S
MRPP

—63 pieces bearing the mark in margin, consisting of 50 crates wrapped in oil-cloth; 1 small bundle wrapped in cloth; 2 pouches of cacao from Guatemala; 1 half-load of sole-leather; 3 crates of soap and 5 barrels of wine: which he is to deliver as consigned to the missionary Fathers of said Islands;

^S
MRCC

—And, bearing the second mark, 47 pieces as follows: 39 boxes; 1 half-load of sole-leather; 3 crates of soap; 1 pouch of cacao from Guatemala; 1 small bundle in oil-cloth; and 2 crates in oil-cloth, and in the

same manner consigned to the College, or Seminary of the youths of said Islands;

§ M^a ccl

—And, with the third mark in margin, 13 pieces as follows: 7 boxes wrapped as the preceding ones; 2 barrels of wine; 1 pouch of cacao from the Coast; 1 piece which consists of 1 small crate and 1 small barrel wrapped in oil-cloth; 2 small barrels wrapped the same way; consigned to Father Gaspar Marco of said Society, Procurator General of the College of San Ignacio in said City; all of said pieces mentioned above he has received in the order that they were mentioned, and they are deemed to be in his possession, in accordance with laws concerning deliveries and proofs to that effect; and he obliges himself, God willing to let him reach the Port of Cavite or some other port in said Islands, to give and deliver the above-said and above-mentioned pieces, to the individuals and Provinces also listed or to their agents or legal representatives, in the same manner as he has himself received them, and in this endeavor he obliges his person and property, present and future, in due form and he signed a receipt and the appropriate entry in the manifest, in the presence of the following witnesses: Don Joseph Trabudua, Miguel de Aranaz, and Manuel de Arcos.

Don Antonio Gomez de Arce

Antonio Manuel de Molina, royal notary and notary of the Royal treasury.—

This is a certified copy of the entry in the original manifest mentioned above, of which there were three copies made at the request of the party on the same day of its execution. It is made on this sealed paper for lack of any other, of which I vouch.

And in faith whereof, I have affixed my signature:

Manuel de Molina, royal notary of the Royal treasury.

Document 1699A

Jesuit annual report for 1699, anonymous

Source: ARSI Phil. 14, fol. 92-93v.

Original text in Spanish.

Puntos para la Carta Anua desta Mission de Marianas de la Compañía de Jhs año 1699.

Los mismos diez Sacerdotes, que el año passado, ayudados de un Hermano coadjutor, y un donado (que el otro, que avia[,] faltó a su vocacion), no obstante sus años, y achaques, llevaron adelante el año presente el peso de esta tan frutuosa, como trabajosa Mission, acresentado con la total reduccion de los moradores de las Yslas de Gani a la de Guahan. A donde en Agaña, que es la cabezera, residen el Padre Vice Provincial Antonino Cundari, el Padre Felipe Muscati Ministro de Yndios, el Hermano Jaime Chiaberi [sic] con el cargo de botica, y exercicio de Medico, y cirujano con otros ministerios domesticos. En el Collegio de los Niños estan el Padre Miguel de Aparecio Rector de los Seminarios, y ministro de Españoles y el Hermano Melchor de Santa Cruz donado, en Agat administra el Padre Lorenzo Bustillo: En Fina el Padre Diego de Zarzosa, En Pago el Padre Thomas Cardeñoso, que esta labrando una elegante Yglesia, y casa. En Merizo cuida de dos partidos por falta de ministro el Padre Basilio LeRoulx [sic]. En Ynarahan con los reducidos de Gani se buelve a entablar la Residencia de S. Joseph, de cuya fabrica se sirvio de encargar el Señor Governador la administracion empero se le encargó al Padre Gerardo Bouvens llamado para esso de Seipan adonde el Padre Juan Sirmeyesen se queda solo administrando los dos partidos de Anaguan, y Fatiguan, y prosigue en la Fabrica de su casa e Yglesia que el año passado por la mala violencia de un mal contento se quemó. En la Ysla de Rota continua a estar solo, quatro años ha el Padre Juan Tilpe.

Està en su vigor en los nuestros el cuidado del aprovechamiento proprio, y del de los proximos assi Indios como Españoles, y responden los unos y los otros a la simiente de la doctrina Evangelica con abundante fruto. Estos continuan en los exercicios de devocion[,] confession, y comunion frequente en los primeros domingos del mes, Fiestas mas

principales entre año, y las de la Virgen, para cuia ymagen, mejorada, y retocada hizo labrar la piedad militar en su cuerpo de guardia un vistoso Tabernaculo, al qual desde la Yglesia fue llevado en procession entre los alegres, y regozijados estruendos de las armas, a donde con perseverante, y quotidiano culto del Santo Rosario, y acto de contricion, y litanias todos los Sabados los millitares de rodillas veneran a la Reyna, y Gobernadora de sus armas. Acuden a la platica, que todos los Domingos se les haze en nuestra Yglesia, atraidos assi en estos como en el frequentar los Sacramentos del exemplo de sus cabos, Gobernador, y Sargento mayor que les preçeden con singular edificacion.

Los Yndios grandes, y pequeños responden admirablemente a la incansable enseñanza de sus maestros. Es gusto ver los piadosos juguetes de algunos Niños, que ponen en fabricar y aderezar altares, labrar y llevar cruzericas, e ir remedando a los que entonan la doctrina. Ay una Niña en Rota de poco mas de dos años, que con gracia repite las oraciones con que sus padres levan por delante, y responde con acierto a las preguntas de la doctrina.

Los Colegiales a sus muchas habilidades añadieron la de danzas, que exercitan con [fol. 92v] lindo ayre, gastando en ensayarse las tardes de los domingos, y dias de fiestas con que escusan passos peligrosos, y se habilitan por el festejo del culto divino. Dieron la primera muestra de su nueva habilidad en la Fiesta de nuestro Santo Padre, y en la de la Purissima Concepcion que es solemne en este Presidio, en presencia del Señor Gobernador, de todo el Campo, y de los Yndios, y despues la repitieron en la del Buen Ladron S. Dimas Titular de Merizo en una, y otra parte igualmente alabados, y aplaudidos. En un dialogo, que repressentaron con instroduzir [sic] un Yndio de Guahan Christiano hablando con otro Gentil de Gani, dieronle bien venida a los reducidos de estas Yslas de el Gentilissimo a el Christianissimo: contra poniendo las verdades de este a las patrañas de aquel: Y la doctrina christiana traducida en versos tambien la recitaron en la Yglesia con agrados de los naturales. Estan estos generalmente bien en la doctrina christiana, y procuran ajustar sus vidas con sus Santas leyes, y costumbres[.] hacé conepo [sic=hacen concepto?], y aprecio de los Santos Sacramentos del exercicio de las virtudes; y del premio que con ellas se consigue en la vida eterna y huir de todo lo que nos aparta della, como se hecha de ver por los cassos siguientes.

Una Yndia soltera y moza del pueblo y Residencia de Agat luego que vino de las otras Yslas el año de 95 se vino ella de suyo a confesar, y examinada de la doctrina, le dixo toda con magisterio, diziendo, que en las otras Yslas no se avia olvidado de Dios, rezando todos los días la doctrina christiana, y que se venia a confessar, porque se sentia enferma y deseava ir a ver a Dios en el Cielo, y que venia muy arepentida de averle ofendido, porque le amaba sobre todas las cosas. Despues acá ha venido varias vezes, mientras podia a[n]dar, a recibir los SS. Sacramentos, y passando el mal adelante, sin darle lugar a menearse fuera de casa, no se harta de hablar de Dios, y de su inmensa bondad, y de alabarle, y apreciarle sobre todas las cosas, y como a quien ama mucho de todo corazon. De suerte, que es cosa de admirar la gran Fee, esperanza, y caridad de Dios, que tiene, y como todo esto lo ha pagado a los de su casa.

Otra de crecida edad del mismo pueblo viniendo a sacramentarse, dixo, ó mi Padre y quan dentro de mi corazon tengo todo lo que nos han predicado en esta Yglesia y que malo, que es el pecado, pues siendo Dios tan bueno, se enoja tanto, con quien le ofende, quando le echa al Infierno, por esso vengo con grande arrepentimiento y dolor de averle offendido, y proposito de no ofendarle mas a confessa[r]me, y assi confiessame Padre mio, y sacramenta, y oleame, porque me muero, y quiero ir al Cielo a ver nuestro Señor en quien tengo puesto todo mi corazon.

*Assi lo tenía puesto en el mismo Señor, **Alonso Tagdu**, vezino de Guaguo [sic] en Rota, que enfermado gravemente hasta perder el sentido, y habla al aplica[r]le el Santo Christo a la boca, bolvio en si, recibio el habla prorompiendo en dezir el acto de contricion, y pedir los SS. Sacramentos que recibió, y perseverò en hazer actos de Fee, esperanza, y caridad hasta espirar.*

*Otro viejo del mismo pueblo no obstante su mucha vejez, y lo largo del camino que eran casi tres leguas, era muy diligente en acudir a la missa, y para que tambien lo fuessen otros [fol. 93] de su pueblo, fue gran parte, a que dexado el sitio tan distante, y poblasen otro mas cercano a la Yglesia; al disponerle el Padre en su ultima enfermedad para recibir los SS. Sacramentos y advertirle mirasse si tenia alguna cosa que le remordiesse en orden al sexto mandamiento, Respondio[.] Padre no tengo nada porque soi enemigo de las mugeres: de otro tambien muy anziano en Ysla de Seipan se refiere, no aver cometido jamas cosa contra este mandamiento, y dos mancebos de la misma Isla siendo solicitados a quebrantarle, huieron a toda priessa la infame solicitacion. Lo mismo se ha sabido haver hecho otras mugeres de buen parecer assi solteras como casadas, resistiendo varonilmente a los que las combidaban a mal, y las amenazaban; y una en particular[,] requerida de una persona de quenta, se asustó de modo, que comenzó a temblar y le dijo tales razones que le dejó admirado, y conpungido. Si estos se señalaron en orden a guardar el sexto mandamiento señalose en guardar al setimo y decimo, **Juan Oduf**,] Fiscal de Titito en Rota el qual aviendo entrado en la Principalia deste pueblo, llegando a saber avia otro, que tenia mas, y mejor derecho a ella, se la cedio espontaneamente por no cargar su conciencia con usurpar ni desear bienes ajenas. Otro Fiscal de Seipan, por aver cooperado a que se remediase un escandalo, fue tan maltratado, que a las nueve de la noche llamaron al Padre para olearle. Vuelto en si no desplegó su boca contra el agresor, a quien sino, ponersele para su defensa, como facilmente podia, dio a entender, que bien le podia ultrajar, y aun matar, pero no amedrentar, a que no cumpliesse con lo que era de su obligacion.*

A las letanias de la Virgen, y la Salve entabladas el Sabado a imitazion de las antiguas residencias, en la nueba de Anatahan [rather Anaguan] en la Ysla de Seipan, acuden los pueblos vezinos por alcanzar una buena muerte, como la avran alcanzado muchos, que entre administrarlos, dexaron grandes señales de predestinados por lo bien, que se dispusieron.

Este año se hizo la jornada para la reduccion de las 8 Yslas de Gani de la qual va relacion aparte, y porque en ella, por brevedad se omitieron varios cassos de la singular providencia de Dios en usar con unos de rigor, y con otros de misericordia, se se [sic]

tocaran aqui unos. Primeramente se ha reparado, que la desgracia de haber peresido las siete bancas, que cogió el uracan, sucedio en el mismo golfo en donde fueron arrojados a la mar en el alzamiento general del año 84, los soldados compañeros del Ven. Padre Comano.

Dos amancebados], cuios [con-]sortes estavan en Guahan, y ellos acá en la Ysla de Anatahan: a donde hallados, y avisados del Padre a que se apartassen lo hizieron por entonces; pero al aver de pasar a Seipan se embarcaron juntos en una misma banca, y en lugar de tomar tierra en Seipan como debian con los demas la fueron a tomar en Tinian; pero en la travesia, que de una a otra Ysla, ay de quatro leguas escasas, les cargó tal tiempo, que se les fue a pique la embarcacion y de quatro, que iban en ella, se ahogaron los dos amancebados con otro tercero, y el quarto se escapó a nado.

Otros dos amancebados, de quien Dios nuestro señor tuvo particular misericordia; aviendose huido de Seipan para tomar a Gani, anduvieron treze dias con sus noches hechos juguetes de [fol. 93v] los vientos, que eran recios, y de los mares que eran bravos, hasta que al fin fueron arrojadas a la vista, y cerca de la Ysla de Rota, dando lastimosas voces, y pidiendo favor: acudieronle los vezinos desta Ysla, y los truxeron a tierra tales que si aquella noche no la cogen, quisas jamas la ubieran cogido vivos.

En la Ysla de Pagon un hombre determinado en no embarcarse para Seipan quiso ir a esconderse en el monte, y no queriendo venir en su dañado intento su muger, por parecerle mejor seguir a los demas a donde eran llamados, assio de ella cogiendole la mano, y con un cuchillo, que tenia empesó a tajar en ella tan fieramente que la acabara sino se le desassiera la inocente herida, y se pusiera en cobro. Lo qual visto por el agresor, se tiró desesperado en el monte, y se ahorcó. Avisado el dia siguiente el Padre del fracaso, y del peligro, que corria la herida assi por las heridas, que eran muchas como por la copiosa sangre, que avia vertido, fue luego a verla, y despues de doctrinada bastantemente la bautizó, y fue Dios servido, que con la Salud del alma, que recibio por medio del Santo Bautismo, tambien cobrasse la del cuerpo con algunos remedios, que se le aplicaron: y aun se ha de dezir, que las mismas heridas le dieron la vida, porque otro si se huviera embarcado con los que diximos, perecieron en la travesia de Alamagan, y lo dexó hazer por no estar bastantemente convalecida, con que se libró de aquel peligro, y passó despues en mejor sazon buena, y sana para Guahan.

*No es de omitir la promptitud con la qual nuestro Señor ha querido compensar luego en este mundo la christiana charidad de los Ysleños de Seipan, y Rota echando su paternal bendi[c]ion, por lo bien que hizieron con tantos huespedes, y pasajeros todo el tiempo, que duró el transporte de los de Gani a Guahan, franqueandoles liberalmente su pobre provicion de comida, hasta reducirse ellos a comer coco, y **dugdug** por sazonar fruta, que aun sazonada es poco agradable; con dar aquellos tan rica pezcado de dorados, que en muchos años no la tuvieron mejor, y a estos la cosecha de arroz la mas ganada, que podian esperar. Pero los manipulos, que de su cosecha ofrece este año la Mission Mariana al altar de la divina bondad son: Bautismos de Gentiles Adultos 794[,] de Parvulos 436[,] difuntos con lo[s] sacramentos 446[,] Parvulos innocentes 198.*

Los quales ya bien reconocidos à su maior bienhechor, que es nuestro catholico Monarca, como [a] quien deben el peso de gloria, que gozan, seran los mas fecundos oradores para recabarle de su divina Magestad toda la incolumidad, que un y otro mundo tanto la desea, como la debe la suya, y en particular las primicias de Gani, que solo la piedad Austria pudo sacar de aquellos vulcanes, ó bocas del Infierno, y plantarlos en el Parayso.

[Endorsement:] *Philipp. Relatio actorum in Insula de Gani pertinente de Marianas.*

Translation.

Points for the Annual Report of this Mariana Mission of the Society of Jesus for the year 1699.

The same 10 priests as last year, assisted by 1 Coadjutor Brother and 1 oblate (as the other oblate we had failed in his vocation).¹ in spite of their advanced ages, and illnesses, pushed ahead this year with the so fruitful, yet laborious, burden of this Mission, whose population was increased by the complete reduction of the inhabitants of the Gani Islands to that of Guahan. Agaña, its capital, is where the Father Vice-Provincial, Antonino Cundari, resides, along with Father Felipe Muscati, minister to the Indians, Brother Jaime Chavari in charge of the pharmacy, and practising as physician and surgeon with other internal duties. In the College for Boys are Father Miguel de Aparicio, Rector of the Seminaries, and minister to the Spanish and Brother Melchor de Santa Cruz, an oblate. In Agat, the minister is Father Lorenzo Bustillo. In Fina, it is Father Diego de Zarzosa. In Pago, Father Tomás Cardeñoso is building an elegant church and house. In Merizo, Father Basilio LeRoulx looks after two districts, for lack of ministers. In Inarahan, with the people who have been reduced from the Gani Islands, the former Residence of San José is being restored. The Governor was pleased to take charge of [re-]building it; however, its administration was entrusted to Father Gerardo Bouvens, who was recalled from Seipan for this purpose. That leaves Father Juan Sirmeysen alone to administer the two districts of Anaguan, and Fatiguan, and to rebuild his house and church which a malcontent, out of rage, burned down last year. Father Juan Tilpe has been in the Island of Rota, alone, for 4 years.

The care for self-improvement and that of their neighbors, Indians and Spanish alike, is alive and well in our people. Both Indians and Spanish respond to the seed of the Gospel doctrine with abundant fruits. They continue to do exercises of devotion, confession, and frequent communion on the first Sundays of the month, on the more important holidays during the year, and those of the Virgin. For instance, a statue of the Virgin was improved and refurbished, thanks to the piety of the soldiers, and placed on a beautiful tabernacle in their guard-house. On inauguration day, the statue was carried from the church in procession, at the accompaniment of happy and delightful firings of their weapons. There, every Saturday, the soldiers on their knees venerate the Queen Regent of their arms by reciting her litanies, but every day they do not fail to

¹ Ed. note: The oblate who resigned in 1697 was either Br. José Sanchez, or Br. José Espinosa.

recite the Rosary and the act of contrition. Every Sunday, they come to our church to listen to a sermon. They are encouraged to do this, as well as to the reception of the sacraments, by the example of their commanders, the Governor and the Sergeant-Major, who precedes them with special edification.

The Indians, old and young, respond admirably to the untiring teaching of their masters. It is a pleasure to watch the pious toys of some boys, who try and build and repair miniature altars and crosses, and go on to mimic those who intone the doctrine. There is a girl in Rota, a little over 2 years old, who gracefully repeat the prayers which her parents dictate to her, and responds with assurance to the questions of the doctrine.

To their many skills the College children added that of dancing, which is enjoyable to watch, as they spend Sunday afternoons and holidays practising; in this manner they avoid dangerous outings, and develop skills for the celebration of the divine cult. They gave the first demonstration of their new skill at the feast of our Holy Father, and that of the Immaculate Conception, which is solemn in this Garrison, in the presence of the Governor, the whole Camp, and the Indians. Afterwards, they repeated their performance at the feast of St. Dimas, the Good Thief, official patron saint of Merizo. At both places they were equally praised and applauded. In one sketch that they played, a Christian Indian from Guahan is speaking with another, a heathen from Gani. They welcomed the reduced people of these Islands from heathenism to Christianity, by placing the truths of the latter against the hoaxes of the former. They also recited the Christian doctrine, translated into verses, in the church, at the pleasure of the natives, who are generally good in the Christian doctrine, and try and adjust their lives in accordance with its holy laws, and customs. They have an understanding and appreciation of the holy sacraments, of the exercise of virtues, and of the reward that they may lead to in the eternal life, and [the necessity] of fleeing from anything that may separate us from it, as can be seen from the following cases.

A young unmarried lady from the town and residency of Agat, as soon as she came from the other Islands in 1695, came on her own to confession. She was tested about the doctrine, and said it all with mastery, saying that while she was in the other Islands she had not forgotten God, reciting the Christian doctrine every day, and that she came to confess, because she fell herself sick and wished to see God in Heaven, and that she came very repentant of having offended Him, because she loved Him above all else. Afterwards, she has come many times, as long as she could walk, to receive the holy sacraments, but her illness made some progress, and she became unable to manage going outside of her house; she never tired of speaking about God and His huge kindness, and to praise Him and appreciate Him above all else, as someone who seems to be very much in love with all her heart, so much so that it is wonderful to see the great faith, hope, and charity of God, that she has, and how she has convinced her family of it.

Another old woman from the same town came to get the sacraments and said: "Oh! my dear Father, you should know that I have kept everything that you have preached in this church very much in my heart. Sinning is bad, since God is so good. He is very annoyed when someone offends Him, and throws him into Hell. That is why I come

with a great repentance and sorrow for having offended Him, and the intention of not offending Him any more, to confess myself. So, please, Father, confess me, give me the sacraments, and also the oil, because I am dying, and wish to go to Heaven to see our Lord in whom I have placed all my heart.”

Another one who had his heart similarly placed in the Lord was **Alonso Tagdu**, a resident of Guaguo [=Guaco] in Rota who, falling gravely ill until he lost consciousness and speech, had a crucifix applied to his mouth. He regained consciousness, and speech, breaking forth with an act of contrition, and asking for the holy sacraments which he received. He continued to make acts of faith, hope and charity until he expired.

Another old man from the same town, in spite of his very advanced age, and the long distance of almost 3 leagues, was very careful in coming to mass. In order for the other people of his town to be able to attend mass as well, he played a great part in having them abandon such a distant site, and move to another closer to the church.¹ When the Father prepared him during his last illness to receive the holy sacraments, he warned him to look carefully to see if there were some thing that bothered his conscience, concerning the sixth commandment. He answered: “Father, I have nothing [to reproach myself], because I hate women.” There is also the case of a very old man in the Island of Seipan who is said never to have committed anything against this commandment; when two young women from the same Island were solicited to break him, they fled from the infamous solicitation with all speed. The same thing was observed in other good-looking women, unmarried as well as married; they resisted very manly to those who were inviting them to sin, and threatening them. One in particular, solicited by an important person, became so frightened that she began to shake and told him so many good reasons [why not] that he was left with wonder, and contrite. If these people stood out by the way they kept the sixth commandment, one excelled at keeping the seventh and tenth commandments. His name is **Juan Odu**, fiscal of Titito in Rota, who, having acquired the chieftainship of this town, upon learning that another man has a greater claim to this dignity, yielded it spontaneously to him, so as not to load his conscience with the usurpation or desire for things belonging to others. Another fiscal in Seipan was so mistreated, for having cooperated in removing a scandal, that at 9 o'clock one evening they came to get the Father to give him extreme unction. Regaining consciousness, he did not complain against his aggressor, but rather, to place him on the defensive, as he could easily do, he gave to understand that he [i.e. the aggressor] could insult him, and even kill him, but he would not stop him from doing his duty.

To the litanies of the Virgin, and the Salve that are now the custom as in the old residences, in the new residence of Anatahan [rather Anaguan] in the Island of Seipan, the people from the towns in the vicinity come to obtain a good death, which many

1 Ed. note: So, the town of Guaco (as Fr. Pobre called it in 1602) was abandoned in about 1698.

must have obtained, because in administering to them, they showed great signs of being predestined, on account of how well they prepared themselves.

This year took place the expedition to the reduction of the 8 Islands of Gani, whose account is enclosed.¹ Because of the brevity of this account, various cases have been omitted of the particular providence of God who made use of rigor with some, and mercy with others. Some of these cases will now be mentioned. Firstly, it has been noticed that the misfortune of the 8 canoes that perished during a hurricane occurred in the same neighborhood where the soldiers accompanying the Ven. Father Coomans were thrown overboard during the general uprising of 1684.

Two lovers, whose consorts were in Guahan, but they here in the Island of **Anatahan**, where they were found, and advised by the Father to separate from each other. They did so then, but upon passing to Seipan, they boarded the same canoe, and instead of landing at Seipan, as they should have like the others, they went on to land in Tinian; however, in the crossing from one Island to the other—a distance of hardly 4 leagues—the wind rose suddenly and their canoe sank. Out of the 4 people on board it, the two lovers drowned, with a third, but the fourth one escaped by swimming.

Two other lovers, upon whom God our Lord took a particular pity, had fled from Seipan to go to Gani. For 13 days and nights they became toys in the hands of the winds, which were brisk, and the seas, which were wild, until they were finally thrown in sight of, and near, the Island of Rota. Shouting pitifully, and begging for help, they were heard by the residents of this Island, and brought ashore in such a condition that if they had not been picked up that night, they would never have been picked up alive.

In the Island of **Pagon**, a man had decided not to embark for Seipan, and wished to hide in the bush, but his wife did not want to share his harmful project, because she thought it was better to follow the others to where they were recalled. He grabbed hold of her by the hand and, with a knife he had in his other hand, he began to cut her so fiercely that she would have been finished, had the innocent victim not been able to free herself, and sought a safe place. When her aggressor saw this happening, this desperate man fled into the bush, and hanged himself. When the Father was told about the incident the next day, and of the danger that the wounded was in, not just on account of her wounds, which were many, but also for the copious blood that she had lost, he went to see her, and then, after he taught her enough catechism, he baptized her. God was pleased to have her recover the health of the body, at the same time as she gained the salvation of her soul, received through holy baptism, through some medicines that were applied to her. One could even say that the wounds themselves saved her life, because otherwise she would have boarded the canoes that we have already mentioned, that perished in the crossing from Alamagan; she did not because she had not recovered enough from her wounds, so that she freed herself thus from that danger, and later on made a safe crossing to Guahan during a period of good weather.

1 Ed. note: See next Doc. 1699B.

One should not omit the promptitude with which our Lord wished to compensate then in this world the Christian charity of the peoples of the Islands of Seipan and Rota, by extending His paternal blessing to them, on account of the good they did to so many guests, and passengers, during the whole time that the transportation from the Gani Islands to Guahan lasted, when they freely shared their meager provisions of food, until they had nothing for themselves other than coconut, and **dugdug**, a [type of bread-] fruit then unripe, though it is not much pleasant even when it is ripe, but then they were giving such desirable fish as “dorados”,¹ the capture of which had not been better in many years, and some rice, the harvest of which was then more plentiful than they had hoped for. However, the handfuls that the Mariana Mission offers from its harvest to the altar of divine kindness this year are: Baptisms of heathen adults, 794; and of infants, 436; deaths with the sacraments, 446; and of innocent infants, 198.²

The latter have already come to realize that they owe a debt of gratitude for the glory they now enjoy to their great benefactor, who is our Catholic Monarch. They would be the more efficient orators, to repay him for their safety before His divine Majesty, something that he wishes so much in this and the next life, as they owe him theirs, and specially the first fruits from Gani, that only the Austrian piety³ was able to extract from those volcanoes, or mouths of hell, to plant them in Paradise.

[Endorsement:] Philippines.—Account of the events in the Gani Islands belonging to the Marianas.

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- 1 Ed. note: We know that this fish was called “batogue” in Chamorro. It corresponds to a fish of the tuna family.
 - 2 Ed. note: The deaths were greater than normal that year, on account of the dislocations, and shipwrecks.
 - 3 Ed. note: A reference to the House of Austria, that ended in 1700, as Charles II left no heir.

Document 1699B

The 1697-98 reduction of the Gani Islands

Source: ARSI Phil. 14, fol. 88-91v.

Important note: Although this account reports that the expedition took place in 1698, Fr. Bouwens, who took part, makes it clear that it took place in 1697 (see Doc. 1698B). The confusion arose because the present account was written at the same time as, and appended to, the annual report for 1699. Also, this proves it to be a copy, and the copyist may have made an ill-advised correction.

Original text in Spanish.

Relacion de la ultima reduccion de las Yslas Marianas llamadas de Gani, que estan al Norte de las Yslas de Seipan y Tinian.

En la relacion de la conquista de las Yslas de Rota, Seipan, Aguiquan, y Tinian que se hizo el año de 1695 se dixo como los habitadores de las Yslas de Gani, que estan mas al Norte, avian embiado mensageros a rendir la obediencia, y que el Governador que lo era entonces el Sar[gen]to Mayor D. Joseph de Quiroga y Losada les avia mandado dexasen sus Islas y se viniesen a vivir en la de Seipan por las razones, que mas abajo se diran; y que ellos obedientes lo iban executando. Y fue asi que mas de trecientas almas de dichas Yslas de Gani se vinieron a Seipan, y alli vivieron de asiento, y fueron doctrinados en la Fee, y bautizados: Pero los demas, como siempre se temio, se fueron deteniendo, y dando excusas de no venir alegando, que no tenian bastantes embarcaciones para hazer el viaje; mas la verdadera causa de esta detencion fueron algunos Indios de esta Ysla de Guahan, que unos por tener delitos de muerte cometidos en el alzamiento del año de 84, y otros por estar mas a su libertad, persuadieron a los Yndios de dichas Yslas de Gani que se quedasen alli ponderandoles con falcedad, y malicia, que era intolerable iugo el de la Fee, y vassalaje a la Real corona, y que era hazerse esclavos pudiendo vivir libres en sus tierras.

Disimulose esta tardanza por justos embarazos hasta que el año pasado de 1698 [sic], viendo los Yndios de dichas Yslas de Gani, que estaban ya de asiento en la Ysla de Seipan que los otros de sus Islas no venian, llevados de su natural inconstancia, y persuadidos, que ya no se trataria de traerles, quisieron irles a hazer compañía, y con todo secreto quarenta de ellos armaron sus embarcaciones; y se huieron a sus Yslas. El Padre Ger-

*ardo Bouvens Rector de la Ysla de Seipan dio aviso de esta fuga al Padre Vice Provincial Antonio Cundari, que luego la participó al General D. Joseph Madrazo Governador y Capitan General de estas Yslas, suplicandole se serviesse de disponer la reduccion asi de estos fugitivos, como de todos los demas; pues disimulandose, ò tardando en reducirlos, los demas, que quedavan en Seipan se volverian a sus rincones. Luego al punto mandò dicho Governador aprestar todas las embarcaciones, que se hallassen mas a proposito para esta larga, y dificultosa jornada, assi en esta Ysla, como en Rota, y Seipan, y en breve tiempo se hallaron prevenidas 64 embarcaciones de Guahan, 8 de Rota, y 40 de Seipan, que por todas son 112. Señalo por cabo de esta empresa al **Capitan Sebastian Luis**, que ha muchos años que milita en este Presidio, y tiene bastante experiencia, valor, y conocimiento de las Yslas, y de los naturales de estos Yndios, y 12 soldados que le acompañasen; juzgando ser bastante este numero por suponer, que cada uno de los Indios de confianza escogidos para esta impresa de esta Ysla, y de Rota, y Seipan ayudarian con fidelidad, y valor, como lo hizieron, y tambien porque siendo tantas las embarcaciones, los naturales de las Yslas, que se iban a reducir siempre juzgarian, que eran mas los soldados; y assi [fol. 88v] sucedio, que viendo llegar las embarcaciones entendian, que venia en ellas numerosa mil[icia] de soldados. El Orden que dio el Governador al Cabo de la jornada fue, que hiziesse embarcar a todos los moradores de las 8 Yslas para Seipan, y que de alli fuessen conducidos a esta Ysla de Guahan, para que estando mas lejos tuviessen menos facilidad de huirse.*

El Padre Gerardo Bouvens se ofrecio al Padre Vice Provincial para acompañar esta armada, y con la licencia, y beneplacito de dicho Padre Vice Provincial dispuso su jornada aguardando en Seipan a que se juntasen todas las embarcaciones; las quales llegaron a estar juntas en la dicha Ysla el dia el dia [sic] 8 de Setiembre de 1698 [sic]

[Description of the Gani Islands]

*Antes de seguirlos en su viaje será bien para mayor claridad dar alguna breve noticia de estas 8 Yslas. La mayor de ellas no tiene mas de diez y seis, ò diez y ocho leguas de circuito; y son tan intratables por la aspereza de sus peñascos, y dificultad de sus entradas, que ni barras, ni puertos pueden llamarse, y en las mas es menester cargar a [h]ombro las embarcaciones para asegurarlas entre las peñas. Los frutos que tienen son los precisos para sus[ten]tar la vida humana, algunas raizes, pocas frutas de rimay, y muy poco arroz, aunque abundantes de pescado. Algunas tienen maderas para fabricar sus embarcaciones[.] sus nombres, y distancia unas de otras son como se siguen. **Anatahan** dista 20 leguas de Seipan, **Sarigan** 6 leguas de Anatahan, **Guoguan** [sic] 12 leguas de Sarigan, **Alamagan** 7 leguas de Guoguan, **Pagon** 10 leguas de Alamagan, **Agrigan** 12 leguas de Pagon, **Achonchon** [sic], y **Maug**, que son las ultimas estan poco distantes entre si, y Achonchon distante de Agrigan 15 leguas. En Pagon ay siete volcanes, que aviendo rebentado varias vezes han destruido [sic] la mayor parte de la Ysla. Guoguan tiene un volcan[,] otro Alamagan, y en Anatahan ay otro.*

Son los naturales de estas Yslotes tan dociles, sencillos, y agazajadores como lo han experimentado assi los Padres Missioneros de estas Yslas, que varias vezes las corrie-

ron en los primeros años, estando de asiento el Padre Thomas Cardenoso en la de Agrihan por tiempo de 2 años como los soldados, que el año de 84 quedaron prisioneros en Tinian, y algunos de ellos aportaron a estas Yslas, y nunca se ha experimentado en ellos traicion alguna[.] Prueba de esto es el averle cogido [durante] el alzamiento del año de 84 al Padre Pedro Comano en la de Alamagan, donde no solamente se halló seguro, sino agazajado, y estimado hasta que traiendole embarcado para esta Ysla de Guahan, le cogieron los Indios de Seipan, y le quitaron la vida con no poco sentimiento de los que le traian para asegurarlo en esta Ysla.

Agora el arbitrio de reducir los moradores, de las treze Yslas Marianas a vivir en unas pocas dellas, las mejores, y mas cercanas entre si, ha sido muy antiguo, y del se ha dado parte a su Magestad por haver mostrado la esperiencia de tantos años ser moralmente impossible assi el poder ser gobernados en lo politico, como el poder ser ayudados en la enseñanza para bien de sus almas de los ministros del Evangelio; siendo las dichas Yslas tantas de numero prolongadas [fol. 89] en tan larga distancia, con golfos de tan peligrosas trabezas, y en tan debiles embarcaciones como son las destos Isleños, que son unas Canoas de tablas cosidas con mecates. Por lo qual el mas tiempo del año estan faltas de comunicacion, y casi siempre son con riesgo las navegaciones. Y siendo las 8 Yslas acia el Norte de las calidades que queda dicho, vendrian los moradores destas a tener mejores conveniencias; poblado en la Ysla de Guahan, bastantissima para todos ellos, y sin comparacion en todas las cosas necessarias al sustento, mas abundantemente.

[The actual expedition of 1697]

*Digamos aora brevemente el feliz sucesso de esta jornada para maior gloria de Dios nuestro Señor y de su Santissima Madre a cuiá intercession se deve atribuir el averse conseguido sin sangre el ver ya reducidos a esta Ysla de Guahan **todos** los moradores de estas 8 Yslas, para lo qual se procuró inclinar la piedad divina con rogativas publicas, que se hizieron continuadamente en esta Ysla, y en la de Seipan, y Rota todo el tiempo que duró la jornada.*

*A 23 de Setiembre del año pasado de 98 [sic] salieron las 112 embarcaciones de Seipan para Anatahan con viento favorable y tiempo sereno: a poco trecho les calmó el viento, y se levantó una tormenta tan recia, que puso a riesgo de perderse toda la arma[da]; dos embarcaciones desarbolaron, y todas tuvieron la gran fortuna, y favor de Dios coger el puerto de donde avian salido. Allí se rehicieron las maltratadas, y el día 26 del dicho mes de Setiembre salieron para **Anataha[n]** a donde entraron el día siguiente a las 10 de la mañana. Los naturales viendo aquel numero tan grande de embarcaciones y de gente, temerosos de algun castigo por su desobediencia en no averse ido a vivir a Seipan, como se les avia mandado, se escondieron, mas con poca diligencia aunque trabajosa, por la aspera de los caminos se les quitó el miedo y se empadronaron para embiarlos a Seipan. Levantose una Cruz en el sitio del alojamiento y allí rezavan todos los dias el Rosario los soldados e Indios de las embarcaciones. El Padre Rector de Seipan [i.e. Fr. Bouwens] decia missa assi en esta como las demas Yslas los*

días que no lo embarazaban los viajes, o otras incomodidades. Bautizaba los Parvulos, visitava los enfermos Adultos para disponerlos para el santo Bautismo: y logró con esta diligencia algunas almas para el cielo assi de Niños como Adultos, que parece aguardavan solo esta misericordia de Dios para morir en el Señor, y ser contados en el numero de los predistnados. Hallaron aqui bastante comida para el tiempo, que se detubieron, que fue hasta 13 de Octubre, por aver tardado en bolver las embarcaciones, que cargaron la gente de esta Ysla para Seipan. Però ubo falta de agua para beber por no tener la Ysla mas agua que la del cielo que recogen los naturales en los troncos de los cocos que para este fin tienen cavados, mas socorrio Dios a nuestra gente con muchos aguazeros para alivio de su sed.

*Dicho día 13 de Otubre salieron para la Ysla de **Sarigan**, y a la tarde entraron en ella[.] fueron bien recibidos de sus moradores, y aviendoseles intimado el Orden de embarcarse para Seipan se rindieron a executar lo; y hechos los Bautismos de lo[s] Parvulos, y empadronada la gente, el día 17 de Otubre se hizieron a la vela para la Ysla de **Agrihan**, dexando para la buell[t]a el visitar las Yslas de Guoguan, Alamagan, y Pagon; mas el viento que areció mucho con grandes aguazeros obligó el Padre rendido ya el arbol de su embarcazion [fol. 89v] a hazer noche en **Guoguan** todo mojado; de donde salió el día siguiente sin probar bocado aviendo bautizado los Parvulos, que ofrecieron los moradores de esta Ysla, los quales acceptaron sin resistencia el orden de embarcarse para Seipan. Las demas embarcaciones[,] unas pudieron entrar a abrigarse en Guoguan, y otras se estuvieron toda la noche en el mar barloventeando con harto riesgo hasta que el día siguiente pudieron proseguir su viaje a la Ysla de Agrihan. Muchas que iban delante pudieron coger aquella noche la Ysla de Pagon adonde se abrigaron.*

En esta travesia volvió a reciar el viento de manera que las mas de las embarcaciones se vieron obligadas a entrarse en la Ysla de Pagon. El Padre que se avia adelantado, se halló al anochezer con las dos embarcaciones, que le seguian, una en que iba un soldado, y otra que avia salido aquella mañana de Alamagan, y llevaba un mal hechor, que en Rota avia herido gravemente al Padre Carlos Boranga el año de 84, y no lo conocian los nuestros. Aqui se mostró la singular Providencia de Dios nuestro Señor para el feliz logro de esta empresa; por que si el Padre ubiera proseguido su viaje deteniendose aquella noche, como los demas en Pagon, y este malhechor ubiera llegado antes a Agrihan, estando alli el maior golpe de la gente, y otros dos malhechores, los ubiera alborotado con la noticia de ir la Armada a conducirlos a Guahan; de suerte, que ubieran embarazado, ò por lo menos hecho mui dificultosa la entrada.

*Viendose el Padre con aquellas dos solas embarcaciones con consejo de los Marineros se determino proseguir su viaje a **Agrihan** a donde llegaron a media noche bien mojados de los continuos aguazeros, y bien hambrientos. El Indio en cuja embarcacion iba el Padre es digno de especial memoria en esta relacion, llamase el **Capitan Nuun** uno de los principales de la Ysla de Agrihan el qual al primer llamamiento se vino con su gente a vivir en Seipan el año de 95 a donde ha dado muestras de su buena capacidad assi en el buen afecto con que ha abrazado las cosas de la Fee portandose como christiano mui antiguo, como en el zelo, con que ha procurado reducir a los de estas 8*

Islas haciendo varias diligencias para traer los a Seipan; de suerte que a el principalmente se debio el aver venido los 300 Yndios que diximos, estaban ya de asiento en Seipan; y en esta ultima jornada dize el Padre que a su consejo, y direccion se debe el buen acierto en la total reduccion de estos naturales, pues el como pratico en todas estas Yslas, dava los mas azertados consejos en orden a los viajes, y con su autoridad, y buenas razones persuadia a los medrosos a dexar el miedo, y sujetarse a las ordenes del Governador para el bien de sus almas; el ha llevado, y traído por espacio de 4 meses a dicho Padre en su embarcacion.

*Hallandose pues el Padre a la vista de Agrigan con solas las dos bancas referidas, no le parecio saltar en tierra hasta que llegase la demas gente, y pasó lo restante de la noche mojado sobre una tabla. Los Yndios de la Ysla que ya tenian alguna noticia de la venida de nuestra gente concurrieron a la playa con algun murmullo indicio [fol. 90] de su miedo. El Capitan Nuun les habló desde su embarcacion, y luego vinieron a el algunos en una embarcacion pequeña; saltò el dicho Capitan en tierra, y habló a sus Paysanos, y les quito el miedo, y sosego de manera, que volviendo a la embarcacion donde avia quedado el Padre le dixo que con toda seguridad podia desembarcar, y repararse del gran trabajo que avia pasado; lo mismo le aseguró a dicho Padre un Yndio de Guahan que estava en Agrigan llamado **Andres Ima** que avia sido criado del Padre Teophilo de Angelis, que vino a ver al Padre a su embarcacion, y dio tales muestras de alegria de verle, y buen afecto de servirle, ofreciendose desde luego a no apartarse de su compañía hasta llegar a Guahan, que le sacò las lagrimas a los ojos, y como le ofrecio assi lo cumplio pagandole nuestro Señor este buen afecto con librarlo del naufragio, que padecio su gente saliendo de Pagon, para Alamagan, como se dira despues; en el qual ubiera el padecido como ellos perecieron, a no averse detenido en compañía, y servicio del Padre[.] con esta seguridad al amanecer saltaron en tierra, y hallaron a la gente quieta, y sin alguna señal de guerra, ni mal animo; socorrieron su necesidad con lo que los naturales les ofrecieron de comida, y a las 4 de la tarde llegó el Capitan Sebastian Luis con su gente, y buen numero de embarcaciones, y quedando las demas en Pagon.*

Aqui dispuesto el alojamiento para la gente, y enarbolado el Estandarte de nuestra Redempcion se empezó a hazer el padron de los naturales para irlos conduciendo a Seipan; y aqui con especialidad se conociò la misericordia de Dios con estos Ysleños, y que era ya llegada la hora que tenia su Magesta[d] determinada para su remedio; pues coop[er]ando la docilidad de sus naturales, y la autoridad y buenas razones del Capitan Nuun, en breve quedaron empadronados casi todos, y resueltos a dexar su Ysla por lograr el bien de sus almas; cosa que fuera moralmente imposible a quererse ellos esconder, y hazer fuertes en los peñascos inaccesibles de su Ysla, que con tales que ni con 100 armas de fuego se les pudiera hazer daño; pues es menester subir a los dichos peñascos por escaleras de dos, o tres brazas, y bajar por otras barrancas, ò cuevas de sus retiradas; y esto es mas de ponderar por aver tenido en su Ysla los malhechores de esta de Guahan, que les persuadian a ello por tener quien les hiciesse compañía[.] para buscar a estos malhechores y a otros que les hazian compañía assi de Guahan, como de Agrigan, salio el Capitan Sebastian Luis dando buelta a la Ysla con los Soldados, e In-

dios de las embarcaciones, y quizo Dios que surtiese buen efecto esta salida; pues en los pasos inaccesibles con disparar algunas armas de fuego y aver herido levemente a uno se amedrentaron de suerte que luego se vinieron a entregar todos dexando solamente los tres malhechores con una muger; que las dos de los otros se vinieron, por no quedar en aquel desamparo, sin poder pasar a otra Ysla, como quedaron aquellos desdichados; pues aunque no se pudo dar con ellos, se encontraron las embarcaciones que tenian escondidas para escapar, y se les hicieron pedaços, y quemaron.

*En esta salida no asistio el Padre por averle dicho el **Capitan Ignacio Nuun** que antes les serviria de embarazo, pues seria necessario ocupar alguna gente para ayudarlo a pasar los muchos despeñados que avian de andar, mas en otra buelta que dieron para quemar los pueblos quando ya estaba de buelta [fol. 90v] quizo el Padre acompañar la gente, y dize dicho Padre que no son ponderables los malos caminos y dificultosos passos, que anduvieron, y que el cabo estuvo dos vezes a riesgo de despeñarse; y concluye diciendo: **ambulamus vias difficiles**. Lo qual se puede decir tambien de las salidas que hizieron en las otras Yslas, que todas casi son iguales en ser mas despeñaderos que habitacion de hombres[.] Dios nuestro Señor por cuiá honra tan gloriosamente trabajaron, dará a todos el premio de tanto trabajos, como han padecido por traer al camino derecho de la vida a los que en grutas tan formidables vivian entre las sombras de la muerte. Estas quemas de las casas assi de esta como de las demas Yslas, que en todas se hizo la misma diligencia[.] se hicieron de orden que para ello llevaba, el cabo del Governador para quitarles la esperanza de huirse otra vez desde el camino, como de la natural inco[n]stancia de Yndio se podia temer, mas en lo tocante a sus bienes muebles llevaba orden el dicho cabo de no permitir se les hiziese robo ni vejacion ninguna, y lo cumplio tan exactamente que a alguno que en esto se desmando lo castigo severamente.*

*En esta Ysla de Agrigan se empadronaron, assi los naturales della, como tambien los de las dos ultimas de Achonchon, y meve [sic = Maug]¹ que desde ay [=alli] condujo el Capitan Ignacio Nuun en las embarcaciones que para este efecto se le dieron, que con gran gusto se embarcaron por hallarse totalmente destruidos de un uracan, que pocos dias antes les avia asolado sus mogotes, y dejado casi sin sustento. Hecha la diligencia de quemar todas las casas de los pueblos se hizieron todos a la vela para la Ysla de **Pagon** a 29 de Noviembre, aqui padecio el Padre 6 dias un achaque tan continuo, y molesto que le dio bien que padecer, mas quizo Dios que se le quitase, y se hallase mejor tres dias antes de embarcarse para proseguir su jornada, como se hizo despues de haber empadronado la gente, que se embarco todos para Seipan sin resistencia alguna.*

*A 8 de Diziembre salieron de Pagon para **Alamagan** donde bautizados los Parvulos, y empadronadas las almas, salieron para **Guoguan** a 10 del mismo mes. Aqui hallaron muchissima gente por averse detenido en dicha Ysla las embarcaciones que la conducion a Seipan por aver tenido malos tiempos: ubo en esta Ysla gran falta de co-*

1 Ed. note: We have here a proof that this document is but a copy, perhaps a translation from a Latin original (such as Doc. 1698B).

*mida para tanta gente de suert[e] que llegaron a los últimos días a no tener cosa que comer ni aun coco. Mas quiso Dios que a 26 de Diciembre tubieron tiempo para hacerse a la vela la buelta de **Anatahan** dexando ya todas las siete Islas despobladas.*

Apenas avian salido de esta Ysla quando empezó a mudarse el tiempo, y fueron tantos, y tan recios los refregonos de viento, y aguazeros, que el cabo se tubo ya por perdido; mas quiso Dios que no se perdió embarcacion ninguna, y ya entrada la noche mojados assi del mar, como de la lluvia entraron en Anatahan en un puerto de tan mal abrigo, que escribe el Padre no tubo otra cama sino un monton de piedras lloviendole encima toda la noche, y lo mismo padecieron los demas hasta que amanecio, y pudieron llegar a las poblaciones de los Indios a repararse algo de su gran trabajo.

En estos golfos sucedio una desgracia, y fue que el día 30 de Noviembre cogio un uracan a 9 embarcaciones que pasavan de la Ysla de Pagon a la de Alamagan, y de las 9 solas se salvaron [fol. 91] 2, pereciendo las siete con la gente que llevavan a la vista de la Ysla sin poder ser socorridos aunque sirvio de consuelo en esta desgracia [h]averse salvado en mejor puerto 15 Niños recién bautizados que iban en las 7 embarcaciones que naufragaron. En Anatahan fue forzoso de tenerse algun tiempo assi para aguardarles embarcaciones que conducir gente a Seipan como para buscar a algunos Indios assi de Guahan, como de la misma Isla que se sabia estaban escondidos en los riscos. En este tiempo parecio cofn]veniente, que el Padre adelantose su buelta a Seipan, assi para hazer volver las embarcaciones, y gente de ellas, de que necesitava el Capitan Sebastian Luis para buscar a los fugitivos, como para ayudar al Padre Juan Sermeisen, que avia quedado solo en dicha Ysla de Seipan, y tuvo estos 4 meses de la ausencia de Padre Rector bien que trabajar con tanto gentio, salio pues dicho Padre de Anatahan para Seipan a 12 de Enero de este año de 99 [sic], y con eficacia hizo volver las embarcaciones a Anatahan las quales llegadas el Capitan Sebastian Luis ordenò 6 quadrillas de soldados, e Indios repartiendo en cada quadrilla dos arma[s] de fuego, y señalandoles los sitios por donde avian de ir estrechando a los fugitivos para que no pudiesen escaparse sin dar en alguna de las 6 quadrillas. El trabajo con que fueron subiendo asi soldados como Indios es imponderable, porque es la cumbre de esta Ysla asperissima, llena de peñascos, y guijaros, que a muchos les sacaron sangre de los pies, y casi forma en lo alto un castillo, o cubo redondo, que cerca una grande llanura de buenas tierras a donde tenian en sus sementeras comida para mucho tiempo. Ellos desde arriba veían subir nuestra gente, y se iban retirando hasta que dieron impesadamente con una de las quadrillas, que maniato [=asio?] a 29 y hizo señal disparando las dos armas de fuego; los demas hasta numero de 94 personas que eran por todos se huieron, y escondieron; mas embiados a llamar por medio de dos Indios amigos que tenian parientes entre ellos salieron todos, y fueron conducidos a esta Ysla de Guahan, donde pagaron con prisiones dos Indios de esta Ysla la presuncion que contra ellos se formó de aver sido ellos los autores de esta fuga.

Concluida esta faccion se venieron todos a Seipan dexando arrasada a Anatahan, y desde alli se han ido conduciendo a esta Ysla de Guahan todos los moradores de las 8 Yslas despobladas, en cuió transporte han gastado casi otros 4 meses por no ser los

*tiempos siempre favorables para estas tan debiles embarcaciones. El Governador sumamente gozoso de ver concluida esta empresa tantos años ha deseada y tan llena de dificultades ha procurado despues de dadas a Dios, y a su Santissima Madre las debidas gracias por tan singular favor, agasajar a estos Indios, y darles tierras donde poblar mejores que las que dexaron, no permitiendoseles haga la menor vejacion para que conoscan que el averlos obligado a dexar sus tierras solo se encamina al bien de sus almas, y assi empiezen a hazer concepto de la Fee, y Doctrina del Evangelio, parte de esta gente le ha puesto en **Ynarfa]han** que es uno de los partidos de mejores tierras de esta Ysla, a donde se esta levantando Yglesia, y casa para el Padre que esta doctrinando a los que con tan execivos trabajos han sido traídos a ser rebaños del buen pastor. Y con esta Yglesia de Inarahan son diez las Yglesias en que se administran los Sacramentos a estos naturales en las 3 Yslas de Guahan, Rota, y Seipan que son las que unicamente quedan pobladas. Los demas han sido repartidos en las otras doctrinas de esta Ysla dandoles toda la conveniencia posible para que cobren amor a la Fee, y vivan menos sentidos de aver dexado a sus Peñones.*

[fol. 91v] *Por no alargar mas esta relacion se omiten muchos casos de edificacion que se pudieran contar, y singulares providencias de Dios en tan larga, y peligrosa jornada; mas no dexare de decir uno que refiere dicho Padre Gerardo en carta suia al Padre Vice-Provincial Cundari[.] llamaron a dicho Padre en la Ysla de Agrigan para visitar una Yndia moribunda, hallola sin habla, y lo mejor que pudo la dispuso para administrarle el santo bautismo por lo menos **sub conditione**: hizolo assi, y luego en pocas horas mejoró de tal suerte que al quarto dia se pudo embarcar con los demas. Lo que principalmente es digno de ponderacion, y sera sin duda de singular merito para con Dios es el summo trabajo, hambres, malas noches, y peores dias, que en el espacio de casi 8 meses han pasado asi el Padre como el Capitan Sebastian Luis[,] sus soldados, y los Yndios marineros, ni es de omitir la caridad que en Seipan, y Rota han exercitado con los huespedes assi los Padres Juan Tilpe, y Juan Sermeisen en lo spiritual, y temporal, proveyendo de comida a los hambrientos, y de ropa a los desnudos para que pareciesen con alguna decencia en esta Ysla; como sus feligreses en administrar el pan cotidiano a tanta multitud de gente. Mas teniendo tan buen pagador como es Dios por cuió amor han exercitado tanta caridad pueden estar todos seguros, que le dara el ciento por uno, y despues el premio de premios en la vida eterna.*

*El dia tercero de Pasqua de Resurreccion al amanecer entro toda la flota de las embarcaciones de esta conquista con el resto de la gente [de Gani] que quedava en Seipan, y fue uno de los dias mas alegres que ha avido en esta Ysla. Fueron recibidos los conquistadores en la Yglesia con repiques de campanas, caxas, clarines, y Artilleria. Cantandose solemnmente el **Te Deum laudamus**, seguiose missa cantada en accion de gracias, y todo el dia fue de alegria con musicas, danzas, y representaciones asi de los soldados, como de los Yndios.*

Al mismo tiempo que se hazia esta larga jornada el zelo vigilante del Governador de esta Ysla no se descuidava de procurar dar campo mas dilatado a los operarios de esta Mission por la parte del Sur, fabricando para el descubrimiento de las Carolinas una

Galeota de 32 codos de quilla con cubierta, que ha salido al juicio de todos los Marineros mui a proposito para dicha empresa[.] quiera Dios que se logre, y resuenen los ecos del Evangelio en estas Yslas, que tantas vezes se han procurado descubrir con embarcaciones menores, y no ha querido Dios se aia conseguido.

Concluimos esta relacion dando primeramente las debidas gracias al Author de todo bien que es Dios nuestro Señor, y la Patrona de estas Yslas que es la Beatissima Virgen Maria que assi favorece a sus amados Marianos, y rindamosla assi mismo cumplidas a la Catholica piedad de nuestro gran Monarca Carlos Segundo, que Dios guarde muchos años pues a costa de su Real Patrimonio mantiene y adelanta la fee, en estas pobres, y desamparadas de quien solo busca los intereses de Dios, y el bien de las almas.

[Unsigned and undated]

Translation.

Account of the last reduction of the Mariana Islands called Gani Islands, which are located north of Saipan and Tinian Islands.

In the narrative of the conquests of the Islands of Rota, Seipan, Aguiguan, and Tinian that were made in the year 1695,¹ it was said that as the inhabitants of the Gani Islands, which are further north, the then-Governor, Sergeant-Major Don José de Quiroga y Losada, had sent messengers there ordering them to surrender, leave their islands and come and live in the Island of Seipan, for the reasons that will be mentioned below. They in turn had been obeying this order. And this was how over 300 souls from said Gani Islands came to Seipan, and there they lived in a settled fashion, and were indoctrinated in the faith, and baptized. However, the rest of them, as had always been feared, stayed behind, some giving excuses for not coming, alleging that they did not have enough canoes to make the voyage, but the real cause of this delay was that some Indians from this Island of Guahan, either because they had committed killings during the uprising of the year 1684, or because they desired their freedom, persuaded the Indians of said Gani Islands to stay there, by arguing with falsehood, and malice, that the yoke of the Faith was intolerable, and so was the vassalage to the Royal Crown, that such was to make them slaves, and they would be better to live free in their own lands.

Good excuses were used for this delay, until the past year 1698 [rather 1697], when the Indians from said Gani Islands, already residing in the Island of Seipan, realized that the other people of their Islands were not coming, carried away by their natural inconstancy, and convinced that no further efforts would be made to bring them in, decided to go back and joined them, and with full secrecy 40 of them prepared their canoes and fled to their Islands. Father Gerardo Bouvens, Rector of the Island of Seipan, sent an advice of this flight to Father Vice-Provincial Antonio Cundari who immediately passed the news to General Don José Madrazo, Governor and Captain General of these Islands, begging him to please arrange for the reduction, not only of these fugitives but of all the others; indeed, by dissembling, or delaying their reduction, those still

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1696F.

in Seipan would return to their pieces of land. Said Governor immediately ordered the preparation of all the canoes that were to be found more suitable for this long and difficult journey, not only in this Island but also in Rota and Seipan. Soon there were found ready 64 canoes from Guahan, 8 from Rota, and 40 from Seipan, that is, a total of 112 canoes. As commander of this expedition, he appointed **Captain Sebastian Luis**,¹ who has been active in this Garrison for many years and has enough experience, valor, and knowledge of the Islands, and of the characters of these Indians, plus 12 soldiers to accompany him, judging that such a number would be sufficient, because every one of the trustworthy Indians from this Island, and from Rota and Seipan, selected for this expedition, would help with their fidelity, and valor, as they actually did, and also because of the large number of canoes, the natives of the Islands that were to be reduced would simply think that there were more soldiers present. Thus it happened that, upon seeing the canoes coming in, they understood that a numerous militia of soldiers were on board them. The order that the Governor gave to the commander of the expedition was that he was to make all the inhabitants of the 8 Islands embark for Seipan, and that from there they were to be transported to this Island of Guahan, so that, by being farther away, it would be less easy for them to flee.

Father Gerardo Bouvens offered his services to Father Vice-Provincial to accompany this fleet, and with the permission and good wishes of said Father Vice-Provincial he prepared himself for the journey, waiting in Seipan until all the canoes had come together. By the 8th of September 1698 [rather 1697] they had all arrived at said Island.

[Description of the Gani Islands]

Before following them in their voyage, it would be a good idea, for greater clarity, to give some brief notice of these 8 Islands. The largest of them is not more than 16, or 18, leagues in circumference. Their crags are so inaccessible on account of their roughness, their approaches are difficult, as at most of them it is necessary to load canoes onto men's backs in order to place them in safety among rocks. The fruits that they have are only the most necessary ones to sustain human life, a few root plants, a few breadfruits, and very little rice, although they abound in fish. Some have trees suitable for the construction of their canoes.² Their names, and the distance between them are as follows: **Anatahan** is 20 leagues from Seipan; **Sarigan**, 6 leagues from Anatahan; **Guoguan**, 12 leagues from Sarigan; **Alamagan**, 7 leagues from Guoguan; **Pagon**, 10 leagues from Alamagan; **Agrigan**, 12 leagues from Pagon; **Achonchon** and **Maug**, which are the last ones, are not far apart, and Achonchon is 15 leagues from Agrigan. In Pagon, there are 7 volcanoes that have erupted at various times and destroyed the largest part of the Island. Guoguan has one volcano, Alamagan has also one, and Anatahan another.

1 Ed. note: His last name was actually Ramón (see Doc. 1699D).

2 Ed. note: Specially at Agrigan.

The natives of these islets are so docile, sensible, and hospitable, as not only the Missionary Fathers of these Islands have found out at various times, when they visited them during the first years [of the Mission], and Father Tomás Cardeñoso resided in Agrigan for 2 years, but also the soldiers who in 1684 remained prisoners in Tinian, as a few of them made port at these Islands. They have never shown themselves to be treacherous. The proof of this is given by what happened during the uprising of 1684 when Father Pedro Coomans was in the Island of Alamagan, where he not only found safety, but was hospitably received, and esteemed, until they were bringing him to this Island of Guahan, but the Indians of Seipan captured him, and killed him, with not a little regret of those who were bringing him to safety in this Island.

Now, the rationale to reduce the inhabitants of the 13 Mariana Islands to live in only a few of them, the best ones and located not far apart, is not a new one—an account of it has already been given to His Majesty—as the experience of so many years has shown that it was morally [sic] impossible, not only to govern them in things political, but also for the ministers of the Gospel to help them with the teaching for the welfare of their souls, because said Islands are so numerous and spread out over such a long distance, with vast expanses of sea that make the crossings so dangerous, and aboard such weak craft as are those of these islanders, which are canoes made up of boards fastened with strings. That is why for most of the year they are without communications, and navigation is almost always risky. Also, since the 8 northern Islands in question have the above-mentioned resources, their inhabitants would gain better accommodations in the Island of Guahan, with ample room for all of them, and undoubtedly with a more abundant supply of all the necessities of life.

[The actual expedition of 1697]

Let us now relate the happy success of this expedition for the greater glory of God our Lord, and of His most Blessed Mother, at whose intercession must be attributed the fact that the reduction of **all** the inhabitants of these 8 Islands to this Island of Guahan was achieved without bloodshed. To obtain this success, public prayers were continually offered in this Island, and in those of Seipan and Rota, during the whole time that the expedition lasted.

On 23 September of last year 1698 [rather 1697]¹ the 112 canoes left Seipan for Anatahan with a favorable wind and a clear sky, but soon the wind abated, and such a fierce storm arose that the whole fleet became at risk of foundering. Two canoes lost their mast, and all of them were very lucky, thank God, to be able to make their way back to the port they had left from. There, the damaged canoes were repaired, and on the 26th of said month of September, they left for **Anatahan** where they arrived at 10 o'clock the next morning. When the natives saw that such a large number of canoes and people, they feared some punishment, on account of their disobedience in not having gone to live in Seipan, as they had been ordered to do. They hid, but after some small

1 Ed. note: See Fr. Bouwens' report, Doc. 1698B.

effort was made, though it was a laborious one on account of the rough terrain, fear was taken away from them and they were registered previous to sending them to Seipan. A cross was raised at the camp site, and there the soldiers and Indians from the canoes recited the Rosary every day. The Father Rector of Seipan [i.e. Fr. Bouwens] said mass, in this as well as in the other Islands, on the days when he was not prevented by voyages in progress, or other discomforts. He baptized the infants, visited the sick adults in order to prepare them for holy baptism. This measure was beneficial to a few souls, not just children but also adults, to reach Heaven; indeed, the mercy of God was such that they seemed only to await this before dying in the Lord, and join the number of the predestined. Here they found enough food for the time they spent there, which was until 13 October, that is, long enough for the canoes that had taken the people of this Island to Seipan to return. However, there was a shortage of drinking water, as the Island has only water that comes from the rain, which the natives collect on the trunks of the coconut trees, that have been carved for this purpose, but God came to the rescue of our men with many showers to relieve their thirst.

On said date, 13 October, they left for the Island of **Sarigan**, and they got there in the afternoon. They were well received by its inhabitants, and when they were summoned to obey the order to embark for Seipan, they agreed to do so. After the infants had been baptized, and the people registered, on 17 October, they set sail for the Island of **Agrigan**, leaving for the return trip the Islands of Guoguan, Alamagan, and Pagon. However, the wind that picked up strength and was accompanied with great showers forced the Father, on account of the mast of his canoe having broken, to spend the night in **Guoguan**, completely soaked. He left it the next day, without even a bite to eat, as he had been busy baptizing the infants that the inhabitants of this Island brought to him. The people in question accepted without resistance the order to embark for Seipan. The other canoes had scattered, some having sought shelter at Guoguan, and others spent the whole night tacking back and forth, at great risk, until the next morning when they resumed their voyage to the Island of Agrigan. Many that had gone ahead that night had reached the Island of Pagon, where they sought shelter.

During this crossing, the wind again became stiff, so much so that most of the canoes were forced to divert to the Island of Pagon. The Father, who had gone ahead, found himself at sunset with only two other canoes following him, one carrying a soldier, and the other, which had left Alamagan that morning, carried a malefactor, the man who had seriously wounded Father Carlos Boranga at Rota in 1684, but our people did not [yet] know who he was. Here the special Providence of God our Lord showed itself favorable to the happy outcome of this enterprise, because, if the Father had proceeded with his voyage the same as the others, and been delayed that night in Pagon, this malefactor would have arrived before him at Agrigan, where the majority of the people were, as well as two other malefactors; he would then have excited them to rebellion with the advance notice of the fleet coming to get them, to take them to Guahan. They might then have hindered the access, or at least made it very difficult.

When the Father found himself with only these two canoes, on the advice of the sailors, he decided to pursue his voyage to **Agrigan** where they arrived at midnight, very wet from the continuous showers, and very hungry. The Indian in whose canoe the Father travelled is well worth a special mention in this account. His name is **Captain Nuun**, one of the chiefs of the Island of Agrigan. At the first call of 1695, he had come with his people to live in Seipan, where he gave signs of his good ability, not only in the good affection with which he has embraced the things of the Faith, by behaving like a very old Christian, but also by the zeal, with which he has tried to reduce the people of these 8 Islands, making various efforts to bring them to Seipan, so much so that to him mainly is due the fact that the 300 Indians mentioned previously had come, those already settled in Seipan. And during this last journey, says the Father, it was thanks to his advice and direction that the good outcome is due, that is, the total reduction of these natives; indeed, it was he, as the best pilot for all these Islands, who gave the most certain counsels regarding the movements, he who persuaded the fearful to abandon their fear, with his authority and good reasoning, and to submit to the orders of the Governor for the welfare of their souls. During the space of the 4 months, he carried said Father back and forth aboard his own canoe.

Now then, the Father found himself in sight of Agrigan with only the two above-mentioned canoes. He did not think it wise to step ashore until the other men had come; so, he spent the rest of the night, soaked, upon a board. The Indians of the Island, who had already gotten the news of the coming of our men, flocked to the beach, and some murmur could be heard, a sign of their fear. Captain Nuun spoke to them from his canoe, and then some of them came over to see him aboard a small canoe. Said Captain then stepped ashore, and spoke with his countrymen, so well that he removed their fear, and calmed them down in such a way that, upon returning to the canoe where he had left the Father, he told him that he could disembark in complete safety, and rest from his great fatigue. This was confirmed by an Indian from Guahan who was in Agrigan, named **Andrés Ima**, who had been a servant of Father Teofilo de Angelis. This man came to see the Father at his canoe, and gave such signs of joy at seeing him, and good affection to serve him, by offering from then on not to leave his side until arriving at Guahan, that he brought tears into the eyes of the Father. In fact, he did as promised, and our Lord repaid him for this good affection by delivering him from a shipwreck that his people suffered upon leaving Pagon, headed for Alamagan, as will be mentioned below; he would have perished with them, had he not joined his company, and the service of the Father. Given this assurance, they stepped ashore, and found the people calm, and without any sign of war [preparations], not even any bad feelings. Therefore, they looked after their needs with what the natives offered them by way of food, and at 4 in the afternoon, Captain Sebastian Luis arrived with his men, and a good number of canoes, while the rest remained in Pagon.

Here, the men prepared their camp site, and the standard of our Redemption was raised. The census of the natives began, in preparation for their transportation to Seipan. Here also, it was recognized that God's mercy toward these islanders was special,

and that the time predetermined by His [divine] Majesty for their remedy had arrived; indeed, the docility of its natives, and the authority and good reasoning of Captain Nuun resulted in a quick census of everyone, and a ready acceptance of leaving their Island to achieve the welfare of their souls, something that would have been morally [sic] impossible to achieve, if they had hidden themselves, and sought security among the inaccessible crags of their Island, that are such that not even 100 firearms would have done them any harm; in fact, it is necessary to use ladders 2 to 3 fathoms in length to climb said crags, and go down through other ravines, or caverns where they could retreat. This becomes more obvious when one considers that their Island held the malefactors from this Island of Guahan, who were convincing them to keep them company. In order to search for these malefactors, and others who were in their company, not just from Guahan, but also from Agrigan, Captain Sebastian Luis went out to go around the Island, with the soldiers and the Indians from the canoe. God willed that this sortie be successful; indeed, it was sufficient for them to have fired some weapons through the impassible defiles and have wounded lightly one man, to have all of them decide to give themselves up, leaving behind only the three malefactors with one woman. The former came over because they did not want to suffer the fate of the latter, who became unable to pass to another Island, because the canoes that they had hidden in order to escape were discovered, broken into pieces, and burned.

The Father did not take part in this sortie, because **Captain Ignacio Nuun** had told him that he would simply find it a bother, since it would be necessary to assign some men to assist him to pass the many precipices along the trail. However, after they had returned, he joined the men on another sortie that was made to burn the towns, and said Father reports that it is unimaginable how bad are the trails, and difficult the passes that they followed, and that the commander twice came very close to fall down a precipice, and he ends by saying: **ambulamus vias difficiles**.¹ The same thing can be said of the sorties that they made at the other Islands, as they are almost all the same, more like precipices than land fit for human habitation. God our Lord, in whose honor they worked so gloriously, will give them all the reward for so many hardships that they went through in order to bring to the right path of life those who lived in caves so formidable amid the shadows of death. The burning down of the houses, in this as well as in other Islands, was done with the same effort everywhere, in accordance with the order the commander had to this effect from the Governor, in order to remove from them the hope of fleeing once more from the path, as could be feared from the natural inconsistency of the Indians. However, with regards to their personal effects, said commander carried the order not to tolerate any theft of them, or any bother done to them. He complied with this order so scrupulously that he punished severely a man who disobeyed it.

In this Island of Agrigan there were registered, not only the natives there, but also those from the last two Islands of Achonchon, and Maug; Captain Nuun had gone

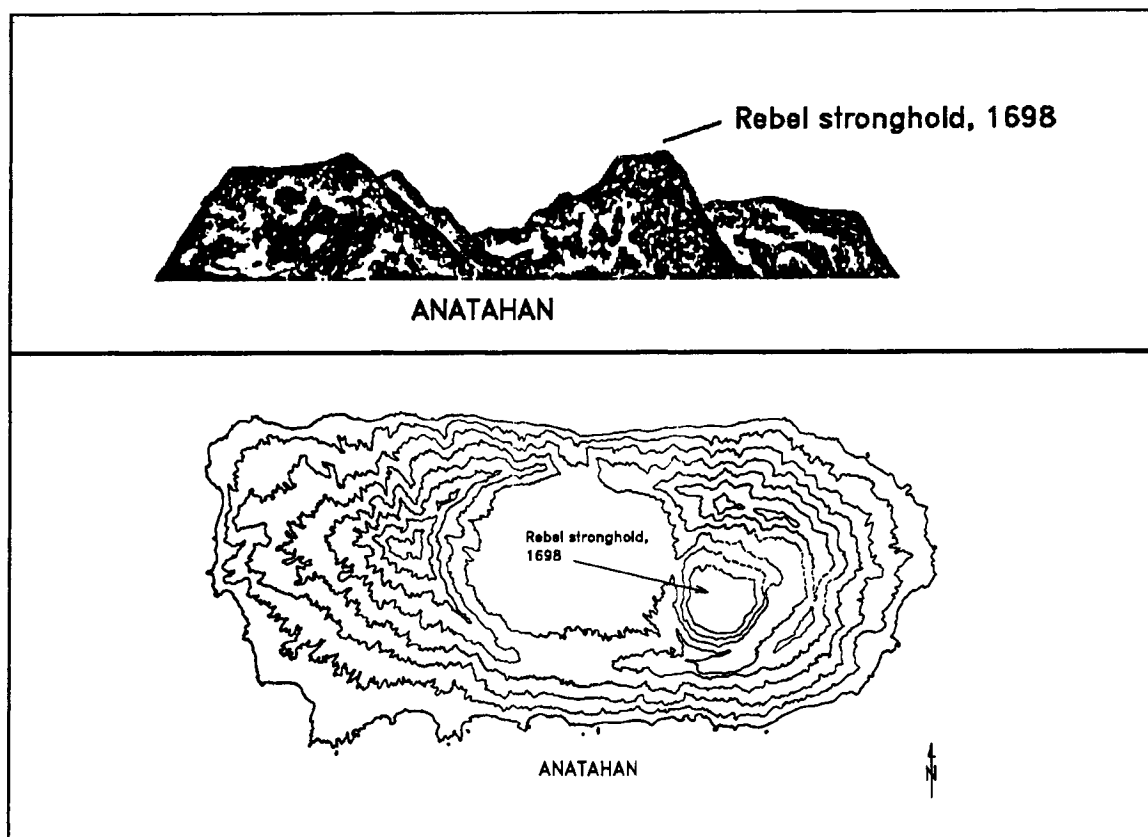
1 Ed. note: Latin quote meaning: "we walked along difficult trails."

overthere to get them with the canoes that had been assigned to him for this purpose. They very willingly boarded these canoes, specially since a hurricane had completely destroyed their hillocks a few days previously, flattened the trees and left them almost without food. Once the measure was taken of the burning of all the houses in all the towns, they all set sail for the Island of **Pagon** on 29 November. Here the Father suffered from an illness that lasted and made him suffer for the whole of 6 days, but God willed that he recovered from it and became well enough three days before boarding to pursue his voyage, as was done, after all the people were registered, and sailed for Seipan without any resistance.

On 8 December, they left Pagon for **Alamagan**, where the infants were baptized, and the inhabitants registered. They then left for **Guoguan** on the 10th of that month. Here they found a very large crowd of people, who were detained in said Island, because the canoes taking them to Seipan had been delayed by bad weather conditions. There was a great lack of food in this Island for so many people, so that by the time of their last days there, there remained nothing to eat, not even coconuts. However, God willed that on 26 December, the weather improved sufficiently to sail back to **Anatahan**, leaving behind all the 7 Islands completely depopulated.

They had hardly left this Island, however, when the weather began to change, and the squalls of wind and rain became so fierce that the commander thought that his final hour had come, but God willed that not one of the canoes was lost. After sunset, they finally arrived, all soaked from the sea and from the rain, at a port of Anatahan, so badly sheltered that the Father writes that he had no other bed than a pile of rocks, with the rain falling upon him all night long. The others suffered the same fate, until daybreak, when they made their way to the settlements of the Indians to rest somewhat from their ordeal.

A misfortune occurred in this neighborhood, and it happened on 30 November, when a hurricane hit 9 canoes that were passing from the Island of Pagon to that of Alamagan. Out of the 9, only 2 survived, with **the people of the 7 other canoes perishing in sight of the Island**, without anyone being able to assist them. Nevertheless, a small consolation can be derived from this misfortune; 15 recently-baptized children aboard the 7 doomed canoes ended up in a better port. It became necessary to tarry a while at Anatahan, not only to await enough canoes to transport the people to Seipan, but also to search for some Indians, from Guahan as well as from the island in question, who were known to be in hiding among the cliffs. At this time it appeared appropriate for the Father to go ahead and return to Seipan, not only to make the canoes, and those sailing them, hurry up to join Captain Sebastian Luis, who needed them to search for the fugitives, but also to help Father Juan Sermeisen, who had remained alone in said Island of Seipan. In fact, during the 4-month absence of the Father Rector, he had had his hands full with so many people about. So, said Father left Anatahan for Seipan on 12 January of this year 1699 [rather 1698], and once there he effectively made the canoes go back to Anatahan. When they did make it, Captain Sebastian Luis ordered the formation of 6 squads of soldiers and Indians, that is, two



firearms to each squad, and he had them fan out to pre-assigned sites, to flush out the fugitives and block their eventual escape, at least not without coming in contact with one of the 6 squads. The hardships suffered by the soldiers as well as the Indians in going up and down were unimaginable, because the peak of this Island is very rough, full of crags, and loose rocks that made the feet of many bleed, and the tip of it is almost shaped like a fortress, conical in shape, which is adjacent to a great plain with good lands where they had their plantations and food for a long time. From the top they were watching the ascent of our men, and were retreating until they irremediably met with one of the squads, which grabbed 29 of them, and gave a signal with their two firearms. The rest of them, up to 94 persons, which might have been the maximum, all fled, and hid themselves. However, some friendly Indians who had relatives among them were sent to call them down and they all came out, and were transported to this Island of Guahan, where two Indians from this Island paid with imprisonment for having dared to be the authors of this flight.

Once this expedition was over, all came to Seipan, leaving Anatahan cleared up, and from there all the inhabitants of the 8 depopulated islands have been slowly transported to this Island of Guahan. This transportation took almost another 4 months, because the weather is not always favorable for these very weak canoes. The Governor was extremely happy to see this enterprise over with, after it had been desired for so many

years and the difficulties so great. After due thanks were given to God and to His most Blessed Mother for their special favor, he tried to make these Indians welcome, by giving them lands where they could settle on lands better than those they had left, and he did not permit that they be bothered in any way, to make them realize that they had been forced to leave their lands only for the welfare of their souls, and thus would begin to accept the Faith, and the doctrine of the Gospel. Part of these peoples were placed in **Inarajan** which is one of the districts with the best lands in this Island, where a church is being built, and a house for the Father who is indoctrinating those who have been brought into the fold of the Good Shepherd at the cost of such excessive hardships. And with this church of Inarahan, there are now 10 churches where the sacraments are being administered to these natives in the 3 Islands of Guahan, Rota, and Seipan, which are the only ones that remain populated. The other people have been distributed among the other parishes of this Island, and they were given all the opportunities possible to acquire love for the Faith, and to live with less regret for having left their rocky islands.

So as not to lengthen this narrative too much, many edifying cases, and special providences of God in such a long and dangerous expedition, that could be told are omitted, but I will not fail to repeat one that said Father Gerardo mentions in one of his letters to Father Vice-Provincial Cundari. In the Island of Agrigan, they called on said Father to go and visit an Indian woman who was dying. He found her without speech, and he tried his best to prepare her for the administration of holy baptism, at least conditionally. He did so, and then within a few hours, she recovered so fast that a quarter of a day later she was able to board a canoe with the rest. What is specially worth pondering about is the extreme hardship, hunger, the bad nights, and worst days that in the space of almost 8 months have been experienced, not just by the Father, but also Captain Sebastian Luis, his soldiers, and the Indian sailors, but one should not omit to mention the charity that in Seipan and Rota was shown to the guests by Fathers Juan Tilpe and Juan Sermeisen in things spiritual and material, by providing food to the hungry, and clothes to the naked ones, so that they would not appear indecent when arriving at this Island. Not only them, but their parishioners too, provided daily bread to this multitude. However, they can all be sure that God, for whose love they have exercised so much charity, will repay them a hundredfold, and later on give them the reward of rewards in the eternal life.

On the third day of Easter, early in the morning, the whole fleet of canoes came in from this expedition with the rest of the [Gani] people who had remained in Seipan, and it was one of the happiest day that this Island had ever seen. The conquerors were officially received in the church, with the ringing of bells, the beating of drums, the sounding of clarions, and the firing of guns. A solemn **Te Deum laudamus** was sung, followed by a high mass in thanksgiving, and the whole day was one of celebration, with music, dances, and plays given by the soldiers, and the Indians.

At the same time as this long expedition was taking place, the careful zeal of the Governor of this Island was not dormant. He tried to finally make it possible for the workers of this Mission to go toward the south, by building a **decked galliot of 32 cubits**

Documents 1699C

Letters from Fr. Francisco de Borja, Procurator, dated Mexico in 1699

C1. Letter to the Count of Adanero, dated 20 April

Source: RAH 9/2678, doc. n° 8 (2 copies, 1 signed but with signature crossed out, and 1 unsigned).

Note: The Count of Adanero was then President of the Council of the Indies, from 1695 to 1699.

Original text in Spanish.

Excellentissimo Señor

Siendo tan propio de V.Exc^a el atender al mayor servicio de Dios teniendo siempre presente el Real servicio en que V.Exc^a tanto se esmera no estrañara el que por medio desta me ponga a los pies de V.Exc^a ymplorando para uno y otro su zelo, pues hallandome en este Reyno con el cargo de Procurador General de la Provincia de Philipinas de la Comp^a de JESUS y sus Miziones Marianas con la obligacion del socorro y sustento de sus Mizioneros que su Magd. tiene librado en sus Reales caxas corriendo yo con su Recaudacion[.] para dicho efecto no é logrado dichas asistencias como pensé en el tiempo que ha que gobierna este Reyno el Señor Montesuma si bien en los tres pagamentos que se me han ofrecido recaudar aunque los dos no an sido con puntualidad al tiempo del despacho del Galeon de Philipinas que es quien lleva dicho socorro à dichos Mizioneros por haverme esperançado su Exc^a socorreria esta tan urgente nesesidad pude à credito buscar la ymportancia de este socorro para hazer los embios ordinarios à aquella santa mision que unicamente se sustenta [de el.] en el deste presente año no solo, no lo aya cobrado ni se me aya dado esperanças dello[.] antes bien seradoseme la puerta haziendoseme saver no aguarde pagamento alguno mientras dicho Señor Montesuma governare este Reyno[.] resolucion que tomo su Exc^a por motivos que me corro de poner en la notiçia de V.Exc^a si reconociese mi gratitud, no avia correspondido como devia mas siendo defecto ymaginado de mi antessesor que ya se halla oy en Manila me es mucho mas arduo sugetar mi juicio à que sea justo esperimenten los Pobres Mizioneros y yo los efectos de los sinsavores que a su Exc^a aunque le repressente por escrito que de no mandar su Exc^a se me entregase el socorro de los Mizioneros de aquellas pobres Islas no me hallava con caudal para poder yo hazer el suplemento

que avia hecho otros años y que assi noticiava a su Exc^a sesaria el culto divino en aquellas Islas porque no me hallava con medios para remitir el vino y harina para la zelebracion del santo sacrificio de la Miza y que yendoles desde este Reyno el sustento à aquellos Venerables Mizioneros por no aver en aquellas Islas mas que rayses de que se sustentan los naturales faltandoles me recelava con bastante fundamento el que el superior de aquella santa Mizion se veria precisado a retirarlos a Manila para que alli no murieran de hambre cuyos eficases y verdaderos motivos para que se socorriera à esta santa Mizion los desprecio el Señor Virrey pasando solo à socorrer la Infanteria de aquellas Islas y aunque recombine à su Exc^a diciendo como su Magd. situo Milicia en las Islas Marianas solo para resguardo de sus Mizioneros destruyendose este fin por no mantenerlos[.] No remitiendole socorro era ocioso el gastarle à su Magd. su hazienda en la conservacion de aquella. Cuyas eficases raçones tubo en menos su Exc^a por cuya causa me vi presiado a tomar à daño el dinero necesario para socorrer à aquellos pobres Mizioneros para que no sesase en mi tiempo la Apostolica conquista de aquellas Islas que hallandose ya reduçidos à quatro las innumerables almas que en aquel Archipelago estavan escondidas en las breñas de sus Islas[.] se esta emprendiendo la de las Islas de Salomon o Carolinas de que espero a nuestro Señor se le ha de seguir mucha gloria y a la Real corona utilidad[.] comfiado en que haziendo esta Representacion como la hago à V. Exc^a con todo rendimiento tenia por cierto daria providencia para que à esta Sancta Mizion se le atendiese con puntualidad quien unicamente a de dever à V. Exc^a su conservacion no aviendome querido valer para este efecto de medio alguno humano sino es del zelo de V. Exc^a pues aunque escribo a los procuradores de mi Prov^a que estan en essa corte es solo para que si V. Exc^a quisiere le ymformen mas por extenso sobre el punto lo puedan hazer observando en todo lo que V. Exc^a les mandare.

Si el Señor Virrey ubiera motivado el no hazer este pagamento por las ocurrencias precisas y gastos extraordinarios dejando puerta abierta al socorro de mi pretencion no tomaria el medio el molestar à V. Exc^a con esta suplica si bien no puedo dejar de significar a V. Exc^a nos causa notable armonia el que un Reyno como este se halle con las penurias de sus efectos, como nos ponderan quando vemos que la aplicacion de otros Ministros de su Magd. consiguen no solo el atender à la satisfaccion de todo lo de su cargo sino es que con su buen administracion consiguen notables ahorros del Haver Real como abra visto V. Exc^a en el obrar de Don Fausto Cruzat en Philipinas que si esse tubiese entre manos la supertintendencia deste Reyno tenia por cierto saldria de los ahogos en que diçen se halla porque el Reyno da para todo.

Deseando pues Señor el que aquella pobre Mizion Mariana que es la mas Apostolica que tiene su Magd. en su corona en quien por aora solo logra el precioso tesoro de la sangre de nuestro Redem[pl]tor por tantas Almas que por medio de la Predicacion del Santo Evangelio lavadas con la sagrada agua del Bautismo consiguen el fin para que las crio nuestro buen Dios pongo en la noticia de V. Exc^a el que su Magd. tiene mandado por sus Reales Zedulas se les socorra a cada Mizionero en cada un año adelantado con trescientos y cinquenta pesos que suelen hazer la cantidad de quatro mil pesos mas o menos segun es el numero destos con mas el vino correspondiente a el, y el azeyte

para el sagrario de sus Yglesias con mas cinco mil pesos para el sustento de dos seminarios el uno de niños y el otro de niñas marianos que se sustentan en dichas Islas cuya cobrança se haze en virtud de certificación que remite el P. Superior de aquella Mizion de los Operarios de nuestra Compañia que en ella reziden que unos años son mas y otras son menos segun la nesesidad que ay destos en aquellas Islas y de numero de sagrarios que ay en ellas ocasionando alguna variedad el no estar aun acabada de asentar aquella cristiandad y tambien estar excistentes los dos seminarios con cuyos recaudos se acude al Señor Virrey deste Reyno quien pide ymforme a los Oficiales Reales quienes con ynspeccion de los referidos ynstrumentos regulan su ymporte que suele llegar a diez y onze mil pesos y en virtud de dicha regulacion mandan los Señores Virreyes paguen las libranças que no obstante esten despachadas en toda forma como yo las tengo este año se pagan o no como quieren los Señores Virreyes y les esta bien a los Oficiales Reales causando los notables perjuycios en la retardacion deste socorro que arriva de jo puesto en la consideracion de V.Exc^a.

Deseoso pues yo de evitarlos poniendo a los pies de V.Exc^a a todos aquellos sagrados mizioneros con quanto rendimiento puedo suplico a V.Exc^a sea servido mirando con su mucha piedad à aquella pobre mizion se sirva el que se despache dos Reales Cédulas una a Oficiales Reales mandandoles hagan la Regulacion de la ymportancia de los Reales que corresponden al numero de mizioneros para su sustento y el vino y azeyte con mas lo correspondiente a los dos seminarios como se ha acostumbrado hasta aqui en virtud de las certification[es] que el Procurador de Philipinas presentare del superior de aquella mizion y de no presentarlas como muchos años no se pueden presentar por las contingencias que suelen suseder se regule por el año antecendente con obligacion de presentar quando llegue como a sido la Practica sin que para esta regulacion se nesesite de mas diligencias que el presentarse dicho Procurador General con los ynstrumentos referidos pidiendo execucion de la Cedula que suplico.

La otra mandando al administrador o al que tubiere a su cargo las Reales aduanas desta Ciudad den y paguen al Procurador General de la Prov^a de la Comp^a de JESUS de Philipinas y Marianas lo que ymportaren las libransas que presentare de los Oficiales Reales para el socorro de la mision Mariana. Y por quanto como V.Exc^a bien sabe, las ynterpretaciones que segun los afectos aca se dan a las Reales Cédulas parecia me combeniente el que a la dicha Real cedula se añadiese estubiese advertido dicho administrador estar obligado a tener en prompto la cantidad que ordinariamente se requiere para este pagamento sin que sirva de excusa el deçir no aber efectos en la administracion de su cargo por averlos todos expendido en virtud de los libramientos que en dichos efectos suelen hazer los Señores Virreyes a que no a de estar obligado à dar cumplimiento en la cantidad que fuere necesaria para el pagamento y socorro desta mizion so pena de que dicha cantidad se buscara à daño de su cuenta con cuyas clausulas pareçe se atendera à evitar los ynconvenientes que con tanta molestia experimentan aquellos Pobres Mizioneros.

Para la consecucion de mi suplica no seria ageno de mis obligaciones el conformarme con el estilo que en las cosas del servicio de Dios observava nuestro San Borja valien-

dose como el santo decia del braço seglar ynterponiendo la autoridad de los de su casa para conseguir la mayor gloria de Dios assi lo haria yo pues se lo que V.Exc^a estima a los mios que tengo por ocioso pues es constante al mundo la piedad de V.Exc^a que espero experimentare por ser mi suplica tan de la gloria de Dios ante quien tendran aquellos Venerables Mizioneros a que yo con mi tibieza concurro y suplico a V.Exc^a muy presente para suplicarle por la vida y aciertos de V.Exc^a me conosca por su humilde capellan quien ruega a nuestro Señor guarde à V.Exc^a con la vida y salud que yo deseo.

Mexico y Abril 20 de 1699 años.

Translation.

Most Excellent Sir:

As Your Excellency is always attentive to the greater service of God, and to the Royal service, in which Y.E. stands out so readily, your will not be surprised if I choose by the present to place myself at the feet of Y.E. to implore your zeal for both services. Indeed, finding myself in this Kingdom with the job of Procurator General of the Province of the Philippines of the Society of JESUS and its Mariana Missions, with the duty of [looking after] the succor and sustenance of their Missionaries that His Majesty has obligated in his Royal treasury, while I am responsible to collect same. To this effect, I have not obtained said support as I thought during the period that Mr. Montezuma has been governing this Kingdom.¹ In fact, in the three payments that were up to me to collect, although two of them were not made in time for the despatch of the Philippine galleon, that is the ship carrying said succor to said Missionaries, because His Excellency had given the hope of getting this need urgently looked after, I had purchased on credit the most important part of this succor in order to made the ordinary despatches to that holy mission that has only that as a source of income. In the despatch of the present year, not only have I been unable to collect it, but I have not even been given any hope of getting it; rather, the door was closed upon my face, and I was told not to await any payment at all, as long as said Mr. Montezuma governs this Kingdom, a decision that His Excellency took for reasons that I must report to Y.E., if my gratitude be recognized; it seems that my predecessor, who is now in Manila, had not corresponded as he should have, but done some imaginary mistake. It is [now] much harder for me to give my opinion that it is not just for the poor Missionaries to suffer the consequences and I the displeasure given to His Excellency. Although I wrote to him to say that if His Excellency did not order the release of the succor of the missionaries of those poor Islands, I found myself with no money to be able to buy the supplement that I had done in other years; so, I was notifying His Excellency that the divine cult would cease in those Islands, because I did not have the means to send the wine and flour for the celebration of the holy sacrifice of the mass; that if they did not get their food from this Kingdom, those Venerable Missionaries would have only the local food that is but roots

¹ Ed. note: José Sarmiento Valladares, Count of Montezuma, was Viceroy of New Spain from 1696 until 1701.

used by the natives, failing which, I had sufficient reasons to fear that the superior of that holy Mission would be forced to withdraw them to Manila, to prevent them from dying of hunger overthere. However, these efficient and true reasons to succor this holy Mission were overlooked by His Lordship the Viceroy, who proceeded in sending only the subsidy for the infantry of those Islands. And, although I again wrote to His Excellency to say that His Majesty has placed soldiers in the Mariana Islands only to protect their Missionaries, and this purpose would be destroyed if he did not maintain them, and not to send succor to them would be tantamount to wasting the funds of His Majesty meant for its preservation. These worthy arguments were appreciated even less by His Excellency. That is why I saw myself forced to borrow the necessary money at a detriment, in order to succor those poor Missionaries, to prevent the cessation during my term of the Apostolic conquest of those Islands, where the numberless souls of that archipelago, who had been hiding among the rocky thickets of their Islands have already been reduced to four of them. The reduction of the Solomon Islands or Carolines is being undertaken, and I hope to God that it will be achieved for His greater glory and the usefulness of the Royal Crown. I trust that, in making this representation to Your Excellency, with complete submission, you might provide for this holy Mission to be attended to in a timely manner, and which will only owe its preservation to Y.E., and in so doing, I do not wish to make use of some human means for this purpose, but only to rely on the zeal of Y.R.; indeed, although I write to the procurators of my Province who reside at that court, it is only in case Y.R. might wish to be informed more in detail by them regarding the matter, and for them to abide by whatever orders you might give them.

If His Excellency the Viceroy would simply have given me as a reason that this payment was hampered by the difficulties of the times and by extraordinary expenditures, thus leaving the door open to satisfy my pretensions, I would not take the means of bothering Y.E. with this request. However, I cannot omit to mention to Y.R. that we are indeed concerned by the fact that a Kingdom such as this one finds itself with shortages of money, as they point out to us, when we see that the application of other Ministers of His Majesty manage to achieve, not only to satisfy all the responsibilities of their office, but through good administration they achieve notable savings to the Royal treasury; for instance, let Y.E. consider the doings of Don Fausto Cruzat in the Philippines. If only he had the supervision of this Kingdom in his care, I think that it would surely come out of its stringency, as they say it finds itself, because the Kingdom provides for everything.

The desired end result, Sir, is for that poor Mariana Mission, which is the most apostolic that His Majesty has in his crown, only to achieve the precious treasure of the blood of our Redeemer for so many souls that by means of the preaching of the holy Gospel be washed in the sacred water of baptism, and meet the purpose for which our good God has created them. To the effect, I point out to Y.E. that His Majesty has ordered by his Royal decrees that each Missionary be succored each year in advance with 350 pesos, which usually amounts to a sum of about 4,000 pesos depending on their ac-

tual number, plus the wine corresponding to it, and the oil for [the lamps of] the sanctuaries of its churches, plus 5,000 pesos for the maintenance of two seminaries, one for the Mariano boys and one for Mariano girls, who are being supported in said Islands, whose collection is processed by virtue of a certificate remitted by the Fr. Superior of that Mission as to the number of the workers of our Society residing there—their number as well as the number of sanctuaries vary from year to year, because that Christian community is not yet fully established—and as to the existence of the two seminaries. The request is presented with such documents to the Viceroy of this Kingdom who begs advice from the Royal officials who, after inspection of the above-mentioned documents, rule on their relative importance, which usually totals 10,000 or 11,000 pesos, and in virtue of said ruling, the Viceroys order that the funds be released. Whether they are ordered paid or not, I have presented my request every year in good form, but the Viceroys may do as they please and the Royal officials do not intervene, thus causing notable prejudices in the delay of this succor, as I have already mentioned to Y.E. earlier.

Therefore, wishful to avoid them, by placing at the feet of Y.E. all those sacred missionaries, with as much submission as I can, I beg Y.E. to please look with much mercy on that poor mission and order that two Royal decrees be issued, one addressed to the Royal officials, asking them to write a regulation regarding the amounts of reals that correspond to the number of missionaries for their maintenance and the wine and oil, along with the amounts corresponding to the two colleges, as usually done up to now, as per the certifications that the Procurator of the Philippines will present on behalf of the Superior of that mission and, failing them, since in some years it is not possible to present them on account of the contingencies that usually occur, they should be regulated on the scale of the previous year, with the obligation of presenting them whenever they arrive, as has been the practice, without the need for more paperwork to apply this regulation, than the mere appearance of said Procurator General with the above-mentioned instruments, and a request for the Decree (that I am applying for) to be carried out.

The other decree should be addressed to the administrator, or any person who may be in charge of the Royal customs of this City, to pay out to the Procurator General of the Province of the Society of Jesus of the Philippines and Marianas the corresponding amounts in question as stated in the warrants from the Royal officials for the succor of the Mariana Mission. And, inasmuch as interpretations are placed upon the Royal decrees by persons affected here, as Y.E. knows well, it seemed to me that it would be proper for said Royal decree to add that said administrator should be warned that he should hold ready and available the amount that is normally required to satisfy this payment, disallowing the possibility of using the excuse that consists in saying that there is no more cash in the administration under his charge, in view of the warrants usually made upon said moneys by their Lordships the Viceroys, in order to deny his obligation of having to come up with the necessary sum for the payment and succor of this mission, under penalty of said sum being taken from his own account. With such

clauses, it seems that the bothersome disadvantages that are felt by those poor missionaries may be avoided.

To obtain my request, I would not consider it beyond my duties to resort to the method used in matters concerning God by our Saint Borja, making use, as the Saint used to say, of the secular arm to intervene with the authority of those of his House to achieve the greater glory of God. So would I, but I consider that there is no need to do so, since I know that Y.E. esteem my people greatly and the mercy of Y.E. is well known to everyone; that is why I hope to get my request, which is so much for the glory of God, to whom those Venerable Missionaries will give thanks, and I concur with them and beg Him to please favor very much the life of Y.E. and much success in your endeavors. You expect as much from me, your humble chaplain, who beseeches our Lord to keep Y.E. alive and in as good a health as I wish.

Mexico, 20 April 1699.

C2. Letter to the Duke of Gandia, dated 22 April

Source: RAH 9/2678, doc. n° 7 (2 copies, both unsigned).

Note: Both the writer and the addressee were noblemen belonging to the same house as St. Francis of Borgia, the former Jesuit General, from 1565 to 1572, who was canonized in 1671.

Original text in Spanish.

Excellentissimo Señor

Deseoso de lograr felizes noticias de la salud de V. Exc^a de que V. Exc^a me conosca por su humilde capellan honrrandome en reconocerme por uno de su cassa en que lo-grare mi mayor dicha desde estas partes tan remotas me pongo por me[dio de?] esta a los pies de V.Exc^a a quien con el rendimiento devido suplico me mande con el seguro de que obedecere con las veras à que mi obligacion me precisa en quanto fuere del mayor agrado de V.Exc^a.

El haverme criado desde mi tierna edad por muerte de mis señores Padres que esten en gloria en el Reyno de Aragon en casa de mi tio el Señor Don Fernando de Borja y Aragon Duque de Villahermosa que en gloria este y por su fallecimiento aver continua-do en dicho Reyno prosiguiendo mis Primeras letras, y educacion en la de mi Primo hermano el Señor Don Carlos de Borja y Aragon assi mismo Duque de Villahermosa que en santa gloria aya en cuya avencia en la asistencia que hizo en Flandes en el go-vierno de aquellos Payzes, logre el año de 71 la dicha que oy gozo que sea para mayor gloria de Dios y bien de las Almas de Religioso de la Comp^a de Jesus, adonde su divi-na Magd. sin yo merecerlo me llamo para la alta vocacion de Mizionero de nuestra Compañia en las Islas Philipinas para donde passe el año de 80 adonde me é empleado en aquellos Apostolicos Ministerios aunque con gran tibiesa hasta el año de 96 en que la santa obediencia me mando venir a este Reyno por su Procurador General para aten-der a las asistencias de la Apostolica mizion de las Islas Marianas donde se ha origin-ado el no haver yo hasta agora logrado la dicha de gozar de la estimable comunicacion

de V.Exc^a que aora con tantas veras solicito para valerme della para el Servicio de nuestro Señor.

Estando a mi cuydado el sustento de los apostolicos misioneros de nuestra Comp^a que son los unicos en las Islas Marianas [que] atienden a la conuersion de aquella gentilidad con los efectos que su Magd. tiene librados en estas sus Reales Caxas cuyas cobranças an hecho todos mis antecesores con felicidad por haver logrado la piedad con que los Señores Virreyes deste Reyno siempre han atendido à esta apostolica mission lo qual no e experimentado en el gobierno del Señor Montesuma por cuya causa me e visto precisado escribir al Señor Adanero pidiendo Providencia que es la que a esta acompaña y aunque lo que en ella suplico es muy conforme a raçon y de la gloria de nuestro Señor[,] sin embargo me ha parecido (aviendolo encomendado muy de veras a nuestro Señor) patrocinarla con la autoridad de V.Exc^a a quien con todo rendimiento suplico se sirva mandarla remitir à dicho Señor con un criado de V.Exc^a haziendole saber es de un sobrino de V.Exc^a y que vino en su pliego embiandole recaudo de palabra de que estimara V.Exc^a me atienda[,] con cuyo patrocinio espero en nuestro Señor lograrán aquellos Pobres misioneros y yo lo que tan justamente suplico en dicha carta en que pareçe me conforme al estilo que observava nuestro San Borja que era valerse como el santo decia del braço seglar para la consecucion de las cosas del servicio de Dios quando para ella no bastava la Justificacion con que la solicitava.

No dudo gustara V.Exc^a de tener algunas noticias fixas de las novedades deste Reyno y porque la de mas importancia es de la Poblacion que estan yntentando en el Dariel [sic = Darien] los Escoseses remito un tanto de las noticias mas veridicas, de las que a este Reyno allegado [sic] à que añado que el Virrey deste Reyno anda tan despacio en los aprestos de los tres navios de Zavala que se hallan en la Veracruz que se tiene por cierto saldrán tan tarde si salen que solo serviran de hazerle cresidos gastos a su Magd.

Señor suplico à V.Exc^a me ponga a los pies de mi Señora la Duquesa a quien remito por mano del P. Fran[cisco] Verges [Vargas?] sustituto del Procurador General de Indias que rezide en Cadiz un caxonsillo de sandalo curiosamente labrado en que van unos abanicos de lo mas curioso que vino este año de China en reconocimiento de mi obligacion suplicando à su Exc^a perdone mi atrevimiento y me reconosca por su humilde capellan en cuya compañía la de mis señores primos ruego a nuestro Señor guarde à V.Exc^a con la salud y vida que mi afecto desea.

Mexico y Abril 22 de 1699 años.

[Al] Excellentissimo Señor Duque de Gandia.

Translation.

Your Excellency,

Wishing to hear happy news of the good health of Y.E., he whom you know as your humble chaplain and recognize as a member of your household, both situations that he recognizes as useful for his purpose, takes this opportunity to write to Y.E. from these remote parts and places his request at the feet of Y.E. with all due respect,

begging Y.E. to give me any order that you may please, being sure that it will be obeyed as my duty sincerely obliges me to.

The fact is that I was raised from infancy, on account of the death of my parents (may they rest in peace) in the Kingdom of Aragon in the home of my uncle, Don Fernando de Borja y Aragon, Duke of Villahermosa and, after his death (may he rest in peace) I went on to live in said Kingdom and pursued my elementary education in the home of my first cousin, Don Carlos de Borja y Aragon, also Duke of Villahermosa (may he rest in peace). It was with the permission of the latter, while he was assisting in the government of Flanders, that in 1671 I was lucky enough to become a Religious of the Society of Jesus for the greater glory of God, to which His divine Majesty, despite my lack of merit, had called me to exercise the high vocation of Missionary of our Society in the Philippine Islands. I departed for them in 1680¹ and was kept busy there in those apostolic ministries, despite my lack of fervor, until the year 1696 when holy obedience ordered me to come to this Kingdom to become their Procurator General, to take care of the succors due the apostolic mission of the Mariana Islands. To so many moves and occupations must be due my being unlucky in not having had the pleasure of contacting Y.E. until now, but I now grab this opportunity to do so for the service of our Lord.

Since it is my duty to look after the maintenance of the apostolic missionaries of our Society, who are the only ones in charge of converting the heathen of the Mariana Islands, with the moneys that His Majesty has earmarked in his Royal treasury here, and since all my predecessors have succeeded in getting warrants in view of the mercy shown by their Lordships the Viceroys of this Kingdom who have always assisted this apostolic mission, but one that I did not enjoy during the term of Mr. Montesuma. That is why I am forced to write to Count Adanero (this letter accompanies the present), to request the issuance of a royal decree. Although my request is very reasonable and to the glory of our Lord, nevertheless I have decided (after due consideration before our Lord) to seek the sponsorship of the authority of Y.E. whom I humbly beg to please order that it be remitted to said Gentleman by one of your servants, letting him know that I am a nephew of Y.E., that my request came enclosed with the present, and with a verbal message that you would appreciate it if it were attended to. With said sponsorship, I hope in our Lord that those poor missionaries will succeed. What I solicit in the letter in question is, I think, in the style used by our Saint Borja, who made use of the secular arm to get things done in the service of God, when the normal justification for them was not enough.

I have no doubt that Y.E. would like to get firm news from this Kingdom. Since the more important news concern the attempt made by the Scots at establishing a settlement in the Darien, I will mention just some of the confirmed items that have made it

1 Ed. note: He arrived at the Philippines only in 1681 (see Doc. 1681Q).

to this Kingdom, to which I add that the Viceroy of this Kingdom proceeds so slowly with the outfitting of the three ships of Zavala that lie at Veracruz that it is believed certain that they will depart so late, if they depart, that they will only cause excessive expenses to His Majesty.¹

Sir, I beg Y.E. to place me at the feet of My Lady the Duchess, to whom I remit, through the hands of Fr. Francisco Verges [Vargas?], the substitute Procurator General of the Indies who resides at Cadiz, one small crate made of sandal-wood, curiously carved, inside which there are some fans from among the many curious items brought from China this year, as a token of my obligation, and begging Her Excellency to forgive my boldness and to recognize me as her humble chaplain, in whose company, along with that of my cousins, I beg our Lord to keep Y.E. alive and in as good a health as my affection wishes.

Mexico, 22 April 1699.

C3. Letter to Fr. Irigoyen, dated 9 May 1699

Source: RAH 9/2670, doc. n°9. Note: The document is a copy, but it is signed by Fr. Borja.

Original text in Spanish.

Mi Padre procurador General Juan de Yrigoyen

Pax Xptti.

Aunque no tuve carta de V.R. de la Havana que supongo escrivio V.R. porque se perderia y yo no reçevi por la que tuve del Padre Pedro Martin Colega llogo V.R. a aquel Puerto con salud de que di a nuestro Señor muchas gracias...

Reçevi carta del Padre Provincial Antonio Tucçio que me manda dé à V.R. en este Reyno todo quanto se les ofreciere para el avio de su Mizion para que por falta de lo necessario no se acorte V.R.^a en traerla muy luçida. Remitiome el Padre Procurador General Antonio de Borja por orden del Padre Provincial dos fardillos para gastos de V.R.^a. Otros tres me remitieron para lo mismo de los efectos que V.R. embio a las Yslas que vinieron con nombre de Don Juan de Navarra y al quererlos recaudar dixo el Capitan Joachin de Arizaleta tener orden de V.R. para dha recaudacion y veneficio, por cuya causa no entraron en mi Poder de que doy parte à V.R....

Yo por no saver si V.R. se hallara en Madrid o en donde escrivo al Padre Jaramillo para que de estar V.R. en Madrid le partiçipe el punto que en ella se contiene de no estar V.R. haga el la diligencia por que no se atraze el negoçio que se reduce à que aviendo el Padre Luis de Morales llevado a su cargo los 42,000 pesos deste Virrey aviendo llegado à Manila no quiso Don Fausto dar buque para el empleo por estar disgustado con este Virrey por no averle embiado situado[.] se amaño el Padre Morales comprando Voletas y haziendo que un comfidente emplease toda la Cantidad y la embarcase y

¹ Ed. note: He refers to the Quicksilver Fleet of General Don Martin de Azanguren y Zavala, that arrived at Veracruz on 16 November 1698, and departed Veracruz in 1699.

*aviendola reçivido este buen cavallero en el Galeon **Rosario** que llevo el año pasado deviendo dar por vien servido formo notables queexas por venirle cargadas en la factura los gastos ordinarios desquitandose deste sentimiento con los Pobres Mizioneros de Marianas a quienes no ha querido socorrer este año diziendo que en todo su tiempo no lo à de hazer ni tampoco a cossa alguna que toque a la Provincia de Philipinas assi me lo refirio el Padre Valladares averselo oydo deçir por cuya causa hize las diligencias juridicas cuyos autos autenticos Remito en la que refiero del Padre Jaramillo escrito tambien al Señor a Danero [sic] remitiendole la carta por mano del Duque de Gandia cuyas copias remito tambien al Padre Jaramillo por no saver si V.R. estara en Madrid para que se las partiçipe a V.R. para que como cosa tocante a su procuracion la soliçite con el cuydado de su mucha caridad....*

*En los pliegos que remiti de Marianas me avisan fueron al descubrimiento de las yslas **Carolinas**, y de Manila a la de las yslas de los **Palaos** que fue el Padre Francisco de Prado y el Hermano Jayme Xavier que fue por Piloto mayor....*

Con esto no se ofreçe mas sino es regar a V.R. me tenga muy presente en sus santos sacrificios a quien ruego guarde nuestro Señor y me lo deje ver con la salud y vida que yo deseo.

Mexico y mayo 9 de 1699 años.

Amigo y siervo de V.R.^a ex corde

Francisco de Borja y Aragon.

Translation.

My dear Father Procurator General Juan de Irigoyen.

Peace of Christ.

Although I did not receive any letter from Y.R. from Havana, which I suppose Y.R. might have written there, I assume that it might have been lost. I only heard, from a letter that I got from your colleague, Father Pedro Martin, that Y.R. made it to that port alright, for which I give thanks to God very much...

I have received a letter from Fr. Antonio Tuccio who orders me to give to Y.R. anything that your Mission [band] may need by way of preparations in this Kingdom, to make sure that Y.R. will have plenty enough and a good reason to bring a large one. Fr. Procurator General, Antonio de Borja [rather Xaramillo], by order of the Fr. Provincial, gave me two small bundles for Y.R.'s expenses. For the same purpose, I was given three more, of those Y.R. sent to the Islands, care of Don Juan de Navarra, but when he tried to collect them, Captain Joaquin de Arizaleta said that he had received an order from Y.R. for said collection and subsequent sale; that is why they did not come into my possession, and I wish to advise you of same...

As I did not know whether you would be in Madrid or elsewhere, I write to Father Xaramillo for him to pass to you the point therein, or in your absence from Madrid, for him to take care of the business himself, so as not to delay it. In summary, this business has to do with Father Luis de Morales having been entrusted by this Viceroy [in 1697] to carry 42,000 pesos. Don Fausto [Cruzat] refused to let him have the ship in

question, because he was disgusted with the fact that the Viceroy had not sent him any subsidy. Father Morales acted cleverly in buying some permits and arranging for the whole sum to be used and loaded it all aboard the galleon **Rosario** that arrived last year, but this good gentleman, assumed it to be his duty to intervene by making various complaints because he had been charged the ordinary expenses on his invoice, and he revenged himself for this feeling by harming the poor missionaries, whom he refused to succor this year, saying that during his term he does not have to do it, nor anything that has to do with the Province of the Philippines, according to what Father Valladares has told me, having heard it himself. That is why, I took the legal actions whose authentical copies from the records are enclosed. I also remit through Father Xaramillo the letter written to Count Adanero, which is to be remitted through the hands of the Duke of Gandia, whose copies I also remit to Father Xaramillo, since it is not known whether Y.R. will be in Madrid or not, for him to pass to Y.R., so that, it being something that concerns his procure, he may solicit it with all the attention of his great charity...

Among the letters that I remitted, one from the Marianas advised me that they went to the exploration of the Caroline Islands from there, and from Manila Father Francisco de Prado and Brother Jaime Xavier, who acted as Chief Pilot, went to explore the Islands of Palaos....

That is all I have to say for now, except to beg Y.R. to keep me very much in mind during your holy sacrifices. I pray our Lord to keep you healthy and alive for as long as I wish.

Mexico, 9 May 1699.

Y.R.'s sincere friend and servant,
Francisco de Borja y Aragon.

C4. Letter to Fr. Xaramillo, dated 15 June

Source: RAH 9/2678, doc. n° 8.

Original text in Spanish.

Mi Padre Antonio Xaramillo.

Pax Christi &c^a

Tengo escrito a V.R.^a por via de la Habana y repito aora en el aviso de Diego Sanchez, dando parte a V.R. del mal estado que tienen las cobranzas de la Mision Mariana, cuyos socorros me son imposible continuar sino se fazilitan aquellas, cuya retardacion se a originado segun digo en las zitadas, de haverse zerrado el de Montezuma diziendo no las a de socorrer en todo su tiempo, asi a ella como a cosa que pertenezca a la Prov.^a de Philipinas de donde se colige no socorrera tampoco a los sugetos que aguardo de Mision este año, con que dimos al traste con todo, y ya havisé⁹ a V.R. en las dichas cartas zitadas de como este destemple provino de haver llevado a su cargo el Padre Luis de Morales 42,000 pesos para que se le empleasen en Manila, y porque

alla el Governador no quiso dar Buque para dicho empleo, se vio prezisado el Padre Luis de Morales para evitar los atrasos de dicho Dinero comprar buque, para hazer la Remission como en efecto la hizo, cuya buena corespondencia habiendo de produzir los efectos de Agradezimientos, causaron los sentimientos que la codizia acostumbra dandose por sentido de los gastos echos, desquitandose con los Pobres Missioneros de Marianas, quitandoles el comer; pues me dijo el Padre Valladares, quien va en este aviso a esa Corte, y no negara mi verdad: [“]Padre Borja, a mi me a dicho el Virrey esta sentidissimo contra el Padre Morales por los gastos que le ha hecho en la conduzion de su empleo, y que no a de pagar, ni atender, a cosa alguna perteneciente a la Prov^a de Philipinas.[”] Este pues supuesto.

Se ofrezze noticiar a V.R. el que como habiendo tenido notizia de que yo escrivia al Señor Adanero como lo hago, quexandome de la retardacion de estos pagamentos, dando notizia a V.R. de los motivos de ella para que se los Partizipase a dicho Señor[.] llamo al Padre Superior de Palazios que aora es Vice Provincial por ausencia del Provincial actual, y le dio grandes quexas de que yo escribiese, amenazandole que sino lo impedia, havia de escribir el mucho contra la Religion. Y por ser de poco animo nuestro Vice Provincial salio aturrido de la propuesta; llamome y me pregunto que havia sobre el caso, a que le respondi era yo tan enemigo de hazer mal a nadie que viendome obligado a quexarme de su Exc^a le havia echo saver lo aria asi suponiendo que notizioso de mi determinazion para que no lo executase, me pagaria. Y como habiendole ydo a ver dos veces para que me hablase del caso, y como no se diese por entendido, supuse su dureza, continue en mi determinazion escribiendo por la Havana, mas que si Su R^a disponia el que me pagase, se podia subsanar la quexa. Fue dicho Padre Vice Provincial a ver segunda vez al Virrey a quien le dijo solizitado por medio de Don Pedro Ximenez de los Cobos, a quien se lo dije con ese animo, para que su Exc^a me pagase, y que asi ajustada esta dependenzia estubiese zierto que yo no escribiria; a que dijo que eso de mandar pagar jamas lo haria por dezir era cosa perteneziente a Oficiales Reales que su R^a viesse que forma havia de haver para que yo no escribiese, porque donde nõ remitiria en este aviso aquel informe que tenia echo contra la Religion al Rey mostrandole una carta vieja. Lo que a esto devia haver respondido el Vice Provincial [“]a V.R. no se le emcubre.[”] Lo que respondio fue me pondria precepto para que no escribiese, con cuya respuesta echaron Pelillos el Vize Provincial, y el Virrey como los muchachos de nuestra tierra, diciendo: fiado en la palabra que V.P. me dà acavose mi ymforme, y rasgo la carta vieja. (Vea V.R^a quales andan las cosas).

Vino a la Profesa el Vize Provincial adonde yo le aguardava donde me conto el caso exagerando mucho, los ynconvenientes de escribir yò, fundados en los temores del ymforme ynsinuandome el ponerme precepto; a que le dije no havia de servir de nada, pues vien savia su R^a yo era Theologo y sabia hasta donde me obligavan, sin embargo me lo intimo, a que respondi obedezeria, hasta donde me obligase, a que me respondio que el con aquello avia cumplido.

Vea V.R^a si yo estare obligado aunque con precepto a dejar perder la Mision Mariana que es fuerza se pierda no socorriendola, y si yo estare obligado a empeñar a la

Prov^a con devitos para dicho socorro, que jamas podra pagar. Sin embargo consulte el Punto con las personas mas doctas de Casa quienes me dijeron no obligarme dicho Precepto, por cuya causa no e retirado carta alguna, antes vien añado este granito de sal para que V.R. lo eche en el guisado que espero sasonará, para que tengan que comer aquellos Pobres Misioneros.

*Con los Memoriales Juridicos que remito en el cajon de los Pliegos que ya va caminando para la Veracruz colegira V.R^a lo que pasa, y es, que habiendo entablado este Virrey por los fines particulares que se discurren el quitarles a los Ofiziales Reales el que pudiesen hazer pagamento alguno a su arbitrio, en que dizen se aprovechavan, advocandose assi estas utilidades; mando a dichos Ofiziales Reales no executasen pagamento alguno aunque los despachos que se les presentasen estubiesen despachados en devida forma, asi los venidos de España como los despachados por el, sin que al pie del despacho añadiese su Exc^a (**paguese**) **sin embargo de hordenes en contrario**, de donde se seguia que el sancto que se havia de ynzensar era nuestro Prinzipte Tortuga. Quexanronse, Ofiziales Reales a su Magd. de que no les dejava exercer su ofizio libremente (de que se les minoravan sus ob[v]enciones). Despacho su Magd. zedula, mandando al Virrey no pusiese tal clausa **de paguese &a.** y a los ofiziales Reales que usasen de sus ofizios libremente, que no parece le estava bien a la combenienzia de nuestro Virrey, y asi la tramo de otra manera; y fue, dar por escrito obedizimiento a la Zedula de su Magd. diziendo a los ofiziales Reales usasen de su ofizio libre y espontaneamente, y de alli algunos días, viendo se le havia tapado la gotera, y que los ofiziales Reales yban haziendo sus Pagamentos corrientemente les despacho un decreto diziendoles, tubiesen **improntu** del Thesoro a su cargo las cantidades, **yn entregrum**, [sic] para los pagamentos de todos los Presidios, de la harmada de Barlovento; del despacho de la flotilla, del despacho de Zavala y de el del Galeon de Philipinas, y como segun la mala administracion que ay de las rentas Reales no lleguen sus ymportes, a la satisfazion **in imtregrum** de estos pagamentos, conociendo los ofiziales Reales el motivo de este decreto se zerraron en no pagar, ni a los Ministros de la Haudienzia ni a los Ministros Eclesiasticos y finalmente a nadie; diziendo, no haver en las Cajas, aun junto lo nesario para los efectos, para los quales les havia mandado su Exc^a retener la plata que en las Caxas entrase. Ya con esto hallò contrà nuestro Virrey a la Zedula de su Magd. atandoles las manos a los ofiziales Reales, volviendo el agua a su molino porque en habiendo pretendiente que quisiese cobrar, y a quien el le queria pagar despues de vien ynsensado, usà el llamar a uno de los ofiziales Reales y le dize, la libranza de fulano que alla irà paguenla Vuesas mercedes, que no les are cargo de ella, y como son unos Pobretes los ofiziales Reales lo executan temerosos no se de que, por cuya causa sin embargo de el decreto referido, para unos y otros gastos en la conformidad referida, se an librado en la Caja Real desde el mes de febrero hasta oy de la fecha mas de seiscientos mil pesos del chorrillo que continuamente entra en estas Cajas.*

De todo esto doy parte a V.R. para que veà la Providenzia que se puede tomar en estas asistencias, pues yo aca, no habiendo omitido, las ynsensaciones de Aravia, por los sentimientos referidos no han servido de nada, y asi se hallà no se consigue V.R^a me

havise para que notizie a aquellos Pobres Misioneros no se si les a de socorrer jamas y que asi pasen a Manila, que es quanto se me ofrezca suplicar en esta a V.R.^a a quien guarde nuestro Señor muchos años.

Mexico y Junio 15 de 1699.

Muy siervo de V.R.^a

Francisco de Borja y Aragon

[Endorsement:] *Sobre las operaciones del Virrey, y tema en no pagar a los Misioneros de Philipinas &c.*

Translation.

My dear Father Antonio Xaramillo.

Peace of Christ, etc.

I have already written to Y.R. by way of Havana, but I now repeat same by means of the advice boat of Diego Sanchez, to inform Y.R. of the bad state of the collections on behalf of the Mariana Mission, whose succors it is impossible for me to continue, unless the collections are made easier. As I said in the above-mentioned letter, the delays have originated from the fact that Mr. Montesuma has placed a stop to them, saying that he does not have to send succors to it during his whole term of office, as it is a part of the Province of the Philippines. Hence, it can be deduced that he might not support either the mission band that is expected this year. So, everything is spoiled. I have already narrated to Y.R. in the above-mentioned letters how this disagreement came about: Father Luis de Morales took along 42,000 pesos to be invested in Manila, and because the Governor overthere refused to give him a ship for said employment, Fr. Luis de Morales was obliged, in order to avoid losing interest on this money, to buy lading space, to send a shipment, which he in fact did, with some good profit, and instead of having received gratefulness in return, this caused the feelings that only greed usually cause, on account of the expenses made, and he took revenge against the poor missionaries of the Marianas, taking away their food. Indeed, Father Valladares, who goes to that Court aboard this advice boat, told me, and he will not deny my repeating it: "Father Borja, the Viceroy has told me that he is very upset with Fr. Morales for the expenses that he deducted as his commission on the project, and that he does not have to pay, nor attend to, anything that has to do with the Province of the Philippines." We shall see.

I take this opportunity to let Y.R. know that, when he heard that I was writing to Count Adanero, as I do, to complaint of the delay in these payments, and letting Y.R. know of the reasons for same, in order for you to impart them to said Gentleman, he summoned Father Superior [Juan] de Palacios, who is now Vice-Provincial in the absence of the actual Provincial [Francisco Arteaga], and he gave him great complaints about my writing, threatening him by saying that if he did not impede it, he would write against the Order. Now, since our Vice-Provincial is not very courageous, he was stunned by this argument. He called me up and asked me what was going on. I told him that it was not my wish to cause harm to anyone, but that I had to complain about His

Excellency, that I had let him know that I would do that, and I suppose that he heard of my decision and was trying to buy me out, that I had gone to see him twice, to talk about the case, but when he refused to understand reason, I assumed that he would not budge, and pursued my determination, by writing by way of Havana, but that if His Reverence arranged for his buying me out, my complaint could be overlooked. Said Fr. Vice-Provincial went to see the Viceroy a second time, and he told him, through Don Pedro Ximenez de los Cobos, who was told in the same vein, so that His Excellency would buy me out, and that, once this affair was settled, he could be certain that I would not write. However, he told the man that he would never order payments done, because it is something that belongs to the Royal officials, that His Reverence was to find a way to make me stop writing, and only then would he not send to the King a memorial that he had made against our Order, and he displayed an old paper. What the Vice-Provincial should have responded to this should have been: "Y.E. should not be bothered by that." Instead, what he said was that he would give me an injunction not to write. Following this response, the Vice-Provincial and the Viceroy buried the hatchet, as boys do at home, and the latter said: Trusting in the word of Your Paternity, my inquiry is over, and I tear up the old letter. (Let Y.R. judge what is going on here).

The Vice-Provincial came over to the Profess House where I was waiting for him. He narrated the case to me, exaggerating very much the disadvantages of my writing, fearing the contents of the report, and hinting that he would give me an injunction. He answered that it would be useful for him to do so, because His Reverence knew very well that I was a Theologian and knew how far he could oblige me. Nevertheless, he did make it official. I responded by telling him that I would obey, only if he would oblige me. His response was that he had complied with that.

Now, let Y.R. judge if I was obliged, even under an injunction, to let the Mariana Mission become lost, since it would necessarily be lost, unless it be succored; and if I was obliged to incur debts in order to make up said succor, that I would never be able to pay back. Nevertheless, I consulted the point with the more learned members of the House, and they told me that I was not obliged to follow the injunction. That is why I have not withheld any letter; rather, I add this grain of salt, so that Y.R. may put it into the stew that I hope will become seasoned, so that those poor missionaries will have something to eat.

With the legal memorials that I am remitting in the crate containing the correspondence that is already on the way to Veracruz, Y.R. will gather what is going on, which is, that the Viceroy, having undertaken, for private reasons that are discussed therein, to remove from the Royal officials their ability to make payments in accordance with their own judgment, which they say they make good use of, thus pointing out their usefulness. He ordered said Royal officials to stop any payment whatsoever, although the despatches presented were in fact despatched in due form, not only in the case of those coming from Spain but also those despatched by him, without the following mention at the foot of the despatch that by order of His Excellency, **"it is to be paid, despite**

orders to the contrary." Hence, the Saint who was supposed to look foolish was none other than our Prince Tortoise. The Royal officials complained to His Majesty that he was not letting them exercise their office freely (their privileges being thus reduced). His Majesty despatched a decree, ordering the Viceroy not to place such a clause, that **it was to be paid, etc.** and the Royal officials were to operate their offices freely. But it seems that the whole thing was not appropriate to our Viceroy, and so, he hatched a different scheme thus: firstly, he wrote that he was obeying the decree of His Majesty, saying that the Royal officials were to operate freely and spontaneously, but a few days later, upon seeing that they had fixed the leak that he had enjoyed, and that the Royal officials were going about making their regular payments, he despatched a decree ordering them to keep **on hand** in the treasury under their care the **complete** sums due to all the garrisons, to the Windward Fleet, to the despatch of the small fleet, to that of Zavala and that of the Philippine galleon. Since, due to the bad administration of the Royal income, the amounts required are never available enough for these payments to be made **in full**, the Royal officials were not fooled, knowing the reason behind this decree; they decided to stop all payments, neither to the Ministers of the Audiencia, nor to the Ministers of the Church, and finally to no-one, asserting that there were not enough funds in the treasury to meet the required payments, and that His Excellency had ordered them to keep any silver that came in. That is how our Viceroy found out a way to counteract the decree of His Majesty, by tying the hands of the Royal officials, diverting the water back to the mill. It works this way: when a claimant shows up, one that he wants to pay, after the person becomes very mad, he uses the trick of calling one of the Royal officials and telling him: "Your Graces are to pay the warrant of so-and-so who is on his way there. I will not hold it against you." And, given that the Royal officials are pitiful characters, they obey him, fearful as they are of I don't know what, for what reason, in spite of the decree in question, for these or those expenses to satisfy the demand, so that, since the month of February to date, over 600,000 pesos have been diverted from the continuous stream of money that comes into this Treasury.

I report all of this to Y.R. so that provisions can be made by the authorities over-there; indeed, I myself have made use of all of the trickeries of Arabia to get what I wanted, but, on account of the above-mentioned resentments, they have been of no use, and so things now stand, unless Y.R. be able to solve it, thus letting me know, so that I may advise those poor missionaries whether they are to ever be succored, or should move to Manila. This was what I thought of soliciting from Y.R., to whom may our Lord grant many more years.

Mexico, 15 June 1699.

Y.R.'s humble servant,

Francisco de Borja y Aragon

[Endorsement:] Regarding the operations of the Viceroy, and the fear that he may not [be able to] pay the missionaries of the Philippines, etc.

Document 1699D

Letter from Fr. Juan Tilpe, dated Rota 19 May 1699

Source: ARSI Chile 5, fol. 278-280.

Note: This document is not really misfiled, as it is part of a collection of letters written by various Jesuit missionaries in the New World. The name of Fr. Tilpe's correspondent is not given.

The condition of the mission and the evacuation of the Gani Islands in 1697-98

Original text in Latin.

Ex literis [sic] Patris Joannis Tilpe datis in Residentia Rotensi Insularum Marianarum die 19 Majj 1699.

In Insulis Marianis decem huiusque fuerunt è Societate JESU Sacerdotes, unus Coadjutor, et unus Donatus (sic vocantur illi qui ad obsequia nostrorum Patrum admittuntur, et in habitu Jesuitico incedunt absque tamen votis simplicibus) in tribus Insulis Rotensi, Saypanensi et Guahanensi, et decem Residentijs cum duobus Seminariis Juventutis utriusque sexus. In Guahanensi Insula sunt Septem Residentiæ seu Domicilia Societatis, quorum caput est Agadnia, sive S. Ignatij, ubi resident Pr. Vice-Provincialis Antonius Cundari, Missinensis [i.e. Messina], Pr. Philippus Maria Muscati Meliten[sij] Indorum Operarius, Pr. Michaël Aparicius Granaten[sij] Seminariorum Rector et Hispanorum necnon Indorum Operarius ex eiusdem Socius Melchior de S. Cruce Donatus Mexicanus, et Chmus. Jacobus Chiavari [sic] Neapolitanus Apothecanus Medicus Chyrurgus, Procurator, et in Domesticis Omnia. Domum Pagensem [i.e. Pago] sive Immaculata Conceptionis administrat Pr. Thomas Cardeniosus Castellanus, Finensem [i.e. Finna] sive S. Antonij de Padua P. Didacus Zarzosa Boeticus, Agathensem sive S. Rosæ Limenæ P. Laurentius Bustillus, Umatacensem sive S. Dionijsius Areopagitæ et Mericen[sij] sive S. Dimæ Pr. Basilius Leroulx Gallobelga, Inaraxensem sive S. Josephi restaurat cœptum P. Gerardus Bouwens Flandrobelga. In Rota sive S. Francisci Borgiæ Pr. Joannes Tilpe Bohemij scilicet ego habito, et quatuordecim annis, totidem enim anni sunt, quibus in Rotam actus per- [fol. 278] -duro, socium necquid-

quam exspectans, non tam propter laborum magnitudinem, qui rebus iam utcumque ordinatis exigui sunt, quam propter solitudinis levamentum, et præsentiolem Angeli visibilis custodiam. In Saypanensi duobus hactenus domicilijs Fatiguan sive S. Josephi et Anaguam sive Immaculatæ Conceptionis præfuerant Gerardus Bouwens et P. Joannes Sirmeysen Concivis meus, verum illo tribus mensibus in Reductione Insulani, quæ Gani vocant, occupato, et iam ad Guahanensem, et moderanda interim Novam S. Josephi Residentiam revocato etiam hinc Patri scilicet Joanni soli persistendum. Facta nobis duobus Solitarijs invicem nos invisendi mutus solatij et reconciliationis ergo licentia triginta leucarum; tanto namque intervallo ab invicem distamus, navigationem tam sive metu maris et stomachi nausea, ut in hominibus in Mediterraneo natis et educatis minum videri posset nisi gratia vocationis et amœni mare dulce redderet, huc et illuc itinerantes in cymba hisce in Insulis usitata, et ab alijs aliarum gentium plane diversa.

[Description of Chamorro canoes]

[Note in margin:] *Arbor vocata Mariæ.*

Cymbæ istæ ex arboribus quas Marias vocant Philippini, fabrefiunt, et contant canna arcuata et in acumen per totu desinente septem orgiani(?) et amplius larga, raro integra sed ex duabus plerumque medialibus, quas funiculi fortiter adstringunt compacta. Hæc in alveum excavata in medio profundior, utrinque æqualiter assurgens geminas puras, puppi namque carent, funiculis etiam assutus elevat latera contulis etiam tabulis ad prorarum æquali late complentur, fra[gl]mina et rimæ calce obducuntur, altitudo quinque palmorum latitudo duorum est. Hinc angustæ superne et scrietissimæ [sic] inferne aquis innatare non possent nisi appenso sustentarentur æquilibrio, quod ex ligno solido et utrinque cuspidato elaboratum contra duos vertes hinc inde procurrentes sustentaculis ligneis et funibus fortiter firmatur. Celeres sunt, et in quamcumque partem flecti faciles so- [fol. 278v] - la mutatione veli, quod triangulari et ex storeas consutum duabus quibus assutum est antennis tenditur, quarum una hinc prora innititur, inde summitati mali, qui e medio assurgit, proxima traducto fune ita libratur, ut quoque velis, versatile sit; altera extremitati veli, ne a vento per ladibrium raptatur prætensa et largo inserta funi, quo veluti freno, et prout venti vis seu remissur, seu intensur postulat, laxatur, et contrahitur a Nauclero, qui solus cymbæ insidet, reliquis in rudi tabula vectibus pro currentibus superposito considentibus, ita, ut cymba quidem veh[eb]antur, sed extra illam consideant, qui navigant, omnibus cœli, venti, et maris injurijs expositi. Quamquam, si littus solummodo legatur, et de portu in portum navigetur, iucunda satis est navigatio; verum ubi altum transmittendum, et de insula in Insulam trajiciendum longe alia est facies.

Serte [certe?] quando elapso anno à Recollectione hic in Epiphania fieri solita, et octiduana Congregatione, quæ bis, uti ipsa Recollectio celebratur quot annis, redibamque Pr. Gerardus et Ego, et si tempus nobis Agadnia solventibus risent; in altum tamen præfectus atroci adeo excepit vultu, ut ego quidem ventis pluvijs et fluctibus nequidquam obluctantibus triginta trium horarum spatio Rotam tenuimus(?), ipse vero duabus noctibus ijsdem obluctatum Agadniam rejectus fient. Sed satis de istis nænijs, ad

lætiora et proprium Missionis fructum hoc demum anno ex Insularum quas Gani vocant reductione collectum calamum transferamque.

*Sunt octo istæ insulæ reductani hactenus maxime septemtrionales, si duas Anatum scilicet et Agrigan, quæ glebs aliquid et unam alteramve apud scaturiginem habent excipias, omnes aut montes ignem alentes et liquidum sulphur vomentes, aut cautes proruptæ, et inimanes [inimicales? inimaginabiles?] voragine et concavitate divan- [fol. 279] -calæ, aut informes Saxorum lapidumque cumuli, omnis omnino apud præterquam pluviatilis expertes. His cavernis et rupibus abdebantur bis mille mortaliū misernimorum animæ, ipsis saxis, quæ incolunt duriores et immobiliores. Nam licet inde ab anno 95 et Insulis Agiguan, Tinian et Saypan, earumque incolis ad reddendam Deo et Catholico Regi obedientiam postliminio compulsis necnon et Guahanensibus inde excussis, et cum Tinianensibus et Agiguanensibus contumacie condemnatis ad Insulam S. Joannis seu Guahan redire compulsis, etiam Ganensibus occasione Guahanensium, qui ad ipsos profugerant et revehebantur(?), iterum iterumque intimaretur, et relictis illis inhospitalibus scopulis et vesuvijs ad Insulam Saypanensem digressis Guahanensibus magno ex parte desertam se conferrent doctrina et misterijs Christianis imbuendi, pauci admodum aurem præbuere. Imo ex ipsis istis Saypanum advectis quadraginta et plures aut pænitudine suæ in deserendo Paluæ(?) solo resolutionis, aut prauo inde non se morientium exemplo, aut gentilicæ libertatis desiderio præcipiti fuga se subdlexerunt et ad patrias latebras redierunt. Quod edoctus Gubernator, et certus iam verbis et internuncijs lapides non moveri, vim adhibendam censuit. Quare **Capitaneo Sebastiano Ludovico Ramoni** et selecto militum Hispanorum duodenario in mandato dat ut eum septuaginta cymbis supra à me descriptos, et trecentis Indis auxiliarijs insulas dictas petat incolisque earum ad unum omnes Guahanum perducendos curet.*

*Dictum, factum. Nam solvens 2da Septemb. Mariana Classis feliciter Rotam tenuit, ubi aliæ decem cymbæ, cum 40 Indis accessere, ac Saypanum deinde delata triginta cymbis et centum ferè Indis aucta et Patris Gerardo Bouvens in Spiritualibus operam illis navaturi, et novam Re- [fol. 279v] -ductionem moderaturi accessione recreata. His insequenter subsidijs versus Insulas movit, earum auspicatorum debellationem, quæ dæmone nequidquam repugnante, et alvas nubes ventis et imbribus prægnantes Saypano solventibus obiciente, feliciter accepta, et singulari Dei faventis beneficio penè sine Sanguinis effusione, et resistentia ad optatum perducta, est finem. Nam trium anteriorum Insularum incolæ licet excensum ob aditus difficultatem et prærupta saxa facile prohibere possent, classem pacificè admiserent, et libenter lubenterque Gubernatoris voluntatis se permiserunt. Quare illis Saypanum ablegans et omissis interim duabus minoribus Insulis sub reditum demum excutiendis ad sextam omnium maximam quarto loco perdomandam progressi sunt. Hic P. Gerardus fere periculus est. Nam primus omnium eo sub noctem delatus, classis enim propter temporis inclementiam disjecta fuerat, ob confusas quæ in littore audiebantur, voces, ab excensu, donec illucesceret, et ab **Ignatio Nuom** vectore suo insulæ istius nuper principali, sed iam uno amplius anno Saypanensi incola in terram ad id præmisso, securis illi aditus apriretur*

prudenter abstinuit. Sed viri autoritate complanato hoc obstaculo, et a Barbaris a Capite sub aliquam humanitate mutuatis Pater in terram ultro est invitatus, et superveniens deinde classis admissa, et amice habita est, donec Capitaneus gentem addanda transmigratori nomina sisti(?) iuberet. Hic turbari aliqui, per paucos sumministrere, ac de fraude notati se etiam subducere, et quod à malefactoribus Guahanensibus et alijs suasi erant, in prærupta, ac va(?) ipsis videbatur, in accessibili rupe se munire et arma ostendere: verum nostris auxiliarijs rupem hinc cingentibus ab alijs aliò excurrentibus manipulus [fol. 280] fugitivorum feliciter est, interceptus, et aliqui militum ductore Ignatio Nuum per ambages eò delucti, valde hostem ferire possent, unico sclopi retu, quo unus repugnantium, licet non lethaliter, læsus est, rem totam confecerunt. Nam unico illo icto reliqui sapuerunt arma abiecerunt, et quoquò vellet Gubernator, abducendos se tradiderunt. Malefactoribus dumtaxat fuga ob desperationem dilapsis. Hoc obice amolito omnia pervia et procliva fuerunt, latibula omnia excussa, reliquæ insulæ aditæ, et universim 1920 animæ factò censu eductæ sunt. Quis crederet ex illis lapidibus tam multos Abrahæ filios suscitandos, et Vesuvij illis seu inferni faucibus in paradijsum transplantandos? Quo etiamnum non pauci sunt translati è parvulis et decrepitis senibus, quos Pater ni eorum salutem maximè intentum, antequam tam longinquæ et periculosæ navigationi committerentur, baptizaverat. Reliqui omnes Guahanum iam delati, viam per quam senilis aut citius præcursores hosce suos sequantur, Christiane instituuntur.

Huiusque hic Pater, de ista transmigratiōe. Deinde narrat castigatos fuisse aliquos transfugos a Deo, et aliquibus eum baptismo sanitatem redditum, &c.

...

Translation.

Extract from a letter by Father Juan Tilpe, dated Residence of Rota in the Mariana Islands 19 May 1699.

In the Mariana Islands there were 10 priests of the Society of JESUS, 1 coadjutor, and 1 oblate brother (which is how they call those who have voluntarily offered themselves to serve the Fathers, and wear the Jesuit habit although they have made but simple vows) in the three Islands of Rota, Saypan and Guahan, at 10 Residences with 2 Seminaries for the youth of either sex. In the Island of Guahan there are 7 Residencies or Houses of the Society, whose principal house is in Agaña, or San Ignacio, where reside the following: Fr. Vice-Provincial Antonio Cundari, from Messina [Sicily]; Fr. Felipe Maria Muscati, from the Milan(?) [Province], is working with the Indians; Fr. Miguel Aparicio, from Granada, Rector of the Seminaries and working with the Spanish and Indians alike, with the assistance of Melchor de Santa Cruz, a Mexican oblate,¹ and our dearest Jaime Chavarri, the Neapolitan pharmacist, physician and surgeon, Procurator, and House minister. The house in Pago, or Immaculate Conception, is administered by Fr. Tomás Cardeñoso, from Castile; Finna, or San Antonio de Padua, is looked

¹ Ed. note: He is said to have been Filipino in earlier documents.

after by Fr. Diego Zarzosa, from Andalusia; Agat, or Santa Rosa de Lima, by Fr. Lorenzo Bustillo; Umatac, or St. Denis the Areopagite; and Merizo, or San Dimas, by Fr. Basilio Leroulx, from Gallo-Belgium; Inarajan, or San José, Fr. Gerardo Bouwens, from Flandro-Belgium has begun a new enterprise. In Rota, or San Francisco Borja, Fr. Juan Tilpe, from Bohemia; in fact, this is where I live and, for the past 14 years, I have remained at work here for as many years, and waiting for any companion, not so much on account of the magnitude of the work involved, since there are usually not much to do, but to relieve my solitude, and to take better care of the Angels. In Saypan, so far there are two houses, in Fatiguan, or San José, and in Anaguam, or Immaculate Conception, looked after by Fr. Gerard Bouwens and Fr. Juan Schirmeysen, my fellow countryman. The former has been really busy for three months with the reduction of the islanders, from the Islands called Gani, and has taken them to Guahan already. In the meantime, this Father has been recalled from here to the new residence of San José; in fact, Fr. Juan remains there alone. This leaves two solitary men, unable to seek solace by visiting each other, although we are but 30 leagues apart, but this is a great distance, for one who fears the sea and seasickness, such as one would see among men born and raised in the Mediterranean, unless they have the vocation and sail over a pleasant inland sea, but everywhere here travellers use the canoes of these islanders, and such canoes are very different from the craft of other peoples.

[Description of Chamorro canoes]

[Note in margin:] A tree called after Mary.

These canoes are built with trees that the Filipinos call *palo Maria*, and they are held together with bent cane and very sharp keel through its whole length that is over 7 yards, rarely made up of a single piece of wood but with two and more in-between, which are strongly fastened together with small ropes. They are hollowed out, deeper in the middle, with either end rising equally as in a mirror image, and they lack poops. The planks on the sides are sewn together with small ropes and they evenly come together at the bows quite similarly; the cracks and joints are caulked down. The height is 5 palms and the width is 2 palms. Hence they are narrow at the top and very sharp below and cannot remain afloat unless they are weighted down and kept in equilibrium by a solid piece of wood, pointed at both ends, elaborately held at two places from which they are then attached and held firm by two poles firmly fastened to it with small ropes. They are swift, and anywhere it is easy to change the sail, which is triangular and made of palm mats sewn together and is held extended by a yard, which rests here upon one of the bows, then at the deformed(?) summit which swells from the middle, it is therefore freed by pulling a sheet nearby, so that with any sail, it can be changed. As far as the other extremity of the sail, so that it will not be carried off by the wind during a [ladibrium=gust?] a long rope is inserted [there] and kept taut, acting as a brake at will, and in accordance with the strength of the wind is either let go or pulled in by the Pilot, who alone controls the canoe, with the rest of the passengers sitting together on a platform made of rough boards and elevated on account of the waves, so that, not only the

person sailing the canoe, but those sitting outside of it who navigate, all are exposed to harm from the sky, winds, and seas. However, if one merely chooses to sail along the shore, from port to port, the navigation is pleasant enough; in fact, it is when one goes out to the high sea, travelling from one island to another, that the distance looks very far.¹

Assuredly, when the usual Retreat, and the eighth Council meeting, took place here at Epiphany last year, both times in as many years, Fr. Bouwens and I tried to go and enjoy this Retreat, but we had to turn back, and though the weather permitted our sailing from Agaña, nevertheless in the high sea things took such an atrocious appearance that I truly struggled against the wind, rain and waves for not less than 33 hours to reach Rota; indeed, for two of those nights we struggled to reach Agaña but were prevented. However, enough of these lamentations, and let me change the subject to the more pleasant and appropriate fruit of the Mission, which this year resulted from the reduction of the islanders from the Islands called Gani.

There are 8 northern islands that have been reduced so far, two in particular, that is Anatahan and Agrigan, where the land is equally well supplied with spring waters, and all the mountains either support fire and spit liquid sulphur, or thrust forth pointed rocks and unimaginable(?) chasms and gaping(?) hollows, full of irregular piles of stones and rocks; besides, all of these they are expert at raining down [upon an enemy]. In their caves and amid rocks again a thousand of these miserable mortal souls were hidden, each one harder and as immovable as the stones themselves. Indeed, one may refer to the year 1695 and the Islands of Agiguan, Tinian and Saypan, whose inhabitants had surrendered and returned to the obedience of God and the Catholic King, then forced to go to Guahan, but those of Tinian and Agiguan became obstinate and were condemned to go back to the Island of San Juan, or Guahan, and even those of Gani who had fled there were then ordered to Guahan, and again and again it was made known, but the rest of them left their inhospitable crags and volcanoes to go to the Island of Saypan, left for the most part deserted by those who had departed for Guahan. There they are being taught the doctrine and the Christian mysteries; a few listen extremely well. As a matter of fact, 40 or more of these who were to be taken by boat to Saypan, either out of fear of punishment during the resolution of the conflict(?), or as a twisted example of their not wanting to die, or out of a desire to live in barbarian freedom, fled and returned to their local hiding places. Once the Governor was informed of it, and he was sure that he could no longer move the stones with words and through intermediaries, he ordered force to be applied. That is why he gave an order to **Captain Sebastian Luis Ramón** to select a dozen Spanish soldiers and take along 70 canoes, such as I have described, and 300 auxiliary Indians to go to the said Islands and to take care of transporting them all to Guahan.

1 Ed. note: The mention of a jutting platform means that Chamorro canoes were similar in all respects to Carolinian canoes at the time.

The order was carried out. Indeed, on the 2nd of September [1697] the Mariana fleet sailed happily to Rota, where another 10 canoes and 40 Indians joined it, and then an additional 30 canoes and almost 100 Indians were despatched to Saypan and Father Gerardo Bouwens went along to take care of their spiritual needs during the operation, and to moderate the new Reduction with a fresh approach. He immediately went to the help of these Islands, looking forward to their conquest, but this was repugnant to the devil, and he was prevented from sailing from Saypan by ominous white clouds forecasting wind and rain. However, it was luckily undertaken, and by particular favor from God it was with hardly any shedding of blood or resistance that an end was reached and the planned transport took place, for the inhabitants of the three previous islands had risen on account of the difficulty of access and they were able to block it easily with steep rocks, and [not] admit the fleet peacefully, and willy-nilly they were [not] allowed to do so by the will of the Governor. That is why removing those to Saypan and in the meantime ignoring two minor islands, they went on to gain access and subjugate the sixth great island in the fourth place.¹ Here Fr. Gerardo would have been in not a little danger, because first of all he got there at nightfall, for the fleet was scattered on account of the bad weather. On account of the confusion ashore, voices could be heard, on the part of the banished, while there was a light [signal] made by their passenger, **Ignacio Nuun**, a chief of the above-said island, but who had already spent one full year in Saypan and had been sent ashore ahead of them, where he prudently abstained from forcing them to open a secure access.² However, this obstacle was overcome by the full authority of the man, and the head of the barbarians, moved by some humanity, invited the Father to step ashore, and afterwards the incoming fleet was admitted and friendly received. When the Captain ordered his men to make a list of names for transmigration, some trouble arose; they were submitted by a few, and it was noticed that some were fraudulently missing, and those were the evil-doers from Guahan and others whom they had persuaded; they were showing themselves and their weapons from among the crags and inaccessible rocks. Truly, it happily turned out that our auxiliaries spread themselves out and managed to get their hands on a handful of the fugitives. Some of the soldiers struggled through detours, being guided by Ignacio Nuun, and were able to hit the enemy strongly, with only one shot fired with an arquebus at a reluctant one, but he was not lethally wounded and they brought the whole thing to a close, because with this unique blow the rest learned a lesson and threw down their weapons, accepting to be led to wherever the Governor wanted to take them. As far as this matter is concerned, the flight of the evil-doers had collapsed out of despair. All trails and precipices were effectively open by the removal of this difficulty, all the hiding-

1 Ed. note: This happened at Agrigan.

2 Ed. note: Rendering approximate.

places revealed, and the rest of the islands became accessible. **All in all, a total of 1,920 souls were led out according to the census taken.**¹ Who would believe that out of these stones as many sons of Abraham would be found, and they would be transplanted from these volcanoes or mouths of hell to paradise? Even so, not a few of the children and decrepit old people have already made this passage, as the Father had baptized them, intent on their greater salvation, before they had even undertaken the long and dangerous voyage. All the others had already reached Guahan, where they can have older role models and can catch up faster with their own people, and are to be taught the Christian way of life.

This is as far as the Father narrates about this transmigration. As far as those who were punished are concerned, some have gone to meet God and some others have regained their health by baptism, etc.

1 Ed. note: However, Fr. Bouwens took out only 1,200 from the Gani Islands. This means that there were about 700 (not just 300) already assembled at Saipan. This total number, plus the 1,600 people in Guam in 1693, plus a few still left in Rota and Saipan, would not amount to a large population for the Marianas in 1698, perhaps a maximum of only 4,000 souls.

Document 1699E

The 1697-98 voyage of the San Francisco Xavier

Letter from the King to Governor Cruzat, dated Madrid 10 August 1701

Source: AGI Fil. 332, Libro 10, fol. 178v-179, pp. 334-335.

Note: The original letter from the Governor, dated 13 December 1698, and postdated 16 June 1699, is no longer extant.

Original text in Spanish

*Al Governador de Philipinas havisandole el recivo de su carta los quedar(?) luego haver buelto de tornaviage de la N^a Esp^a el Galeon **San Francisco Xavier** y llevado 60,705 pesos por quenta del situado y otras partidas que arriba se expresan: Duplicado. Corregido;*

El Rey

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora Caballero del orden de Santiago mi Governor y Capitan gral. de las Islas Philipinas.

*Haviendose visto en nuestro Consejo de las Indias una carta de trece de Diziembre de mill seiscientos y noventa y ocho con posdata de diez y seis de Junio de el de noventa y nueve los que referis haver buelto con felicidad a essas Islas de tornaviage de la N^a Esp^a el Galeon **San Francisco Xavier** y que en [el] remitieron oficiales Reales de Mexico por quenta de situado sesenta mill setezientos y cinco pesos siete tomines y cinco granos en Reales para la caja, diez y ocho mill trescientos y veinte y quatro, un tomin, y nueve granos para los estipendios de los Eclesiasticos; y veinte y un mill quatrocientos y cinquenta y seis siete tomines y ocho granos que importa el vino para celebrar: Medicinas del Hospital y diferentes generos para los Almacenes:*

Ha parecido deciros solo se ofrece havisaros de su recivo para que os hallais con esta noticia.

De Madrid a diez de Agosto de mill setezientos y uno.

Yo el Rey

*Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Manuel de Aperregui.
Señalado del Consejo.*

Translation

To the Governor of the Philippines, to advise him of the receipt of his letter in which he then reported that the galleon **San Francisco Xavier** had returned from New Spain and brought in 60,705 pesos on the account of the subsidy and other accounts mentioned above. Duplicated. Corrected.

The King.

[To] Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora, Knight of the Order of St. James, my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands.

After a letter dated 13 December 1698, postdated 16 June 1699, was seen in our Council of the Indies, in which you mentioned that the galleon **San Francisco Xavier** had safely returned to those Islands and that aboard it the Royal officials in Mexico remitted on the account of the subsidy 60,705 pesos 7 tomins and 5 grains in cash for the treasury, 18,324 pesos 1 tomin and 9 grains for the stipends of the clergy, and 21,456 pesos 7 tomins and 8 grains for the wine to celebrate masses, for medicines for the Hospital, and for various goods for the Warehouses.

It has seemed appropriate to tell you only that the receipt thereof is acknowledged, for your information.

From Madrid, on 10 August 1701.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord, Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Countersigned by the Council.

Documents 1699F

Subsidy for the Marianas, for 1699

F1. Copy of the approved budget for 1699

Source: AGN AHH 1241/1, fol. 58-62v.

Original text in Spanish.

Señores Juezes Oficiales de la Real Hazienda de la Ciudad de Manila de las Islas Philipinas.

*El Exmo. Señor Conde de Moctezuma Virrey de este Reino nos remitió para efecto de formar Carta quenta del socorro que lleva el presente galeon Capitana **Nuestra Señora del Rosario, San Francisco Xavier y Santa Rosa** del cargo del General Don Juan de Chavarría [sic] el despacho del thenor siguiente:*

...

Partidas que componen el Situado deste año de 1699.

...

Gastos hechos por quenta de esas Islas y las Marianas independientes del Situado.

Yslas Marianas.

Y 32,149p 3t 7 granos librados este año: los 1,650p de ellos à D. Joseph Madrazo y à Don Diego [sic] de Quiroga y Losada Governador y Capitan general en interim y Sargento maior de las Islas Marianas[;] partes iguales 18,900 pesos a los 60 Soldados de su Presidio, uno, y otro por razon de sus sueldos; y los 12,424p 3t 7granos restantes a los Religiosos de la Compañia de Jesus de aquella mision para su congrua y mantenimiento de Seminarios 32,149p 3t 7.

...

Guarde Dios muchos años.

Mexico à 14 de Marzo de 1699 años.

Antonio Juan Deza Ulloa.

Joseph Francisco Canal.

Joseph de Urrutia.

Translation.

Gentlemen Official Judges of the Royal treasury of the City of Manila in the Philippine Islands.

His Excellency the Count of Moctezuma, Viceroy of this Kingdom, has charged us with the make up and despatch of the Letter of accounts for the succor carried by the present galleon and flagship **Nuestra Señora del Rosario, San Francisco Xavier y Santa Rosa** under the command of General Don Juan de Chavarría [sic], whose contents are as follows:

...

Entries that form part of the Subsidy of this year 1699.

...

Expenditures made on the account of those Islands and the Marianas, outside of the Subsidy.

Mariana Islands.

And 32,149 pesos 3 tomins and 7 grains released this year: of which 1,650 pesos are sent to Don José Madrazo and to Don Diego [sic] de Quiroga y Losada, interim Governor and Captain General, and Sergeant-Major of the Mariana Islands; in equal parts some 18,900 pesos to the 60 soldiers of their Garrison, in both cases for their salaries; and the remaining 12,424 pesos 3 tomins and 7 grains to the Religious of the Society of Jesus of that mission for their sustenance and the maintenance of the Seminaries
..... 32,149p 3t 7.

May God save [Your Graces] for many years.

Mexico, 14 March 1699.

Antonio Juan Deza Ulloa

Joseph Francisco Canal

Joseph de Urrutia

F2. Manifest of the galleon Rosario

Source: AGNAHH 332.

Original text in Spanish.

Testimonio de la remision de piezas para las Yslas Marianas y Philipinas por el año de 99. Registro del Galeon.

*En la Ciudad y Puerto de Acapulco â veinte y seis dias del mes de Marzo de mill seiscientos nobena y nueve años; ante mi el escribano y testigos: el Capitan Don Juan Antonio Teruin y Endaía[,] Maestre del Galeon Capitana de Philipinas **Nuestra Señora del Rosario San Francisco y Santa Rossa** del cargo del General Don Juan de Echeverría que se alla surta en este Puerto y de proximo para haser su torna biaje a dhas Yslas, a quien doi feê; que conosco[,] otorgo haver recebido del Capitan Don Francisco Perez Nauaz, residente en este Puerto y encomendero en el[,] en nombre del Revdo.*

padre Procurador de las Yslas Marianas y Philipinas de la Compañia de Jesus siento y sinquenta y una piasas en esta manera:

—Las ochenta y una que se componen de sesenta y siete cajones; quatro tercios de cacao; tres tersios de suela; dos fardos; y sinco barriles marcados con la primera marca del marjen; para los Padres misioneros que asisten en las Ysllas Marianas;

—Sinquenta y una piasas con la segunda marca del marjen, las quarenta y ocho caxones, y las tres fardos para los Colejios de la Jubentud de dhas Ysllas Marianas;

—Dies y seis piasas, las doze cajones; un tersio de cacao; tres cajones de jabon y las tres piasas restantes, cumplimiento a las Siento y sinquenta y una; dos tercios enjergados de cacao y un cajonsillo enguangocho señalado todo con la tersera marca del marjen â entregar al Padre Procurador que es ô fuere de la Provincia de Philipinas de la Comp^a de Jesus.

De todas las quales dhas piasas se dio por entregado su boluntad sobre que renuncia leyes de la entrega y su prueba y demas del casso como en ellas se contienen y se obligo â que llevandole Dios â salvamiento a dhas Ysllas Marianas y Philipinas dara y entregara dhas piasas segun y como las ha resevido enjutas y bien acondicionadas â dhos Padres Misioneros rectores de Colejio de dhas Ysllas Marianas y Procurador General de la de Philipinas, a que se obligo como dho; es y otorgo partida de rexistro emforma y lo firmo siendo de testigos Manuel de Arcos[,] Francisco Flores y Don Miguel de Castrojan presentes: Don Juan Antonio Teruín y Endaia.

Ante mi Manuel de Molina[,] escribano Real y de Real Hazienda.—

Conquerda con la partida de rexistro orixinal a que me refiero y para que conste donde combenga[,] de pedimiento del Capitan Don Francisco Perez Nauaz residente y encomendero en este Puerto doi el presente en el dia mes y año de su otorgamiento, siendo testigos a lo ber sacar Manuel de Arcos[,] Francisco Flores y Don Lugo Veira presentes.—

Y hago mi signo en testimonio de verdad:

Manuel de Molina, escribano real y de Real Hazienda.

Translation.

Certificate for the shipment of pieces to the Mariana and Philippine Islands for the year 1699. Manifest of the galleon.

In the City and Port of Acapulco, on 26 March 1699: Before me the notary and witnesses, Captain Don Juan Antonio Teruín y Endaya, master of the Philippine galleon and flagship **Nuestra Señora del Rosario, San Francisco y Santa Rosa**, under the command of General Juan de Echeverría, which is now anchored at this port and is about to leave on her return voyage to said Islands, whom I know and vouch for: he acknowledged having received from Captain Don Francisco Perez Navas, resident of this port and landlord therein, on behalf of Rev. Father Procurator of the Mariana and Philippine Islands for the Society of Jesus, 151 pieces, as follows:

SRPP

—81 of which consist of 67 crates; 4 half-loads of cacao; 3 half-loads of sole-leather; 2 bundles; and 5 barrels, bearing the first mark in margin; for the missionary Fathers who live in the Mariana Islands;

SRCC

—51 pieces bearing the second mark in margin, 48 of which are crates, and the other 3 are bundles, for the Colleges of the youths of said Mariana Islands;

§

—16 pieces, of which 12 crates; 1 half-load of cacao; 3 crates; and the remaining 3 pieces making up the 151 are: 2 half-loads of cacao, wrapped with cloth; and 1 small crate in oil-cloth; all of which are marked with the third mark in margin, to be delivered to whomever may be Father Procurator for the Province of the Philippines of the Society of Jesus.

He accepted all of the above-said pieces as being in his power, in accordance with the laws governing deliveries and proofs thereof as per the above list, and he obliged himself, God willing to let him reach the Mariana and Philippine Islands, to give and deliver same, in as dry and as good a condition as he has received them, to said missionary Fathers who are the rectors of the College of said Mariana Islands and to the Procurator General of the Province of the Philippines, to which he obliged himself, as was said. The present is a copy of an entry of the register in due form, and I sign it in the presence of the following witnesses: Manuel de Arcos, Francisco Flores, and Don Miguel de Castrojan:

Don Juan Antonio Teruín y Endaya

Before me, Manuel de Molina, royal notary and notary of the Royal treasury.—

This is a certified copy of the entry in the original manifest referred to above and so that it will bear witness for whom it may concern, by request of Captain Francisco Perez Navas, resident and landlord in this Port, I have granted the present on this day, month and year of its execution, in the presence of the following persons who witnessed the procedure: Manuel de Arcos, Francisco Flores, and Don Lugo Veira.—

And in faith whereof, I have affixed my signature:

Manuel de Molina, royal notary of the Royal treasury.

F3. Acknowledgment, dated Merizo 6 June 1699

Source: AGNAHH 1241/1, fol. 105-105v.

Original text in Spanish.

Copia de carta del Governador de Marianas en que acusa el recivo del Situado del año de 1699.

Exmo. Sor.

Oy día de la fha fue Nuestro Señor servido llegase a esta Isla el Galeon Capitana Nuestra Señora del Rosario, San Francisco Xavier y Santa Rosa de cargo del General Juan de Echavarria que de su tornaviage de esos Reinos pasa a las Filipinas,

quien entregó el Situado que V.E. fue servido librar para la infantería deste presidio por que rindo à V.E. repetidas gracias, pues solo con su suma providencia se podra mantener esta nueva Christiandad por no tener (como no tiene) otro asilo, ni mas à que aspirar; por lo qual no dudo del piadoso y Chistianao zelo de V.E. se servirà favorecerla como hasta ahora.

Desde el año pasado que dí parte à V.E. del estado de estas Islas no ha precedido novedad alguna en ellas, ni en sus naturales, solo sí el haver pasado (como pase) a las Islas que llaman de Gane, que estan a la vanda del Norte desta poco mas de cien leguas, donde se hallaron solas siete pobladas pero mui chicas, y casi incommunicables, asi por la aspereza de sus riscos, como por lo infructuosas y faltas de agua que son. Por lo qual y no poderse mantener en ellas Ministros Doctrinarios y que no se perdiesen aquellas almas (que seran como mil y setecientos) determine reducirlas à esta donde se les ha señalado sitio competente y formado nueva residencia donde han sido catequisados y bautisados, y al presente estoi solo aguardando tiempos favorables para pasar à la vanda del Sur en una piragua (que he hecho para el efecto) en busca de la Isla Carolina que me holgare infinito sea cosa de fundamento para que dê desi [sic] una mui copiosa y florida Cristiandad en que sea ensalzada la maior honrra, y gloria de Dios nuestro Señor que es de quanto por ahora se me ofrece dar parte à V.E. cuia novilissima Persona guarde su Divina Magd. para muchos años para sublime lustre y gloria de su esclarecimiento casa.

Merizo y Junio 6 de 1699 años.

Exmo. Sor.

Besa la mano de V.E., Joseph Madrazo.

Mexico 23 de Henero de 1700.—Oficiales Reales.—

Em vista de esta carta tomarian la razon que convenga para que conste haverse enterado este situado si no la hubieren tenido por otra mano.

Señalado con una rubrica.

Translation.

Copy of a letter from the Governor of the Marianas in which he acknowledges receipt of the Subsidy for the year 1699.

Your Excellency:

On this date, Our Lord was pleased to bring to this Island the flagship galleon named **Nuestra Señora del Rosario, San Francisco Xavier y Santa Rosa** under the command of General Juan de Echevarría, which is returning from those Kingdoms to the Philippines. He delivered the Subsidy that Y.E. was pleased to release for the infantry of this garrison, for which I give many thanks to Y.E. Indeed, it is only due to this great providence that this new Christian community will be able to maintain itself, because it has no other means or recourse available to it. Hence, we do not expect from the pious and Christian zeal of Y.E. anything other than that you will be pleased to continue favoring us.

Since the report of the condition of these Islands that I sent to Y.E. last year, there have been no changes here, not even among the natives, with the exception that an expedition (in which I took part)¹ did take place to the Islands they call Gane that are located a little over 100 leagues to the north of this one, where were found only seven settlements, very small ones, and almost isolated, not only on account of the roughness of their cliffs, but also because they are infertile and lack water. For these reasons and because missionary teachers cannot be maintained there, in order to prevent the loss of those souls (totalling about 1,700), I decided to reduce them to this one, where a suitable site has been reserved for them² and a new residency created where they have been catechized and baptized, and at present I am only awaiting the right season with favorable weather to send a canoe (which is being built) to the south in search of Carolina Island. I only wish that it will succeed, so that a very copious and flourishing Christian community can result from it, for the greater honor and glory of God our Lord. That is all I have for now to report to Y.E. whose most noble person may His divine Majesty save for many years for the sublime luster and glory of your illustrious house.

Merizo, 6 June 1699.

[To] His Excellency.

He who kisses the hand of Y.E., Joseph Madrazo.

Mexico, 23 January 1700.—[To] the Royal officials.—

In view of this letter, you are to take whatever appropriate actions to record the receipt of this subsidy, as if it had been received by any other person.

Countersigned with one flourish.

1 Ed. note: A bold lie on his part.

2 Ed. note: Most of these migrants from the northern islands were settled at Inarajan.

Document 1700A

History of the Mariana Islands, by Fr. Charles Le Gobien

Sources: BNP & MARC, among others; book published for the first time in Paris in 1700; 2nd edition, 1701, and many other editions (see BNP Catalogue). There already exists an unpublished English translation made in 1949 by Fr. Paul V. Daly, C.P.S. (176 pages), available at MARC, under #DU645.L5 1949.

Editorial notes and comments about this book.

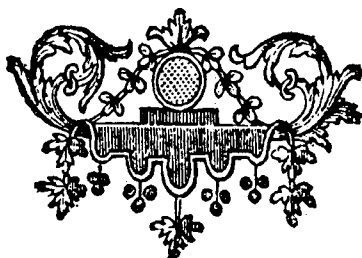
The full title of this book, in the original French, is as follows: Charles Le Gobien, S.J. [1653-1708], “Histoire Des Isles Marianes, Nouvellement converties à la Religion Chrestienne; & de la mort glorieuse des premiers Missionnaires qui y ont prêché la Foy. Par le Père Charles Le Gobien, de la Compagnie de Jésus. A Paris, Chez N. Pepie, rue S. Jacques, au grand Saint Basile, au-dessus de la Fontaine du S. Severin. M.DCCC.” The main title in English would read: “History of the Mariana Islands, Newly Converted to the Christian Religion and of the Glorious Death of the First Missionaries who Preached the Faith There.”

Fr. Le Gobien’s History covers the period 1662-1700. For the period up to 1681, he made direct and extensive use of the previously-published History of Fr. García in Spanish (see Doc. 1681A for my previous comments). For the 1682-1698 period, he made use of the Jesuit annual reports produced during the same period, specially the letters and composite reports written by Fathers Bouwens and Coomans which were available in Brussels and Rome.¹ Therefore, Le Gobien’s work, being a secondary source, is not to be relied on (any more than García’s) for accuracy of the historical facts; he too took

1 When Le Gobien says: “despite much painstaking research, I have not been able to find a letter written about this matter (i.e. the death of Fr. Coomans) at that time by Father Bouwens,” he reveals that he did travel from Paris to Belgium (Louvain and Brussels), and perhaps to Rome also, to do his research on the later period (Daly, p. 161).

HISTOIRE
DES ISLES
MARIANES,
NOUVELLEMENT
converties à la Religion Chrestienne;
& de la mort glorieuse des premiers
Missionnaires qui y ont prêché la Foy.

Par le Pere CHARLES LE GOBIEN,
de la Compagnie de JESUS.



A PARIS,
Chez NICOLAS PÉPIE, rue S. Jacques, au
grand Saint Basile, au dessus de la
Fontaine de S. Severin.

M. DCC.
AVEC PRIVILEGE DU ROY.

the liberty of “editing” the stories. The second part, not based on García, is much better in every respect.

One example of Fr. Le Gobien’s freedom was when he ascribed a famous rallying speech to Chief Hurao, a native rebel; the same speech had been ascribed to Chief Aguarín by Fr. García, who had invented it. As Robert F. Rogers has pointed out,¹ even De Broses in 1756 recognized that Le Gobien had put words in the mouth of Hurao (see Daly, pp. 53-54). Another, similar, example is the rallying speech ascribed to Antonio Yura, of the village of Apurguan in 1684.²

There are also many misprints made by Le Gobien, too numerous to mention, in place names and proper names. Even the names taken from Fr. Bouwens were garbled, because the latter’s handwriting is very hard to decipher. The last pages of this History (those corresponding to pp. 169-176 in the Daly translation) are taken from Bouwens (see Doc. 1695A in the present series).

In the appendix of his book, Fr. Le Gobien has reproduced the famous 1697 letter by Fr. Clain about the discovery of the Carolines (see Doc. 1697F), which he also reproduced in the first edition of his “*Lettres édifiantes*,” published in Paris in 1707, one year before his death.

(Facing page:) **Title page of Fr. Le Gobien’s History of the Mariana Islands.**

1 On p. 307, note 52, of his book “Destiny’s Landfall.”

2 Daly translation, pp. 129-130.

Document 1700B

Letter from the King to the Archbishop of Manila, dated Aranjuez 16 May 1700

Source: AGI Fil. 332, libro 10, fol. 127v-128, pp. 332-333.

Acknowledging news of Archbishop Camacho's visit to Guam in 1697

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Al Arzobispo de la Iglesia Metropolitana de la Ciudad de Manila dandole gracias por la noticia que partizipo de haverse reunido las Islas Marianas al gremio de la fee catholica.

Muy Reverendo in Christo Padre Arzobispo de la Iglesia metropolitana de la Ciudad de Manila.

En carta de diez de Julio del año passado de mil seiscientos y noventa y siete dais quenta de la noticia que tubisteis luego que llegasteis à las Islas Marianas de haverse reduzido todas al gremio de la fee catholica y que a este feliz subceso cooperá mucho el zelo del Sargento Mayor Don Joseph de Quiroga que hazia oficio de Governador y el de los religiosos de la Compañia de Jhs.

Por su vista ha parezido avisaros el rezivo de ella y agradezeros la puntualidad y celo que manifestais en materia de tanta importancia al servicio de Dios y mio.

De Aranjuez a dies y seis de Mayo de mil y setecientos.

Yo el Rey

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Señalado del Consejo.

Translation.

The King

To the Archbishop of the Metropolitan Church of the City of Manila, giving him thanks for the news that he sent about the Mariana Islands having joined the fold of the Catholic faith.

Right Reverend Father in Christ, Archbishop of the Metropolitan Church of the City of Manila.

In a letter dated 10 July of the past year 1697,¹ you reported the news that you received after arriving at the Mariana Islands that all of them had been reduced to the fold of the Catholic faith and that the man who contributed most to this happy event were the said Sergeant-Major Don Joseph de Quiroga who filled the post of Governor and the religious of the Society of Jesus.

Upon receiving same, it was decided to acknowledge it and to thank you for the timeliness and zeal that you have shown in a matter of such importance for the service of God and mine.

From Aranjuez, 17 May 1700.

I, the King

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Recommended by the Council.

1 Ed. note: Doc. 1697H1.

Document 1700C

Letter from Fr. Luis de Morales to Fr. Xaramillo, dated Manila 9 June 1700

Source: RAH 9/2670 doc. n° 11.

Note: The letter was received in Rome on 15 November 1701.

Comments about the Mariana Mission

Original text in Spanish.

Mi Padre Antonio Mathias Xaramillo

P.C. &a.

Por sy V.R. tubiere por agena la mano, olvidado de el Padre Fabregas, va esta de su mano.

...

Poco favorece a Marianas Nuestro Governador; pues el año de 98 no embio Patache, y el de 99 le despacho tarde, ya en el mes de Julio tempestuoso; y asi arribo a pocos dias a China, y por principios de este año volvio de milagro a Manila, y con las averias de gran parte de el socorro, que llevaba: será la perdida de esta tres mil pesos, dignos de pedirsele en Residencia, por ser precio de sangre, y no aver cumplido el orden, y zedula, de que aya de despacharle en los meses de Abril, y Mayo, so cargo de Residencia.

Otro mas grave daño es, el que me aseguran, de aver dado orden al General de la Nao de Acapulco, que no pase a la vuelta por Marianas. el pretexto es no se que rumores de Piratas; sy asi no fuere, Dios volverá por sus Yslas.

A 4 de este mes de Junio de 700 salio el Patache a Marianas, y en el el nuevo Governador interino, (nombrado aqui por el Governador) llamase D. Francisco Medrano, y Assiain sobrino de el P. D. Garcia Medrano; es sugeto de buena edad, prudencia, experiencia, zelo, desinteres, y affectissimo nuestro; y sobre todo muy buen christiano, y qual le necesitan aquellas Yslas: ya por la costa escribi a V.R. y al Padre Quiros, y repito ahora, para que procuren le dé la Propriedad su Magestad de dho Gobierno de Marianas.

...

Por Abril fallecio el exemplar Almirante Antonio de Azebedo...

En Madrid nos trata mal el Padre F[ray] Alonso Sandin Dominicano, quien ha presentado memorial, y entre otros puntos da por mal gastados los socorros de Marianas, y que bastan cien pesos para cada sugeto; y yo me temo, que este sea despique de no se que reclusion, que el Padre Xaramillo le ocasiono en su Hospicio de la plazuela de la cebada sobre cierta represion de que se tubo noticia por la penitenta de el Padre Soria.

...

N. Señor me guarde a V.R. los muchos años que yo le suplico.

Junio, y Manila a 9 de 1700.

Muy Siervo de V.R....

Luis de Morales

Translation.

My dear Fr. Antonio Matias Xaramillo

Peace of Christ, etc.

In case you do not recognize this handwriting as being that of Fr. Fabregas, it is by him.

...

Our Governor does not much favor the Marianas; indeed, in 1698, he did not send any patache, and in 1699 he despatched it late, when it was already July, a stormy month, and it therefore was forced back within a few days to China, and at the beginning of this year it miraculously returned to Manila. Considering the damage done to the larger part of the relief goods that it carried, the loss in question would be about 3,000 pesos, worthy of being investigated at the time of his Residencia, since it is the price of blood, and he did not obey the royal order to the effect that he had to despatch it during the months of April and May, under penalty of [being charged during] his Residencia.

A more serious damage was done when, according to what I have been told, he gave an order to the General of the Acapulco galleon not to pass by the Marianas on the return voyage, under the pretext of the rumored presence of pirates; may it please God that this not be true, and have him return via His islands.

On the 4th of this month of June 1700, the patache left for the Marianas. Aboard it was the newly-appointed interim Governor (appointed here by the Governor). His name is Don Francisco Medrano y Asiain, the nephew of Father Don Garcia Medrano. He is a person possessing good age, prudence, experience, zeal, disinterestedness, and a very big affection toward us. Above all, he is a very good Christian, something those Islands really need. I have already sent letters to Y.R. and to Father [Alonso] Quirós via the coast [of India], and I repeat here that His Majesty should give this man the rightful ownership of said Government of the Marianas.

...

Last April, the exemplary Admiral Antonio de Acebedo passed away...

In Madrid, the Dominican Father Fray Alonso Sandín is treating us badly. He is the man who has presented a memorial, and among other points that he makes, he says that the subsidies sent to the Marianas is money badly spent, as 100 pesos per individual would be enough. I am afraid that this is revenge for I don't know what internment that Father Xaramillo caused upon him within his Hospice located at the small Barley Square regarding a certain repression that was said to have affected a penitent woman in the care of Father Soria.

...

May our Lord keep Y.R. for as many years as I beseech Him for.

Manila, 9 June 1700.

Y.R.'s most humble servant...

Luis de Morales¹

1 Ed. note: His signature appears very shaky. He lived for 16 more years.

Documents 1700D

The failed voyage of the patache Santa Rosa in 1699

D1. Letter from Governor Cruzat to the King, dated Manila 12 June 1700

Source: AGI Ultramar 561.

Notes: The commander of this patache was Captain Carlos José and the Chief Pilot was Captain Antonio Fernandez de Roxas. They had received specific instructions for their voyage from Governor Cruzat. The names of all those aboard are given in the file. The would-be Governor of the Marianas, Major Medrano y Asiain, is listed as a passenger, along with his family. There were no Jesuits aboard. The logbook is fully reproduced in the report of the board of inquiry, or residencia

Original text in Spanish.

Señor

*En carta de 12 de Junio del año pproximo pasado de 1699 di cuenta à V.M. como en cumplimiento de lo mandado [por Vues-]tras Reales Cédulas salia despachado aquel año à las Islas Marianas con el socorro ordinario de la Infanteria y religiosos de ellas un Patache nombrado **Santa Rosa**, y de que en el pasaba de Gobernador interino de dichas Islas el Sargento Mayor D. Francisco de Medrano y Asiain, en lugar del General D. José Madrazo, por haber este emfermado y hecho dejacion de aquel Gobierno que tambien lo tenia interinamente.*

Ahora lo hago, como habiendo salido el Patache referido al tiempo regular del Puerto de Cavite, bolvió à el de arribada el dia 23 de Enero de este presente año sin haber conseguido viage à las Islas Marianas, por que luego que salio de las vocas de Marivelez de dio un temporal que le puso entre el Cabo de Bojeador, y la Isla de Babuyanes, costa de la Provincia de Nueva Segovia, donde el dia 16 de Julio le entró otro temporal mas recio que fué tormenta desecha, la cual duró mas de cuatro dias continuados en que el Patache corrió gran peligro de perderse, habiendole faltado el trinquete y la cebadera, y llegado à tener cerca de siete palmos de agua de suerte que el Cabo, oficiales, y demas gente del Patache, se hallaron precisados à alijar todo lo que les pareció combeniente para no zozobrar, y acortar el palo de la mesana y habiendo

abonanzado el tiempo, se hallaron entre las islas de Pescadores y Taiguan [=Taiwan], que estan inmediatas à las Isla Hermosa à donde los llevó lo riguroso de los vientos con el vagel tan maltratado, que viendose, con mucha averia, en los vastimentos, y con poca aguada, determinaron el Cabo y oficiales el dia 20 de Junio ir à reacerse de todo al Puerto de Macan, ú à otro mas inmediato de China, y dexandose ir segun el tiempo les dió lugar, se hallaron à los dos ó tres dias a vista de Emuy, Reyno de China, en cuyo paraje sin entrar dentro dieron fondo para solicitar lo que les faltaba, y solo pudieron conseguir el hacer aguada y à los cinco de Agosto les entró un tiempo tan recio, que los metió dentro del Puerto, y habiendose asegurado en el se repararon y proveyeron de lo mas preciso pero queriendo despues levarse para proseguir su viage, no le permitieron los Mandarines por haber dado cuenta al Emperador de su llegada diciendo era necesario aguardar su resolucion, por cuya razon estuvieron detenidos cinco meses, hasta que por fines de Diciembre, llegó la licencia del Emperador, para que los dexasen salir sin ningun impedimento, mandando que se bastimentase la gente del Patache con arroz y carne, y juntamente que diesen à cada persona de las que estubiesen en lista, y à todos los criados cuatro piezas de manta de algodón para abrigarse como lo excecitaron puntualmente los mandarines, à quienes vino asi mismo orden del Emperador para que à cualquiera vagel de Filipinas que arrive à aquel Puerto se le haga todo buen pasage, y se le franque la licencia cuando la pida, con lo cual salió el Patache de Emuy, el dia 29 de Diciembre tomando su derrota para bolber à estas Islas, y llegó como dexo referido al Puerto de Cavite, el dia 23 de Enero de este presente año.

Para averiguar si esta arribada fue precisada de los malos tiempos, ó por omision, descuido, ó malicia del Cabo, y oficiales del Patache, despaché comision al Castellano de Cavite, para que hiziese la averiguacion como lo ejecutó, y habiendola concluido remitió à este Gobierno, y vista por mi con parecer de asesor se declaró por casual, y fortuita, la dicha arribada, por no haber resultado culpa alguna, contra el Cabo ni demas oficiales del Patache como todo constará mas individualmente del Testimonio de autos que remito à V.M. adjunto.

*Y siendo preciso que este presente año se despache à las Islas Marianas el mismo Patache ú otro, mande reconocer el referido **Santa Rosa**, y habiendose hallado incapaz de aderezo y de que pueda hacer mas viage, por lo maltratado que estaba, comboqué à Junta general de Hacienda en la cual se determinó que dicho Patache nombrado **Santa Rosa**, se desguazase y hechase al traves, y aprovechando toda la clavazon que se pudiese sacar, y que se aprestase para despachar à dichas Islas Marianas, otro Patache que V.M. tenia en la ribera de Cavite nombrado **Nuestra Señora de la Concepción**, en cuya conformidad, dé la providencia necesaria para la ejecucion de lo uno y otro. Pero habiendo despachado orden al Castellano de Cavite, para el desguace referido, me hizo representacion de que era mas combeniente al servicio de V.M. que el Patache mencionado se varase en la parte mas necesaria donde defienda aquel Castillo de la resaca del mar, que le va entrando mucho, y que esto preponderaba mas que la poca clavazon que se podia sacar, por las razones que expresó en su representacion, la cual llevé à dicha Junta general, y en ella se resolvió se varase el Patache referido en el paraje y*

como lo proponia el Castellano a quien remití orden para que asi lo hiziese, segun constará del Testimonio de autos que asi mismo remito à V.M. adjunto.

*Aprestose el Patache referido nombrado **Nuestra Señora de la Concepción**, y salió despachado del Puerto de Cavite para las dichas Islas Marianas el día 4 de este presente mes, y en el fué embarcado el nuevo Gobernador interino, que como dexo dicho arriba he proveido para ellas.*

Nuestro Señor guarde la Católica y Real Persona de V.M. como la Cristiandad ha menester.

Manila y Junio 12 de 1700.

Fausto Cruzat y Góngora.

Translation.

Sire:

In a letter sent last year, dated 12 June 1699, I reported to Y.M. that, in compliance with your Royal decrees, the patache named **Santa Rosa** despatched that year to the Mariana Islands with the ordinary succor for the infantry and religious overthere was leaving, and that aboard it was the interim Governor of said Islands, Sergeant-Major Don Francisco de Medrano y Asiain, to replace General Don José Madrazo who had become sick and resigned his post as Governor, which he also held on an interim basis.

Now I report that said patache, having departed at the regular [sic]¹ time from the port of Cavite, was forced back to it on 23 January of the present year without having achieved the voyage to the Mariana Islands, because, as soon as it exited the strait of Mariveles, it was struck by a storm that pushed it as far as a place halfway between Cape Bojeador and Babuyan Island, on the coast of the Province of New Segovia, where, on 16 July, another storm hit it, an even rougher one that was a full-fledged storm which lasted over four continuous days during which the patache ran a great risk of foundering, since it lost its foresail and sprit sail and accumulated about 7 palms of water. Consequently, the Captain, the officers, and other people aboard the patache were obliged to throw overboard everything they saw fit in order not to sink, and to cut the mizzen mast. When the weather abated, they found themselves between the islands of Pescadores and Taiwan, that are right next to Hermosa Island; that was where the stiff winds took their very battered ship. Upon seeing the great damage done to the food supplies, and the lack of drinking water, the Captain and officers decided on 20 June to go and refresh all supplies at the port of Macao, or at another, closer, Chinese port. They were led by the weather, and within 2 or 3 days they came in sight of Emuy, Kingdom of China, in whose neighborhood, without going into the port, they anchored in order to solicit what they lacked. They were only able to get permission to take on water, but on 5 August, such a stiff weather arose that it pushed them into the port. There they sought protection from the weather, carried out the more urgent repairs and bought the minimum of supplies. However, when they tried to leave to pursue their

1 Ed. note: Doc. 1700C refutes this statement.

voyage, they were not allowed to do so by the Mandarins, because the Emperor had been informed of their arrival and they said that it was necessary to await his decision. For this reason they were delayed five months, until the end of December, when the permission of the Emperor came, to let them go without any impediment. Furthermore, he had ordered that the men of the patache be supplied with rice and meat; as a matter of fact, every person on the crew and passenger list was to be so supplied, and every one of the servants was to receive 4 thick pieces of cotton cloth, to cover themselves. The Mandarins carried this out promptly. The Mandarins received another order from the Emperor to the effect that in future any ship from the Philippines that might arrive at that port be given a good welcome and be given permission [to leave] whenever they asked for it. So, the patache left the port of Emuy on 29 December and headed back to these Islands, and, as I have already said, arrived at the port of Cavite on 23 January of the present year.

In order to find out whether this return was due to bad weather or to some omission, carelessness, or malice on the part of the Captain and officers of the patache, I sent a commission to the Warden of Cavite, for him to carry out the inquiry, which he did. When he had finished it, he remitted his report to this government. After it was seen by me, after consultation with my legal adviser, the said return was declared to have been accidental, and fortuitous, since no fault was discovered on the part of the Captain or the officers of the patache, as can be seen in detail in the transcript of records which I enclose for Y.M.¹

Now, it being necessary to have the same, or some other, patache sent to the Mariana Islands this year, I ordered said **Santa Rosa** surveyed. It was found to be unrepairable, and unable to make another voyage, on account of its battered condition. I convened a general meeting of the Treasury, and it decided that said patache named **Santa Rosa** be broken up and dismantled, salvaging all the possible iron works, and that another patache, named **Nuestra Señora de la Concepción**, which Y.M. owns on the shore of Cavite, be made ready for despatch to said Mariana Islands. Consequently, I gave the necessary order for both actions to be carried out. However, after my order had been despatched to the Warden of Cavite, for the dismantling in question, he made representations to me to the effect that it would be more appropriate for the service of Y.M. if the patache in question were scuttled instead where it would be more useful in protecting that fort from the high tides, which tend to undermine it. He added that the iron that could be salvaged from it was only a small amount, for the reasons included in his representation. I referred the matter to said general meeting, and it decided that said patache be sunk at the place and in the manner suggested by the Warden, to whom I sent an order to carry it out thus, as will be seen in the record of proceedings that I also remit to Y.M., enclosed.

The above-mentioned patache named **Nuestra Señora de la Concepción** was made ready, and despatched. It left the port of Cavite bound for said Mariana Islands

1 Ed. note: Not reproduced here, as it is effectively summarized in this letter.

on the 4th of this month, and aboard it was the new interim Governor whom, as I have said, I have provided for the Islands.

May our Lord save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M. as Christendom needs.

Manila, 12 June 1700.

Fausto Cruzat y Góngora.

D2. Answer from the King to Governor Cruzat, dated Madrid 13 May 1702

Source: AGI Fil. 332, libro 10, fol. 217v-220v, pp. 512-518.

Original text in Spanish.

*Al Governador de Philipinas aprovandole lo que executó con el Patache nombrado **Santa Rosa** que salio del Puerto de Cavite para conducir el situado a las Islas Marianas y volbio à el, sin haver conseguido su viage.*

El Rey

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora, Cavallero del horden de Santiago, mi Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas y Presidente de mi Audiencia Real de la Ciudad de Manila.

*En carta de 12 de Junio del año pasado de 1700, dais quenta de que haviendo el de 99 despachadose a las Islas Marianas un Patache nombrado **Santa Rosa**, con el socorro ordinario de la Infanteria, y religiosos, en que pasava por Governador interino el Sargento Maior Don Francisco Medrano y Asiayn, y que haviendo salido del Puerto de Cavite al tiempo regular, padecio mayores y continuados temporales, expecialmente entre el Cavo de Voxeador y la Isla de Babuyanes, costas de la N^{ra} Segovia, donde corrio tan rigurosa tormenta que le llegó à faltar el trinquete y la zevadera, llevando siete palmos de agua con tan proximo riesgo de perderse, que el cavo y oficiales y demas gente se hallaron precisadas à dejar todo lo que les parecio combeniente, y cortar el arbol de la Mezana, para no zozobrar;*

Y que haviendo abonanzado el tiempo y hallandose tan maltratados, y con falta de viveres, resolbieron yr harreacese [sic], y bastimentarse al Puerto de Emuy jurisdiction de la China, por ser el mas ymediato donde les detubieron los Mandarines, desde 5 de Agosto hasta fines de Diziembre, en cuio tiempo dieron quenta al Emperador de aquellas Provincias, el qual dio horden para que se bastimentase la gente de esta embarcacion con arroz, y carne, y que juntamente se diese a cada persona de las que hiban en lista y a todos los criados quatro piezas de manta de algodón, para abrigarse, mandando asimismo que a qualquiera vagel de Philipinas que arrivase aquel Puerto, se le hiziese todo vuen pasaje y se le franquease la lizencia siempre que la pidiese; en virtud de lo qual salio el referido Patache, tomando su derrota para esas Islas haviendo llegado a ellas el dia 23 de henero sin haver conseguido su biaje;

y dezis que luego que tubisteis noticia de su llegada y de lo acaezido en su Navegacion disteis orden al Castellano de Cavite para que abfe[r]rigase si esta arrivada havia

*sido maliciosa, y que habiendo procedido contra el Cavo, y Oficiales del referido vagel, no resulto culpa ni cargo alguno contra ellos por lo qual se declaro por legitima y precisa; que siendo necesario despachar embarcacion a las Islas Marianas el año de 1700 y no hallandose esta capaz de poderse adrezar ni servir, combocasteis Junta general de hacienda en que se determino fuese con el referido situado el Patache nombrado **Nuestra Señora de la Concepción** y que el de **Santa Rosa** se desguazase y he[c]hase al traves, aprovechando toda la clavazon que se pudiesse sacar y que habiendo mandado al Castellano de Cavite lo executase asi, represento seria mas combeniente a mi Real servicio se barase el Patache en la parte mas necesaria, donde defendiese aquel Castillo de la resaca de la mar que le hiba entrando mucho por ser de maior importancia esta defensa que la utilidad que se podia sacar de la clavazon con cuia representacion, os conformasteis, y se despacho para las Islas Marianas el referido Patache nombrado **Nuestra Señora de la Concepción** el dia quatro de Junio del referido año de 1700.*

Vista en mi Consejo de las Indias con los testimonios de autos que remitis[,] oido a mi fiscal, como quiera que por ellos pareze no pudisteis executar otra cosa, he tenido por vien de aprovar las providencias, que disteis en esta materia por ser mui conformes al celo, desinteres, y aplicazion con que atendeis al cumplimiento de vuestra obligacion en mi real servicio.

Fha en Madrid a trece de Mayo de mill setecientos y dos.

[Por el] Cardenal Portocarrero.

Yo el Rey

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Señalado del Consejo.

Translation.

To the Governor of the Philippines, approving what he did with regards to the patache named **Santa Rosa** that left the port of Cavite to deliver the subsidy to the Mariana Islands, but returned without having achieved its voyage.

The King

[To] Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora, Knight of the Order of St. James, my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of my Royal Audiencia in the City of Manila.

In your letter dated 12 June of the past year 1700, you reported that, after a patache named **Santa Rosa** was despatched in 1699 to the Mariana Islands with the ordinary succor for the Infantry and the Religious, aboard which was the interim Governor, Sergeant-Major Don Francisco Medrano y Asiain, it had left the port of Cavite at the regular time, but encountered major and continuous storms, specially between Cape Bojeador and Babuyan Island on the coasts of New Segovia, where it ran into such a rigorous storm that the foresail and sprit sail were carried off, with 7 palms of water and in imminent danger of foundering; that the Captain, officers and others were forced to leave behind as much as they saw fit, and to cut the mizzen mast, in order not to sink.

Then, as soon as the weather abated and they found themselves so battered, and lacking food supplies, they resolved to go and refit themselves, and refresh at the port of Emuy, within the territory of China, as it was the closest port, but that the Mandarins there detained them, from 5 August until the end of December, meanwhile they reported to the Emperor of those provinces. He in turn gave an order that the people of that vessel be supplied with rice and meat, and also every person on the crew and passenger list, as well as all the servants, be given 4 pieces of rough cotton cloth, to cover themselves. He also ordered that any vessel from the Philippines that might visit that port be given a good reception and given permission to leave whenever it asked for it. Consequently, said patache left and headed back to those Islands, reaching them on 23 January without having achieved its purpose.

And you said that as soon as you received news of its arrival and of what had happened during its voyage you gave an order to the Warden of Cavite to carry out an inquiry to find out if this return had been malicious, but that after a process was held against the Captain and officers of said vessel, no guilt or charge against any of them was retained, and so, it was declared legitimate and necessary; that, it being necessary to despatch a vessel to the Mariana Islands in 1700 and in view of the fact that said vessel could not be refitted or be of any use, you convened a general meeting of the Treasury, in which it was decided that the patache named **Nuestra Señora de la Concepción** be sent with said succor, and that the **Santa Rosa** be broken up and dismantled, to recover all the iron works, but that after you had ordered the Warden of Cavite to carry this out, he represented that it would be more appropriate for my Royal service if the patache were sunk at a more convenient spot, where it would protect that fort from the high tides that were undermining it, since this protection was worth more than the small amount of iron that could be salvaged. Hence you agreed with these arguments, and said patache named **Nuestra Señora de la Concepción** was despatched to the Mariana Islands on 4 June of said year of 1700.

This matter having been seen in my Council of the Indies, along with the records of proceedings that you remitted, after I heard the opinion of my fiscal, given that it seems that nothing else could have been done, I have decided to approve the provisions that you issued on this matter, as they were indeed evidence of the zeal, disinterestedness, and diligence with which you comply with your duty in my royal service.

Made at Madrid, on 13 May 1702.

[Signed by] Cardinal Portocarrero.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Countersigned by the Council.

Document 1700E

Report on services of Major Quiroga, by Fr. Bouwens

Source: RAH 9/2678, doc. n° 9 (2 copies).

Note: The letter was written in Anaguan, which is now called Garapan, in the Island of Saipan. The first copy (slightly modified) is dated Anaguan (Saipan), 20 May 1700, and the second copy is certified from Saipan 20 May 1701.

Letter to Fr. General Thyrso Gonzalez, dated Anaguan 20 May 1700

Note: The revised version of 1701 is reproduced below.

Original text in Spanish.

Informe de los servicios hechos por el Sargento Maior, que lo es por su Magd. desde el año 1686, en estas islas Marianas.

El Sargento Maior D. Joseph de Quiroga, y Losada aviendo militado 13 años a Su Magd. (que Dios guarde) en las guerras de Flandes, donde fue graduado de Alferéz, passo el año 1678 a estas islas Marianas solo por Dios, a ayudar a la conversion de sus naturales, que poco antes pacíficamente avian reçibido la fee de JESU Christo: y dho Sargento Maior voluntariamente sirvio a Dios, y al Rey desde el año 79 en tierra tan pobre sin interes alguno con muestras tan sobresalientes de su mucha Christiandad, y valor, que a instancia comun de todos fue propuesto el año 1680; y por nombramiento, que con comision, que para ello tenia el General Antonio Nietto, admitido al Gobierno destas islas con titulo de Capitan, el qual titulo le vino confirmado de Manila por el Governador de las islas Philipinas, que lo era D. Juan de Bargas Hurtado. Luego que tomada la posesion de su gobierno, se lo permitio el tiempo, emprendio el ya dho Capitan D. Joseph de Quiroga sujetar a la isla de Rota desde la muerte del V. Padre Diego Luys de Sanvitores lebantada a instancia de los mas culpados en el sublevamiento de la de Guaahan, y muerte, que alevosa- y sacrilegamente avian dado a diferentes asi padres, que los dotrinavan, como soldados, que a los dhos PP. acompañavan de escolta.

Entró el Capitan D. Joseph a la isla de Rota; y venciendo las asperezas del puesto, que a porfia defendian los dehaçios, salio dueño de la tierra. De buelta trujo algunos de los mas culpados, y hecho en ellos el castigo, que merecian sus delitos, ajustiçio asi mismo a los que avian muerto al V. Padre Antonio Maria San Basilj; [sic] y concurrido a la del V. Padre Sebastian de Monroy. A Matapang uno de los dos, que quitaron la vida al V. Padre Diego Luys de San Vitores le trujeron los de Rota, que por orden del ya dho Capitan D. Joseph le tenian cojido, aunque en la mar se les murio de las heridas, que al oponer seles avia reçibido. Mando el Capitan, que cortada le la mano sac-rilega le hiçiesen quartos, como se hizo para el escarmiento de los demas.

No mucho despues paso 2ª vez a la de Rota, donde castigó aquellos pueblos, que avian quemado el suyo a los, que pacificamente franquearon al Capitan la 1ª entrada. Desde entonces de tal suerte se le sujetó toda esa isla, que sin escolta y de asiento vivieron en ella dos sacerdotes con Iglesia, y casa en dos diferentes partidos, a que se redujeron todos sus naturales para su enseñanza. A la de Guaahan, que de todo estaba revuelta, sin mas Ministerio de asiento, que en el pueblo de Agadña, donde vivian recogidos asi los Ministros Sacerdotes, como Soldados, la dispuso el Capitan aquel mismo año de 1680, que reducidos a pueblos tantas rancherías, como avia esparcidas por toda la isla, se entablaron fuera de Agadña otras 6 residencias, y sitio señalado para la septima, donde sin reçelo, y de asiento vivieron otros tantos sacerdotes, dotrinando a los Naturales de toda la isla; los quales no menos, que los Soldados del Presidio respetaban, y temian al Capitan D. Joseph de Quiroga tanto por su valor, como por su virtud, y exemplar vida.

El año siguiente de 81 llegó a estas islas el Maestre de Campo D. Antonio Sarabia su Governador en propiedad proveido por Su Magd. para gobernarlas. Con esta ocasion pasó a Manila el Capitan D. Joseph de Quiroga, a quien, al conocer su virtud mas de cerca el Governador de Philipinas (era lo D Juan de Vargas Hurtado) le encargo la Maiordomia del Hospital Real, hasta que condeçendiendo su Señoria con las vivas, y repetidas instancias de D. Joseph, le dio licencia el año 83 para volver a las islas Marianas; cuyo Gobierno ya dho le honró luego con el puesto de Sargento Maior; y antes de llevar Dios N.S. para si a su Señoria lo qual acontecio pocos meses despues, dejó le legitimamente nombrado, y fue su merced admitido por la Infanteria para gobernar esto en interin que informado Su Magd. proviese la propiedad en quien fuese servido.

Este nombramiento embargole al Sargento Maior D. Joseph de Quiroga, en virtud de otro, que traía de Manila el Sargento asi mismo maior, que lo era por el Governador de Philipinas, D. Damian Desplana proveido deste gobierno por dho Governador de Philipinas in caso mortis; y por no oponersele el legitimamente nombrado por quien no dependia de Philipinas, fue despojado de su derecho sin que de ello jamas se aya quejado, ni hecho duelo: Antes si, sirvio a D. Damian, como a su Governador en todo quanto el Divino y Real servicio se le permitian. Por orden pues del Governador Esplana pasó el Sargento Maior D. Joseph de Quiroga el año 84 a la conquista de las islas Tinian, Agiguan, y Zaypan acompañado de 60 soldados, y sin perder dellos ni uno, re-

dujó a las dhas 3 islas sujetando las a la obediencia debido a Dios, y a su Magd, que avia años, se la tenian sacudida.

Hecha esta conquista quedó dho Sargento Maior con 40 hombres presidiando lo recién conquistado, pasando los otros 20 por orden de su Gobernador en resguarda del Padre Pedro Comano, que tenia orden de visitar a los que el V. Padre Diego Luys de San Vitores dejó bautizados en las islas mas al Norte. En este interin se sublevaron los Naturales de la isla de Guaahan; y a su exemplo disimuladamente antes de cobra[r] el Sargento Maior noticia de aquel desastre, los recién reducidos de Agiguan, Tinian, y Zaypan se le revelaron; y primero a traicion, despues con fuerza pretendieron de matar al Sargento maior, que con 40 soldados, los mas enfermizos, presidiava esas 3 islas. Sujetó 2ª vez a los que para hacerle desmayar, avian falsamente esparcido: que los de Guaahan tenian muertos a todos: el Gobernador, Padres, y Soldados sin averseles escapado ni uno siquiera.

Para saber pues la verdad del caso, buscó trama y la halló dho Sargento maior haciendo despacho al Gobernador Damian Desplana asediado con los suyos desde 23 de Julio, que se sublevaron los de Guaahan, hasta entrado Noviembre. La respuesta fue; que desamparando lo conquistado se embarcase con la gente cuanto antes para donde estava su Gobernador. A esta orden obedecio al punto el Sargento maior, esponiendose en lo mas riguroso del año a mil peligros de perder la vida por lo debil de las embarcaciones; lo reço de los vientos, y mares en aquella sazón; lo alevoso de los que le llevaban embarcado, gente conocidamente traydora[,] çebada ya, y encarnienda con la muerte de tantos asi Religiosos, como Soldados. De los 36 que en compª del Padre Mathias Cuculino se abian embarcado, con el Sargento maior, naufragaron 15 sin poderles socorrer: Con los demas, despues de averlo todo arrojado al agua, menos las armas, cogio puerto en Agadña el ia dho Sargento maior D. Joseph de Quiroga. Lo mismo fue llegarse el, y salir su Gobernador del aprieto. Por aun aquel via mismo de su llegada se retiraron los sublevados huyendo a las islas mas al norte, por no hallar seguridad en la suya.

En 20 años, que son los que sobrevivio el aqui Gobernador Damian Desplana, con repetidas instancias se ofrecio el Sargento Maior para reducir 3ª vez aquellas islas, y sacar de ai a los que sus Naturales, despues del naufragio arriba dho, avian dejado a vida. Pero jamas lo pudo conseguir, hasta que pasado a mejor vida dho Gobernador Esplana, y recaido por particular Providencia de Su Magd. este gobierno por en interin en el Sargento Maior D. Joseph de Quiroga, luego pusiese su Merced manos a la obra. Primero redujo a la de Rota disponiendo juntamente lo que necesitava para sujetar a las demas. Los tiempos contrarios no le permitian tan presto lograr la jornada como deseaba: y no sin fuerça de armas, despues de aver pacificamente una, y mas veces requirido los que se avian acogido a lo inexpugnable (asi lo creian) de Agiguan, les entró con muerte de algunos que desesperadamente se defendian fiados en las asperezas del puesto. En castigo de los desafueros pasados, y terquedad presente despobló el ya Gobernador interino a las dos islas Tinian, y Agiguan, cuyos naturales trasportó a la de Guaahan juntamente con los que desta isla fugitivos por razon del sublevamiento en el

año de 84, se avian acogido à las dhas de Agiguan, Tinian, y Zaypan. Para venir à poblar en esta ultima, donde de hecho quedava un Religioso Sacerdote que los dotrinase de asiento, combidó el Governador interino a los que moravan mas al Norte, los quales obedeciendo a la orden, que les embiava ivan ya desamparando aquellos mogotes. Pero como el Governador de las islas Philipinas embió entre tanto desde Manila quien esto governase, no se logró entonces lo bien empeçado por el Antecesor; a quien no le quedó, sino la esperanza de que Dios N. Sr. les aya de pagar sus muchos trabajos por medio de Su Magd. siendo dellos legitimamente informado en la forma, que mas conviniere para el efecto, que de su Real munificencia con todo rendimiento se suplica, y espera.

[Certifications made in 1701]

El Padre Lorenzo Bustillo V. Provincial desta Mission de Marianas de la Compañia de Jesus certifico y doy fee como todo lo referido en este Informe es asi verdad como en el se contiene. Y para que conste donde covenga doy la presente firmada de mi nombre en esta Isla de S. Juan de Guahan y Ciudad de S. Ignacio de Agadña Cabezera de estas Islas Marianas a siete dias del mes de Mayo de mil setecientos y un años.

+ Lorenzo Bustillo +

El Padre Phelipe Maria Muscati Missionero destas dichas Islas Marianas certifica lo mismo, y lo firma de su nombre in esta dicha Ciudad dicho dia, mes, y año.

Phelipe Maria Muscati

El Padre Gerardo Bouwens de la Comp^a de JESUS, Missionero en las islas Marianas certifico, y doy fee como testigo de vista: Ser verdad todo lo que dice este informe aver obrado en estas islas el Sargento Mayor, que lo es por Su Magd., D. Joseph de Quiroga y Losada, y para que conste donde convenga, lo firmo de mi nombre en la de Zaypan una de las islas Marianas a 20 de Mayo 1701.

Gerardo Bouwens.

Translation.

Report on the services performed by the Sergeant-Major of these Mariana Islands, acting as such on behalf of His Majesty since the year 1686.

Sergeant-Major José de Quiroga y Losada, after having served His Majesty (whom may God save) as a soldier for 13 years during the wars in Flanders, where he ended up as a Second Lieutenant, in 1678 he went on to these Mariana Islands only to serve God and help with the conversion of their natives who a short time previously had peacefully received the faith of Jesus Christ. Said Sergeant-Major served God, and the King, voluntarily as of the year 1679 in such a poor land, without any self-interest, and gave outstanding proofs of his great Christianity, and courage, that by common request of everyone, in 1680, he was recommended for the post of Governor of these Islands with the rank of Captain, and in fact, he received such a commission from General Antonio Nieto. His title was later confirmed in Manila by the Governor of the Philip-

pine Islands, who was then Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado. As soon as he had taken possession of his government, and the weather allowed him, said Captain José de Quiroga undertook to subdue the Island of Rota which had been rebellious since the death of the Ven. Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores, at the instance of the most guilty men involved in the uprising of the Island of Guaahan, and the treacherous and sacrilegious murder of various Fathers ministering to them, as well as soldiers who were accompanying said Fathers as escorts.

Captain José invaded the Island of Rota and, overcoming the rough approaches to the post persistently defended by the rebels, he came out master of the land. Upon returning, he brought along some of the more guilty ones, and once he had carried out the punishment that their crimes deserved, he then executed those who had killed the Ven. Fr. Antonio María San Basilio, and taken part in the death of the Ven. Fr. Sebastian de Monroy. As for Matapang, one of the two men who had killed the Ven. Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores, the Rota people brought him in, in accordance with the order given to them by the above-mentioned Captain José; however, he died while they were at sea, from wounds he had received from them when he had resisted them. The Captain ordered that his sacrilegious hand be cut off, and that he be quartered, to serve as a lesson for the rest.

A short time later, he visited Rota a second time and punished the people of the towns that had burned the town where the Captain had been made welcome the first time. That island was so well subdued that from then on two priests were able to live there, without escorts, with a church and house in two different district centers, to which were reduced all of its natives for their own education. As far as the Island of Guaahan was concerned, as it was completely in rebellion, with the exception of the capital town of Agaña where the priests as well as the soldiers lived, the Captain arranged that same year of 1680 to have its natives reduced into towns, from the very many hamlets that were spread all over the island. Each new town had its own priest to teach the islanders. The latter, as well as the soldiers of the garrison, respected and feared Captain José de Quiroga, not only on account of his courage, but also for his virtuous and exemplary life.

The following year, 1681, Master-of-camp Antonio Saravia arrived at these islands as their Governor officially appointed by His Majesty to govern them. On this occasion, Captain José de Quiroga left for Manila. While there, the Governor of the Philippines (who was then Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado) recognized his virtue and entrusted him with the administration of the Royal Hospital, until His Lordship, at the repeated requests of Don José, finally relented and gave him permission to return to the Mariana Islands in 1683. There he was honored with the post of Sergeant-Major by Governor Saravia, shortly before God Our Lord took him to Himself, something that happened a few months later. His Lordship had left him lawfully appointed to the post of interim Governor, with the agreement of the Infantry, until such time as His Majesty would be informed and would officially appoint whomever he may wish as permanent Governor.

This appointment of Sergeant-Major José de Quiroga was contested by another man, Don Damian de Esplana, who had also been provided with the rank of Sergeant-Major and the title of interim Governor, in case of the death of the incumbent. Although he had been lawfully appointed by one who did not depend on the Philippines, he was stripped of his right, without ever complaining, or holding a grudge. To the contrary, he served Don Damian, as his Governor in everything he was allowed to do for the divine and royal service. For instance, it was at the order of Governor Esplana that Sergeant-Major José de Quiroga went to the conquest of the Islands of Tinian, Agiguan, and Saipan, with a company of 60 soldiers. Without losing any one of them, he reduced all three islands, subduing them again to the obedience of God, and of His Majesty, which they had shaken off years before.

Once said Sergeant-Major had made this conquest, he kept 40 men to garrison the recently-conquered islands, while the other 20, by order of his Governor, went to guard Father Pedro Comano, who had received an order to visit those whom the Ven. Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores had already baptized in the islands further north. Meanwhile, the natives of the Island of Guaahan rebelled but the recently-reduced people of Agiguan, Tinian, and Saipan followed their example, with much dissembling; before the Sergeant-Major had received news of the first disaster, the latter had already revealed it to him. At first, they tried to kill by treachery the Sergeant-Major and the 40 soldiers (the most sickly ones) who were garrisoning those 3 islands, and later by force. He subdued a second time those who had tried to discourage him by spreading the rumor that the people of Guaahan had killed everyone: the Governor, the Fathers, and the soldiers, and not left anyone alive.

Consequently, in order to find out the truth, the Sergeant-Major searched for a scheme by which he could make a despatch to Governor Damian de Esplana, who had then been besieged with his men since 23 July, when the people of Guaahan arose in rebellion, until the beginning of November. The answer was to the effect that he was to abandon his conquest and embark with his men as soon as possible to go where his Governor was. The Sergeant-Major obeyed this order immediately, exposing himself in the roughest part of the year to a thousand risks of losing his life on account of the weakness of the canoes, the stiffness of the winds, the heaviness of the seas in that season, and the treachery of those who were transporting him, as they are known to be treacherous people, already primed and made blood-thirsty with the murders of so many religious, as well as soldiers. Out of the 36 men who accompanied Father Mathias Cuculino and had boarded canoes with the Sergeant-Major, 15 were shipwrecked without anyone else being able to help them. With the remaining men, after he had thrown everything overboard, except the weapons, said Sergeant-Major José de Quiroga made port in Agaña. His arrival meant that his Governor was out of a tight fix. Indeed, as soon as he arrived, the rebellious people withdrew and fled to the islands further north, because they could no longer find safety in their own island.

During the 20 years that Governor Damian de Esplana was alive, the Sergeant-Major offered many times to go to the reduction of those islands a third time, and to

rescue from there the survivors of the above-mentioned shipwreck who were still alive, but he could never get satisfaction, until said Governor Esplana went on to a better life. By special provision from His Majesty, this government by interim then fell upon Sergeant-Major José de Quiroga, who lost no time in getting to work. Firstly, he reduced the Island of Rota, and at the same time planned to subdue the other islands. However, the contrary weather did not let him achieve the desired expedition, but, after having conquered one peacefully, and many times summoned those who had sought refuge in Agiguan Island which they thought to be impregnable, he attacked them, causing the death of a few who persisted in defending it, trusting in the roughness of their position. As a punishment for their past misdeeds, and their present resistance, the then-Governor by interim depopulated the two islands of Tinian and Agiguan, whose natives he transported to Guaahan, along with those from this island [i.e. Saipan] who were fugitives from the 1684 rebellion, when they had joined those of said islands of Agiguan, Tinian, and Saipan. The interim Governor then invited the people who lived further north to come and settle in the latter island, where in fact one religious priest remained to act as their permanent curate. They did obey the order that was sent to them, as they were already in the process of abandoning those bare islets. However, since the Governor of the Philippines in the meantime sent someone to be the new Governor here, what had been so well undertaken by his predecessor did not then succeed completely. The latter was left with only the hope that God our Lord would eventually repay him for his many hardships, through the intervention of His Majesty, once he had been lawfully informed about them, in the most effective manner, something which is being humbly sought, and hoped for.

[Certifications made in 1701]

I, Father Lorenzo Bustillo, Vice-Provincial of this Mariana Mission of the Society of Jesus, do certify and vouch for everything mentioned in the present report as being the truth. And, for whom it may concern, I have affixed my signature to the present, at this Island of San Juan of Guahan and in the City of San Ignacio of Agaña, the capital of these Mariana Islands, on the 7th day of the month of May of the year 1701.

+ Lorenzo Bustillo +

I, Father Felipe María Muscati, missionary in these Mariana Islands, do certify the same thing, and I sign it with my name in this same City, on same date.

Felipe Maria Muscati

I, Father Gerardo Bouwens of the Society of Jesus, missionary in the Mariana Islands, as an eyewitness, do certify and vouch for the truth of everything said in this report about the work done by the man officially appointed as Sergeant-Major of these Islands, Don José de Quiroga y Losada, and for whom it may concern, I sign my name in the Island of Saipan, one of the Mariana Islands, on the 20th of May 1701.

Gerardo Bouwens.

Note 1700F

Letters from Fr. Tilpe in Rota

F1. Letter dated 27 April 1700

Source: ARSI Phil. 20, fol. 338-354, more or less.

[Will be published in the Supplementary volume]

F2. Letter dated 26 October 1700

Source: ARSI Phil. 14, fol. 73 (112).

Note: He mentions the spiritual favors received, and the fugitives from Guam who were hiding in the interior of Rota.

[Will be published in the Supplementary volume]

Documents 1700G

The Queen wants the arrears in salaries of the missionaries to be paid up

Sources: AGI Fil. 341, libro 8, fol. 162v-168, pp. 396-407; AGN Californias, vol. 26, fol. 25, 31-39v.

G1. Letter from the Queen Regent to the Viceroy of New Spain, dated Madrid 20 November 1700

Original text in Spanish.

Al Virrey de N^a Esp^a ordenandole aga pagar a los Procuradores Generales de la Compañia de Jhs de aquellas Provincias, Islas Philipinas y Marianas lo que se les estubiere deudo de espendios y sinodos y situados.—Con duplicado [al] Procurador de la Compañia de Jhs.

La Reyna y Governadores

Don Joseph Sarmiento de Balladares Virrey Governador y Capitan General de las Provincias de la N^a España y Presidente de la Audiencia de Mexico.

Alonso de Quiros de la Compañia de Jhs Procurador General por su Religion ha representado que havindose ocurrido por los Procuradores Generales de esas Provincias, Islas Philipinas y Marianas ante vos y Oficiales Reales de esa Ciudad solizitando se les diese satisfazion de 11,599 pesos y 3 tomines que se les estavan deviendo de los estipendios y sinodos situados para la congrua sustentazion de los Religiosos que se emplean en las combersiones de infieles y el vino y azeyte para zelebrar y alumbrar el Santissimo Sacramento no havia tenido efecto su instançia con el motivo de los socorros y necezidades publicas de ese Reyno como constaria del Testimonio que presentava y que respecto de hallarse con unos atrasos tan grandes por no tener otra cosa con que mantenerse puede redundar en faltar el pasto espiritual. las almas, suplicava se mandase pagar lo que se le estubiese deviendo de atrasados y que se les asista anualmente con el situado que los esta señalado.

Y visto en el Consejo de las Indias con lo que dijo el Fiscal y considerando ser una de las primeras obligaciones la satisfazion puntual de estos situados tan principal y de justicia y conziençia: ha parecido deçiros la justa novedad y deparo que a causado se

haya faltado a ello interponiendo una demora tan notable, y que asi en esta inteligencia luego que recivais este despacho sin dilacion ni replica alguna dispongais (como seos manda) se pague enteramente lo que se esta devido de atrasados a estos Religiosos de todos y qualesquier caudales existentes y mas prontos de Real Hazienda que huviere en las Cajas Reales de esa Ciudad con preferencia à qualquier acreedor à ella y a quanto estubiere librado; y para que en lo venidero no se falte a la puntual satisfacion de esta paga como es justo y razon se os encarga especialmente deis las ordenes nezesarias para que assi sea; estando en inteligencia de que por si por Vuestra parte no se ejecuta inmediatamente lo referido en este se a mandado a Ofiziales Reales lo hagan ellos por si, y que para en caso que por vos y ellos no se hiziere se previene a esa Audiencia lo disponga luego y se pasara a ejecutar una demostracion que sirva de ejemplo en los que por omision o Comision tubieren àtrasada la asistencia y satisfacion de este situado tan justo y de tan santa aplicacion.

Fha en Madrid a 20 de Noviembre de 1700.

Yo la Reyna, el Cardenal Porto Carrero Fray Don Manuel Arias; Don Fernando de Aragon, el Obispo Inquisitor general; Don Rodrigo Manuel Manrique de Lara; el Conde de Benavente.

Por mandado de S.M. y Governadores,

Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Señalado del Consejo.

Translation.

To the Viceroy of New Spain, ordering him to arrange payment to the Procurators General of the Society of Jesus for those Provinces, for the Philippine and Mariana Islands, what is outstandingly due them by way of stipends, sinodals and subsidies.— With a duplicate for the Procurator of the Society of Jesus.

The Queen [Regent] and Governors

[To] Don José Sarmiento de Valladares, Viceroy Governor and Captain General of the Provinces of New Spain and President of the Audiencia of Mexico.

Alonso de Quirós of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General for his Order, has represented, after having appeared before you and the royal officials of that City on behalf of the Procurators General of those Provinces, Philippine and Mariana Islands, and solicited satisfaction for the 11,599 pesos and 3 tomins that were due them for stipends, sinodals and subsidies for the food and other allowances of the Religious who are employed in the conversion of the gentiles and the wine and oil to celebrate mass and provide light for the Holy Sacrament, his request was not dealt with, on account of the succors and public needs of that Kingdom, as shown in the Record of proceedings that he remitted, and that, in view of finding themselves with such great deficits, the lack of other resources to maintain themselves could in turn affect the spiritual nourishment provided to souls. He therefore begged that orders be given to have the dues paid up and that they be assisted yearly with the subsidy earmarked for them.

And this matter having been seen in the Council of the Indies, along with what the Fiscal said about it, and in view of the fact that the prompt satisfaction of these subsidies is such a primary obligation, and a matter of principle, justice and conscience, we have decided to tell you of the just indignation that such a remarkable delay has caused in us, and that, as soon as you are informed of the contents of this despatch, without any delay or retort, you are to arrange (as you are so ordered) to have any amount due to these Religious paid up, out of every and any funds, available or as soon as collected by the Royal Treasury and becoming available in the royal funds of that City with preference given to any creditor and for whatever sum due him; and in order to avoid in future any failure to make this payment promptly, as is just and reasonable, we specially entrust you to give the necessary orders to have it done thus. You are to understand that, if such not be carried out immediately on your part, by the same despatch the Royal officials have been ordered to do so on their own authority, and in case it be left undone by both you and them, the Audiencia there should then arrange for it and then an exemplary punishment will be brought upon those who, out of omission or commission, might delay the assistance and satisfaction of this subsidy, so just and for such a holy application.

Made at Madrid, on 20 November 1700.

I, the Queen; Cardinal Portocarrero; Fray Don Manuel Arias; Don Fernando de Aragon; the Bishop Inquisitor General; Don Rodrigo Manuel Manrique de Lara; Count Benavente.

By order of Her Majesty and Governors,

Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Countersigned by the Council.

G2. Letter from the Queen Regent to the Royal Officials of Mexico, dated Madrid 20 November 1700

[Same message, except for the following particular order:]

Original text in Spanish.

...
Ha parezido haveros avisado para que os halleis con esta noticia y advertiros de si el Virrey lo dilatare con algun motivo lo haveis de haver vosotros segun y como queda expresado sin que para ello sea necesario otra orden que esta asi lo tendreis entendido para su cumplimiento y que se pasara a ejecutar una demostracion que sirva de ejemplo en los que por omision o Comision tubieren atrasada la asistencia y satisfazion de este situado tan justo, y de tan santa aplicazion.

Etc.

Translation of the above paragraph.

...
 We have decided to advise you by the presents that if the Viceroy were to delay execution of same for any reason, you are to carry it out on your own in accordance with the manner expressed therein, without the need for any further order, and you are to understand in the same vein concerning its execution and that otherwise an exemplary punishment will be brought upon those who, out of omission or commission, might delay the assistance and satisfaction of this subsidy, so just and for such a holy application.

Etc.

G3. Letter from the Queen Regent to the Audiencia of Mexico, dated Madrid 20 November 1700

[Same message, except for the following particular order:]

Original text in Spanish.

...
Ha parezido avisaros para que os halleis con esta notiçia y advertiros de que si el Virrey y Ofiziales Reales faltaren a poner en ejecuzion lo que se les ordena con algun motivo o pretexto lo haveis de hazer vosotros segun y como queda espresado sin que para ello sea nezesario otra orden que esta, asi lo tendreis entendido para su cumplimiento y que se pasara a ejecutar una demostraçion que sirva de ejemplo en los que por omision ó comision tubieren atrasada la asistencia y satisfazion.

Etc.

Translation of the above paragraph.

...
 We have decided to advise you by the presents that if the Viceroy and the Royal officials should fail to carry out what they have been ordered to do for any reason or pretext, you yourselves must carry it out, in accordance with the manner expressed therein, without the need for any further order, and you are to understand that otherwise an exemplary punishment will be brought upon those who, out of omission or commission, might delay the assistance and satisfaction.

Etc.

Documents 1700H

Subsidy for the Marianas, for 1700

H1. Copy of the approved budget for 1700

Source: AGN AHH 1241/1, fol. 106-110v.

Original text in Spanish.

Señores Juezes Ofiziales de la Real Hazienda de las Islas Filipinas.

*Cumpliendo lo mandado por el Exmo. Sor. Conde de Moctezuma Virrey deste Reyno en despacho de dos de febrero deste año refrendado de Thomas Fernandez de Guerra procedemos a formar carta quenta del socorro à esas Islas en el presente galeon Capitana nombrado **San Francisco Xavier Principe del Mar** del cargo del General Miguel Martinez segun se sigue:*

Partidas que componen los dosçientos y cinquenta mil pesos del Situado.

Islas Marianas.

Treinta un mil quatrocientos y treinta pesos cinco tomines, y un grano librados.— Diez mil ocho cientos y ochenta pesos cinco tomines y un grano de ellos a quinze Religiosos trece Sacerdotes y dos Coadjutores de la Compañia de Jesus Misioneros de Marianas para su congrua y mantenimiento de dos Seminarios uno de niños y otro de niñas todo este año de mil y setecientos; y para el vino azeyte, y cera con que el pasado de mil seiscientos y noventa y nueve devieron celebrar el Santo Sacrificio de la misa y alumbrar al Santissimo Sacramento del altar en las Yglesias de aquella mision y delante de nueve sagrarios existentes en ella.—Ochocientos y veinte y cinco pesos al Governador de aquellas Islas en interin por su sueldo de un año cumplido a fin de Julio del presente, mitad de mil seiscientos y cinquenta pesos asignados a los propietarios.—Otros ocho cientos y veinte y cinco pesos al Sarxento mayor de dhas Islas por su sueldo de un año segun la asignacion que tiene hecha.—Y los diez y ocho mil y novecientos pesos retantes a los sesenta soldados de aquel Presidio por sus sueldos de todo este dho presente año respecto cada uno de trescientos y quinze pesos que les estan señalados

..... 31,430p 5t 1.

...

*Guarde Dios a V.Ms. muchos años.
Mexico a 20 de Marzo de 1700.
Besa la mano de V.Ms. sus servidores,
Antonio Juan Deza Ulloa.
Joseph Francisco Canal.
Joseph de Urrutia.*

Translation.

Gentlemen Official Judges of the Royal treasury of the Philippine Islands.

In compliance with an order of His Excellency the Count of Moctezuma, Viceroy of this Kingdom, dated 2 February of this year, countersigned by Thomas Fernandez de Guerra, we proceeded to work on the Letter of accounts for the succor of those Islands to be sent aboard the present flagship galleon named **San Francisco Xavier, Principe del Mar** under the command of General Miguel Martinez, as follows:

Entries making up the 250,000 pesos of the Subsidy.

...

Mariana Islands.

A total of 31,430 pesos 5 tomins and 1 grain released:

—10,880 pesos 5 tomins and 1 grain of which to the 15 Religious, 13 priests and 2 coadjutors, of the Society of Jesus, missionaries in the Marianas, for their sustenance and the maintenance of two Seminaries, one for boys and the other for girls, for the whole of this year 1700; and for the wine, oil and wax with which last year 1699 they were to have celebrated the holy sacrifice of the mass and kept lamps burning before the most holy sacrament of the altar in the churches of that mission and in the sanctuaries that exist there;

—825 pesos to the interim Governor of those Islands for his salary for one year ending at the end of July of this year, half of the 1,650 pesos assigned to permanent governors;

—825 more pesos to Sergeant-Major of said Islands for his salary of one year, according to his regular assignment;

—And 18,900 remaining pesos to the 60 soldiers of that Garrison for their salaries for the whole of this year, at the rate of 315 pesos each which is their regular allotment:

..... 31,430p 5t 1.

...

May God save Your Graces for many years.
Mexico, 20 March 1700.
Your servants who kiss the hand of Your Graces,
Antonio Juan Deza Ulloa
Joseph Francisco Canal
Joseph de Urrutia.

Subsidies for the 1701-1709 period.

The subsidy for 1701 was 31,316p 3t 9g, as stated in the same source (ref. folio 144v).

The subsidy for 1702 was 32,188 p 1t 4g (folio 194v).

In 1703, it was 31,978p 6t 7g (ref. fol. 226).

In 1704, it was 32,515p 4t 3g (ref. AHH 1241/2, fol. 5v).

In 1705, it was 33,185p 1t 5g (ref. fol. 37).

In 1707, there were 2,000 pesos for the exploration of the Carolines, and 66,091p 5t for the Marianas, for 1706 and 1707 (ref. fol. 77v-78).

In 1709, there 2,000 pesos for the exploration of the Carolines, and 7,481p 4t for the Mariana Mission only, plus 20,550 pesos for the garrison (ref. fol. 154v-155).

H2. Manifest of the galleon San Francisco Xavier

Source: AGN AHH 332.

Original text in Spanish.

Certificacion de el registro de la Real Hazienda de lo que se embarco en partidas del Año de 1700.

*En la Ciudad y Puerto de Acapulco â veinte y siete de Marzo de mill y setecientos y ante mi el escribano y testigos, el Sargento mayor Don Joseph de Aguirre Maestre del Galeon Capitana de Philipinas **San Francisco Javier** surto en este Puerto a quien doi feê: conosco[,] rexistro las piessas siguientes:*

—sesenta y nueve piessas con la marca del marjen de n° uno â sesenta y nueve, que se componen de dos tercios de suela; quatro barriles; tres surrones; tres tersios de fierro; un cajon de dos baras y una quarta de largo, angosto; y sinquenta y seis caxones; a entregar al Padre Antonio de Borja Procurador General de la Provincia de Philipinas, ô al que le fuere de ella;

—Y para los Colejios de la Jubentud de las Ysllas Marianas sinquenta y nueve piessas con la segunda marca, de n° uno â sinquenta y nueve, que se componen de: un tersio de suela; dies y siete tersios enguangochados; treinta y nueve caxas; y otros dos de jaban;

—Y al Procurador que es ô fuere de dha Provincia dies y seis piessas con la tersera marca que esta del marjen de n° uno â dies y seis, y se componen de dies caxas; un barril; un tersio con tres barrilitos; tres surrones; y un tersio enjergado;

—Con mas doze mill setecientos setenta y tres pesos de oro comun en Reales por otros tantos que ha ymportado en este reyno las rentas de dha Provincia del año passado de nobenta y nueve; en que se yncluía parte de la limosna que S.Mgd. da â los Padres Misioneros, Sargento mayor, colejio de Niños y Niñas de dhas Ysllas Marianas;

—Mill quatrocientos quarenta y quatro pesos quatro thomines y media consignados al Padre Gaspar Marco de dha Comp^a, Procurador del Colejio de San Ygnacio de Manila ô al que estubiere en su lugar; Por otros tantos que ban ymportado las rentas que en este reyno tiene dho Colejio del año passado de nobenta y nueve; que confesa

tener â bordo de dho Galeon en el pañol de la Plata; y se obliga â que llevandole Dios con vien al Puerto de Cavite, u otro de dhas Yslas donde hisiere su derecho descarga, dara y entregara lo referido segun ba expressado; con su persona y bienes havidos y por haver en toda forma sumision y poderio a las Justisias, y renunsiacion de leyes de su fuero y general, del derecho y otorga partida de rexistro y lo firmo[.] testigos Agustin de Valdez[.] Francisco Lopez y Manuel de Arcos.

Joseph de Aguirre

Ante mi Manuel de Molina el escrivano Real y de Real Hazienda.

Conquerda con la partida de rexistro original de que doi fey:

Y hago mi signo en testimonio de verdad:

Manuel de Molina, escrivano Real de Real Hazienda.

[Note in margin:] *Asi fico y doi fee que las dos partidas de las sessenta y nueve piezas y las cinquenta y nueve se an de entregar la primera de ellas a los Padres misioneros de las Yslas Marianas y las dhas de cinquenta y nueve al Vice Provincial de dhas Yslas que es o fuere, porque fue equivoco al asenttar la partida de este registro.*

Manuel de Molina, escrivano Real de Real Hazienda.

Translation.

Certificate of the manifest of the Royal treasury concerning the shipment under the entries for the year 1700.

In the City and Port of Acapulco, on 27 March 1700: Before me the notary and witnesses, Sergeant-Major Don Joseph de Aguirre, master of the Philippine galleon and flagship **San Francisco Xavier** anchored in this port, whom I know and vouch for, registered the following pieces:

S
MR P:P

—69 pieces with the mark in margin, from n° 1 to 69, that consist of 2 half-loads of sole-leather; 4 barrels; 3 pouches; 3 half-loads of iron; 1 crate whose length is 2-1/4 yards, but narrow; and 56 crates: to be delivered to Father Antonio de Borja, Procurator General of the Province of the Philippines, or to whomever may then be in that port;¹

S
MR CC-

—And for the Colleges of the youth of the Mariana Islands 59 pieces with the second mark, from n° 1 to 59, that consist of 1 half-load of sole-leather; 17 half-loads in oil-cloth; 39 boxes; and 2 more of soap;

§

—And to whomever may be Procurator of said Province 16 pieces with the third mark in margin, from n° 1 to 16, that consist of 10 boxes; 1 barrel; 1 half-load with 3 small barrels; 3 pouches; and 1 half-load wrapped in cloth;

—Along with 12,773 pesos of common gold in cash, representing the investment income accrued to said Province in this kingdom last year 1699;

1 Ed. note: See note below.

in which is included part of the alms that His Majesty gives to the missionary Fathers, the Sergeant-Major, the college for boys and girls of said Mariana Islands;

—1,444 pesos 4-1/2 tomins consigned to Father Gaspar Marco of said Society, Procurator of the College of San Ignacio in Manila, or to whomever may be in his place; that too represents investment income in this kingdom accruing to said College this past year of 1699, which he confessed that he holds aboard said galleon inside the storage area reserved for silver; and he obliges himself, God willing to let him reach the port of Cavite, or another port in said Islands, where he would unload legally, to give and deliver the above-mentioned, pledging his person and property, present and future, and to submit same in due form to justices, waiving his rights under the law, and he checked and signed the corresponding entry in the manifest, being witnesses Augustin de Valdez, Francisco Lopez, and Manuel de Arcos.

Joseph de Aguirre

Before me, Manuel de Molina, royal notary and notary of the Royal treasury.

This is a certified copy of the entry in the original manifest, of which I vouch:

And in faith whereof, I have affixed my signature:

Manuel de Molina, royal notary of the Royal treasury.

[Note in margin:] Likewise I vouch for the fact that the two entries referring to the 69 pieces and the 59 pieces must be delivered [instead], the former to the missionary Fathers of the Mariana Islands and the 59 pieces to the Vice-Provincial of said Islands, whomever he may be, because a mistake was made in writing down this entry in this manifest.

Manuel de Molina, Royal notary of the Royal treasury.

Documents 1701A

Eulogy of the Chamorro Colonel Antonio Ayihi

Note: His last name was also written Ayhi, Ayiji, or Ayigi, which reflect the same pronunciation as Ayihi in Spanish. This Chamorro is the only one to have achieved the rank of full Colonel during the Spanish regime, but his command applied only to native soldiers.

A1. Letter from Fr. Bustillo to Fr. Alonso de Quiros, dated Mariana Islands 29 May 1702

Source: RAH 9/2678, doc. n° 11.

Original text in Spanish.

Mi P. Procurador General Alonso de Quiros.

P.C.

El año pasado no hubo mas tiempo que para dar noticia de la muerte del que fue Amparo y Padre y columna firmissima desta Mision y Christiandad Mariana M[ae]str[e] de Campo Don Antonio de Ayigi [sic] y el breve compendio, que fue de sus hechos y virtudes. Este año, recogiendo noticias de los PP. desta Religion, se le ha hecho el Elogio adjunto, que por mano de V.R. ba a mi Padre y con-novicio Padre Bartholome de Alcazar, a quien nos dice N.P. Genl. remitamos semejantes cosas destas Islas Marianas y Mayo 29 de 1702.

Muy siervo de V.R.

+

+ Lorenzo Bustillo +

Translation.

My dear Fr. Procurator General Alonso de Quirós.

P.C.

Last year there was only enough time to report the death of the man who was the Refuge, the Father and very solid column of this Mission and Christian community of

the Marianas, Master-of-camp Don Antonio de Ayigi, along with a brief compendium of what constituted his deeds and virtues. This year, after notices were collected from the Fathers of this Order, the enclosed eulogy was written up. You are to forward it to my Father and former colleague in the novitiate, Father Bartolomé de Alcazar; our Fr. General has instructed us to mail such things to him.

From these Mariana Islands, 29 May 1702.

Y.R.'s humble servant,

+

+ Lorenzo Bustillo +

A2. The eulogy itself

Sources: Idem, as for A1; also in ARSI Phil. 20, fol. 355-362.

Note: In square brackets are words found only in the ARSI copy, whereas {this type of brackets} are used for words appearing only in the RAH copy.

Original text in Spanish.

Elogio de D. Antonio de [Aguiji] {Ayigi Teniente de Capitan General y} Maestro de Campo de los Naturales de Marianas, difunto a 15 de Abril de 1701 [años].

El día 15 de Abril del año de 1701 quiso Nuestro Señor llevar para sí, como de su misericordia esperamos al buen Don Antonio Aguiji Indio Principal de esta ysla de Guaahan, Guan, ò S. Juan: a quien el Rey Nuestro Señor por sus grandes meritos honro con el titulo de Teniente de Capitan General de los Yndios de estas Yslas Marianas; y con la insignia de la medalla para su hijo mayor, ò el que eligiese: y el Sr. Governador de Philippinas Don Juan de Bargas Hurtado con el de Maestro de Campo de los mismos Naturales de estas Yslas; y a quien Dios Nuestro Señor avrà dado en el cielo el premio correspondiente a sus grandes virtudes dignas de ser celebradas de Nosotros para la comun edificacion de Todos.

Porque sí, y con tanta razon, la Historia del Paraguay celebra al famoso Guiray,¹ que por sacar salvo è indemne de entre los flechazos, que le venian tirando los enemigos al Ven. Padre Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, se vistio la ropa y bonete del Padre, y poniendose de negro, quedò hecho blanco de los flecheros, mientras el Padre se ponía en cobro: Y si el Padre Juan de Lucena en la vida, que escrivio de S. Francisco Xavier² le haze lenguas de Don Manuel[,] corregidor de Ative por aver mantenido, y conservado con su animo, exemplo, favor y consejo la Fee en el Amboino; y si Don Gonzalo Indio Principal en Philippinas merece la Alabanza, que le da el Padre Francisco Colin en la Historia de Philippinas³ por haver sacado de los mntes los Niños montarizillos, y domesticado, y enseñado en su casa la doctrina Christiana; y si finalmente el Rey de Bungo Don Francisco, primer parto de S. Francisco Xavier en el Japon tenía por sierto averle Dios hecho la merced de hazerle Christiano,⁴ y tan buen Christiano como fue, por aver, siendo mozo, y gentil, salvoles la vida a siete Portugueses, que por robarlos querian matar los Japones: Licencia tenemos de celebrar assimismo à Don Antonio Aguiji, a quien no uno sino muchos de

1 Historia Paraquariæ: L.7.c.12.

2 Lib.4.c.1.

3 Lib.3.c.10.

4 Padre Luc: ibid. Lib.9.c.13.

*los Padres de esta Mission Mariana deben la vida en medio de tantas muertes, como ha auido en estas Yslas; y hazernos lenguas de su animo, exemplo, favor y consejo, con que ha mantenido, y conservado la Feè en ellas; y darle la alabanza, que mereze por su gran zelo, con que no solo a los niños apartava de las costumbres paternas y gentilicas y por su mano llevava a los Colegios Para que fuesssen enseñados y puestos en las Christianas, sino que a los mismos adultos convertia, y ponía en camino de Salvacion; y tener por cierto averle Dios hecho Christiano, y tambien Christiano como veremos, fue por la Caridad natural que avia antes de serlo exercito con los Christianos naufragos que quedaron en estas Yslas de la Nao **Concepcion**, que se perdió en Saypan; de cuya conversacion y trato avia ya aprendido à alabar à Dios y à venerar a los Ministros del Evangelio. Y assi luego, que el Ven. Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores saltò en tierra año de 1668, el buen Antonio con un rostro muy apacible se llegó a darle a el, y a sus Compañeros la bienvenida, diciendo: **Alabado sea el SSmó. Sacramento.** Cosa que les causò notable ad-[fol. 355v] -miracion, y ternura. Echole el Ven. Padre los brazos, y como quien ya le tenia colado y dado el corazon, le dixo en su lengua: *O! que bueno es el Aguihi; y que lindo es el corazon y las entrañas que tiene! mas el no aziendo caso de sus alabanzas, con mucha entereza y affeccion entrañable les dixo a los PPes: Padres míos, yo soy de este pueblo de Agadña, allí esta mi casa, ella, y quanto ay en ella es Vuestro; y aqui me teneis a mi, para quanto me quieredes mandar, que lo executare, como vereis por las obras: porque lo digo de todo mi carazon, gosama(?), os estima, y quiere. Promessa, y offerta, que a la medida de su generoso, y caritativo natural, con que Dios le avia prevenido, cumplio tan abundante, y colmadamente como iremos viendo en el rudo bosquejo, que voy à formar de sus excellentes virtudes, que assi Theologales como Cardenales posseyo en grado muy eminente.**

§ I. De su grande, y constante Feè

De esta consta, que desde que la professò en el bautismo, que recibio muy entre los primeros, como tan bien dispuesto para la gracia, jamas faltò ni un apice a ella: antes si alegre con el rico tesoro, que avia hallado en ella, pues es la Substancia de los que hemos de esperar;¹ no solo procuro de adelantarse mucho en ella, sino que ella fuesse adelantada muy mucho hasta alcanzar à todos los naturales de estas Yslas. Para cuyo affecto desempeñò muy bien su palabra, que dio a los PPes ofreciendoles su casa, hazienda, y à su mesma persona para todo quanto lo huviessen menester: porque luego, que empezaron andar en Misiones, les fue acompañando por mar y por tierra, y conduciendolos a ysla en Ysla, y de pueblo en pueblo cargava el los ornamentos, y siendo menester por los rios, que encontravan a los mismos PPes a quienes de camino instruía del modo con que se avian de aver con estos Indios para ganarlos y reducirlos. Y en esso ha perseverado tan fiel y constante, que sino es para la precisa asistencia de sus obligaciones, jamas en todas nuestras peregrinaciones, peligros y trabajos se apartò de nuestro lado. Y quando veía que los Missioneros avian de apartarse los unos de los otros, y repartirse por las Yslas, y pueblos, quisiera tambien, si fuera possible, dividirse a si en otros tantos, como eran los PPes para acompañar los à donde quiera que cada uno fuesse à Misiones. Y ya que esso no estava en su mano, no cessava de acompañar ya à uno, ya à otro, conforme veía la necesidad, y adelantar la predicacion de la Feè por medio de los Missioneros, y facilitarles la impresa con ganarles con su asistencia y autoridad las voluntades de los Yndios, a quienes ivan à predicar.

Con este continuo exercicio de acompañar a los Missioneros fue muy adelante en la dotrina Don Antonio, y al passo, que se adelantava en ella, adelantava se tambien en el zelo de comunicarla y enseñ-

1 Est fides sperandadum substantia rerum. Hebr. 11.

arla a otros por si mismo haziendo el officio de Catechista iendoles a los suyos por delante con la doctrina Christiana; y luego el de Predicador, exhortando y amonestando à los bien inclinados a que la recibiesen; y reprehendiendo à los rehazos [sic], y afeandoles sus vicios, y costumbres gentílicas, a que en trueque de ella las depusiesen. Y esto, lo hazia con tal energia y fervor, como pudiera el mas zeloso Missionero [fol. 356] sin temer el peligro de perder la vida, a que varias vezes se expuso por esta causa. Y en una irritados de sus amonestaciones los Indios de Ritiyan le acometieron furiosos a ahogarle, de cuyas manos con todo su valor y fuerzas, que tenia de gigante, mal se huviera dessassido, si Dios, que disponia probar su Feè en el Crysol de las persecuciones, no le huviera sacado de ellas.¹

Fueron estas las repetidas sublevaciones de estos Ysleños, en las quales assi como el incendio se aviva mas con los soplos, se aviveva, ardia y resplandeva mas el ardor de la Feè y lealtad de Don Antonio para con entrambas Magestades Divina, y humana, sin que en tantos alzamientos, y guerras, como hubo, se dexasse desquiciar un punto, ni de la una, ni de la otra. Sentia entrañablemente en estas alteraciones los atrassamientos de la predicacion Evangelica; y enternecidamente se compadecia de los peligros, y trabajos, que de ay se originavan a los Ministros de ella: y para evitar lo uno, y lo otro ponía todo su ahinco en hazerse Angel de Paz entre las partes encontradas. Por esso al menor resquicio, que llegasse à su Noticia, de algun alboroto, con grande sagacidad, y maña procurava desvanecerlo, templar los animos de los Sentidos, y reducir à razon a los alborotados. Y viendo que ciegos y pertinazes no la admitian por llevar adelante su mal intento, al instante nos dava parte de ello, avisando a los Seglares y Soldados del modo con que se avian de portar para la defensa; y que no temiessen por mas gritos, que les diessen al embestir: porque no eran mas que voces, y aullidos, que ellos usan en sus peleas; que jugassen muy bien las armas de fuego; porque en hiriendo algunos, se huirian todos. Yo, dezia, **vivirè entre ellos para atender à todos sus designios, y escabullendome entre ellos, quando esten durmiendo de noche y aun de dia, sinque lo sientan, vendre repetidas vezes, y avisarè de todo.** Como lo hizo, viniendo ya de dia ya de noche, y siempre cargado de comida para el sustento de los nuestros, y daba parte de lo acordado entre los enemigos; y por donde intentavan dar el assalto. Aconsejava pues, que por aquel lado se pudiessen buenos arcabuzeros, que los roziassen muy bien, y los hiziessen bolver con las manos en la cabeza. Y al instante que avida tal roziadura assi bolvian al pueblo, venia el mismo à toda priessa y acercandose al Real danzava de contento, dando con esto señas de la vitoria, que nuestras armas avian conseguido, y del descalabro, que los suyos con muerte de tantos, y con otros tantos de heridos avian padecido, cosa, con que todos quedavan muy amedrentados.

No podían estas idas y venidas hazerse con tanto dissimulo, y secreto, que no llegassen sino à sentir-las, à sospecharlas por lo menos los malcontentos: y sentidor de ello no dexavan de traerle entre ojos, y observarle los passos para acortarlos de la comunicacion, de que se rezelavan, tenia con los dos Campos poniendole espías y assechanzas a dondequiera que se bolviessen. Notablemente se hallò afligido con estas cautelas; mayormente en una ocasion, en que era importantissimo dar al Capitan Governador de las armas aviso del intento, que tenian los amotinados. Y no pudiendo por tierra, por tenerle tomados los passos el enemigo; embiole à dezir al Cabo Governador que tuviesse prevenida una embarcacion a la [fol. 356v] lengua del agua, que el haziendo de quien iba à pescar, iria en otra por mar a dar aviso, que importava y que al instante que le columbrasse, embiasse en ella algunos soldados [con] sus armas car-

1 Cum exurimur persecutionis ardore, tunc probamur de fidei tenore. Ters. S.(?) de Fuga in persecut. c.3.

gadas sin bala, y que le enderezassen a el con ademan de que ivan à cogerlo; por[que] en llegando les daria el aviso: y que forzesassen, como que le abordavan por apressarlo, y que en huyendo y escapandose los de entre las manos la disparassen las armas, como quien tira à matar la pressa que se le va. Sucedió assi todo, y quanto avisò salio verdad, è importò muchissimo porque con las noticias, que dio, se consiguió una excelente vitoria. Fue este ardid para deslumbrar a los suyos, que estavan a la mira, y para no faltar a la Fee y lealtad que professava con los Nuestrros: y al passo que por ella lo estimavan, y respetavan estos, se recatavan y rezelavan de el aquellos: porque como observan mal se retiravan de la luz.

En la ultima conjuracion, que sucedió el año de 84 y fue la mas cruenta y carnicera, que ha avido en estas yslas, y comenzò en la de Guaahan, y de ay saltò por todas, estava ausente el Fidelissimo Don Antonio que a hallarse presente, no se atreviera, ni llegara à tanto, como llegó la avilantez de los amotinados. Avia ido con el Ven. Padre Pedro Cumano a las Yslas del Norte, que llaman de Gani, para reduzir a los moradores dellos a la de Guaahan; con 25 soldados, que entre sacados de el Presidio, que avia en Saypan, ivan de escolta embarcados en bancas de Indios de Guaahan. Los quales noticiados de la sublevacion, y mortandad executada ya en Guaahan, y requeridos à hazerla misma en los Soldados, y en el Padre que ivan a su cargo, echandolos a la mar: lo que unicamente cautelavan para lograr su dañado intento, era, no fuesse, que por algun assomo aprendasse Antonio Aguiji el secreto. Y porque hasta de su presencia se rezelavan al hazerse a la vela en la Ysla de Alamagan, trazaron de que entre las primeras embarcaciones que saliessen fuesse la de Don Antonio fingiendo, que se embarcaria en otra, ò con el Padre y a el lo dexasse en tierra. Porque mientras el venia, y buscava en donde embarcasse harian ellos el hecho à su salvo, sin que nadie se lo estorvasse. Todo le sizo assi, y viniendo Don Antonio, y viendo desde la playa la traicion, que se executava, sin poderla remediar, la sintio por estremo. Y ya que aquello no tenia remedio, puso todo su cuydado en que lo tuviesse el Padre que por lo que passava, venia arribando, y en busca del. Recibiole Don Antonio y llevole en casa de un correspondiente suyo para guarecerle en ella, por si acaso volvian los traidores a quitarle la vida. Estuvieronse aqui algunas semanas dando y tomando que harian, ò adonde irian? Y lo que assentaron fue, que Don Antonio se fuesse à Guaahan, y hallando las cosas para ello viniessse a llevarle al Padre. A quien al irse dexò muy encomendado a su correspondiente, prometiendolo mucha hazienda por si se lo guardava, hasta que volviesse à llevarselo. Y embarcado solo y unico en una banca, y sin tocar en ninguna de las Yslas interjacentes llegó con bien al cabo de quatro dias à Guaahan; y hallando las cosas en mucho mejor estado de lo que se avia esparcido, y era, que todos assi Padres como soldados con su Governador quedaban muertos, se holgò sobre manera, y no desseava otra cosa mas, que bolver quanto antes à Gani [fol. 357] y traer à su querido Padre Pedro. Pero como Dios tenia escogido à su R para la Corona, que le estava aguardando en Saypan, faltole à Don Antonio la licencia con que ir para traerle. Quedò pues, y todo lo que pudo, trabajò en la restauracion de lo perdido; y en medio de tantos affanes y trabajos viesse no solo restaurado esto, sino tambien reduzidas à todas las Yslas que caen debaxo del nombre de Marianas à Nuestra Santa Feè, con tal gusto, y contento de su corazon, que le parecia, no tenia mas que dessear en esta vida, antes como otro*

*Simeon pedia à Dios se lo llevasse ya para si, por las bien fundadas esperanzas, que tenia de ir à verle, y gozarle para siempre.*¹

§ II. De su Esperanza, y Confianza en Dios.

Quien quiere gozar buena esperanza, tenga buena conciencia: y para que la tenga crea, y obre: porque lo que cree, es de la Feè, y de la caridad lo que obra, dize S. Angustin.² Luego si segun lo dicho, tiene segura esperanza del reyno eterno, quien tiene buena conciencia, y a esta la tiene, quien cree, y obra; la tuvo Don Antonio muy buena visto en el parafo antecedente lo firme y constante, con que se conservò en la Feè, y lo mucho que obrò, como veremos en el siguiente, al impulso de la caridad; reste solo ver aora lo puro y delicado de su buena conciencia. Assentadas las cosas de la Mission despues de las primeras guerras y alzamientos, que casi fueron continuos hasta el año de 1680, entablò una vida tan Christiana, que puede ser exemplar aun de religiosos; sus confesiones y comuniones eran muy frequentes, y era tal la pureza de su conciencia, que apenas hallavan materia para la absolucion sus confesores; tres de los quales attestan lo que sigue.

El 1º.³ Apenas quando confessava se le hallava materia para la absolucion, tanta era la pureza de su vida, y costumbres; y muchas vezes no se podía oir de confession sin grandissima ternura de ver quanto reinava en el el amor y temor santo del Señor.

El 2º.⁴ El tiempo, que estuve en Agadña (siendo Vice Provincial) reparè que acudia à mi entre semana para reconciliarse quando tenia alguna materia leve, aunque solamente aprehendida por tal; y compadeciendome de su edad y achaques le aconseje, bastava el Domingo, ò quando venia à oir Missa, y que entre semana se valiesse del acto de contricion. Y me solia responder sonriendose, que no podia recogerse à dormir en teniendo algun pecado, aunque fuesse muy leve, como reñir a los muchachos, y cosa semejante.

El 3º.⁵ A mi me sucedio lo mismo (dize estando en Agadña, y siendo Vice Provincial) enterneciendome, y afervorizandome de semejantes cosillas, y de tan poca monta, quando se reconciliava dellas; porque no eran culpas, sino virtudes en reñir muchachos etc. con tan fervorosos actos de contricion, y amor de Dios[,] Feè, y esperanza de irle a ver en su gloria, que me admirava, y quedava absorpto, porque no avia materia para la absolucion.

*Bien pues tenia fundadas sus esperanzas, quien tenia tan buena y pura conciencia, y con razon dezia en su ultima enfermedad; que la esperanza en la misericordia Divina, era la con que se alegrava en esta ultima partida a la verdadera patria; que tanto deseava por ir à ver à Dios, en quien tenia puesta toda su confianza assi entonzes como en el resto de su vida, pues era, y avia sido siempre su amparo, defensa y valimiento. [fol. 357v] Perseguido David de Saul y aconsejado de los suyos de que se retirasse de las assechanzas, de tan poderoso y cruel enemigo, y se remontasse em lugares fuertes è inaccesibles, tenia por escusada diligencia lo acordado, pues considerava a su lado el Señor en quien confiava: y cuya confianza le guardava seguro de todos sus enemigos, y le valia en todos sus peligros y trabajos.*⁶

1 Tunc dimittis servum tuum Domine in pace. Luc.2.

2 Ut ergo speret regnum habeat bonam conscientiam; et ut habeat bonam conscientiam, credat et operetur: quia quod credit fides et quod operatur, charitatis. S. Aug. Sup.Psalm.31.

3 Padre Diego de Zarzosa.

4 Padre Antonino Cundari.

5 Padre Lorenzo Bustillo.

6 In Domino confido, quomodo dicitis animæ meæ, transmigra in montem sicut passer. Psalm 10.

Esta fue que le hazia despreciar los peligros de la mar, como quando vino de Gani embarcado solo y unico, viage à su cuenta dellos larguissimo pues gastò en el quatro dias con sus noches, y en si peligrosissimo, pues lo hizo en el invierno, que es el tiempo del año mas vorrascoso. Y en otra ocasion en que conduciendo por mar unos fardos de arroz, le cogio de repente un temporal tan rezio, que le zozobrò la embarcacion llenando la con agua, y obligandolo a desarbolar. Que haria en caso tan apretado, hallandose assimismo solo y sin mas asistencia, que la de un niño inocente, que llevaba embarcado? Alixaria acaso, por salvar quisiera la vida, y la del inocente? No alixò ni un grano porque no queria menos el arroz, que à su vida, por amor de los necesitados, para cuyo remedio lo llevaba; sino que confiado en Dios achicò, como pudo el agua, bolvio a alzar el arbol, y marcar la vela, y se vino con todo lo que llevaba à salvamento.

*Esta fue la que le hizo emprender trabajos sobre sus fuerzas, como fueron los con que reedificò la Yglesia y Casa de los Padres en Agadña, que avia deribado el Uraçan del año de 1693. Porque sentido su noble corazon de ver la Yglesia por estos suelos, y los Padres en una enramada muy mal acomodados, buscò modo y traza de como remediar a estos con darles vivienda, y restaurar aquella con levantarla de nuevo. Fuese y hablò con los Principales del partido de Agadña dandoles parte de su intento, y pidiendo le ayudassen à executar. Vinieron en ello, y poniendo mano à la obra; iendo en todo por delante con su exemplo Don Antonio fue tan adelante la fabrica que en pocas semanas la dexò acabada; aunque no sin emulacion de algunos, que le sindicaron [sic] al Governador, que lo era Don Damian Desplana, y que estava en Umatag metido todo en la restauracion del Campo, que tenia en este puerto, y pueblo, levantando, y diziendo le tomava demasiada mano y autoridad el Aguiji en llamar a los Yndios, y en rebentarlos a trabajos, tanto que el Governador se tuvo por obligado de ir à Agadña y viendo que à nadie se hazia fuerza, porque no trabajava, sino quien voluntario queria trabajar, echole los brazos a su buen viejo, que assi lo llamava, y le dio las gracias por lo bien obrado. **In Domino confido.** Confia en el Señor, el qual le sacava con bien de quanto emprendia.*

[fol. 358]

§ III. De su ardiente caridad para con Dios, y con el proximo.

Tratando S. Buenaventura de las señales de la caridad para con Dios, dize, la quarta señal de la caridad para con Dios es una cuydada y diligente observacion de la ley de Dios, ò de sus Santos mandamientos. Y la razon de esta señal es porque la observacion de los mandamientos de la ley de Dios, verdaderamente no se consigne, ni consiste sino es por medio de la caridad.¹ Y lo confirma Christo Nuestro Señor diziendo: Quien tiene y guarda mis mandamientos el es quien me ama.²

Amava Don Antonio Aguiji a Dios, y por esso se esmerava en la perfecta observacion de su Divina ley, y arreglándose en todo y por todo a los mandamientos della entablò una vida tan exemplar como era la suya. Amava à Dios y por esso huía de toda la culpa, y de qualquiera sombra della: y si entendia, ò aprehendia aver incurrido en alguna al instante venia a caminando en ir y venir una media legua, à confesarse de ella, con el dolor mas fino de su corazon, como motivado del amor de Dios, cuyos actos hazia entonces fervorosissimos. Amava à Dios, y por unirse mas a menudo con el amado, eran tan frequentes sus comuniones, que no perdía ni un Jubileo en todo el año, en el qual no se confessara y comul-

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- 1 Quartum signum charitatis est studiosa mandatorum Dei observatio. Ratio hujus signi est, quia observatio mandatorum verò hinc charitate haberi non potest. Itin. ætern. L.a.2.
 - 2 Qui haber mandata mea et servat illa, ille est qui deligit me. Joan. 14.

gava. Amava à Dios por esso en su ultima enfermedad hazia varios actos de amor de Dios como tan hecho y acostumbrado a ellos en vida; y al passo que le iva acercando a la posesion, y gozo del sumo bien eran mas ardientes y fervorosos.

Y quien era tan fino en el amor de Dios, y por esso tan observante de su Divina ley era no menos zeloso de que todos la observassen, que a esso iban encaminadas todas sus acciones y palabras. Sentia qualquier escandalo con tan vivo sentimiento que no dexava piedra por mover para quitarlo: unas vezes amonestando a los desmandados, y exhortandolos a la enmienda; y en consiguiendola se daba los parabienes a si, y al emendado, como el buen Pastor lo haze, quando da con la ovejuela desgarrada, y se lo llevaba à su casa, que lo acariciava, y regalava. Otras vezes castigando a los rehazos y escandalosos, condenando a los hombres à pilar arroz, y a las mugeres à cozer sal, sin duda para que aquellos à fuerza del molimiento perdiassen los brios que tenian de pecar; y estas à vista del fuego se acordassen del infernal, a que sus culpas las llevavan. Y quando esto no bastava, avisava al Padre Vice Provincial para que su R^a pusiesse el remedio que convenia.

Quando el Uraçan del año de 1693 asolò todas las Yglesias y casas de la Isla de Guaahan fue tal el sentimiento del buen D. Antonio Aguiji viendo arruinada la casa de Dios, y a los Padres, soldados è Indios en tanta miseria, que le ocasionò un Santo Frenesi y delirio que le durò algunos días; en los quales con un Crucifixo en las manos no cessava de dar voces, unas vezes en pie, y otras hincado de rodillas pidiendo à Dios mesericordia y predicando penitencia. Y era cosa notable, que estando en lo mas ardiente de sus clamores, en diziendole qualquiera de los Padres: Aguiji basta, calle: Luego enmudecía, y se venia [fol. 358v] con el Padre a nuestra enramada, adonde comia algo, porque en su casa no avia forma de hazerle comer; pues todo se le iva en gemir y llorar, hasta que Dios fue servido de quitarle aquel sentimiento, y disponerle a bolver à levantar la Yglesia y casa de los Padres como diximos arriba, lo hizo y cumplio con lo que dize S. Agustin y es: Que los que gimen, y desean la Patria Celestial, como la dessea-va Don Antonio, les animen à correr no con los passos del cuerpo, sino con los affectos del alma, vistiendose de las dos alas de la caridad, que son el amor de Dios y del proximo;¹ amores tan unidos entre si, y tan ahernados, como nacidos, que son de una madre la caridad y la dificultad se halla el uno sin el otro. Hallavanse muy unidos en el charitativo pecho de Don Antonio como se verá por las obras que hizo bien señaladas de caridad para con el proximo; de las quales diran en general callando Nuestros todos quantos ay en estas Yslas, y en particular deponen tres testigos muy abonados, lo que se sigue.

El 1^o.² Su Caridad para con todos los pobres fue en extremo grande, siendo casa el comun asilo de todos los necesitados; repartiendo liberalmente con todos, quanto cogia de sus sementeras, particularmente a los Ministros del Evangelio, que le debieron grandes assistencias, en sus necesidades.

El 2^o.³ Su caridad y misericordia para con todos era tal, que parece la daba Dios milagrosamente que dar; porque repartiendo sus granos, raizes, y pesca entre el Governador destas Islas, Sargento Mayor, Padres, y Collegios de Niños, y Niñas, tenia que dar a quantos soldados, pobres le pedian socorro de comida. Y lo mismo hazia con los Indios, no negando à nadie nada, ni faltandole jamas que dar.

1 Qui ergo in hac vita gemunt, et desiderant illam Patriam, currant delectione, non pedibus corporis. Non quarant naves sed pennas, duas alas charitatis apprehendant. Quæ sunt duæ charitatis: Dilectio Dei et proximi. S. Aug. in Psal. 144.

2 Padre Diego de Zarzosa.

3 Padre Miguel de Aparicio.

*El Terzero:*¹ Desde que saltò en tierra la Mission año de 68, siempre nos ha dado de lo que el con sus manos trabajava, sembrava, y pescava, sin reservar casi nada ò poco para si. Y despues que hubo Governador y Sargento Mayor por su Magestad hazia cinco divisiones del que agenciava, cogia y pescava: una para los Padres, otra para el Governador, otra para el Sargento Mayor, otra para Collegios de Niños y Niñas, y otra para socorrer à pobres assi soldados como de la tierra sin despedir alguno, sin que llevasse algo, y fuesse consolado. Desde dicho año de 68 aca hasta el de 701 en que murio, montará lo que al solo gremio de los Padres ha dado de sus cosechas, y de pescado y de comida y de otras cosas cada año mas de setenta pesos, y los 33 que van del año de 1668 a el de 1701 por todo 2,310 pesos, suma que por entre gente que por su gran pobreza anda desnuda, y sin poder ninguno dellos grangear con todo lo que trabajan el sustento necessario de entre año, es notable y muchissimo lo que digo de la generosidad de este Indio: aunque ello es assi, porque parece que Dios le echava su bendicion, y le daba para todo, y para acudir, y socorrer à todos, como lo hazia.

Y esso con una boca de risa, y tan de corazon, que parecia se le salia este de su charitativo pecho, y se assomava por aquella para acompañar la dadiva por el amor(?) con que la daba, y por el gusto que mostrava recibir de hazer bien à otros. Y como lo [fol. 359] siendo [hizo?] a quien se ajan(?), ò aguantaba?] sus gustos; assi lo sentí su noble y generoso corazon, quando en las Necesidades [sic], que podia y desseava tanto remediar, no se acudia a el. Alcanzó a saber en una ocasion, que la Mission se hallava necesitada, y al instante truxo nueve conchas grandes de tortuga, que ellos estiman, como nostros nuevos[s] doblones de à ocho y se las dio al Superior para remediar nuestra necesidad, diziendo sentia, no nos huvieramos declarado con el, pues sabiamos su buen corazon, y la voluntad, que nos tenia; conforme a la palabra, con que recibio a los Padres al hallar en tierra, ofreciendoles desde luego su casa, y quanto tenia en ella, y que con lo dicho hasta a que queda bastantemente desempeñada, porque segun lo quiere S. Juan, el querido; no avenava(?) solo con palabras, y la lengua, sino con las obras, y la verdad.²

§ IV. De su Prudencia Christiana.

*El sabio ò prudente, dize el Espiritu Santo, siempre es uno y el mismo, como lo es el Sol en qualesquiera accidentes del tiempo, sin mudarse como lo haze el Necio con la Luna.*³ Y esta inmutabilidad y Constancia nos la enseña la prudencia dize S. Agustín, para que assi en lo prospero como en lo adverso seamos los mismos, como lo es la mano, que se estiende en el palmo, y se recoge en el puño.

Fuelo Don Antonio Aguiji, que en tan varios accidentes, como fueron los que passaron por esta Mission, y Juntamente por el como tan allegado a ella ya prosperos ya adversos siempre era el mismo sin mudarse jamas ni en los unos, ni en los otros. Siempre firme y constante en la Feè y Christiandad, como queda dicho; y en la Ssujeccion, y lealtad que debia à su Magestad de la qual diremos aora.

Porque esta fue la que siempre le tuvo tan allegado à Nosotros, que por mas bateria que le daban los Suyos, jamas se dexò apartar de nuestro lado. Esta le hizo acompañar como a los Padres en las Misiones assi a los Cabos y Soldados en sus empressas, siendo el siempre el adelantero en guiando, y esquivando los malos passos, anteviendo, y descubriendo las celadas y assechanzas, y arremetiendo con valor y brio a los Enemigos. Esta le hazia asistir al Campo y Real Christiano con mantenimientos en sus aprietos,

1 Padre Lorenzo Bustillo.

2 Non diligamur verbo, non lingua, sed opere et veritate. S. Joan. 3.

3 Homo Sanctus in Sapientia manet sicut Sol; nam stulto sicut Luna mutatur. Eccli. 27.

y darles parte de quanto intentavan los contrarios. Esta le hazia dezir, y guardar verdad en todos sus tratos y conversaciones tanto que jamas se le notò ni una leve mentira, ni doblez ò insinceridad alguna. Cosa bien notable en un Indio; porque su noble, y sincero corazon abominava de todo ello abhorreciendole à par de muerte, y qui si era ser muerto antes que verse notado; aunque no fuesse mas que por equivocacion con la mas leve tachado desleal.

El año de 83 acompañò a Don Antonio de Saravia 1º Governador que fue de estas Yslas por el Rey Nuestro Señor Carlos Segundo, que estè en gloria, en la empresa de Tinian y Saypan, y fue el primero, que de el barco, en que iva al lado de Su Señoria, sal- [fol. 359v] -tando en una banca se adelantò à hazer cara a los enemigos, que estavan atrincherados en la playa. Pero como por cierto accidente no se prosiguiesse en dar el assalto, y se tocasse à recoger, hubo de hazer esto mismo, y restituirse el barco. Y viniendose para Rota por una equivocacion, que se le dixo, y el aprehendio como tacha que se le ponía en su lealtad, fue tanta la pena, que le dio que bastava para sacarlo de sí, y quitarle la vida, si al advertir su sentimiento, no se le huviera templado luego con deshazer la equivocacion.

Por esta su grande lealtad, y prenda tan estimada de su noble corazon le estimavan assimismo y tenian en mucho los Señores Governadores assi de Philippinas como de Marianas: Don Juan de Bargas Hurtado le honrò con el titulo de Maesse de Campo de los Naturales de estas Yslas. Don Antonio de Saravia le hizo su Teniente General (titulo que despues le confirmò su Magestad) y le truxo à vivir en Agadña por tenerlo cabe de si [sic]. Don Damian Desplana por lo que le queria, y amava, lo acariciava y llamava à su buen viejo. Los Señores Don Joseph de Madrazo y Don Francisco Medrano, y Assiain, que lo alcanzaron ya muy viejo y achacoso, siempre que los venia à ver salian para recebirle a la escalera, y cogiendole la mano lo llevavan à su quarto, y le davan silla. Y le pagavan la visita iendo le a ver à su casa, quando por estar malo, hazia cama; y su Señoría de lealtad embiandole la comida desde su mesa. Don Joseph de Quiroga y Losada los veinte y dos años que le conocio y tratò, le cobrò tal cariño y afecto, que en su ultima enfermedad mal se podia apartar de su cabezera, y aora jamas se puede acordar de su querido Aguiji sin internecerse.

Y sabiendo los Naturales la cabida que tenia con estos Señores, ponian las dependencias, y pretensiones que tenian para con sus Señorias en sus manos, valiendose del para el ajuste y despacho dellas. Y el les dava los consejos y enseñava el modo con que se avian de portar para conseguirlos, y siendo menester iva en persona, è intercedia por ellos, y esso tan sin empeño, que con su sencillo proponer(?), y con la apacibilidad, con que lo hazia, les robava a los Señores Governadores los corazones, y recabava, quanto querian.

§ [V.] De su Justicia.

Segun el texto sacado al margen¹ ya tenemos eternizada la Justicia de Don Antonio Aguiji, que quien tan profusa y liberalmente esparcia y daba lo suyo a los necesitados, como lo vimos en el parafo III mal codiciaria, ni usurparia lo ageno, ni lo dexaria parar en su poder contra la voluntad de su dueño. Pagava puntualmente a quien le servia ò con su persona ò con su trabajo; no faltava jamas a sus correspondientes, y a quien le devia a el, no executava con rigor. Y era tal el credito, que se tenia ganado, que una sola palabra de Aguiji [fol. 360] valia mas que con quantas escrituras y obligaciones se aseguran los contratos.

1 Dispersit, dedit pauperibus, Justitia ejus manet in Sæculum Sæculi. Psal. 111.

Quando alguno de la tierra le regalava y hazia algun presente, al instante se lo pagava en precio doblado. Presentole el Capitan Pedro Inog, que se esmera en seguirle sus passos, un Guatafi, ò [pez] aguja grande, pexe [sic] que por su tamaño, sabrosas y solidas carnes estiman mucho, y luego le retorno otro tanto en hacienda y arroz: y como si todo esto no igualara al presente, con excederle mucho, quiso en la propria especie satisfacerle: porque aviendolos de su banca cogido semejante pexe, al punto que se lo truxeron a tierra, y a su casa se lo embio à dicho Capitan. Y fue cosa graciosa, la que passò con el pexe. Porque el Capitan lo presentò à su Hermano y este à otro, y à otro este, y assi adelante presentandole los unos a los otros fue andando a todo el pueblo, y de casa à casa hasta tornar a la de Aguiji, de donde avia salido, como alla el razimo de los Padres de la Thebaida. Finalmente no queriendo Don Antonio que lo que una vez avia dado parasse en su casa, embiò al pexe à Agadña para regalo del Campo. Quien pues con tanta generosidad se deshazia de lo que con tanta voluntad de todos se le retornava sin dexarlo parar en su casa, como dexaria parar, ni aun entrar lo ageno? Con mucha razon pues, y con toda verdad pudo dezir, lo que dixo en su ultima enfermedad, y era: lo uno, que no debia nada à nadie; y lo otro, que no tenia agraviado à nadie, no en la hacienda, como ya lo vimos, ni en la honra, porque nunca se le oyo dezir palabra que fuesse en desdoro de la fama agena. Antes si, aun lo que salva justicia podia manifestar, callava por charidad. Avia à deshora cogido a un ladron en su casa, con el hurto en la mano, y alegando este al hazer le cargo de como se atrevia a ello, la necesidad, que le obligava, compadecido el buen Aguiji le dixo: Ves ay aquel fardo de arroz, y este cesta de raizes? pues llevate norabuena al uno y al otro, y remedia tu necesidad: y no buelvas a quererla remediar con offender à Dios hurtando, sino con pedirlo por su amor, y no se te negarà. Y assi lo despidio sin descubrirlo à nadie. Perfecto pues y justo el varon, que no offendio en palabra alguna.¹

§ VI. De su grande Fortaleza.

En esta mirandola à lo natural de gigante, con que y con sus grandes fuerzas y valor se hazia respetar de todos, assi que siendo gentil era el terror de todos y por ai quando Christiano el mayor apoyo de la Feè y Christiandad de estas Yslas. Pero como sea mas fuerte el que se sabe vencer à si, que no el que escala la[s] murallas, y rinde castillos, pues tanto va de los esfuerzos del alma a los del cuerpo, como lo que va del mismo alma al cuerpo, tambien se le debe esta palma al esforzado, y valeroso Don Antonio por averse vencido a si mesmo en casos bien arduos y difficultos, como fueron los que se siguen.²

[fol. 360] *Venciose, y perdonò a su muger, que à pocos años de casado in facie Ecclesiæ por los disturbios de las guerras y levantimientos, que se seguian los unos a los otros llevada de la corriente, lo dexò, y se amancebò con otro: mas persuadido de los Padres la perdonò, y se reduxo à bolver à hazer vida maridable con ella; como la hizo, y continuo con mucha paz hasta la muerte: cosa en que tuvo mucho que vencer; por ser entre los suyos cosa afrentosa bolver con la muger que una vez dexo al marido; Y el mismo dezia que la befa, y los escarnios que hazian del por averlo hecho, eran tan pesados que solo por no faltar a la ley de Dios se podian sufrir. Pero pagolo su Magestad tamaña vitoria con no menores colmos de gracia; porque desde ay empezo à entablar la vida exemplar de que diximos, y ganò con su exemplo la misma muger, y la reformò de manera que es un vivo retrato del [de él] siguiendole en todos sus virtuosos passos.³*

1 Si quis in verbo non offendit, hic perfectus est vir. Jacobi. 3.

2 Fortior est qui se quam qui fortissima vincit moenia [sic, quotation unfinished].

3 Et sanctificata est mulier in fidelis pervirum fidelem. 1. Cor. 7.

Venciose a si, y perdono à un soldado, a que aviendole pedido con cortesia Don Antonio que dexasse de inquietar a unas mugeres de su casa, el le respondió con injurias, y amenazò con un cuchillo, que traia en la mano. Mas viendo Don Antonio tal atravimiento fiado en sus grandes fuerzas, que aun las conservava estando muy viejo y achacoso, le assio fuertemente, y le ganò el arma teniendole tan apretado, que el Soldado por dessassirse [sic], y que no le ahogasse, cosa, que nunca hiziera Don Antonio le dio un bocado en un ombro, con que le lastimò bastantemente. Y viendo que ni aun con esso podia desassirse del, y temiendo ò que le matasse, ò llevasse presso al Governador le pidió por amor de Dios, y de la SSma. Virgen, que le soltasse; que le pesava mucho de su atrevimiento, y que no le dicho aviso à su Governador, porque le costaria caro. El generoso Aguiji le solto luego, y lo dio palabra de no dezir à nadie nada, como lo cumplio, pues solo lo dixo à su Confessor, a quien vino luego a buscar, para desahogar su animo, y confessarse de aquel enojo. Y diziendole su Confessor que convenia dar parte al Governador para que otro no tuviesse semejante atrevimiento. El le dixo: que lo que avia ofrecido à Dios, y a su SSma. Madre lo avia de cumplir, y assi suplico con grandes instancias à su Confessor que no aviasse nada.

Venciose à si y al ardiente brio de hazer cara a los enemigos de la Feè en la ocasion que voy à dezir. El año de 81 hizo el Ven. Padre Manuel de Solorzano Vice Provincial por entonzes de la Mission un viaje à Rota, llevando en su compañía à Don Antonio y un Cabo con tantos de soldados, que el Señor Governador Don Antonio de Saravia le señalò, y dio por escolta. Llegaron con bien à Rota, y fueron muy bien recibidos de estos Ysleños, bautizados muchos parvulos, y señalados los sitios, en que levantar dos Yglesias para la enseñanza de [fol. 361] los adultos de aquella Ysla. De donde partieron para la de Tinian, y siendo recibidos con el mismo buen efecto, y creyendo su R^a el Padre Vice Provincial hallaria la misma buena disposicion en los de Saypan, passò tambien a esta Ysla. Pero despues de llegados reparando Don Antonio en los sañudos semblantes de los Ysleños, llegò se al P. Vice Provincial y le dixo: Adviertale VR^a al cabo de estos Soldados, a que esten sobre aviso, y tengan cuenta con sus armas, porque no sea que se los ganen estos Indios que anaden alrededor. Hizose luego lo que el prudente Don Antonio aconsejava, y viendo los Yndios la prevencion se retiraron: pero como al anochecer levantassen espantosos alaridos por el monte adentro, y estrañandolo el Padre Vice Provincial, preguntasse que era lo que querian dezir con aquello? Respondiole Don Antonio:] Padre lo que quieren, es pelear, y para eso se llaman y convocan. Vea aora VR^a con el Cabo, si estamos para ello, o no! y sino lo estamos, por mas que me pese a mi no probar las manos con ellos, sino dexarles el campo por suyo; escusemos el peligro con retirarnos à tiempo, y partimos. Como lo hizieron bolviendose aquella misma noche para Rota.

Hijas de la Fortaleza son la tolerancia en los trabajos, y la paciencia en las enfermedades. Trabajava Don Antonio incansablemente en sus sementeras y pescas y esso no por tener mas y mejor abastecida su casa y persona, sino para tener con que socorrer à otros: por esso Dios le echara su bendicion, para que se le luciesse, y lograsse el trabajo de sus manos. Porque siendo muy ordinario el malograrse los arrozos a estos Indios, ya por falta de agua con que se secan [sic], ya por la malignidad de los aires con que se gastan, y mayormente por la plaga de las ratas que las consumen, con todo no se sabe que jamas à Don Antonio se aya malogrado algun de sus sementeras. Por averse quedado en tiempo del ultimo alzamiento sin cultivo la tierra dos años arreo, esà saber el de 84, por la guerra que durava, y el siguiente de 85, por falta de gente que estava huida, fue tanto lo que en estas treguas multiplicaron las ratas que al abrir el año de 86 por estar ya recogida la gente que bastava las sementeras, fue grima ver la muchedumbre dellas y la hambre con que acometian los sembrados por comerse los en la yerva. Lo qual visto

por Don Antonio sin duda por inspiracion superior, les armò tal trampa que las cogia à centenares y mataba à palos. E imitandole los demas en breve limpiaron sus sementeras de plaga tan perjudicial.

El continuo trabajo en que gasto su vida le acarreo con la vejez penosas enfermedades y achaques; que passava con grande sufrimiento, y conformidad de su voluntad con la de Dios. Tenia la una de los dos piernas monstruosamente hinchada, y esponjada con clarissima aguaza; mal que se les origina de la continua humedad en que andan en sus pescas, y labranzas, particularmente las de los arrozes que casi todas se hazen en agua estancada ò lodazales; y en enconandose le causava penosissimos accidentes de frio, que le hazian tiritar, y dar diente con diente. La cura que se hazia entonzes era aprensar la pierna entre dos tablas, y cogiendolas con [fol. 361v] un cordel las apretava fuertemente, y estruxava al maligno humor. Y para templar el mucho frio con que se dava, se echava a pechos un potaje de pimientos cozidos que abrasavan que bien podia dezir: que por llegar al refrigerio, passò por el fuego, y el agua.¹

§ VII. De su Templanza.

Siendo el officio desta virtud refrenar la gula y apetitos sensuales, como lo dize S. Ambrosio.² Señalose mucho en una y otra Don Antonio: Porque era muy frugal y abstemio en su comida, de suerte que dando à Nosotros, y a los Colegios, y al Campo lo mejor que tenia, se sustentava así con raizes de la tierra, y con frutas de los arboles, è iendole a la mano y diziendole que reservasse algo para si, pues su edad y achaques lo pedian; dezia, que nos dava aquello por estar Nosotros criados y hechos à buenos mantenimientos y que a el le bastava para el suyo qualquier cosa de lo que dan los arboles, y qualesquiera raizes comestibles.

Esta frugalidad tenia casi apagada en el toda la Concupiscencia que S. Juan cifra en los tres perniciosissimos apetitos de hazienda, carne y honra.³

Pero en lo tocante a la primera, parece que no era de la massa comun de los Yndios, que por su apocado natural son tenacissimos y codiciosissimos: Todo lo contrario tenia Don Antonio porque siendo liberalissimo para con todos, y en particular para con Nosotros, no queria recibir cosa de la que por nuestra parte le offreciamos a el, teniendose por bastantemente pagado con poder hazer bien à otros. Y viendo nuestras instancias ay lo recibiese por no parecer temoso ò demasiado en rehusarlo, dezia que se lo guardassemos en nuestra casa, que vendria en aviendolo menester à pedirlo, pero nunca venia: y dandose lo Nosotros ulterioresmente era menester Dios y ayuda, para que lo recibiese. Y quando a pura fuerza lo avia recibido, como si nunca nos huviera dado nada, luego el instante buscava los mejores generos, que podia hallar, y nos dava doblado del valor, que avia recibido, con tanta instancia, y ansia de que lo recibiessemos, que por no contristarle nos obligava a ello.

En lo 2º tocante a la carne ò sensualidad, era tambien tan templado en este particular; que desde que bolvio à reconciliarse con su muger, guardò entera, y fielmente la castidad conjugal; la qual en un Indio no es menos loable, que en un Europeo el celibato ò la misma Virginidad.

Y finalmente nada arrogante, nada codicioso de honras, no se engréa con ninguna de quantas le hazian los Señores Governadores. Aviendole traído Don Antonio de Saravia à vivir en Agaña y dado el

1 Trantivimus per ignem et aguam, et eduxisti nos in refrigerium. Psal. 65.

2 Non solum illa laudabilis est temperantia, quæ parca ciborum est, sed etiam illa, quæ concupiscentiæ. Ep. 25. Lib.3.

3 Omne quod est in multo concupiscentia carnis est, et concupiscentia oculorum, et superbia vitæ. S. Joan. 2.

Titulo de Teniente Governador y Capitan General levantò assimismo una compañia de Naturales de la tierra con orden de que todos los dias montassen la guardia y por torno se la hiziessen a [fol. 362] Don Antonio como à su Teniente que con en su casa, y le acompañassen en saliendo della; le vino à ser tan pesada esta honra, que por deshazerse della peleò estando en Agadña, el receptaculo de todo pobre necesitado, y de todos los huespedes, que acudian al Presidio hospedando a estos con caridad, y sustentado aquellos con liberalidad; de suerte que reparando en ello el Padre Vice Provincial Manuel de Solorzano que lo era entonzes, solia dezir: Este Indio sin duda, que es de alguna sangre Real, pues le vemos obrar con tanta generosidad, y piedad sin acortarse en algo. Solo aquí quiso al parecer alegar mengua y cortedad; Porque llegando al mismo Padre Vice Provincial le suplico, pidiesse su R^a al Señor Governador para que fuesse servido de quitarle aquella guardia de su casa, porque dezia le hazia mucho gasto. O! honradissimo Aguiji, porque supisteis assi huir la honra phantastica del mundo; os alcanzò la verdadera honra, y gloria del cielo.¹

§ Ultimo.

*Y estas son por mayor las virtudes conque Nuestro buen Aguiji levantò el edificio Espiritual de su alma mausolea de su eterna memoria, basandolo sobre los solidissimos fundamentos de Feè y Esperanza,² y fortificandolo con los quatro firmissimos angulos de Prudencia, Justicia, fortaleza y templanza, y coronandolo con el altissimo timbre de su estendidissima caridad por con todos: y las con que se hizo amable à Dios, y a los hombres, ser respetado y acatado hasta de sus enemigos, y obedecido de los mas rebeldes y obstinados. Y las que sin duda le alcanzo la Madre de todas ellas, y singular Protectora de sus Marianos MARIA³ SSma. para con quien Don Antonio mostrava singular affecto rezando con gran devocion su Rosario, y celebrando sus fiestas confessando y comulgando en ellas, y cumpliendo cordial, y puntualmente quanto en honra y reverencia desta Señora se le demandasse. La qual al parecer cuydo hasta de sepultura y entierro; porque quiso que aquella se le diesse en su Yglesia y esta lo fuesse en su dia, que es el Sabado, para darle à su dichosa alma el descanso en el Cielo como se lo daba à su cuerpo en su Yglesia de Agadña con asistencia de los tres gremios della. Porque al passo que avia sido Padre de todos y como tal era amado assimismo de todos a este passo fuesse la demonstracion del affecto de todos. Y lo fue, porque concurrieron todos a honrar su entierro: los Capitanes del Presidio cargando su cuerpo y los demas acompañando con su Sargento Mayor Don Joseph de Quiroga y Losada. Los Colegiales con candelas y musica, y los Padres con Missa cantada, y officio de sepultura. Y será eterna su memoria: pues dexa tantos pregoneros de su piedad y misericordia, quantos son los que ha remediado con ellas que lo son todos, y sobre todos esta Mission Mariana que le debe como à instrumento, de que Dios se sirvio para ello su conservacion. Y assi **in memoria æterna erit Justus, ab auditione male non timebit.**⁴ Porque quando los despiadados en el ultimo fallo del Justissimo Juez oiran el desdichadissimo **Ite**; oir à el piadosissimo Don Antonio con los piadosos el dichosissimo **Venite.**⁵*

[Endorsement:] *Elogium D. Antonij Aguiji Tribuni Militum Marianorum.*

1 Honor fugientem sequitur.

2 Dilectus Deo est hominibus, cuius memoria in benedictione est, etc. Eccl. 45.

3 Ego mater pulchræ dilectionis etc.

4 Psal. 111.

5 Matth. 25.

Translation.

Eulogy of Don Antonio de [Aguiji] {Ayigi, Lieutenant of Captain-General and} Master-of-camp of the natives of the Marianas, who died on 15 April 1701.

On 15 April 1701, our Lord decided to take unto Himself, as indeed we hope He did in His mercy, the good Don Antonio Aguiji, Indian chief of this Island of Guahan, Guan, or San Juan, whom the King our Lord had honored on account of his great merits with the title of Lieutenant Captain-General of the Indians of these Mariana Islands, and with the emblem of the medal for his eldest son, or the one he chose, and to whom God our Lord would have given in Heaven the reward corresponding to his great virtues, worthy of being celebrated by our people for the common edification of everyone.

Indeed, if the [book entitled] History of Paraguay praises the famous Guiray so much,¹ and justly so, because he got the Ven. Fr. Antonio Ruiz de Montoya out of trouble and saved him from the arrows thrown at him by his enemies, by putting on himself the clothes and hood of the Father and, painting himself black, became the target for the archers, while the Father was seeking cover; if Father Juan de Lucena in his biography of St. Francis Xavier² praises Don Manuel, the mayor of Ative, for having maintained and preserved the faith in Amboina by his courage, example, favor and advice; and if Don Gonzalo, an Indian chief in the Philippines deserves the praise heaped upon him by Father Francisco Colín in his History of the Philippines,³ for having brought down from the interior the children of the bush, and having tamed them and taught them the Christian doctrine in his house; and finally, if the King of Bungo, Don Francisco, the first offspring of St. Francis Xavier in Japan, who thanked God for having done him the favor of making him a Christian,⁴ and such a good Christian as he was, for having saved, while he was a young man, and a gentile, the lives of seven Portuguese, whom the Japanese wanted to kill in order to steal from them, we have every right to praise as well Don Antonio Aguiji, to whom not just one but many of the Fathers of this Mariana Mission owe their life amid the so many deaths that occurred in these Islands, and to praise him for his courage, example, favor and advice with which he has maintained and preserved the faith here, and to give him the praise which he deserves for the great zeal, with which he not only separated the children from the pagan customs of their forefathers and personally led them by the hand to the colleges for them to be instructed and made into Christians, but also converted the adults themselves, and placed them on the road to salvation. He too had God to thank for having made him a Christian, and a good Christian also, as we shall see; this grace must have

1 Historia Paraquariæ, Book 7, chapter 12.

2 Book 4, chapter 1. Ed. note: First edition, Seville, 1619.

3 Book 3, chapter 10.

4 Father Lucena: *ibid.*, Book 9, chapter 13.

been due to the natural charity which he had exercised, before he became a Christian, toward the shipwrecked Christians who remained in these Islands from the galleon **Concepción** that was lost on Saipan; it was from conversations and contacts he had with them that he had already learned to praise God and to venerate the Ministers of the Gospel.¹ So it is that when the Ven. Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores stepped ashore in 1668, the good Antonio, with a very peaceful countenance, came forward to bid welcome to him and to his companions, saying: "Praise be to the Holy Sacrament!"² something that caused noteworthy admiration, and tenderness. The Ven. Father embraced him, and as if he had already chosen him and given him his love, he told him in his language: "Oh! how good is Aguihi. How pretty is his heart and his disposition!" However, he did not pay attention to the praises but told the Fathers with much entreaty and affection: "My dear Fathers, I am from this town of Agadña. My house is over there. It, and everything in it, is yours. As for me, I am at your disposal. You may give me any order, and I will carry it out, as you shall see from the results, because I am telling you with my whole heart: enjoy it, I esteem you and love you." This promise, and offer, that he made, out of the generous and charitable nature that God had given him, he complied with so abundantly, and completely, as we shall see in the rough sketch that I will paint of the excellent virtues, theological as well as cardinal, that he possessed to such a very eminent degree.

I. His great and constant faith.

Regarding his faith, it happens that from the time he professed it at his baptism—he was among the very first ones to receive it—he had been so well prepared for this grace that he never flinched, not even in one iota, from it. Rather, he was happy with the rich treasure that he had found in it; indeed, basically we hope for as many treasures.³ He not only tried to make progress in it, but he persisted until it had reached all the natives of these Islands. It was for the love of it that he kept very well the word that he had given to the Fathers, when he offered to them his house, his property, and his own self for whatever they saw fit. For instance, as soon as they began going around on mission tours, he accompanied them by sea and overland, and led them from island to island, and from village to village, carrying on his shoulders the ornaments, and whenever it became necessary, on account of the rivers, the missionaries themselves, whom he instructed along the way on the methods they should use with these Indians in order to gain them over and reduce them. He kept on doing this, very faithfully and constantly, to such an extent that, except when he had to pay attention to his most necessary duties, he never left our side in any of our journeys, dangers and labors. And when he saw that the missionaries had to separate one from the other, and divide them—

1 Ed. note: Ahiyi was probably very young (less than 10 years old) at the time of this shipwreck in 1638, but he was already an adult at the time of the arrival of the missionaries in 1668.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Bustillo, who reports this was then present.

3 *Est fides sperandadum substantia rerum*. Ed. note: Latin phrase from the Bible: "What is faith? It is which gives substance to our hopes." (Hebrews 11, v. 1.).

selves among the islands, and villages, he also wished to divide himself, if that were possible, in as many parts as there were Fathers in order to accompany them wherever they were going on their missions. Given that this was not possible, he would first accompany one, and then another, in accordance with what he saw was needed, and to advance the propagation of the faith by means of the missionaries, and to ease their enterprise by winning over with his assistance and authority the goodwill of the Indians, to whom they went to preach.

With this continuous exercise of accompanying the missionaries, Don Antonio made giant progress in the doctrine, and at the same time as he did, he also made progress in his zeal for communicating it and teaching it to others by himself, fulfilling at first the duties of a catechist, by advancing their knowledge of the Christian doctrine; then, those of a preacher, by exhorting and admonishing those who were well disposed to receive it, and reprehending the stubborn ones, making them see the ugliness of their vices and pagan customs, which they should abandon in favor of the doctrine. Furthermore, he did so with as much energy and fervor as the most zealous missionary, without fear of the risk to his life, which he exposed many times for this cause. Once, the Indians of Ritiyan, angry at his admonitions, attacked him furiously to choke him to death. Although he had courage and had the strength of a giant, he would have escaped with difficulty from their clutches, if God who wished to test his faith in the crucible, had not delivered him.¹

This happened during one of the repeated rebellions of these islanders, during which, like a fire that burns brighter when one blows upon it, the ardor of Don Antonio for the faith and his loyalty toward both Majesties, the divine and the human, were revived and shone brighter, and in spite of so many uprisings, and wars, that took place, he never let himself deviate a single step, in either the faith or his loyalty. He deeply felt sorry for the lack of progress made in preaching the Gospel during such disturbances, and he was moved with compassion before the dangers, and hardships, that they occasioned to its Ministers; in order to counteract both of these, he put all his efforts into becoming the Angel of Peace between contending parties. That is why, at the least opportunity he had of learning of some trouble, he tried to dissipate it with much sagacity and skill, to temper the minds of those who felt resentment and to reason with those who were upset. When he saw that reason would not be accepted by the blind and obstinate who insisted on carrying out their evil intention, he would immediately report the fact to us, and advised both civilians and soldiers on how they had to defend themselves: for instance, they were not to be afraid of any shouting they did during their attacks, because it was just noise, and howling, which they use in their fights, and they should use their firearms judiciously, because by wounding a few, all of them would flee. He would say: **“I will live among them to find out about their intentions, and**

1 *Cum exurimur persecutionis ardore, tunc probamur de fidei tenore* (St. Theresa, in *Fleeing persecution*, chapter 3). Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: The way to test one's mettle in the faith is by enduring the ardor of persecution.

then I will slip away when they are asleep at night, or even in the day-time, without them noticing me, and will come many times, to let you know of everything.”

This he did, and he would come either during the day or at night, and always bringing some food for the maintenance of our people, and he reported what the enemies had agreed to do among themselves, and which side they would attack first. He then advised that good arquebus men should be placed on that side, to spray them very well, and make them turn back with hands on their heads. And, as soon as such volleys had made them go back to their town, he would quickly come and approach the fort, dancing to show his happiness and to let us know of the victory that our firearms had achieved, and of the setback suffered by his people, many of them having died or been wounded, something that left them very scared.

These comings and goings could not be done with sufficient dissembling and secrecy, so as not to cause detection, or at least arouse the suspicions of the malcontent. Being conscious of it, they did not stop watching him, and observing his steps, to prevent him from maintaining the contact between both camps, which they suspected he had, and by placing spies and setting up traps where they thought he would pass. He was much afflicted by these precautions, specially on one occasion when it was very important to advise the Captain in charge of the armed forces about the intention of the mutineers. Unable to come overland, because the enemy had blocked every route, he sent someone to tell the Commanding Officer that he should make a boat ready along the shoreline, that he, making it look as if he were going fishing, would come in another boat to give a report, an important one, and that as soon as they spied him from shore, some soldiers were to be sent aboard it with their weapons loaded without balls, and that they were to make straight for him as if to capture him, because he would give his report when they reached him; they were to make believe that they were boarding his canoe, to capture him, and that when he fled from between their arms, they were to shoot at him, as if they were shooting to kill a prey escaping from them. The whole thing happened that way, and the report he gave turned out to be true, and it was very important because, with the information he had given, an excellent victory was won. The trickery was to confuse his own people, who had been watching him, and so as not to fail to the faith and loyalty that he professed toward our people. However, at the same time as some of them esteemed him on account of it [i.e. the faith] and respected him, some others were suspicious and did not trust him; as a result of bad observance, they were withdrawing from the light.

In the last conspiracy that occurred in 1684, which was the bloodiest that these Islands have seen, and which began in the Island of Guahan, and from there jumped to all the others, the most faithful Don Antonio was absent. Had he been present, the insolence of the mutineers would not have gotten so out of control, as it did. He had gone with the Ven. Fr. Pedro Cumanó to the northern islands, that are called the **Gani** Islands, to reduce their inhabitants to the Island of Guahan, along with 25 soldiers who had been taken from the garrison of Saypan to go as escorts aboard canoes belonging to Indians from Guahan. But they had heard of the uprising and killings that had al-

ready taken place in Guahan, and been asked to do the same thing to the soldiers and the Father who were in their care, by throwing them overboard. The only thing they were afraid of, in order to achieve their evil end, was that Antonio Aguiji might learn their secret by some sign. So, because they even feared his presence, upon leaving Alamagan Island, they contrived to have Don Antonio's canoe be among the first ones to leave, by saying that he was to board some other canoe, or go with the Father, so that he would be left ashore. The idea was that when he showed up, and looked for some other way to embark, they in turn would carry out their deed, safe from him, without him being able to intervene. Everything went as they had planned; when Don Antonio came up, and saw from the beach the treason that they were perpetrating, without the possibility for him to remedy it, he felt extremely sorry. Since he had been unable to prevent that, he turned his whole attention to taking care of the Father who, upon seeing what was happening, had turned back, and gone to look for him. Don Antonio welcomed him and took him to the house of one of his correspondents, to place him in safety there, in case the traitors should return to take his life. They remained here for a few weeks, pondering what they were to do, or where they would go. What they finally decided was that Don Antonio would go to Guahan, to find out what was going on, and then return to get the Father. Upon leaving, Don Antonio earnestly entrusted the Father to his correspondent, promising him many goods if he would watch over him, until he returned to get him. Then alone he boarded a canoe and, without touching at any of the islands in-between, made it to Guahan within four days. Upon finding out that things were much better than had been rumored, that is, that everyone, Fathers and soldiers alike, was dead, he was glad beyond measure, and wanted nothing else besides going back as quickly as possible to Gani, to fetch his beloved Fr. Pedro. However, since God had earmarked his Reverence for the Crown, that was awaiting him in Saypan, permission to go back was denied Don Antonio. So he remained and he did his best to restore what had been lost, amid so many worries and hardships, until he had seen not only the restoration of this island, but also the reduction of all the islands that come under the name of Marianas to our holy faith, with such pleasure, and happiness in his heart, that it seemed to him that he could not wish for more in this life; indeed, like a new Simeon, he was asking God to take him unto Himself, now that he had good reasons to expect that he would go and see Him, and enjoy Him forever.¹

II. His hope, and trust in God.

“He who wishes to enjoy good hope, let him have a good conscience; and to get a good conscience, he must believe, and do good works, because belief has to do with faith, and good works come from charity,” says St. Augustine.² Therefore, according

1 *Tunc dimittis servum tuum Domine in pace (Luke 2, v. 29)*. Ed. note: Latin phrase from the Gospel meaning: “O Lord! let thy servant go in peace.”

2 *Ut ergo speret regnum habeat bonam conscientiam; et ut habeat bonam conscientiam, credat et operetur: quia quod credit fides et quod operatur, charitatis.* (St. Augustine, in Commentary on Psalm 31).

to this saying, whoever has a good conscience has sure hope of enjoying the eternal kingdom, and to get it, he must believe, and do good works. Don Antonio had such sure hope, as we saw in the previous section how solidly and constantly he maintained his faith, and how much he labored, as we will see in the next one, pushed as he was by charity. Now, there remains to point out how pure and delicate was his good conscience. Once the affairs of the Mission had become settled, following the first wars and uprisings—they were almost continuous until 1680—he began living such a Christian life that he could have been used as an example even for the religious. His confession and communions were very frequent, and the purity of his conscience was such that his confessors could hardly find matter for absolution; three of them attest to this, as follows:

The first one¹ says: “When he came to confession, I could hardly find any matter worthy of absolution, because his life and customs were so pure. Many times, I could not hear his confession without feeling a very great tenderness, at realizing how much the love and holy fear of the Lord reigned within him.”

The second one² says: “At the time that I lived in Agaña (being Vice-Provincial) I noticed that he came to see me on weekdays to reconcile himself when he had some light matter, though he grasped that it was so. Therefore, I sympathized with his old age and ailments and advised him that Sunday was enough, or when he came to hear mass, and that he should make use of the Act of contrition during the week. However, he used to smile and tell me that he could not lie down and sleep, knowing that he had some sin, though it be very light, such as having scolded the boys, or something like that.”

The third one³ says: “The same thing happened to me (when I lived in Agaña and was Vice-Provincial).⁴ I was moved and impressed by similar trifles, and of such small import, though he was reconciling himself of them; those were not sins but virtues, for instance, scolding the boys, etc. His acts of contrition were so zealous that I was left wondering, and remained dumbfounded, because there was no matter for absolution.”

Well then, his hopes were well founded, as he had such a good and pure conscience, and he was right when he said during his last illness, that hope in Divine mercy was what he was happy about in this his final departure for his true country. He wished so much to go and see God, in whom he had placed his whole trust, then as well as during the rest of his life; indeed, God was and had always been his refuge, defence and protection. When David was persecuted by Saul and was advised by his people to withdraw from the traps set by such a powerful and cruel enemy, and to seek refuge in strong and inaccessible places, he considered this precaution unnecessary, since he had the

1 Fr. Diego de Zarzosa.

2 Fr. Antonino Cundari.

3 Fr. Lorenzo Bustillo.

4 Ed. note: Between 1688 and 1694.

Lord in whom he trusted by his side, and this trust kept him safe from all his enemies, and protected him in all his dangers and hardships.¹

This trust is what made him disregard the risks at sea, as when he came from Gani, alone in a canoe, a voyage which is judged by them to be very long; indeed, he spent the whole of four days and four nights on the way, a voyage that was very dangerous, considering that it was winter-time, which is the season when the weather is most stormy. On another occasion, he was transporting at sea a few bundles of rice. A storm suddenly hit him, so furiously that his canoe was foundering, as water was filling it, and he was forced to let go the mast. What should he have done in such a tight spot, when he could only count on the assistance of an innocent boy who was aboard? Would he, perchance, decide to save his own life and that of the innocent boy? No, he did not throw anything overboard, not even one grain, because he wanted to keep the rice as much as his own life, for the sake of the needy, for whose remedy he was transporting it. In fact, trusting in God, he kept on bailing out the water as fast as he could, before raising the mast again, and setting full sail, to bring home safely everything he was carrying.

It was this trust that made him undertake labors beyond his strength, as it was when he rebuilt the Church and Residence of the Fathers in Agadña, the one that the hurricane of 1693 had destroyed. Indeed, his noble heart felt sorry upon seeing the church on the ground, and the Fathers living very badly under a thatch roof. So he looked for a way and scheme by which he could find them a house, and restore the church again. He went around and spoke with the chiefs of the district of Agadña, letting them know of his plan, and asking them to help him carry it out. They agreed. Don Antonio also lent a hand to the works, showing a good example in everything. The project progressed so rapidly that within a few weeks it was finished, but not without the envy of a few who denounced him before the Governor, who was then Don Damian de Esplana, and was completely busy at Umatag with the restoration of the camp, existing in said port and town. They did so by arguing and telling him that Aguiji was usurping his authority by calling on the Indians, and wearing them down with labor, so much so that the Governor decided that he had to go to Agadña, but he saw for himself that no-one was forced to work, because only volunteers were taking part. He then embraced his good old man, as he then called him, and thanked him for a job well done. *In God I trust.* He trusted the Lord, and He would make sure that what he undertook came out well.

1 *In Domino confido, quomodo dicitis animæ meæ, transmigra in montem sicut passer.* (Psalm 10)
Ed. note: Latin phrase literally meaning: "In God I trust, although you might suggest to me to flee to the bush like a [frightened] sparrow."

III. His ardent charity toward his fellow-men, as if toward God.

When St. Buenaventura deals with the signs by which to recognize charity as if toward God, he says that “the fourth sign of charity as if meant for God is a careful and diligent observance of the law of God, or of His holy commandments. And the reason for this sign is because the observance of the commandments of the law of God cannot truly be achieved, or exist, except by means of charity.”¹ This is confirmed by Christ our Lord when he says: “He who keeps and observes my commandments, he is the one who loves me.”²

Don Antonio Aguiji loved God, and that is why he excelled in the perfect observance of His divine law. Adjusting his life in everything in accordance with its commandments, he settled into an exemplary way of life. He loved God, and that is why he fled from any sin and from any semblance of any; whenever he understood, or feared, that he had incurred any, he would immediately set out, walking half a league, to confess himself of it, with the most refined sorrow of his heart, since he was motivated by the love of God, and his acts of contrition were then very zealous. He loved God, and in order to unite more often with the beloved, his communions were so frequent that he never failed to take advantage of the jubilees proclaimed during the course of one year, without confessing and taking communion. He loved God, and that is why during his final illness he made various acts of love for God, showing that he was accustomed to making them during his life; as he got closer to owning and enjoying the ultimate welfare, such acts become more intense and zealous.

Now, this man who was so refined in his love of God, and therefore very observant of His divine law, was no less zealous in having others observe it as well. All his actions and words were aimed in that direction. He felt any scandal with such lively sorrow that he did not leave a stone unturned in removing it. Sometimes, when he was admonishing the unruly, and exhorting them to amend themselves, and he did achieve a result, he would congratulate himself and the reformed person, as the good Shepherd does when he finds the wayward lamb, he would take him home, to entertain him, and reward him. At other times, while chastizing the stubborn and scandalous ones, he punished the men to thrashing rice, and the women to boiling salt, no doubt he did so in order to make the men abandon their fondness for sinning, by thinking it over with every blow, and to make the women, at the sight of the fire, remember the fire of Hell where their sins were taking them. When this was not enough, he would report them to the Father Vice-Provincial, for him to apply the proper remedy.

When the hurricane of 1693 brought down all the churches and residences in the Island of Guahan, the sorrow of the good Don Antonio Aguiji was so great upon seeing

1 [In Latin:] *Quartum signum charitatis est studiosa mandatorum Dei observatio. Ratio hujus signi est, quia observatio mandatorum vero hinc charitate haberi non potest.* In Itin. ætern., L.a.2.

2 [In Latin:] *Qui habet mandata mea et servat illa, ille est qui deligit me.* (St. John 14, v. 15).

the house of God in ruins, and the Fathers as well as the soldiers in such misery, that he was affected by a holy frenzy and delirium that lasted for a few days, during which he did not cease to lament, holding a crucifix, sometimes standing and sometimes kneeling, begging God to have mercy and preaching repentance. It was remarkable that, when he reached a point when his entreaties were most zealous, if any of the Fathers would tell him: "Aguiji, enough, quiet!" he would then become quiet, and accompany the Father to our thatched shelter, where he would eat something, because at home no one could make him eat; indeed, he spent his whole time moaning and crying, until God was pleased to deliver him from that feeling, and convince him to rebuild the church and residence of the Fathers, as we said before. He did, and complied with, what St. Augustine says, which is: "Those who moan, and wish for their home in Heaven (as Don Antonio did), should be encouraged to pay attention, not to what is happening to their body, but to what is affecting their soul, by putting on the two wings of charity, which are the love of God, and that of their fellow-men."¹ Both loves are so united, so much like twins born together, that they are from the same mother: charity and the difficulty [to attain it] are found never one without the other. Both were much united in the charitable heart of Don Antonio, as will be seen from the good works that he did, and are good examples of charity, toward his neighbors. All of us generally agree that there was nothing in these Islands to compare with them. Three witnesses, in particular, testify as follows:

The first one² says: "His charity with all the poor was extremely great. His house was the common refuge of all the needy; he liberally distributed to everyone whatever came out of his plantations, specially to the Ministers of the Gospel, who owe him for the great help they received while in need."

The second one³ says: "His charity and mercy for everyone was such that it seems as if God was miraculously giving him enough to give away, because he distributed his seeds, roots, and fish among the Governor of these Islands, the Sergeant-Major, the Fathers, and the Colleges for boys, and for girls, then he had to give to as many soldiers, the poor ones who begged him for food. He did the same thing with the Indians, never refusing anything to anyone, yet he never lacked things to give."

The third one⁴ says: "From the time that the Mission stepped ashore in 1668, he always gave us part of what he worked at with his own hands, of what he planted, and fished, reserving almost nothing or little for himself. After there were officially-appointed Governors and Sergeant-Majors, he would make five divisions of what he manufactured, gathered, and fished: one for the Fathers, another for the Governor, another for the Sergeant-Major, another for the Colleges for boys and girls, and yet an-

1 [In Latin:] *Qui ergo in hac vita gemunt, et desiderant illam Patriam, currant delectatione, non pedibus corporis. Non quarant naves sed pennas, duas alas charitatis apprehendant. Quæ sunt charitatis: Dilectio Dei et proximi.* (St. Augustine, in Comentary to Psalm 144).

2 Fr. Diego de Zarzosa.

3 Fr. Miguel de Aparicio.

4 Fr. Lorenzo Bustillo.

other to help the poor, among the soldiers as well as among the natives, never sending any of them away empty-handed, and consoled. From said year of 1668 until that of 1701 when he died, the value of the goods which he would have turned over to the Fathers, out of his harvests and fisheries, and in the form of food and other things, every year would amount to over 70 pesos; so, over the 33 years, from 1668 to 1701, that would be all in all 2,310 pesos, a sum which among these people, known for being poor and walking around naked, with none of them being able to store any surplus besides the ordinary food for themselves between seasons, is a noteworthy achievement, and one that says very much about the generosity of this Indian. Unbelievable, it seems, but God seemed to bless him, and provided him sufficiently to be able to assist and succor everyone, as well as he did.

Furthermore, he did so with a smile on his face, and with such willingness that it seemed as if it all came from his charitable heart, and he showed it in the way he accompanied the present with love in giving it, and in the pleasure he got out of doing good to others. Besides, since he gave equally to those who abused, or restrained their desires,¹ so it is that his noble and generous heart resented it when, in periods of needs that he could have and wished so much to remedy, one did not approach him. Once he learned that the Mission was in difficulty, and he immediately brought nine large tortoise shells, something which they esteem as much as we do our new 8-peso doubloons, and he gave them to our Superior to remedy our necessity, saying that he resented the fact that we did not let him know; in fact, we knew very well that he had a good heart and goodwill toward us, ever since he made the promise, when the Fathers were welcomed ashore [in 1668], offering them his house, and everything in it. What has been said about it so far amply demonstrates that he kept his word, because, as St. John has prescribed: "The beloved not only demonstrates his love with words, and with language, but also with deeds, and the truth."²

IV His Christian prudence.

The wise, or prudent, man, says the Holy Ghost, remains true to himself at all times, as the Sun under any accidents of the weather, without behaving like a lunatic when the Moon shines.³ This immutability and constancy is taught to us by prudence, says St. Augustine, so that we may behave the same way when times are prosperous or adverse, just like our hand, that can be opened up to show the palm, or retracted in the form of a fist.

Don Antonio Aguiji behaved that way. In fact, no matter how many incidents occurred, such as those that the Mission went through, they affected him too as he was so close to it, under prosperous or adverse times, he was always the same, never misbehaving, during neither the ones nor the others. He was always firm and constant in the

1 Ed. note: Passage unclear due to illegibility of the original text.

2 [In Latin:] *Non diligamur verbo, non lingua, sed opere et veritate.* (St. John 3 [sic]).

3 [In Latin:] *Homo Sanctus in sapientia manet sicut Sol; nam stulto sicut Luna mutatur.* (Eccl. 27 [v. 11 or 12]).

faith and Christian cause, as we have already said. Now, we will mention how he behaved with regards to subjection and loyalty to His Majesty.

Indeed, it was what made him always remain so close to our people; in spite of the many criticisms that he received from his own people, he never left our side. This virtue made him accompany not only the Fathers in their mission tours but also the commanders and soldiers in their enterprises, he being always the foremost scout, skirting the bad spots, foreseeing and discovering the ambushes and traps, and attacking the enemies with courage and spirit. This virtue also made him come to the assistance of the Christian camp and with food when they were in a fix, and reporting on the intentions of the adversaries. It made him say, and respect, the truth in all his dealings and conversations, so much so that not the slightest lie was ever heard from him, nor any duplicity or insincerity—something very extraordinary in an Indian—because his noble and sincere heart hated all of that, as much as he hated death, but he would rather have died than be caught with a lie, although it was by mistake that he was ever judged slightly disloyal.

In the year 1683, he accompanied Don Antonio de Saravia, the first Governor of these Islands to have been appointed by the King our Lord, Charles II (may he rest in peace), during the enterprise of Tinian and Saypan. He was the first man to step from the boat where he was at the side of His Lordship. He did so by jumping over to a canoe and approaching the shore to confront the enemies who were entrenched on the beach. However, due to a certain incident, the attack did not proceed, and a signal was given to pull back. As he had to do the same, but he misunderstood the order given him and made for Rota. When he realized that they wanted him to return to the boat instead, he thought that they were reprehending him for his disloyalty. His sorrow was so great that it was enough to make him lose control of himself, enough to commit suicide, had not his sadness been noticed, and immediately tempered with assurance that it had been a mistake.

On account of this great loyalty of his, a virtue so esteemed by his noble heart, the Gentlemen Governors, of the Philippines and of the Marianas, esteemed him and held him in high regard. For instance, Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado honored him with the title of Master-of-camp of the natives of these Islands. Don Antonio de Saravia made him his Lieutenant General (a title that was later confirmed by His Majesty) and he had him move to Agaña in order to have him at hand. Don Damian de Esplana used to call him his old man, because he loved him and cherished him. Their Lordships Don José de Madrazo and Don Francisco Medrano y Asiain, who made his acquaintance when he was already old and ailing, whenever he came to see them, they would come out to the staircase to bid him welcome, and picking him up by the hand they would take him to their quarters, offering him a chair to sit on. And they would return his visit, going to his house to call on him, whenever he was sick and in bed; and his Lordship would then reward his loyalty by sending him food from his table. Don José de Quiroga y Losada, during the 22 years that he knew him and dealt with him, had such a liking for him that in his final illness he had difficulty pulling himself away from his

bedside, and nowadays he can hardly mention his dear Aguiji without obvious emotion.

The natives knew very well of the influence that he had with these Gentlemen, and they placed the claims and requests that they had in his hands, to present to their Lordships, thus making use of his services in the adjustment and despatches of same. He in turn would give them advice and taught them on the procedure to follow to get what they wanted, and whenever necessary he went himself to intercede for them, and all this without eagerness, but only with his simple approach and with the peacefulness that he used, it was enough to steal the hearts of the Gentlemen Governors, and he obtained as much as he wanted in his entreaties.

[V.] His justice.

According to the text placed in margin,¹ we have already recorded forever the justice of Don Antonio Aguiji, who so profusely and liberally distributed and gave what he had to the needy, as we saw in Section III. He neither coveted nor usurped what belonged to others, nor did he keep for himself any thing without the permission of its owner. He paid on time whomever served him, either personally or through work. He never let his correspondents down;² when one of them owed him some favor, he did not press for it. His reputation and the credit that he had gained were so great that one word from Aguiji was worth more than so many written words and obligations in closing any deal.

Whenever a native would present him with a gift, he would immediately pay it back with something worth twice as much. For instance, when Captain Pedro Inog, who does his best to follow his example, gave him a *Guatafi*, a large sword-fish, that is much esteemed for its size and its savory and firm flesh, he reciprocated with as much in material goods and rice, but, as if this was not enough to equate the present in value, in order to do one better, the next time he had a chance to satisfy this desire, one day, having fished a similar fish from his canoe, upon reaching the shore and home, he had it delivered to said Captain. What happened is something fantastic. Indeed, the Captain gave it to his brother, who in turn gave it to another, who gave it to another, and so on from house to house throughout the town, until it came right back to Aguiji's house, its point of departure, as happened once to the bunch of grapes of the Fathers of the Thebaide.³ Finally, since Don Antonio did not wish to see something that he had given return to his house, he sent the fish to Agadña as a gift for the camp. Who would have used so much generosity in giving up so willingly something that the goodwill of everyone had returned to him, where he never let anything belonging to others come

1 [In Latin:] *Dispersit, dedit pauperibus, Justitia ejus manet in Sæculum Sæculi.* (Psalm 111 [112, v. 5-6]). Ed. note: The literal translation is: "He distributed [his wealth] and gave to the poor; may his justice remain forever and ever."

2 Ed. note: Chamorro chiefs had counterparts on other islands who acted as their reciprocal hosts.

3 Ed. note: A reference to the first Christian hermits who lived in this region, corresponding to Upper Egypt.

in? Therefore, it was with much truth that he could say, what he said during his final illness, that is, firstly, that he owed nothing to anyone; and secondly, that he had not done any harm to anyone, neither concerning material goods (as we have seen) nor in their honor, because he was never heard to say a word that might have been interpreted as a disparaging remark against someone else's reputation. To the contrary, even what he could have in all justice said, he kept quiet about, out of charity. One night, he caught a thief inside his house, with the stolen property in his hands. When he asked him how he dared do that, the thief alleged need, as an excuse. Sympathizing with him, the good Aguiji told him: "Do you see overthere that bundle of rice, and overhere this basket of roots? Alright, take both of them with you, and remedy your need. And in future don't try to remedy it by stealing and offending God, but ask for it for the love of God, and you will not be refused." And then he let him go without telling anyone about the incident. Well, such perfection, and justice, in a man such as this who did not offend anyone with bad words.¹

VI. His great fortitude.

This quality, if one looks at it from the point of view of physical strength, he was by nature a giant who made everyone respect him by his great strength and courage. When he was still a gentile, he was the terror of these Islands, and he turned this to advantage once he had become a Christian. However, given that one is really strong, only if he can conquer himself, and not the one who can scale the walls of castles to conquer them, so it is that efforts made by the soul must pass to the body, and so control it. Such a palm must be reserved for the brave and valorous Don Antonio, for having conquered himself under duress, as we shall see in the following examples.²

He conquered himself when he forgave his wife. Indeed, a few years after they had gotten married before the Church, on account of the troubles brought on by wars and uprisings that were happening one after the other, she was carried off by the current and left him, to go and live with someone else. However, persuaded by the Fathers, he forgave her, and accepted to take her back and live with her as a married couple would; he did so, and continued doing so very peacefully until his death—something in which he had many difficulties to overcome, because among these natives it is considered shameful for a husband to take back his wife after she has left him. He himself would admit that the jeers and scoffing that he was subjected to for having done so caused him much grief, and that he would submit to it only for not breaking the law of God. However, His Majesty repaid him with a huge victory and with heaps of grace, because from that point onward, he began to settle down to the exemplary way of life that we have said, and he won over his wife by his example, and reformed her so well that she

1 [In Latin:] *Si quis in verbo non offendit, hic perfectus est vir.* (James 3 [v. 2]). Ed. note: Literally, "if a man does not offend with words, he is perfect."

2 [In Latin:] *Fortior est qui se quam qui fortissima vincit moenia...* [unfinished quotation].

became a virtual mirror image of him, as she followed his virtuous example at every step.¹

He conquered himself too when he forgave one soldier, to whom Don Antonio had politely requested to stop bothering some women of his household. The man answered him with insolence, and threatened him with a knife that he carried in his hand. However, when Don Antonio saw such boldness, trusting in his great strength—which he still had even when he was old and ill—he grabbed him strongly, and dispossessed him of his weapon. He was holding him so tightly that the soldier, in order to escape, and not be choked to death—though Don Antonio would never have done that—he bit him on the shoulder, hurting him quite badly, but, realizing that not even that could gain him an escape, fearing either for this life or that he would be taken prisoner to the Governor, he begged him for the love of God and the Most Holy Virgin, to please let him go; that he was very sorry about his boldness, and that he should not report him to his Governor, because it would cost him dearly. The generous Aguiji let him go then, and he gave his word that he would not tell anything to anyone, a promise he kept, since he only told his Confessor, whom he came looking for, in order to unload his conscience, and to confess himself for that anger. When his confessor told him that it would be proper for him to report the incident to the Governor, to prevent anyone else from carrying out a similar boldness, his answer was that what he had offered to God and His Most Holy Mother had to be complied with, and so he earnestly pleaded with his confessor to keep the matter secret.

He conquered himself also when he courageously confronted the enemies of the faith on the occasion that I am about to mention. The year was 1681. The Ven. Fr. Manuel de Solorzano, then Vice-Provincial of the Mission, made a voyage to Rota, taking Don Antonio in his company, along with an officer and as many soldiers as the Governor, Don Antonio de Saravia, reserved for him. They arrived safely at Rota, and were very well received by these islanders. Many small children were baptized, and the sites on which to build two churches for the teaching of the adults of that island were chosen. From there they sailed to the Island of Tinian. Since they were received there with the same good result, his Reverence the Fr. Vice-Provincial believed that he would receive the same good treatment among those of Saypan. So, he also passed to this island. However, after they had arrived, Don Antonio noticed some cruel countenances on the faces of the islanders. He came up to the Fr. Vice-Provincial and told him: “Your Reverence should warn the officer of these soldiers. They should be on their guard, and ready to use their weapons, to make sure that these Indians gathering around us will not surprise them.” What the prudent Don Antonio was advising was done; when the Indians saw that precautions were being taken, they withdrew. However, at nightfall, some terrifying yells were heard coming from within the bush. Surprised, the Fr. Vice-Provincial asked him: “What is it that they are trying to say with that?” Don Antonio answered:

1 [In Latin:] *Et sanctificata est mulier infidelis per virum fidelem.* (I Corinthians 7 [v. 14]). Ed. note: Literally meaning: “An unfaithful wife is sanctified by a faithful husband.”

“Father, what they want is to fight, and they are calling themselves to come together for that purpose. Y.R. should talk with the officer, whether we are ready to fight, or not! And if we are not ready, although it pains me very much not to be able to put my hands on them, it is better to withdraw from the field. Let us avoid the danger by withdrawing on time, and let us go.” That is what they did that same night, heading for Rota.

The daughters of fortitude are tolerance in hardships and patience in sickness. Don Antonio used to work continuously in his plantations and fishing, and he did so, not for getting more and keep his house and himself better supplied than others, but to have enough to succor others with. That is why God blessed him and made his handiwork remarkable and successful. Indeed, **it is very common for the rice cultivated by these Indians to fail**, either on account of the lack of water that causes dryness, or for the malignity of the air that causes withering, but mostly for the plague of rats that consume it. In spite of this, it appears that Don Antonio’s plantations never failed. Since the land had remained without cultivation for two years in a row, at the time of the last uprising, i.e. in 1684 because the war was going on, and the following year 1685 because of the lack of manpower, many men being still fugitives, the rats meanwhile multiplied to such a great extent during this letup that at the beginning of 1686, when there was enough manpower collected for it, it was awful to watch the crowds of rats and the hunger with which they attacked the recently-planted rice, eating the stalks that were still only grass. Upon seeing this, Don Antonio, no doubt inspired from above, set up such good traps that he caught them by the hundreds and killed them with a stick. The others followed his example and soon they cleaned their plantations of such a harmful plague.

The continuous labor in which he spent his life brought him painful illnesses and chronic ailments in his old age, which he spent suffering, but accepting his condition as the will of God. One of his two legs was monstrously swollen, and spongy with very clear aqueous humor. This condition had come to him as a result of the continuous humidity that he experienced while out fishing, and doing field work, specially those in the rice plantations, as most of this kind of work is done in fields with pools of water or mud. When it was festering, it caused him some very painful attacks of cold, that made him shiver, his teeth clattering. The treatment that was then applied was to squeeze the leg between two boards, securely fastening those with a cord, and tightening it to express the malignant humor. And, to reduce the cold sensations that he had, he poured a soup of hot peppers down his throat, and it burned him up, so that one could say that “to get some relief, he passed through fire, and water.”¹

1 [In Latin:] *Transitimus per ignem et aguam, et eduxisti nos in refrigerium.* (Psalm 65 [v. 12]).

VII. His temperance.

Given that the effect of this virtue is to refrain gluttony and sensual appetite, as St. Ambrose says,¹ Don Antonio excelled very much in both, because he was very frugal and abstemious in taking food, such that he used to give to us, and to the colleges and the camp the best of what he had, and so, fed himself with the local roots, and with fruits from the trees. When we had a chance to tell him to reserve something for himself, given that his advance age and ailments required it, he would say that he was giving that to us because we were raised with and used to good foods but that he only needed any thing from the trees and any of the edible roots.

This frugality almost turned off in him all the sensuality that St. John says had three forms, that is, the pernicious appetites of property, flesh, and honor.²

Regarding the first form, it appears that he was not like the common mass of the Indians, who by their diffident nature are very tenacious and very greedy. Don Antonio was the opposite of that, because he was very liberal with everyone, and specially with us. Furthermore, he did not want to accept what was offered to him on our part, claiming that he was repaid sufficiently by being able to do good to others. When we insisted that he should accept, in order not to appear too obstinate by refusing, he would say that we should keep it for him in our house, that he would come back for it later when he needed it, but he never came for it; when we tried subsequently to give it to him, it was necessary to appeal to God for help, for him to accept. When he had been virtually forced to accept it, he would then act as if he had given us nothing and immediately went in search of the best goods that he could find, and gave us double the value of what he had received, with so much insistence and eagerness that we were obliged to accept, so as not to sadden him.

In the second form, regarding the flesh or sensuality, he was also so temperate on this score that, from the time he became reconciled with his wife, he kept conjugal chastity fully and faithfully; in an Indian, this is no less praiseworthy as celibacy in Europe, or virginity itself.

Finally, he was not at all arrogant, not greedy for honors; none of the honors made to him by the Gentlemen Governors ever went to his head. When Don Antonio de Saravia had him move to Agaña³ and gave him the Title of Lieutenant Governor and Captain General, he created as well a company of local natives and issued a routine order to the effect that every day they were to stand guard [at his house], and they were also to take turns doing the same thing at Don Antonio's place, since he was his Lieutenant. When he went out, they were to accompany him. This honor eventually became burdensome for him, and he fought to get rid of it when he lived at Agaña, because

1 [In Latin:] *Non solum illa laudabilis est temperantia, quæ parca ciborum est, sed etiam illa, quæ concupiscentiæ.* (Letter 25, Book 3).

2 [In Latin:] *Omne quod est in multo concupiscentia carnis est, et concupiscentia oculorum, et superbia vitæ.* (John 2 [sic]).

3 Ed. note: He had gone to live at Ayran in 1676 (see Doc. 1677D2).

his house became the target of any poor and needy person, and the guest-house of any visitor to the garrison, although he lodged them all with charity, and fed them with liberality. This was observed by Fr. Manuel de Solorzano—he was then Vice-Provincial—who used to say: “This Indian no doubt has some royal blood. Look what he is doing, with so much generosity and charity, without shortchanging anyone.” This is the only instance when he seemed to claim poverty and shortage; indeed, when the same Fr. Vice-Provincial chanced by, he begged His Reverence to please ask His Lordship the Governor to relieve him of that guard at his house, because he said that it was costing him too much. O! very honorable Aguiji, that is how you chose to escape the fantastic honor of this world, but the true honor, and glory, of Heaven has finally been given you!¹

Conclusion.

Those were the major virtues which allowed our good Aguiji to raise the spiritual edifice of his soul, a fitting mausoleum to his eternal memory, based as it was upon the very solid foundations of Faith and Hope,² and fortified with the four very solid corners represented by Prudence, Justice, Fortitude and Temperance, and crowned with the most high pinnacle of his very extensive charity towards all. These virtues enabled him to be loved by God, and by men, to become respected and cherished even by his enemies, and obeyed by the most rebellious and obstinate among them. Such virtues were undoubtedly obtained for him by the Mother of them all, the particular Patroness of her Marianos, Most Holy MARY,³ toward whom Don Antonio showed a singular affection, as he recited her Rosary with a great devotion, and celebrated her feast-days with confession and communion, and complying readily and in a timely fashion with whatever was asked of him in honor and reverence of this Lady. It appears that she in turn cared for him even in his sepulture and burial, since she arranged for that to occur in her church, and on her special day, which is Saturday, in order to give to his lucky soul the rest in Heaven, meanwhile his body was being attended to inside her Church of Agadña by its three syndicates.⁴ Reason being that it was a final show of affection on the part of everyone who had previously known him to be a Father to them all and loved him as such. So it is that everyone came to honor his burial: the Captains from the garrison carried his body and were followed by the other ranks, accompanied by

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- 1 [In Latin:] *Honor fugientem sequitur*. Ed. note: Literally meaning “Honor follows the one who avoids it.”
 - 2 [In Latin:] *Dilectus Deo est hominibus, cujus memoria in benedictione est, etc.* (Eccl. 45 [v. 1]. Ed. note: Translated, this reads: “Well loved by God and by men. On his memory a blessing rests, etc.”
 - 3 [In Latin:] *Ego mater pulchræ dilectionis, etc.* Ed. note: Literally meaning: “I am the mother of beautiful love, etc.”
 - 4 Ed. note: I think this means the military camp, the colleges, and the Jesuits (see below).

their Sergeant-Major José de Quiroga y Losada; the college boys and girls came with candles and music; and the Fathers with a high mass, and the office of the dead. Besides, his memory will live forever; indeed, he leaves behind so many people ready to praise his charity and mercy, all those who have received help from him, and that means everyone, and above all this Mariana Mission that owes him much, since he was like the instrument chosen by God to ensure its survival. Thus, *in memoria aeterna erit Justus, ab auditione male non timebit*,¹ because on Judgment Day, when the impious shall hear the very fair Judge say the very unlucky word *Ite*, Don Antonio with the pious shall hear the very lucky word *Venite*.²

[Endorsement:] Eulogy of Don Antonio Aguiji, military officer in the Marianas.

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- 1 Psalm 111, [v. 6]. Ed. note: Meaning “Men will remember the Just forever. No fear shall he have of evil tidings.”
 - 2 Matthew 25. Ed. note: *Ite* means “Go away [to Hell]” while *Venite* means “Come in[-to Heaven].”

Document 1701B

Jesuit annual report for 1701

Source: RAH 9/2678, doc. n° 12.

Points for the annual letter ...

Original text in Spanish.

Puntos para la Carta Anua de la Mission de Marianas de la Comp^a de Jhs Año de 1701.

Los sugetos que tiene esta Mission son los mismos, y exercitan los mismos ministerios que se dixo el año pasado; y asi se escusa el repetirlo aqui.

El H^o Melchor de Santa Cruz, que avia servido de Donado a esta Mission desde el año de 1688 que vino de Filipinas, fue recebido por Novicio de la Comp^a de Jhs a 30 de Julio del año pasado de 1700.

La observancia Religiosa y zelo de los nuestros esta en su vigor. Los ministerios y el fruto de ellos es casi el mismo que se expreso el año pasado, y por ser casi de una misma especie los casos de edificacion que han sucedido se omiten muchos y solo se apuntaran los que tienen alguna singularidad.

Avian trabajado mucho tiempo los Indios de la Isla de Rota por prender a un Indio de esta Isla de Guahan que siendo casado se llevo dha muger casada a Rota, y escondido en el monte vivia amanzebado con ella; y viendo que ningun trabajo ni diligencia les bastava para quitar aquel escandalo de su Isla ofrecieron 10 Missas a San Francisco Xavier, y el ultimo viernes en que se avia dicho la ultima Missa, el mismo reo se vino a un pueblo a casa y sitio donde fue aprehendido y traído a esta Isla, donde con prisiones esta pagando su delito.

La epidemia de Catarros, y camaras de sangre que ubo en esta[s] Islas desde el mes de Junio del año pasado de 1700 hasta fines de Diziembre del mismo año, que fue tan pe[s]tilente que dice el H^o Xaime Chavari que ni en los Libros de Medicina, ni en los Hospitales generales ha leído, ni visto tan pestilente corrupcion de humores, dio bastante materia de exercitar la caridad así a los Padres Misioneros en administrar los Santos Sacramentos y enterrar los Muchos que morian como al dho H^o Xaime en curar a los muchos enfermos que tenia a su cargo, de los quales muchos sanaron por su acti-

va caridad en aplicarles eficaces medicamentos. Con esta epidemia quiso Dios minorar esta pobre Christiandad para aumentar el numero de sus escogidos en el Cielo como esperamos de su infinita misericordia, y de la buena disposicion con que los enfermos recebian los Santos Sacramentos haciendose traer para ello a la Iglesia.

*Dos Colegialitos que murieron de esta enfermedad en el Colegio se dispusieron con tanta devocion y tan tiernos y devotos actos de Fee, Esperanza y Caridad que sacavan las lagrimas a los que les asistian: uno de estos niños de 12 años llamado **Diego Hafigi**, con la fuerza de la calentura y fuertes dolores que padecia[,] delirava a ratos, y en su delirio repetia los mismos actos que exercitava quando estava en su juicio. Solía repetir frecuentemente estas palabras. **No sirve para esta hora cosa ninguna de la tierra; solamente aprovecha el llamar a Dios.** El otro que se llamava **Diego Ramen** padecio tan tan [sic] vehementes dolores que parecia se le despedazavan las entrañas, y asistiendole y exortandole el Paqdre Rector a sufrirlos con paciencia, como el lo hacia apretando fuertemente la mano al Padre Rector le decia con ternura: **Padre mío encomiendame a Dios, y pidele a su Magestad que me de fuerzas para sufrir.***

*Otro Colegial por nombre **Francisco Xavier Piritu** murio ya tísico despues de aver padecido por espacio de mas de tres años tanta multitud de llagas, que serian mas de sesenta las vocas que sele abrieron a fuerza de causticos tan fuertes, que a hombres robustos les hicieran dar gritos, y a este Angelito no se le oyo un quexido en tan continuado padecer: negociava de Dios esta paciencia con la frecuencia de los Sacramentos Confesando y Comulgando cada ocho dias y con la devocion de Nuestra Señora cuyo Rosario rezava con mucha devocion, y por medio dio [sic] de la intercession de S. Francisco Xavier a quien hi hizo [sic] repetidas Novenas; y asi con tan buena disposicion podemos fiar de la misericord[r]dia de Dios que su muerte fue dichosa en el acatamiento Divino.*

***Lucas Emengro** muchacho de la Isla de Rota estando gravemente enfermo y no aviendo podido recibir el viatico a causa de los vomitos que padecia, hallandose mas apretado embio a llamar al Padre y le dixo: **Padre yo me muero, y no he recibido el viatico** y diciendole el Padre que los vomitos avian sido la causa, respondió el, **ya gra[cia]s a Dios se me han quitado, y no deseo otra cosa que morir consolado sino recibir a mi Señor Jesuchristo.** Administrole el Padre el viatico, que recibio el enfermo con gran devocion y estando ya mui cercano a la muerte decia **muero mui consolado por aver recibido al Señor que ahuyentara al Demonio de mi alma.** Este muchacho se avia el voluntariamente venido a servir al Padre a su Casa por huir de las ocasiones de ofender a Dios en su pueblo.*

Conocese ia se [están] arraigando en la Fee estos naturales con la cultura de la predicacion de la Divina palabra asi en el modo de confessar sus pecados, y muestras que dan del dolor y sentimiento de averlos cometido como en vencer el empacho que pudiera embarazarles la integridad, revalidando algunos las confesiones sacrilegas por pecados callados. Como en la devocion con que piden y reciben los demas Sacramentos, en la paciencia con que sufren sus dolores, y enfermedades, y en el fervor con que cer-

canos a la partida exercitan los actos de las Virtudes theologales y de contricion de sus pecados.

Un enfermo en la Isla de Seipan, confessado y oleado, padecio por mucho tiempo intenssimos dolores con singular paciencia sin oirsele una quexa; no le avia dado el Padre el viatico por parecerle summamente rudo, mas llamado a deshora del enfermo le oyo al llegar a su casa llamar a Dios con alta voz y con tal fervor y palabras tan tier-nas, y tan concertadas como pudiera un Christiano mui antiguo, o como un Religioso mui espiritual, enterneciose el Padre y conociendo que aquella era mudanza de la dies-tra del todo poderoso a quien le es facil convertir las piedras en hijos de Abraham, le dio el viatico que recibio el enfermo con gran ternura y devocion; y confortado con el pan del Cielo prosigio en su paciencia sufriendo su[s] dolores hasta morir y pasar al de-scanso eterno, como piadosamente se puede creer.

En el partido de Merizo encargo el padre que para el dia de pasqua de resurreccion traxesen a la Iglesia a oir Missa a los enfermos valdados, y habituales que aunque le-gitimamente escusados de la obligacion de la Missa, era bien que en dia tan celebre vi-niesen a adorar a Dios a su Santo templo; y fue tanta la puntualidad que no quedo enfermo ninguno en los pueblos que no viniese aquel dia a la Iglesia, cosa que causo ternura al padre viendo tantas Jamaquillas por tierra y tantas embarcacioncillas por el mar cargando enfermos; y despues averiguo no aver quedadose aquel dia ninguno de su partido sin Missa.

*El dia 15 de Abril de este presente año de 1701 quiso nuestro Señor llevar para sí, como de ser misericordia esperamos, al buen D. **Antonio Ayihi** Indio Principal de esta Isla de Guahan, a quien el Rey nuestro Señor por sus grandes meritos honró con el titu-lo de Teniente de Capitan General de los Indios de estas Islas Marianas, y el Señor Gov-ernador de Filipinas D. Juan de Vargas Hurtado con el de Maese de Camp [sic] de los mismos naturales de estas Islas, y a quien Dios nuestro Señor abra dado en el Cielo el premio correspondiente a sus grandes virtudes;*

*Fueron tan exscelentes las prendas asi naturales como sobrnaturales, con que Dios adorno el alma de D. Antonio de Ayihi, que con mucha propiedad se puede decir del, que fue varon **dilectus Deo et hominibus cuius memoria in benedictione est:** [Eccl. 45.] amado de Dios y de los hombres por su caridad Christiana, y zelo de la gloria Di-vivina [sic], y salvacion de las almas, por su misericordia y liberalidad para con todos no reservando para si sino lo precisamente necesario para su sustento por aver sido la columna y principal fundamento de esta Christiandad Mariana, Angel de paz del Evangelio y de sus Ministros, terror de los malos, y enemigos de Dios, a quienes reprim-ia con su valor y autoridad, a quien Dios engrandecio con el temor que le tenian sus enemigos: **magnificavit eum itimore [sic] inimicorum;** asi los de su persona siendo Gentil, pues era el terror de estas Islas por sus grandes fuerzas y valor con que se hacia respetar de todos; como despues de Christiano de los enemigos de la fee y del Evange-lio, a quienes amonestava, corregia, y reprehendia sus vicios y costumbres Gentilicas con tal energia como pudiera el mas zeloso Missionero sin temer el peligro de perder la vida a que varias vezes se expuso por esta causa; y en una iritados de sus amonesta-*

ciones los Indios de Ritidyan le acometieron furiosos ahogarle; mas el con su grande valor y fuerzas se escapo de sus manos. **Et in verbis suis monstra placavit**, y con la eficacia que Dios dava a sus palabras aplaco la furia de estos monstruos, que tanta resistencia hizieron a la mansedumbre Christiana en tantos levantamientos guerras y muertes de Ministros del Evangelio y Soldados, en todas la quales el buen D. Antonio era el Angel de paz, que con sus consejos y direcciones, y con su persona y armas socorria dirigia y ayudava a los Ministros de Dios; cuia providencia singular le guardo la vida en tantos peligros para que viendo antes de su muerte reducidas a la Fee y paz Christiana todas estas Islas tuviese en esta vida con este consuelo parte del premio que aora goza en la eterna.

Avia Dios escogido a D. Antonio de Ayihi para columna y principal fundamento de esta Christiandad y asi le previno con sus bendiciones dandole un natural tan generoso, y caritativo, que aun antes de ser Christiano, exercito esta su caridad natural, con los Christianos naufragos que quedaron en estas Islas de la Nao **Concepcion** que se perdio en Seipan, de cuia conversacion y trato avia ya aprendido a alabar a Dios, y a venerar a los Ministros del Evangelio, y asi luego que el Ven. Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores salto en esta Isla con sus compañeros el año de 1668 el buen D. Antonio con un rostro mui apacible se llevo a darles la bienvenida diciendo **Alabado sea el Santissimo Sacramento**, cosa que causo notable admiracion y ternura al Ven. Padre y a sus compañeros, echole el Ven. Padre los brazos al cuello diciendo en su lengua, **o que bueno es el Ayihi y que lindo corazon tiene[.]** Luego dixo el Ayihi al padre y a sus compañeros. **Padres[.] yo vivo en este pueblo de Agadña[.] alli esta mi casa, mi Persona y quanto ai en ella es vuestra.** Promessa que cumplio tan abundante y generosamente, que su hazienda su arroz, sus embarcaciones, y su trabajo personal siempre sirvio a los Missioneros, llevandolos de unas Islas a otras, de unos pueblos a otros sin dexar nunca de acompañarlos por mar y por tierra cargandolos al pasar los rios socorriendolos con comida, cargando los ornamentos dirigiendolos, y diciendoles el modo con que avian de tratar y reducir a estos naturales, avisandoles de los peligros, y en las guerras y alzamientos sintiendo nuestras perdidas, y aleg[r]jandose de los buenos sucessos de nuestras armas, sin aver faltado en un apice a la Fee que professo en el Bautismo que recibio mui luego, entre los primeros como tambien dispuesto para la gracia, ni a la lealtad de fiel vassallo del Rey nuestro Señor en tantos años, y en tantas revoluciones y alzamientos de los suyos.

Su charidad y misericordia con todos era tal que parece le dava Dios milagrosamente que dar, por que repartiendo sus granos rayces y pesca entre el Governador de estas Islas, Sargento mayor PP. y Colegios de niños y niñas, tenia que dar a quantos Soldados pobres le pedian socorro de comida, y lo mismo hacia con los Indios no negando a nadie nada ni faltandole jamas que dar; y esto con tanto disinteres, que costaba mucho trabajo hazerle recibir algun regalo de las cosas que nos vienen de Mexido y de Manila.

Pero en lo que mas campeo su charidad Christiana fue en perdonar injurias. Perdono a su muger que a pocos años de casado in facie Ecclesiae le dexo y se amanzeló

[sic] con otro, mas persuadido de los Padres se reduxo a volver a hazer vida maridable con ella, como la continuo con mucha paz hasta la muerte, cosa en que tuvo mucho que vencerse por ser entre los suios cosa afrentosa volver con la muger que una vez dexo al marido; y desde entonces entablo una vida tan Christiana que puede ser exemplar aun de Religiosos, sus confessions y comuniones eran mui frequentes y era tal la pureza de su conciencia, que apenas hallavan sus confesores materia para la absolucion.

Perdono a un Soldado a quien aviendole pedido con cortecia D. Antonio de Ayihi que dexase de inquietar a unas mugeres de su casa, el le respondio con injurias, y amenazandole con un tranchete que traia en la mano, que era zapatero, mas, viendo D. Antonio tal atrevimiento fiado en sus grandes fuerzas, que aun las conservava estando mui viejo, y achacoso le asio fuertemente y le gano el arma teniendole tan apretado, que el Soldado por desasirse, y que no le ahogase, cosa que nunca hiciera D. Antonio, le dio un bocado en un ombro que le lastimo bastantemente, y viendo que no podia desasirse del[,] temiendo o que le matase, o que le llevase preso al Governador le pidio por amor de Dios y de la Santissima Virgen, que le soltase, que le pesava mucho de su atrevimiento, y que no le diese aviso a su Governador por que le costaria caro. El generoso Ayihi le soltó luego y le dio palabra de no decir a nadie nada, como lo cumplio, pues solo lo dixo a su confessor, a quien vino luego a buscar para desahogar su animo y confesarse de aquel enojo; y diciendole su confesor que convenia dar parte al Governador para que otro no tuviese semejante atrevimiento el le dixo, que lo que avia ofrecido a Dios y a su Santissima madre lo avia de cumplir, y asi suplico con grandes instancias a su confessor que no avisase nada.

*De su charidad y zelo Christiano avia mucho que decir, pues sus acciones palabras; y obras todas iban encaminadas a promover en sus naturales la piedad christiana, y el aprecio de las cosas de la Fee. Sentia qualquier escandalo con tan vivo sentimiento que no dexava medio para quitarlo unas vezes amonestando, otras castigando a los escandalosos, y quando esto no bastava avisando al Padre Vice Provincial para que pusiese remedio. Quando el uracan del año de 1693 asoló todas las Iglesias y Casas de esta Isla{s} fue tal el sentimiento del buen D. Antonio de Ayihi viendo arruinada la Casa de Dios, y a los Padres, Soldados e Indios en tanta miseria, que le ocasiono un santo frenesí y delirio que le duró algunos dias, en los quales con un crucifixo en las manos no cesava de dar voces unas vezes en pie y otras hincado de rodillas pidiendo a Dios misericordia y predicando penitencia. Y era cosa notable, que estando en lo mas ardiente de sus clamores en diciendole qualquiera de los Padres **Ayihí basta, calle:** luego enmudecia y se venia con el Padre a nuestra enramada, a donde comia algo; por que en su casa no avia forma de hacerle comer.*

Al paso que el buen D. Antonio era amado y estimado de todos por sus virtudes, a ese paso fue el sentimiento de todos, pues cada uno considerava aver perdido mucho en el y asi concurrieron todos a honrar su entierro; Los Capitanes del Presidio cargando su cuerpo, y los demas acompañandole con su Sargento Mayor D. Joseph de Quiroga y Losada que no se puede acordar de su querido Ayihí sin enternecerse, los

Colegiales con candelas, y Musicas, y los Padres con Missa Cantada, y oficio de sepultura.

Los Bautismos de parvulos que se han hecho desde primero de Mayo del año pasado hasta fines de Abril de este presente año de 1701 don 207[.] Los adultos bautizados en este mismo tiempo son 202[.] Los niños que han muerto con la gracia bautismal son 157, y los adultos que han muerto recibidos los Santos Sacramentos son 495: que aunque sirve de consuelo el ver la buena disposicion con que se disponen para morir causa algun sentimiento ver que es dos vezes maior el numero de los difuntos que el de los nacidos. Quiera Dios compadecerse de esta pobre Mission mariana por la intevension de la Santissima Madre Patrona de estas Islas y aumentarla en la tierra como fiamos de su piedad que la ha aumentado en el Cielo.

Translation.

Points for the annual letter from the Mariana Mission of the Society of Jesus for the year 1701.

The individuals present in this Mission are the same ones mentioned last year and they exercise the same ministries; so, there is no need to repeat this here.

Brother Melchor de Santa Cruz, who had served this Mission as an oblate brother since 1688 when he came from the Philippines, was received as a Novice into the Society of Jesus on 30 July of last year 1700.

The religious observance and zeal of our people is in its full vigor. The ministries and the fruit from them is almost the same as that mentioned last year, and since the type of edifying cases that have happened is almost the same also, many are herein omitted and only those that merit special mention will be covered.

The Indians of the Island of Rota had spent much time and effort to catch an Indian from this Island of Guahan who, being married, had absconded to Rota with a married woman and was living in the bush there with her as man and wife. When they saw that no amount of efforts was sufficient to stop that scandal in their island, they offered 10 masses to St. Francis Xavier, and on the last Friday of the last mass, the criminal himself showed up in a town, and a house where he was in fact captured, and brought over to this island, where he is now paying for his crime with his legs in irons.

The epidemic of catarrhs and bloody stools that took place in these islands since June of last year 1700 until the end of December of the same year, was so virulent that Br. Jaime Chavarri says that he has never read about such a deadly infection in any book on medicine nor seen it in any general hospital. It gave ample opportunity for the missionaries to exercise their charity, not only the Fathers in administering the holy sacraments and burying the many who died, but also Br. Jaime in taking care of the many sick people whom he looked after, many of whom were cured by his active charity in applying efficient medicines. With this epidemic God wished to decrease this poor Christian community in order to increase the number of the chosen in Heaven, as we hope from His infinite mercy, and from the good preparation with which the sick re-

ceived the holy sacraments, when they had themselves be carried over to the church for this purpose.

Two small college boys who died from this sickness in the college prepared themselves with such devotion and such tender and devout acts of Faith, Hope and Charity that they caused tears to appear in the eyes of those who assisted them. One of these small boys was named **Diego Hafigi**, 12 years old. Due to the high degree of the fever and the strong pains that was racking his body, he was sometimes delirious and he would then repeat the same acts that he practised when he was conscious. He would often repeat the following words: **“Nothing in this world is of any use now. Only praying to God can be useful.”** The other boy was named **Diego Ramen**. He suffered such strong pains that it seemed as if his entrails were breaking down into pieces. When the Father Rector was assisting him and exhorting him to suffer them with patience, which he did, while holding on strongly to the hand of the Father Rector, he would say with tenderness: **My dear Father, commend me to God, and ask His Majesty to give me strength to suffer.**

Another college boy named **Francisco Xavier Piritu** died after he had suffered for over three years of phthisis, with such a multitude of ulcers that one could count over 60 wounds that were opened by the application of such strong caustic substances that grown men would have cried, but this little Angel would not utter one small cry during such a long calvary; this patience came from God as a result of his frequent partaking of the sacraments. Indeed, he used to go to confession and communion every 8 days, and was devoted to Our Lady (he would recite her rosary with much devotion). He also enjoyed the intercession of St. Francis Xavier by making numerous novenas to him. So, with such a good preparation we may hope that, through God’s mercy, his death was a lucky one and he now enjoys the divine presence.

Lucas Emengro was a boy from the Island of Rota. He was seriously sick but had been unable to receive the viaticum because he was suffering from vomiting. When he felt that the end had come, he sent for the Father and told him: **“Father, I am dying but I have not received the viaticum”**. When the Father told him that his vomiting had been the reason why, he answered: **“Thank God, I am no longer vomiting and I wish for nothing else than to die with the consolation of having received my Lord Jesus Christ.”** The Father administered the viaticum, which the sick boy received with a great devotion and, when he was nearing death even more, he would say: **“I am dying with the consolation of having received the Lord who will chase away the Devil from my soul.”** This boy had come voluntarily to be a servant to the Father in his residence, in order to flee from the occasions of offending God in his town.

It has been recognized already that these natives are making progress in the Faith with the culture of the preaching of the divine word, not only in their manner of confessing their sins, and giving signs of contrition and sorrow for having committed them, but also for some of them overcoming the shame that could have hindered their integrity, by revalidating their sacrilegious confessions for sins they had hidden before. Other signs are the devotion with which they ask for and receive the other sacraments,

the patience with which they suffer their pains, and illnesses, and in the fervor with which they exercise the acts of the theological virtues and of contrition for their sins when they are near to giving birth.

A sick man in the Island of Seipan suffered very intense pains for a long time with a special patience, not uttering a single complaint. He had confessed and received extreme unction, but the Father had not given him the viaticum because the man had appeared to him to be extremely coarse. However, after he was called in the middle of the night, and he was approaching his house, he heard him pray to God in a loud voice and with such fervor, using words so tender and as well chosen as those of a very old Christian, or even as a very spiritual religious person would, that the Father was moved. Recognizing that such a change could only have come from the Almighty, for whom it is easy to convert stones into children of Abraham, he gave him the viaticum, which the sick man received with a great tenderness and devotion. Thus comforted by the bread of Heaven, he continued to suffer his pains patiently until he died and passed to the eternal rest, as we piously believe.

In the district of Merizo, the Father recommended that for Easter Sunday they should bring the infirm and the long-term sick to hear mass, although they are normally lawfully excused from the obligation to attend mass, since it would be a good idea for them to come and worship God in His holy temple on that day. Well, the attendance was so complete that there was not one sick person in the towns who did not come to church on that day, something that deeply moved the Father when he sighted so many small hammocks overland and so many small canoes at sea, loaded with the sick. Afterwards, he found out that no-one had failed to attend mass on that day.

On 15 April of the present year 1701 Our Lord wished to take unto Himself, as we hope from His mercy, the good Don **Antonio Ayihi**, a chief of this Island of Guahan, whom the King our Lord had honored with the title of Lieutenant of Captain-General of the Indians of these Mariana Islands for his great merits, and whom His Lordship the Governor of the Philippines, Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado, had honored with the title of Master-of-Camp of the same natives of these Islands, and whom God Our Lord would have given the corresponding reward in Heaven for his great virtues.

The natural and supernatural qualities with which God had adorned the soul of Don Antonio de Ayihi were so excellent that one can very fittingly say of him that he was a man *dilectus Deo et hominibus cuius memoria in benedictione est*. [Eccl. 45].¹ He was indeed loved by God and by men for his Christian charity, his zeal of the Divine glory and the salvation of souls, for his mercy and liberality toward everyone, as he kept nothing for himself except what was strictly necessary for his sustenance, for having been the column and main foundation of the Mariana Island Church, an Angel of peace for the Gospel and its Ministers, the terror of evil-doers, and of the enemies of

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "well loved by God and well loved among men, on him a benediction rests."

God, whom he repressed with his courage and authority, which God enhanced with the fear of his enemies: *magnificavit eum itimore [sic] inimicorum*.¹ Indeed, his person had inspired fear in these islands when he was still a heathen, on account of the great strength and courage with which he made himself respected by everyone, but after he became a Christian he was feared by the enemies of the faith and of the Gospel, as he scolded them, corrected them and reprehended them for their vices and heathen customs with as much energy as the most zealous of missionaries, without fear of the danger of losing his life in the process, as he in fact did many times for this cause. For instance, once the Indians of Ritidyan, irritated by his admonitions, attacked him furiously and tried to suffocate him, but he, with his great courage and strength, escaped from their hands. *Et in verbis suis monstra placavit*,² and with the efficiency that God gave to his words, he placated the fury of these monsters, who put up so much resistance to Christian meekness during so many uprisings, wars and murders of Gospel ministers as well as of soldiers, when the good Don Antonio was the Angel of peace who, by his advice and directives, and with his person and weapons did succor, counsel and help the Ministers of God, thanks to whom his life was spared in the midst of so many dangers, so that he could before his death see all these islands reduced to the Faith and Christian peace and thus enjoy this consolation as part of the reward that he now enjoys in the afterlife.

God had chosen Don Antonio de Ayihi to act as the column and main foundation of this Christian community and so, he endowed him with His blessings, by giving him such a generous and charitable nature that, even before he became a Christian, he practised his natural charity upon the Christian survivors of the shipwreck of the galleon **Concepción** that crashed into Saipan, who remained in these islands. It was by close contact and dealings with them that he had already learned to praise God, and to venerate the Gospel ministers. Thus, as soon as the Ven. Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores stepped ashore at this island with his companions in the year of 1668, the good Don Antonio, with a very peaceful face, stepped up to wish them welcome, saying: **“Praise be to the most holy sacrament!”** something that caused an understandable surprise and emotion in the Ven. Father and in his companions. The Ven. Father placed his arm around his neck and told him in his language: **“O! what a good man you are, Ayihi, and what good heart you have!”** Then, Ayihi told the Father and his companions: **“Fathers, I live in this town of Agadña. Overthere is my house. I, and whatever is in it, are at your disposal.”** This promise he kept so fully and generously that his property, his rice, his canoes, and his personal services were always at the disposal of the Missionaries. He would transport them from one island to another, from one town to another, and he always accompanied them, whether overland or by sea, lifting them to ferry them across rivers, helping them with food, carrying the [church] ornaments,

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: “he gave him renown by striking terror in his enemies.” (Eccli. 45:2).

2 Ed. note: Latin phrase literally meaning: “And by his words he placated monsters.” (Eccl. 45:2 also).

advising them, and telling them how they should deal with and reduce these natives, warning them of the dangers, and during the wars and uprisings, he felt sorry when our army had reverses and happy when it had successes, and he never failed one iota in the Faith that he professed at the baptism that he received at the beginning; he was among the first to be prepared for this favor and to have received it. He never failed either in his loyalty as a faithful vassal of the King our Lord during so many years, and so many revolutions and uprisings of his people.

His charity and mercy with everyone was such that it seems that God provided him with enough to give, because he distributed his grains, root crops and fish among the Governor of these islands, the Sergeant-Major, the Fathers and the Colleges for Boys and for Girls, and still had enough left to give to the many poor soldiers who begged him for food, and he did the same with the Indians, never refusing anything to anyone; yet, he always had something to give. This he did with so much disinterestedness; for instance, it would take a lot of effort to convince him to accept some gift from among the things that came to us from Mexico and from Manila.

However, his Christian charity excelled the most when he forgave the insults of others. He forgave his wife when, a few days after they were married in the church, she left him and went to live with another man; the Fathers convinced him to accept her back and live with her as a couple, which he did very peacefully until his death, something that shows good control over himself, because among his people it is considered shameful for a husband to take his wife back, after she has left him. From then on, he began to live such a Christian life that he could even have served as a model for us religious; his confessions and communions were very frequent and the purity of his conscience was such that his confessors could hardly find matter to give him absolution for.

Don Antonio de Ayihi forgave one soldier to whom he had politely asked to stop bothering some women of his household, when the latter answered with insults and threatened him with a cutting tool which he held in his hand, as he was a shoemaker. However, when Don Antonio met with such a impudence, trusting in his great strength, which he still enjoyed even when old and sickly, he grabbed the man strongly and dispossessed him of the weapon, while holding him so tightly that the soldier, in order to make him let go and not be suffocated by him (something that Don Antonio would never have done), bit him on one shoulder (something that hurt him quite a bit), but when he saw that he could not make him let go, fearing either for his life or that he would be taken prisoner to the Governor, he begged him for the love of God and the most holy Virgin to let him go, that he was very sorry for his impertinence, and that he should not tell his Governor because that would cost him dearly. The generous Ayihi then let him go and promised not to say one word about this to anyone, a promise he kept, because he only told his confessor about it. In fact, he came looking for him immediately afterward in order to unburden his mind and to confess himself about that anger; his confessor told him that it would still be appropriate to tell the Governor, to prevent anyone else from being so impertinent, but then he told him about the promise

he had made to God and to His most holy Mother, that he had to comply with it and so, he begged his confessor with much insistence that he should not tell anyone.

One could say a lot more about his charity and Christian zeal. Indeed, his actions, words and good works were all directed at promoting among the natives some Christian piety and an appreciation for the things of the faith. He would feel sorry for any scandal that occurred, and did not stop until it had been removed, sometimes by admonishing the scandalous persons, sometimes by punishing them, and when this was not enough, he would report the matter to the Father Vice-Provincial, for him to find a solution. When the hurricane of the year 1693 brought down all the churches and residences of this island, the sadness of the good Don Antonio de Ayihi was so deep at seeing the house of God in shambles, and the Fathers, soldiers and Indians in such a misery that this triggered in him a holy frenzy and delirium that lasted for a few days, during which he would not cease shouting, crucifix in hand, sometimes on his feet, sometimes on his knees, begging God for mercy and preaching penance. And it was surprising that, in the middle of his clamors, whenever one of the Fathers would say: **“Ayihi, that is enough, shout up!”** he would instantly become quiet and would come with the Father to our shelter, where he would eat something, because it was impossible to make him eat anything at home.

Whereas the good Don Antonio was loved and esteemed by everyone for his virtues, by the same token everyone felt his passing very deeply; indeed, everyone felt that he had lost much and so, they all flocked in to honor his burial; the Captains of the garrison carried his body, and the others accompanied it, along with their Sergeant-Major Don José de Quiroga y Losada (who cannot remember his dear Ayihi without becoming emotional), the college children carrying candles and making music, and the Fathers with their high mass, and burial ceremony.

The number of baptisms of children as of the 1st of May of last year until the end of April of this year of 1701 was 207. The number of adults baptized during the same period was 202. A total of 157 children died with the grace of baptism, and 495 adults died after having received the holy sacraments. Although one is consoled at seeing them well prepared to die, one is also somewhat sorry at seeing that the number of the deceased is more than twice that of births. May God take pity on this poor Mariana Mission through the intercession of His most holy Mother, patron saint of these islands, and enlarge it on Earth as, we trust from His mercy, He has done in Heaven.

Document 1701C

Letter from the King to Governor Cruzat, dated Buen Retiro 13 May 1701

Source: AGI Fil. 332, libro 10, pp. 424-427.

Answer to his letter of 16 June 1699

Original text in Spanish.

*Al Gobernador de Philipinas dandole gracias por los disposiciones que dio para resguardo de los Piratas que andavan en aquellas costas y seguridad de la Nao **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** y prev[en]iendolle lo que ha de ejecutar en semejantes casos.*

El Rey

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora Cavallero del orden de Santiago mi Governador y Capitan general de las Islas Philipinas y Presidente de la Audiencia de Manila.

*En carta de 16 de Junio del año pasado de 1699 dais cuenta de que havindose reconocido que en essas costas andavan embarcaciones de Piratas de la Europa y que una de ellas havia seguido a una Galeota que venia de la provincia de Pangasinan con los Tributos pasasteis a combocar Junta general y con pacerer de ella despachasteis en su busca dos Galeotas armadas con todos los Pertrechos de Guerra necesarios y cien hombres en cada una las quales haviendo salido y reconocido todas sus ensenadas y puertos no pudieron dar con ellos y que havindose savido en este intermedio se havian dejado ver en la parte del embocadero y que havia estado un Patache en la Isla de Babuyanes con esta novedad volbisteis a combocar a Junta y havindose echo juicio que incorporados podrian haver alguna operazion y bendria ariesgada la Nao **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** que se estava esperando de tornaviage de la N^a España se resolbio para su seguridad se retirasen las dos Galeotas del paraje donde estavan y bastimentadas de nuevo se despachasen al Cavo del Espiritu Santo con un patache de mayores fuerzas que se compro de cuenta de la Real Hazienda en 18,000 pesos para que saliesen a esperarla. Remitis testimonio de todo lo ejecutado.*

Y visto en mi Junta de Guerra de Indias haviendo oydo al fiscal ha parecido daros gracias (como os doy) por el celo y desvelo con que os aplicasteis a la mayor seguridad

y resguardo de la nao que se esperaba de la N^a España, y defensa de esas costas prebeniendo os que podais haver solicitado que el gasto ex[traordina]rio que en esto hubó se repartase entre los de esse Comercio pues aunque esta de mi parte ó concurre la obligacion de mantener los mares nabegables y defensos para el Comercio de los vasallos en consecuencia de los derechos que percive mi Real Hazienda todavia siempre que acaecen semejantes gastos sirven los interesados en el mesmo comercio con alguna cantidad que ayude a suplirlos en cuyo supuesto os prevengo que quando se ofrecieren tales lances sin que sea motivo de que se dege de acordar todo lo que se necesitare para la seguridad persuadais al comercio de essas Islas a que voluntariamente asista con alguna porcion para semejantes ocurrencias.

Fha en Buen Retiro a trece de Mayo de mill setezientos y uno.

Yo el Rey

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Señalado de la Junta de Guerra.

Translation.

To the Governor of the Philippines thanking him for the precautionary measures he took against the pirates who cruised off those coasts and for the security of the galleon **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** and warning him on what he must do in similar cases.

The King

[To] Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora, Knight of the Order of St. James, my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of the Audiencia of Manila.

In a letter dated 16 June of the past year 1699, your reported that, since European pirate ships had been recognized cruising those coasts and one of them had followed a galliot that came from the Province of Pangasinan with the tributes, you proceeded to call a general meeting, and in accordance with its opinion, you despatched after them two galliots armed with all the necessary war equipment, and 100 men in each one; said vessels having departed and reconnoitered all their bays and ports, the pirates were not encountered; and that, having learned meanwhile that they had been spotted in the direction of the Embocadero, and that a patache had brought the same news to the Island of Babuyanes, you again called a meeting, in which it was thought that if they were to come together, they might carry out an operation and place at risk the galleon **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** that was expected back from New Spain, it was decided for her security to withdraw the two galliots from the neighborhood where they were and resupply them to despatch them to Cape Espiritu Santo, along with a patache carrying greater forces, one that was purchased with royal funds at 18,000 pesos, in order to have them go out and await her. You remitted a record of all of those proceedings.

And this matter having been seen in a meeting of the War Committee of the Indies, with a consultation of the Fiscal, it was decided that I should thank you (as I do now) for the zeal and concern that made you look after the better security and protection of

the galleon that was expected from New Spain, and the defence of those coasts, but I warn you that you could have solicited the traders there to share in the extraordinary expenses that were made in this; indeed, although I am responsible and have the obligation to maintain the seas navigable and safe for the use of my vassals who trade, as a consequence of the duties that my royal Treasury collects, still, whenever similar expenditures are made and serve the interests of the same commerce, their representatives should take part in providing some sum as a supplement, and therefore, I warn you that, whenever similar incidents should occur, you should persuade the commerce of those Islands to make voluntary contributions to assist operations during similar occurrences, provided that you continue to do your utmost to ensure security.

Made at Madrid, 13 May 1701.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Countersigned by the War Committee.

Document 1701D

Fr. Bouwens recommends Quiroga for a land-grant

Source: RAH 9/2678, doc. n° 10.

Letter to Fr. General Gonzalez, dated Saipan 20 May 1701

Original text in Spanish.

Muy Reverendo Padre Nuestro in Christo

Pax Eiusdem.

[Note in margin:] *No tiene D. Joseph que esperar mas premio de sus merecimientos, que una encomienda por orden del Rey expresa.*

N. 1.º El afeto, que siempre, como por tantas mias le consta a V[uestra] P[aternida]d, he tenido a D. Joseph de Quiroga, me obligó el año pasado a suplicar, fuese V. Pd. servido de dar la providencia, que su Merced en premio de lo bien y mucho que por 20 años ha trabajado, y padeçido en estas islas Marianas, y por ellas, una encomienda; y sea de los mejores (que bien mereçida la tiene) que quedan a la Real disposicion en las islas Philipinas, y con ellas suele su Magd. premiar a los que fielmente como D. Joseph le han servido in dhas islas, a las quales como parte dellas pertenecen las Marianas; de cuyo gobierno Interino, despues de muertos el Maestre de Campo D. Antonio Sarabia, y D. Damian Desplana; que por su Magd. lo gobernaban, como Proprietarios, proveieron los Gobernadores de Philipinas segun, y como bien les ha parecido, no dejando a D. Joseph que entretanto por disposicion particular de su Magd, como consta por la Real patente de Sargento maior, cuyo traslado va con esta; mas que la esperanza de que su Magd. recibira benignamente el informe de lo que en el divino, y su Real servicio por tan largo tiempo y en tierra tan pobre ha trabajad]o su Merced; que siendo ya de edad que tira a viejez, y sin aver midrado para pasar la conforme a la calidad del sangre, y lo decente de Governador Interino dos veces, y de Sargento maior por Su Magd. desde el año 86 (y en este puesto prosigue aun oy dia 701) parece se le debe, sino

de Justicia, quando menos de caridad le solicitemos nosotros alguna ayuda de costa a direcion de V.Pd. ya que de por si no lo hace D. Joseph.

[Note in margin:] *Sueldo que goza D. Joseph, y desde que año, y como este se le queda quitar dejandole del todo pobre.*

N. 2º El puesto de Sargento Maior, con que le condecoró Su Magd, le fue sin emolumento mas de 500 pesos, que a instancia del Padre Magino Sola procurador que en Mexico lo era entonces por la provincia Philipina y nuestra mission Mariana le señaló el ViRey Marquez de la Laguna: Acreçentó a dhos 500 pesos al año con otros tantos, si no mal me acuerdo, el ViRey Conde de Galve a instancia del Padre Luys de Morales Provincial oy dia siendo entonces Procurador de Philipinas e islas Marianas en lugar del Padre ya dho Magino Sola. Este sueldo, como es respetivo al puesto, que D. Joseph actualmente esta sirviendo, pierde Su Merced al reformarse la plaza; y como por no averse metido a mercader, para lo qual ya tenia exemplar en otros, y aver vivido el y los que le asistian, del sueldo que gozava, no pudo hacer caudal alguno para en adelante. Dado pues el caso, que es muy contingente, de reformarse le su plaza de Sargento Maior, ni tendra con que aviarse para España, si quisiera volver a su casa; ni tan poco para pasar la vida en Manila; o aqui en Marianas, si se quisiere quedar; si no es que para ayuda de costa se le consiga la Real encomienda que su Merced tan mereçida tiene, como a V.Pd. le consta por tantas mias; y lo aseveran los papeles authenticados, que para que hagan fee, van con esta.

[Note in margin:] *Empeño del Padre Xaramillo para premiar*

N. 3º Ni es mucho se le solicite para su modesta Real encomienda, quando el Padre Antonio Xaramillo se empeño (asi nos dijo su R^a), lo avia de hacer, a favor del Piloto Pedro Gomez en premio de aver el año 83 a estas islas conducido el patache, que por orden de Su Magd. se nos despachó de Manila. Pero que tiene, que ver este servicio de Pedro Gomez en calidad de Piloto por una sola vez a favor desta nuestra mision, con lo que en ella, y por ella trabajo, y padecio un Sargento Maior, que 25 años, governando esto en interin dos veçes por su Real disposicion, inserta en el traslado de la patente, que le despachó su Magd. para condecorar a D. Joseph con el cargo de Sargento Maior en estas islas, y su Governador ad interin in casu mortis, o larga ausencia del Proprietario.

[Note in margin:] *Por el Governador de Philipinas no tiene D. Joseph, que esperar el interin deste gobierno, ni por el Rey la propiedad; que si se le diere no le estaria tan a cuenta: como la encomienda.*

N. 4º De lo determinado ya dos veces por D. Fausto Governador lo es de las Philipinas; infiero yo, que este gobierno ni en Interin por dho Governador D. Fausto; ni en propiedad por el Rey se darà a D. Joseph, aunque ubiera quien se lo solicitase y para decir en este particular mi sentir: A Su Merced estara mas a cuenta el que se le consiga una de las Reales encomiendas, que su Magd. tiene a su disposicion en las islas Philipinas, que no el dar sele en propiedad este gobierno Mariano. Añado las razones: dando me V.Pd. su grata licencia para ello.

[Note in margin:] *1ª razon por que:*

*N. 5º y sea la 1ª que algunos de entre nosotros asi en esta Mision, como en Manila no desean, que su Merced empuñe el gobierno; no por faltar de valor, virtud, aguante en los trabajos, desinteres, etc; sino por estar persuadidos, que su Merced es muy de su Juicio obrando con mucha despotiguez sin aconsejarse con nadie para mejor acierto en sus determinaciones. No puedo negar, como consta a V.Pd. por las que deste asumpto tengo escritas años a, aver yo deseado siempre, que su Merced con estima, y confianza se aconsejase o con su Confesor, o con quien fuese V. Provincial corriendo por mano de su Merced el gobierno, asegurando desta suerte su credito, y conciencia. He aqui P.N. el fundamento de las quejas, que aca formadas contra su Merced pasaron a Manila el año 97 con esta formal clausula: que **nos seria Cruz pesada, y aun a los Naturales, si el gobierno recayere en su persona.** Escuso de trasladar lo que a eso --- respondido en abono de su Merced sin saberlo el, si bien he de confesar, que governando su Merced en interin comitio algunos desaciertos, otros con algun descredito suyo; y otros no sin peligro de dañar a la mision: y pues presumen los que de su Merced se han quejado no aver sele puesto el remedio que de aca se avia solicitado, no dejan de temer semejantes inconvenientes caso que su Merced tuviese el gobierno en propiedad. Pero que goze de una buena encomienda Real por ella sirviendo a Dios y a Su magd. mas a de 20 años, no veo cosa que temer, ni inconveniente de que rezelarse alguno; Antes, si: de que holgar darle a V.Pd. las debidas gracias, por aver nos V.Pd. a todos sacado de empeño, que conoçe la mision, tener mas que de caridad, para que el Rey (Dios nos le guarde) le premie sus servicios con la encomienda, que sele solicita; y su Merced tan merecida tiene en tan largo tiempo de 20 años, y mas que a su Magd. actualmente esta sirviendo en tierra qual no ay otra mas pobre.*

[Note in margin:] *la 2ª razon:*

*N. 6º la 2ª razon porque a D. Joseph esta mejor el tener esa real encomienda, que la propiedad deste gobierno, es que quien esto governare, no puede faltar a su obligacion de hacer los despachos cada año para Manila, Mexico, y Madrid, dando cuenta al Governador de Philipinas, al ViRey de Mexico, y aun a Su Magd. en su Real Consejo de Indias, informando de lo que tiene a su cargo, de lo que se neçesitare para conservar; o adelantar el Divino y Real servicio en estas islas etc: y como para ello se requiere quando menos mucha discrecion, Prudencia, Juicio, y buenos terminos para tratar con personajes de tan alta hierarquia, sin peligro de parecer insufi[c]ente en lo Politico; algunas de dhas prendas se hechan menos en D. Joseph (No ay que admirar lo: **nec enim omnia possumus omnes es**). Ni puede su Merced suplir por otros esa falta: por ser los aqui subordinados al Governador gente la maior parte sin letras, de poca suposicion, y sin la politica que para ello es menester. Por el tanto seria fuerça valerse su Merced, como los años atras, de los nuestros para desempeñarse con aquellos Señores no sin riesgo de meternos en lo que por el instituto, y nuestras Constituciones nos esta prohibido.*

[Note in margin:] *La 3ª razon, y suplica para que se le consiga dha encomienda.*

N. 7º Añado la 3ª razon, y es: que su Merced sin tener en propiedad este gobierno, se ha acreditado lo que basta para su reputacion, por lo que obró aqui en 20 años y mas

en el qual tiempo, es a saber, desde el año 79, que llegó a estas islas, hasta el presente de 701, el solo mas ha obrado, y adelantado el Divino, y Real servicio en la Mision mariana, que todos los otros juntos, que esto han gobernado, como es notorio a quienes aqui han vivido. El añ 8[-] conquistó, o sujetó a la de Rota, y Guaahan 1ª vez y 2ª vez la de Guaahan despues de sublevada el año 84. Asi mismo 2ª vez la de Rota el año 94, pasado ya a mejor vida D. Damian Esplana; y el año siguiente 95 redujo 3ª vez a las de Agiguan, Tinian, y Zaypan, dejando empeçado la reducion de las demas islas hacia el Norte. Sobre esto asi obrado por D. Joseph cabe la merced de la Real encomienda, que sele ha de solicitar para ayuda de costa antes de llegar el caso que reformadole el puesto, lo qual es muy factible, se halle con necesidad, y por tanto con obligacion de pedir, o recibir, como de lymosna, lo que fuere menester para su congrua, y decente sustentacion. Tal no permitirra jamas V.Pd. y asi convio gozara su Merced del premio de sus mereçimientos, siendo dellos informado su Magd. in la forma que V.Pd. juzgare se le solicite para D. Joseph la dicha encomienda a instancia, y en nombre de toda esta su mision Mariana, quedando ella, y yo mas que otro alguno, con la obligacion de suplicar a Dios N.Sr. nos guarde a V.Pd para tanta gloria, amparo comun de toda la Compañia, y consuelo muy particular de esta su mision Mision [sic] Mariana, cuya parte, aunque minimo e inutil soy yo, necesitado sobre todos los demas de encomendar me muy mucho, como lo hago, en los Santos Sacrificios de V.Pd.

Zaypan una de las Marianas y Mayo 20 de 1701.

De V.Pd. muy siervo e hijo indigno de serlo

Gerardo Bouwens

Translation.

Very Reverend Father of ours in Christ,
Peace be with you.

[Note in margin:] Don José can only hope to receive a reward for his merits in the form of a land-grant expressly granted by the King.

Nº 1. The affection toward Don José de Quiroga that I have expressed many times in my letters to Your Paternity obliged me last year to beg Y.P. to be pleased to issue a statement to reward His Grace, to the effect that he has worked and suffered much during 20 years in these Mariana Islands, and as a result deserves a land-grant; and this land should be one of the better ones (which he so well deserves) that are within the King's purview to grant in the Philippine Islands, to reward those who have faithfully served him, as Don José has done, in said islands, since the Marianas are an integral part of them. Indeed, he served as interim Governor of them twice, after the death of Master-of-camp Don Antonio de Saravia, and after the death of Don Damian de Esplana, who were governing them with official appointments, when the Governors of the Philippines provided replacements as they saw fit, without confirming Don José in the position. He, in the meantime, enjoyed a special provision of His Majesty for the post of Sergeant-Major, as can be seen in the Royal patent for same, whose copy is at-

tached,¹ but he is left with the hope that His Majesty will receive with kindness the report made regarding the proceedings of His Grace in the service of God and King over a long period and in such a poor country, since he is now almost an old man but not prosperous enough to be able to enjoy old age in line with his lineage and the rank he has held as interim Governor twice, and as Sergeant-Major for His Majesty since the year 1686 (a post he still occupies nowadays, in 1701). It seems only fair, not just charitable, for us to solicit some financial help for him, at the direction of Y.P., since Don José does not do so for himself.

[Note in margin:] Salary that Don José enjoys, since when, and how he could lose it and become destitute.

Nº 2. The position of Sergeant-Major, which His Majesty awarded him, came with a salary of only 500 pesos which, at the request of Father Magino Sola, then Procurator in Mexico for the Philippine Province and our Mariana Mission, the Viceroy, Marquis of Laguna, earmarked for him. If I am not mistaken, the Viceroy, Count of Galve, doubled this amount, at the request of Father Luis de Morales, now Provincial but then Procurator of the Philippine and Mariana Islands, in replacement of said Magino Sola. This salary, given that it is tied to the position that Don José fills at present, His Grace would lose if he is retired from that post and, because he did not become a merchant, as others have done before his eyes, and because he and his servants have lived off the salary that he enjoyed, he was unable to save for the future. Given that he may soon be retired from his post of Sergeant-Major, he would be left with nothing to return to Spain, if he should wish to go back home, nor enough to live in Manila, or here in the Marianas, if he wished to stay, unless he be financially helped by getting the land-grant that His Grace deserves so well, as Y.P. will recognize from my numerous letters, and from the authentic copies of the documents provided as proofs thereof, as attached.²

[Note in margin:] The pledge of Father Xaramillo for a reward.

Nº 3. Such a request for a modest Royal land-grant is not much, when compared with what Father Antonio Xaramillo did as a pledge (so His Reverence has told us) in favor of Pedro Gomez, the pilot, to reward him for what he did in 1683, having guided the patache despatched from Manila by order of His Majesty as far as these islands, in his capacity as pilot, which he did once only in favor of this our mission, as compared with what one Sergeant-Major did and suffered during the course of 25 years, governing twice on an interim basis, as provided for by His Majesty in a clause inserted in the copy of the patent, when he honored Don José with the post of Sergeant-Major of these islands, and their Governor by interim in case of the death, or prolonged absence, of the incumbent.

1 Ed. note: No longer attached.

2 Ed. note: See Doc. 1700E.

[Note in margin:] Don José does not have to wait for an interim appointment to this government from the Governor of the Philippines, nor for a permanent appointment from the King, but should that happen, it would not be as profitable to him as the land-grant.

Nº 4. As was done twice by Don Fausto [Cruzat], Governor of the Philippines, the point I wish to make here is that neither an interim appointment by said Governor Don Fausto, nor a permanent one by the King, will be given to Don José, even if one were to solicit it on his behalf, and I wish to state my opinion in this respect: it would be more advantageous for His Grace to receive one of the Royal land-grants that His Majesty owns in the Philippine Islands than to become permanent Governor of the Mariana Islands. With Your Paternity's gracious permission, may I add the reasons:

[Note in margin:] First reason.

Nº 5, and the first reason why some of our people, not only in this Mission but also in Manila, do not wish to have His Grace take over this government, not on account of a lack of valor, virtue, enthusiasm in his work, distinterestedness, etc. but because they are convinced that His Grace is very independent-minded, and proceeds with much despotism, without taking counsel from anyone, in order to take better decisions. I cannot deny, as Y.P. knows through letters which I have written years ago about this subject, that I myself have always wished that His Grace would, with esteem and trust, take advice, either from his confessor, or from whomever might be Vice-Provincial, when His Grace is in charge of the government, the better to get assured credit for them, and clear his conscience. Dear Father, may I present here the basis for the complaints, which were formulated here against His Grace and were sent to Manila in 1697, specially this formal sentence: **that it would be a heavy cross for us to bear, and for the natives too, if this government were to fall back on his person.**¹ I decline to repeat what [I] then answered to that, in support of His Grace, without his knowledge, but I must confess that, when His Grace was interim Governor, he committed some mistakes, in some of which he discredited himself, and in others he acted not without risk of doing harm to the mission; indeed, those who have complained about His Grace presume that the fact that the remedy they had sought in the matter was not taken indicates that similar circumstances would repeat themselves in the future, should His Grace become permanent Governor. However, if he were to enjoy a good land-grant as a result of having served God and His Majesty for over 20 years, I do not see anything to fear, nor any disadvantage that one can think of. Rather, something to be glad of, if Your Paternity were to give him thanks for having relieved us all of a pledge, which this mission owes to him, not simply out of charity, so that the King (may God save him) may reward his services with the land-grant, which is being solicited for him, and which His Grace so

1 Ed. note: This letter is not extant. It must have been handed over to Fr. Morales when he passed by Guam in 1697.

richly deserves, for having served more than 20 years, and still being in the service of His Majesty, in a country so poor than no other is poorer.

[Note in margin:] Second reason.

Nº 6, and the second reason why it would be better for Don José to have that royal land-grant than the permanent post of Governor of these islands, is that the person acting as governor cannot fail to make reports every year to Manila, Mexico and Madrid, addressed to the Governor of the Philippines, to the Viceroy of Mexico, and even to His Majesty through his Royal Council of the Indies, to inform them about what he has under his care, what might be required for its preservation, or to promote the divine and royal service in these islands, etc. And, since much discretion, prudence, judgment and good manners are required to deal with persons of such high category, without running the risk of appearing to be deficient in the political arena, some of said qualities being absent in Don José (this should not be surprising: *nec enim omnia possumus omnes es*).¹ In addition, His Grace cannot rely on others to fill this gap, because those who are subordinate to the Governor here are for the most part illiterate men, of little distinction, and lacking the political finesse that is required for that. Therefore, His Grace would have to rely, as he did years ago, on our people in order to fulfil his obligations toward those gentlemen, not without us running the risk of getting involved in what is prohibited to us by our Institute and Constitutions.

[Note in margin:] Third reason, and petition for him to be given said land-grant.

Nº 7. I add the third reason, which is, that His Grace, without having been permanent Governor, has accredited himself enough to gain his reputation, for what he has done here over the past 20 years and even more time, that is, since the year 1679, when he arrived at these islands until the present year 1701; he alone has done more, to promote the divine and royal service in the Mariana Mission, than all the others combined, who have been governors, as is well-known by those who have lived here. In 168[0] he conquered, or subdued, the Island of Rota, and Guaahan for the first time and again for the second time after it arose in rebellion in 1684. In addition, he conquered Rota a second time in 1694, after Don Damian de Esplana went on to a better life, and the following year 1695, he reduced a third time the Islands of Agiguan, Tinian, and Zaypan, and had to leave the reduction of the other islands further north unfinished. These endeavors by Don José deserve the favor of a Royal land-grant, one that ought to be sought for him as financial assistance, before he be retired from his post, something which is quite probable, and would find himself destitute, and thus be forced to seek, or receive, alms in order to survive and feed himself properly. Your Paternity would never allow this to happen and so, His Grace will enjoy the reward for his merits, if only His Majesty were to be informed in the best way that Your Paternity might find suitable, for Don José to get this land-grant, at the request and on behalf of the whole

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "For we are all indeed deficient in something."

Mariana Mission that, and myself in particular, will remain with the obligation of beseeching God Our Lord to save Your Paternity for us, for the greater glory and common protection of the whole Society, and specially for the consolation of this your Mariana Mission, of which I am but a small and useless part, so that I need to beg Your Paternity above anyone else to commend me very much in your holy sacrifices.

Saipan, one of the Marianas, 20 May 1701.

Gerardo Bouwens.

Documents 1701E

The successful voyage of the patache Concepción to the Marianas in 1700

E1. Letter from Governor Cruzat to the King, dated Manila 23 June 1701

Source: AGI Ultramar 561, Cruzat #3.

Original text in Spanish.

Señor

*A principios de Enero, de este presente año volbió de las Islas Marianas, el Patache nombrado **Nuestra Señora de la Concepción**, que el año proximo pasado se despachó à ellas; y habiendole hecho carenar en la ribera de Cavite, buelbe otra vez despachado à las mismas Islas Marianas; con el situado de todos lo generos, que se han pedido, de ellas, asi para la infanteria, como para los religiosos, de aquella mision, y aunque su salida, pudiera haber sido, fin del mes proximo pasado, de Mayo, como está supuesto, se a suspendido, en virtud de lo determinado, en una Junta de Guerra, para que salga junto, y en conserva del Galeon **San Francisco Xavier**, que en esta ocasion, sale despachado, para la Nueva España, hasta desembocar de San Bernardino afuera, y que despues, a cada uno su derrota, por la causa que expreso en la carta numero 1º.*

Nuestro Señor guarde la Católica y Real Persona de V.M. como la Cristiandad ha menester.

Manila y Junio 23 de 1701.

Don Fausto Cruzat y Góngora.

Translation.

Sire:

At the beginning of January of the present year, the patache named **Nuestra Señora de la Concepción** that had been despatched to the Mariana Islands last year returned from there. After it was careened on the shore of Cavite, it is being despatched once again to the same Mariana Islands with the subsidy in the form of goods that have

been requested from there, not only for the infantry, but also for the religious of that mission. Although its departure could have taken place at the end of last month, of May, as it was supposed to, it was postponed, in virtue of a decision of the meeting of the War Committee, so that it would depart together with, and as an escort to, the gal- leon **San Francisco Xavier** which on this occasion is being despatched to New Spain, as far the exit to the Strait of San Bernardino. Then, each one will go its separate way, for the reason that I express in Letter N° 1 (attached).

May our Lord save the Catholic and royal person of Y.M., as Christendom needs.

Manila, 21 June 1701.

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora.

E2. Answer from the King, dated Madrid 29 March 1703

Source: AGI Fil. 332, libro 10, pp. 661-662.

Original text in Spanish.

Al Governador de Philipinas avisandole recivo de una carta, en que dio quenta de haver buelto de las Islas Marianas el patache, que fue el año de 1700 con el situado, y que volbia el siguiente de 1701.

El Rey

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora Cavallero del Orden de Santiago mi Governador y Capitan general de las Islas Philipinas y Presidente de la Audiencia de Manila.

Vista en mi Consejo de las Indias una carta de 23 de Junio del año pasado de 1701, en que dais quenta de haver buelto de las Islas Marianas el Patache, que se despachó à ellas el de 1700, y como quedaba otra vez despachandose con el situado del siguiente de su fha ha parecido deciros esta bien, y que en todo caso observeis esta puntualidad, come esta resuelto, y combiene.

De Madrid y 29 de Marzo de 1703.

Yo el Rey

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Señalado del Consejo.

Translation.

To the Governor of the Philippines, acknowledging receipt of a letter in which he reported the return of the patache that had been sent to the Mariana Islands with the subsidy in 1700, and that it was going back in 1701.

The King

[To] Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora, Knight of the Order of St. James, my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of the Audiencia of Manila.

My Council of the Indies having seen your letter dated 23(?) June of the past year 1701, in which you reported that the patache that had been despatched to the Mariana Islands had returned, and that it was again being despatched with the subsidy of the following year, I have decided to approve it, and recommend this timely procedure in all cases.

From Madrid, 29 March 1703.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Countersigned by the Council.

Documents 1701F

New missionary blood required in the Islands

F1. Petitions of Fr. Xaramillo, undated

Source: AGI Fil. 119.

Original text in Spanish.

Señor

Antonio Xaramillo de la Compañia de Jesus Procurador General por la Provincia de Philipinas, Dize à rezivido una carta su fha en Manila a 29 de diziembre del año pasado de 1699 en que Luis de Morales Provincial de dha Provincia le avisa que en estos nueve ultimos años an muerto en dha Prov^a sesenta Sazerdotes, y veinte Hermanos Coadjutores, quedando otros diez ó doze impedidos por vejez, y achaques, con lo qual a venido a faltar la mitad la Provincia con poca, o ninguna diferencia, y como las Philipinas no so capaces de dar sujetos, para suplir semejantes faltas, ni àca se pueden solizitar algunos sin saber primero la resoluzion del Consejo sobre la renunzia que de las Doctrinas han hecho todas las Relijiones a primero de Abril de este año.

Pide el suplicante a V.M. sea servido de que con reflexion espezial se tenga presente tan considerable inopia de obreros Evanjelicos, y las consequenzias, que en adelante pueden resultar de ella, para que en caso de no solizitar, ni embiarse barcada en la primera ocasion, que se ofrezca, por no saber dha resoluzion en tiempo competente de poder Juntar dhos operarios, quede la Conziencia del suplicante segura en la ruina que amenaza a dha Provincia, y a la Christiandad, que esta a cargo de ella, como lo espera de la piedad Catholica de V.M.

Antonio Xaramillo.

Señor.

Antonio Xaramillo de la Comp^a de Jhs Procurador General por la Prov^a de Philipinas Dize:

A cerca de catorçe años no pasa barcada alguna de su Religion à dhas Islas como es notorio, y que por diferentes cartas del Provincial de dha Prov^a, y de otros muchos se save an muerto mas de sesenta sazerdotes, y veinte Hermanos Coadjutores, quedando otros muchos impedidos de vejez, y achaques, con lo qual a venido a faltar mas de la mitad, de dha Prov^a, y consiguientemente se à incurrido la nezesidad de que un sacerdote tenga a su cuidado muchos Pueblos, y distantes entre si, de adonde se origina tambien morirse muchos sin sacramentos.

Y aunque el suplicante hizo esta representazion à V.Magd. en su Consejo dos vezes por Septiembre del año pasado con todo la materia es en sí de tanto peso, que hallandose con el cargo de Procurador General de dha Prov^a reconoze en sí gravissima obligazion de conziencia de volver à representar para que mientras se resuelve sobre la renuncia que las religiones hizieron de las doctrinas por Abril de el año passado de Noventa y nueve, vea V.Mgd. si sera combeniente que por su Real orden se escriba al Provincial de la Comp^a de Jhs de Mexico que como mas çercana a Philipinas se esfuerze a imbiar a dichas Islas doce saçerdotes y tres Hermanos Coadjutores en la Nao que por el mes de Marzo suele salir de el Puerto de Acapulco a dhas Islas para evitar con este interino socorro la ruina de tantas Almas, significandole quan del agrado de Dios y de V.Mgd. sera dho embio, y que con los Procuradores que dha Prov^a de Mexico tiene actualmente en Roma iran sujetos que resarçan la falta de los que imbiare: y que así mismo Vuestro Virrey de Mexico passe ofiçios con dho Provincial para la prompta expedizion y que assista con el avio nezesario, y acostumbrado à dhos sugetos para su biaje de Mar, y tierra.

En todo lo qual espera el Suplicante resolvera V.Mgd. lo mas importante al divino y Real servijio.

Antonio Xaramillo.

Translation.

Sire:

Antonio Xaramillo of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General for the Province of the Philippines, declares that he received a letter dated Manila 29 December of the past year 1699 in which Luis de Morales, Provincial of said Province, advises him that sixty priests have died in said Province during the past nine years, as well as twenty Coadjutor Brothers, while from 10 to 12 more are incapacitated by old age, and illnesses, such that half of the Province is now missing, with little or no difference at all, and, since the Philippines are not capable of providing subjects to fill such gaps, nor is one able to solicit some overhere without first obtaining a decision from the Council regarding the renunciation of the mission stations that all the religious orders have made on the first of April of this year:

The suppliant begs Y.M. to please have the present deficiency of so many Gospel workers be specially considered, along with the consequences that could result from it in future, in case of not approving the despatch of a mission band at the first opportunity that might present itself, on account of not knowing said decision with sufficient

time to be able to collect such workers first; otherwise, the supplicant's conscience is sure that ruin will pose a threat to said Province, and to the Christian community under its care. This favor he expects from the Catholic piety of Y.M.

Antonio Xaramillo.

Sire:

Antonio Xaramillo of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General for the Province of the Philippines, declares:

That no mission band of his Order has passed to said Islands during the past 14 years approximately, as is well known, and, given that it is also known, through various letters from the Provincial of said Province, and from many others, that over 60 priests and 20 Coadjutor brothers have died, while many others are incapacitated with old age, and illnesses, such that more than half of said Province is now missing; consequently, things have come to the point that one priest has many towns distant from one another under his care; hence many die without receiving the sacraments.

And although the supplicant has presented this request to Your Majesty in your Council twice, during September of last year, nevertheless, since the whole subject matter is inherently of such importance, in his job as Procurator General of said Province, he recognizes that he has the very grave obligation of conscience to once again appear before Your Majesty, so that, meanwhile the matter of the religious orders having renounced mission stations last April 1699 remains pending, you may find it appropriate to have a royal order sent to the Provincial of the Society of Jesus in Mexico, as the province closest to the Philippines, to try and send to said islands 12 priests and 3 Brothers aboard the galleon that usually sails from the Port of Acapulco to said islands during the month of March, to prevent by such an interim succor the ruin of so many souls, and telling him also that such a despatch would be pleasing to God and to Y.M., and that with the presence of the Procurators of said Province of Mexico being presently in Rome there would be other subjects sent to fill the gap. And in addition your Viceroy of Mexico should write to said Provincial to expedite matters and he should provide the necessary and usual outfits to said individuals for their overland and sea voyages.

In everything the supplicant hopes that Your Majesty will decide what is more important for the divine and Royal service.

Antonio Xaramillo.

F2. Royal consultation regarding the petitions of Fr. Xaramillo

Source: AGI Fil. 94.

Original text in Spanish.

Marques del Carpío

Don Manuel Garzia del Bustamente
Don Juan de Castro
Don Martin de Solis
Don Sebastian de Ortega
Don Matheo Ybañez
Don Diego Hermoso

Señor

Por Antonio Xaramillo de la Compañia de Jhs, Procurador General de la Provincia de Philipinas sea presentado memorial, diciendo à cerca de catorce años no pasa Barcada de su Religion à aquellas Yslas, y que por diferentes cartas del Provincial, y otros se sabe han muerto mas de 60 Religiosos Sazerdotes, y 20 coadjutores, con que han benido a faltar mas de la mitad de los de la Provincia, y consiguientemente se a incurrido la necesidad de que un Sazerdote tenga muchos Pueblos, y distantes entre sí unos de otros, de donde se origina morirse muchos sin sacramentos, y que siendo esta materia de tanto peso se halla precisado à representarlo à V.Magd. afin de que se bea, si será combeniente, interin que se determina el punto que está pendiente sobre la renuncia que de las Dotrinas de aquellas Yslas tienen hecha las Religiones, se escriba de parte de V.Magd. al Provincial de la Compañia de Jhs de Mexico para que como mas cercano à Philipinas se esfuerze á imbiar doze Sacerdotes, y tres Coadjutores en la Nao que por Marzo suele salir, significandole quan del agrado de Dios, y de V.Magd será el que lo ejecute, y que con los Procuradores que su Provincia tiene actualmente en Roma hiran sujetos que resarzan la falta de los que fueren, y que asimismo se le diga al Virrey pase ofizios con el Provincial para su pronta expedizion y que les asista con el havió acostumbrado para su viaje.

Haviendose visto en el Consejo, y considerado quan justificados son los motivos de su representacion; es de parecer que V.Magd podría servirse condescender a ella, por ser el medio mas eficaz para ocurrir a la necesidad que expresa de falta de Operarios en las Dotrinas que su Religion tiene en aquellas Yslas, y tan justo que los que las componen se hallen asistidos de quien les administre los Santos Sacramentos, y logren la puntualidad en la enseñanza de la Dotrina Christiana; y viniendo V.Magd en ello se dara orden al Virrey de la Nueva España para que à los Religiosos que pasaren les asista con el aviamiento acostumbrado del caudal que huviere procedido de Mesadas Ecclesiasticas que es el efecto que está destinado para los gastos de estas Misiones.

V.Magd mandará lo que fuere de su Real agrado y voluntad.

Madrid 27 de Octubre de 1701.

Translation.

Sire:

Antonio Xaramillo of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General of the Province of the Philippines, has presented a memorial, saying that it has been almost 14 years since the last mission band of his Order has passed to those Islands, and that it has been

learned through various letters from the Provincial, and others, that over 60 priests and 20 brothers have died, so that more than half of the members of the Province have come to be missing, and as a consequence, the need is so great that one priest must take care of many towns, distant one from the other, with the result that many people die without the sacraments, and since this matter is so important to him he found himself obliged to present it to Your Majesty, so that it be seen, if found appropriate, meanwhile the point regarding the renunciation by the Orders of the mission stations in those Islands remains pending, and that letters be despatched on behalf of Your Majesty to the Provincial of the Society of Jesus in Mexico, being the closest province to the Philippines, for him to try and send 12 priests and 3 brothers aboard the galleon that usually sails during March, telling him how much it would be pleasant to God, and to Your Majesty, if he did so, and that since the Procurators of his Province are presently in Rome some subjects would go to fill the gap in question, and that in addition the Viceroy should be told to write to the Provincial to expedite the matter and to assist them with the customary outfit for their voyage.

This matter having been seen in Council, and considering that the motives of this request are justified, it is of the opinion that Your Majesty could be served by agreeing to it, given that it is the most efficient way of filling the need expressed by the lack of workers in the mission stations that his Order has in those Islands, and it is just that those who live in them be assisted by someone to administer the holy sacraments to them, and to get timely instructions in the Christian doctrine. Provided that Your Majesty should agree, an order will be given to the Viceroy of New Spain for him to assist the Religious who would go with the customary outfits, out of any fund that might be available for Ecclesiastical maintenance, which exists only for the purpose of meeting the expenses of these Missions.

Your Majesty will order in accordance with your Royal pleasure and will.

Madrid, 27 October 1701.

F3. Letter from the King to the Jesuit Provincial in Mexico

Source for this and next documents: AGI Fil. 332, libro 10, fol. 189v-193, pp. 456-463.

Original text in Spanish.

Al Provincial de la Comp^a de Jhs de la Provincia de Mexico encargandole remita a la de Philipinas 12 Religiosos sacerdotes y 3 coadjutores.

El Rey

Venerable y devoto Padre Provincial de la Comp^a de Jhs de la Provincia de Mexico.

Por Antonio Xaramillo de la misma Comp^a Procurador General de la de Philipinas se me ha representado que ha cerca de 14 años que no pasa barcada de vuestra religion a aquellas Islas y que por diferentes cartas del Provincial y otros se save haver muerto mas de 60 religiosos sacerdotes, y 20 Coadjutores habiendo faltado por esta razon mas

de la mitad de los de aquella Provincia siendo preciso que un sacerdote asista a muchos pueblos distantes unos de otros de que se sigue morir muchas personas sin sacramentos[,] suplicandome que (interin se determina el punto que esta pendiente sobre la renuncia que de las doctrinas de aquellas Islas tiene echas las Religiones) fuese servido dar orden para que en mi real nombre seos escriviese afin de que (como mas cercano a Philipinas) procureis remitir doce sacerdotes y tres coadjutores en la Nao que por marzo suele salir de esse Reyno para aquellas Islas pues con los Procuradores que essa Provincia tiene actualmente en Roma iran sugetos que resarzan la falta de los que hubieren pasado de ella a la de Philipinas.

Vista su representazion y considerando lo justificado de sus motivos he resuelto (a consulta de mi Consejo Real de las Indias) condescender a ella por ser el medio mas prompto y eficaz para ocurrir a la necesidad y falta de operarios que refiere padecen la Doctrinas que vuestra religion tiene en aquellas Islas y asi os ruego y encargo que en la primera ocasion de Nao que saliere de esse Reyno para las Islas Philipinas dispongais pasen a aquella Provincia 12 religiosos sacerdotes y 3 Coadjutores los que os parecieren mas a proposito que por despacho de la fha de este ordeno al Virrey de la N^a España les asista con el avio que se acostumbra para su viage y espero de vuestro zelo al servicio de Dios y mio el entero cumplimiento de ello.

Fha en Barcelona a 13 de Diziembre de 1701.

Yo el rey

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Señalado del Consejo.

Translation.

To the Provincial of the Society of Jesus for the Province of Mexico, asking him to send 12 Religious, priests, plus 3 Coadjutor brothers, to the Province of the Philippines.

The King

Venerable and devout Father Provincial of the Society of Jesus for the Province of Mexico.

Through Antonio Xaramillo of the same Society, the Procurator General for the Province of the Philippines, it was represented to me that no boatload from your Order has passed to those Islands over the last 14 years, and that through various letters from the Provincial and others, it is known that over 60 Religious, priests, and 20 Coadjutor brothers, have since died, and that is more than half of the members of that Province; and therefore it is now necessary for one priest to serve many villages distant from one another, and many persons have died without the sacraments. Consequently, he begged me (as an interim measure, while the issue of the renunciation of the mission stations by the Orders in those Islands is being resolved) to please order that a letter be written to you in my royal name (as the one closest to the Philippines), to have you try and remit 12 priests and 3 coadjutors aboard the galleon that usually sails in March from that Kingdom for those Islands, since there will be subjects sent by the Procurators for

that Province who are presently in Rome, to replace those who would be sent to the Province of the Philippines.

In view of this representation, which was seen in my Council of the Indies, and considering that its reasons are justified, I have decided to accede to it, given that it is the quickest way to relieve the need and lack of workers in the mission stations served by your order in those Islands, and so, I beg and entrust you, at the first opportunity given by a galleon departing from that Kingdom for the Philippine Islands, to arrange the passage to that Province of 12 religious priests and 3 coadjutors, those you find most appropriate. In a despatch of same date, I order the Viceroy of New Spain to assist them with the usual outfits for their voyage. I hope that your continuous zeal in the service of God and mine will make you comply fully.

Made at Barcelona, 13 December 1701.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Countersigned by the Council.

F4. Letter from the King to the Viceroy of New Spain, dated Barcelona 13 December 1701

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Para que el Arzobispo de Mexico, Virrey en interin de la N^a Esp^a disponga que el Provincial de la Comp^a de Jhs de aquella Provincia remita 12 Religiones sacerdotes y 3 coadjutores a las Islas Philipinas para el fin que se esponga. Con Duplicado.

Muy Reverendo en Xpto Padre Arzobpo de la Yglesia Metropolitana de la Ciudad de Mexico mi Virrey Governador y Capitan general en Ynterin de las Provincias de la N^a Esp^a y Presidente de la Audiencia de ella.

Por Antonio Xaramillo de la Compañia de Jhs Procurador General de la Provincia de Philipinas se me ha representado ha cerca de 14 años que no pasa barcada de su religion a aquellas Yslas y que por diferentes cartas del Provincial y otros se save haver muerto mas de 60 Religiosos sacerdotes y veinte coadjutores por cuya causa ha faltado mas de la mitad de los de aquella Provincia siendo preciso que un sacerdote asista a muchos Pueblos distantes unos de otros de que se sigue morir muchas personas sin sacramentos, suplicandome que (interin se determina el punto que esta pendiente sobre la renuncia que de las Doctrinas de aquellas Islas tienen echas las Religiones) fuese servido dar orden para que en mi Real nombre se escribiese al Provincial de la Compañia de Jhs de esta Ciudad afin de que (como mas cercano a Philipinas) procure remitir 12 sacerdotes y tres coadjutores en la nao que por Marzo suele salir de esse Reyno para aquellas Islas pues con los Procuradores que su Provincia tiene actualmente en Roma iran sugetos que resarzan la falta de los que pasaren de ella a la de Philipinas que assi

mismo os ordene dispongais con el Provincial su mas prompta expedizion y les asistais con el abiamiento acostumbrado para su viage.

Vista su representazion y considerando lo justificado de ella he resuelto (a consulta de mi Consejo Real de las Indias) condescender a su instancia por ser el medio mas eficaz para ocurrir a la necesidad y falta de operarios que refiere padecen las Doctrinas que su religion tiene en aquellas Islas y assi os ruego y encargo paseis los offizios que convengan con el Provincial de la Comp^a de Jhs de essa Ciudad afin de que en la primera ocasion de Nao que hubiere para ella disponga (como se lo encargo en despacho aparte) pasen 12 Sacerdotes y tres coadjutores los asistais con el havio que se acostumbra para su viage del caudal que hubiere procedido de Mesadas eclesiasticas que es el que esta destinado para este efecto dando orden a los ofiziales Reales de essa Ciudad para que de la cantidad que se les consignase tomen la razon y carta de pago de la persona que como parte legitima la diviere otorgar para que con el y en virtud de esta mi cedula se les pase en quenta en la que dieren de las mrs. [=mercedes] que estubieren a su cargo el referido efecto que assi es mi voluntad.

De Barcelona 13 de Diziembre de 1701.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Señalado del Consejo.

Translation.

[Very similar to above text, except that the Archbishop is told to make use of the money proceeding from ecclesiastical food allowances to provide the Jesuit missionaries with part of their necessary outfit, and to intercede with the Royal officials in Mexico to expedite their despatch.]

F5. Letter from the Viceroy, dated Mexico 28 March 1703

Source: AGi Fil. 119.

Original text in Spanish.

Señor

*En despacho de 13 de Diziembre de 1701 se sirve V.M. mandar que por haver muchos años que no pasavan religiosos de la Compañia de Jesus a las Misiones de las Yslas Philipinas y experimentarse grande atraso en ellas, se dispasiese [sic] por este Govierno, que el Provincial de la Compañia desta Ciudad embiase en primera ocasion de Nao doze sacerdotes Religiosos, y tres quajutores [sic], asistiendoles con el avio, que se acostumbra para su viage de caudal de mesadas Eclesiasticas; en cuio cumplimiento expedi despacho de ruego; y encargo al Rdo. Padre Provinzial para que con toda brevedad despues y nombrase los Religiosos que avian de pasar en la Nao **Nuestra Señora del Rosario**, que havia de hazer su torna viage este año. Y aunque executo ynmedia-*

tamente la diligencia me respondi, que solamente se havian ofrecido a pasar, tres sazerdotes y seis estudiantes. Y haviendole admitido los sacerdotes le ynste sobre que repitiese con toda eficacia las dilixenzias hasta llenar el numero de los doze que V.M. mandava pasasen; pero haviendo sido todas ynfrutuosas, segun ultima respuesta; me reduce a que los tres sazerdotes, se aviasen y condugesen al Puerto de Acapulco, por direccion del Padre Procurador de aquellas Yslas con la conformidad y menos costo de la Real Hazienda que V.M. mandara, reconocer por el Testimonio adjunto, de los Autos hechos en esta Razon.

Dios guarde la C.R.P. de V.M. como la Xptd. ha menester.

Mexico 28 de Marzo 1703.

Duque de Alburquerque.

Translation.

Sire:

In a despatch dated 13 December 1701, Y.M. was pleased to order that religious of the Society of Jesus should pass to the missions of the Philippine Islands, because none had done so for many years, and the missions were not progressing, that this Government should arrange for the Provincial of the Society in this City to send at the first opportunity 12 priests and 3 coadjutors, assisting them with the customary outfit for their voyage, out of the fund for ecclesiastical allowances. In compliance thereof, I sent a despatch to beg and entrust the Rev. Father Provincial to arrange as soon as possible for that and to forward the names of the Religious who were to sail aboard the galleon **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** that was to make its return voyage this year. However, although he carried out the request immediately, he reported to me that only 3 priests and 3 students have volunteered to go. After I accepted the priests, I urged him to renew his efforts with more efficiency until the number of 12 that Y.M. has ordered to go would be reached; however, they were all unsuccessful, according to his latest reply. So, I decided to send the three priests and to have them outfitted and taken to the Port of Acapulco, under the guidance of the Father Procurator of those Islands, in accordance with and at the least cost to the Royal treasury, as Y.M. will order confirmed by the attached case file, that was created for this purpose.

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

Mexico, 28 March 1703.

Duke of Alburquerque.

F6. Letter from Fr. Xaramillo to the Secretary of the Council of the Indies, dated Imperial College 21 November 1703

Source: AGI Fil. 119.

Original text in Spanish.

Muy Sr. mio:

Con todo rendimiento, y veneracion recivo la honrra, que el Consejo es servido hazerme, y la gustosa noticia, que el mismo se digna participarme por medio de V.S., de que à fuerza de su zelo, y encargos al Virrey de Nueva España ayan passado tres sacerdotes à Philippinas: tengo por cierto, que en tan extrema necesidad, el corto numero de tres será alivio considerable para el remedio de muchas almas, como me consta por experiencia en casos menos apretados. No dudo que el Provincial de Mexico, si no tuviera la nueva conversion de las Californias, huviera embiado mas sugetos; pero podra ser que con los nuevos encargos se esfuerze à mas, y que entre tanto se ofrezca alguna ocasion de Azogues, ó flota para que passe barcada y se salga de tanto aprieto. Supplico a V.S. me haga el favor de insinuar al Consejo mi reconocimiento humilde, mientras yo hago las diligencias de [de]monstrarlo personalmente con cada uno de los Señores, que le componen. Quedo a la obediencia de V.S., cuya vida guarde Dios muchos años como deseo, y é menester.

Deste Collegio Ymperial y Miercoles 21 de Noviembre de e1703.

B.I.m. de V.S. su mas afecto servidor y Capellan,

Antonio Xaramillo.

[A] Sr. D. Manuel de Aperregui.

Translation.

My dear Sir:

It is with much humility and veneration that I receive the honor that the Council was pleased to do me, and the pleasant news that it has deigned to give me through Your Lordship, thanks to whose zeal and entreaties to the Viceroy of New Spain, three priests have gone on to the Philippines. I am sure that in such an extreme necessity, the short number of three will be a considerable relief for the remedy of many souls, as I know from experience in cases less important. I do not doubt that the Provincial of Mexico, if he did not have to look after the new missions of the Californias, would have sent more subjects, but it is possible that in view of the new entreaties he will do more efforts, in the meantime that some opportunity might present itself for the quicksilver fleet to take over a mission band and relieve him of such a tight spot. I beg Your Lordship to do me the favor of insinuating to the Council my humble gratitude, while I make the efforts to personally demonstrate it to every one of the Gentlemen in question. I remain much obliged to Your Lordship, whose life may God save for many years as I wish, and is necessary.

From this Imperial College, on Wednesday 21 November 1703.

Antonio Xaramillo.

[To] Mr. Manuel de Aperregui.

F7. Letter from the Viceroy, dated Mexico 20 May 1704

Source: AGI Fil. 119.

Original text in Spanish.

El Virrey de Nueva España, da quenta à V.M. de aver pasado este año (demas de los tres que fueron el passado) à las Yslas Philipinas, otros cinco Religiosos Sazerdotes Misioneros de la Compania de Jhs aviendosele asistido con 470 pesos à cada uno para su avio.

Señor

*En el Galeon **Nuestra Señora del Rosario**, que el año passado bolvio de este Reyno a las Yslas Philipinas hicieron viage tres Religiosos Sazerdotes de la Compania de Jhs. que a mis instancias, y en cumplimiento de Real Zedula de V.M. de 13 de Diziembre de 701, se dispusieron à ello, segun di quenta en carta de 28 de Marzo de 703, y aviendo continuado mi solicitud à fin de que en la Nao que este presente año bolvio a dhas Yslas se embarcase mayor numero de Misioneros (como tambien se sirvio V.M. ordenarmelo en despacho de 22 de Mayo expedido por la via reservada) pudo conseguir el Padre Visitador de esta Provincia que se apromptasen otros cinco Religiosos Sazerdotes aptos para el ejercicio de las Misiones, los quales hicieron viage en dha Nao, aviendosele asistido à cada uno para los gastos de su avio de los efectos consignados à este fin con quatrocientos, y setenta pesos segun lo ajustado, y conferido por mi con el Procurador de Philipinas en virtud de lo resuelto en Junta general como mas individualmente se servirá V.M. mandarlo reconocer por el testimonio de autos adjunto.*

Dios guarde la C.R.P. de V.M. como la Xptd. ha menester.

Mexico 20 de Mayo 1704.

Duque de Alburquerque.

Translation.

The Viceroy of New Spain reports to Y.M. that, besides the three who passed last year, five more missionary priests of the Society of Jesus have gone this year to the Philippine Islands, he having assisted them with 470 pesos each for their outfit.

Sire:

Aboard the galleon **Nuestra Señora del Rosario**, which returned to the Philippines from this Kingdom last year, three Religious priests of the Society of Jesus made the voyage, who had prepared for doing so at my requests and in compliance with the Royal decree of Y.M. dated 13 December 1701, as I have reported in a letter dated 28 March 1703. Now then, after I continued my requests for this year's galleon to carry back to said Islands a greater number of missionaries (as Y.M. was pleased to order me to do so in a despatch dated 22 May through the confidential mail), the Father Visitor of this Province was able to get five more volunteers, among the Religious priests apt to serve in the missions. Said priests travelled aboard said galleon, each one of them having been

assisted for the expenses of their outfitting with the moneys assigned for this purpose, i.e. 470 pesos, an amount negotiated between myself and the Procurator of the Philippines, as a result of a decision made in the general Meeting [of the Treasury], as appears in greater detail in the attached case file, which Y.M. will order reviewed.

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

Mexico, 20 May 1704.

Duke of Albuquerque.

Other documents of 1701.

1. Letter from Fr. Antonino Tuccio to Fr. Bustillo, dated Manila 7 June 1701.

Note: Source unknown, but mentioned in Doc. 1702A.

2. Letter from the Archbishop of Manila to the Pope, dated Manila ... 1701.

Note: Source unknown, but mentioned in Doc. 1705I.

Document 1701G

Manifest for the Marianas, for 1701

Source: AGN AHH 332. Note: The subsidy for the Marianas for that year was 31,317 pesos.

Part of the cargo aboard the galleon Rosario

Original text in Spanish.

Certificacion de rexistro de la Real Hazienda del Situado de Marianas del ano de 1701 años.

*En la Ciudad y Puerto de Acapulco â veinte y un dias del mes de Março de mill setesientos y un años ante mi el escribano y testigos, el Capitan Don Fructos Delgado Maestro del Galeon Capitana de Philipinas **Nuestra Señora del Rosario San Francisco Javier y Santa Rossa** del cargo del General Don Theodoro de San Lucas que se alla de proximo â haser su tornaviaje â dhas Ysllas a quien doi feê; conosco; rexistro por parte del Capitan Don Francisco Perez Nauaz como apoderado del Revdo. Padre Francisco de Borja y Aragon de la sagrada relixion de la Comp^a de Jesus Procurador General de su Provincia de Marianas y Philipinas las piessas siguientes:*

Sinquenta y ocho piessas de n^o uno â sinquenta y ocho con la marca del marjen los quarenta y seis caxas[,] tres tersios de paños[,] suela y chile; tres tersios de cacao encerrados y seis barriles de vino que hasen dhas sinquenta y ocho piessas;

Assi mesmo de la segunda marca quarenta y sinco piessas de n^o uno â quarenta y sinco se componen de quarenta y dos caxones y tres fardillos, que hasen dhas quarenta y sinco piessas, las quales dhas piessas se obligo â que llevandole Dios convien â dhas Ysllas Marianas ô â otro puerto de Philipinas, entregara dhas piessas, que confeso tener â bordo de dho Galeon[,] al Padre Vize Provincial que es ô fuere de dha Comp^a de Jesus de dhas Ysllas Marianas, en la forma y manera que los ha resivido; y a ello se obligo con su persona y bienes havidos y por haver, y con ellos se somete al fuero y juridiccion de los Justicias de S.M. que de sus caussas puedan y devan conoscer conforme â derecho, para que a su cumplimiento le compelen y apremien y como si fuese por sentencia difinitiva de Juez competente pasada en autoridad de cosa juzgada renuncia su fuera juridiccion domisilio y vezindad ley si combenerit, y las demas de su defensa y

fabor y general del derecho; y otorgo partida de rexistro en forma y lo firmo siendo testigos Don Juan Milanos[,] Antonio de Sola y Manuel de Arcos.

Don Frutos Delgado

Ante mi Don Antonio Alphonso Ponze de Leon escribano publico, Real, y de Real Hazienda.

Conquerda con la partida de rexistro original y se saco el dia de su otorgamiento de pedimiento de la parte de que doi feê.

Y hago mi signo en testimonio de verdad:

Antonio Alfonso Ponze de Leon, escribano publico y Real y de Real Hazienda.


Translation.

Certificate of the manifest of the royal property that is the subsidy of the Marianas for the year 1701.

In the City and Port of Acapulco, on 21 March 1701: Before me the notary and witnesses, Captain Don Frutos Delgado, master of the Philippine galleon and flagship **Nuestra Señora del Rosario, San Francisco Xavier y Santa Rosa** under the command of General Don Theodoro de San Lucas, which is about to make her return voyage to said Islands, and whom I know and vouch for, registered on behalf of Captain Don Francisco Perez Navas, acting as agent for Rev. Father Francisco de Borja y Aragon of the sacred order of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General of his Province for the Marianas and Philippines, the following pieces:

 S
MR.P.P.
S^e Frutos

—58 pieces, bearing n° 1 to 58 and the mark in margin, 46 being boxes; 3 half-loads containing clothes, sole-leather and hot peppers; 3 half-loads of cacao wrapped in oil-cloth, and 6 barrels of wine, which make a total of 58 pieces;

 S
MR.C.C.
45 Ponze

—In addition, bearing the second mark, 45 pieces, n° 1 to 45, consisting of: 42 crates and 3 small bundles, totalling 45 pieces; all of said pieces he obliged himself, God willing to let him reach the Marianas successfully or any other port in the Philippines, to deliver said pieces, which he confesses to hold aboard said galleon, to whomever Father may be Vice-Prov-

vincial of said Society of Jesus in said Mariana Islands, with the same procedure used when he received them; and in this endeavor he pledged his person and property, present and future, being ready to submit same to any court of law and justices of H.M. who may have power to hear his causes before the law, as if a definite sentence had been reached by a competent judge, to relinquish jurisdiction, domicile, residency, and other rights of defence, favor or general law; and he acknowledged the proper form of this entry of the manifest and he signed it in the presence of the following witnesses: Don Juan Milanos, Antonio de Sola, and Manuel de Arcos.

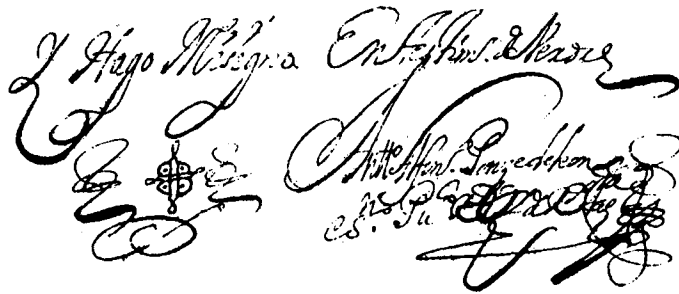
Don Frutos Delgado

Before me Don Antonio Alfonso Ponce de León, notary public and royal, and of the Royal treasury.

This is a certified copy of the entry in the original manifest, made on the same day as its execution, at the request of the party in question, of which I vouch.

And in faith whereof, I have affixed my signature:

Antonio Alfonso Ponce de León, notary public and royal, and of the Royal treasury.



The image shows a handwritten signature in cursive script, which appears to read "Antonio Alfonso Ponce de León". To the left of the signature is a circular notary seal containing a coat of arms with a crown on top. The text "Antonio Alfonso Ponce de León" is written in a smaller, more legible script below the main signature.

Documents 1702A

Arguments against moving all Chamorros to the Philippines

Source: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 326-332v (in Rome).

Note: The books cited in this paper must have been in the library of the Jesuits in Agaña. There is no evidence that this paper was ever forwarded to Madrid by the Jesuit General.

A1. Letter from Fr. Bustillo to Fr. General, dated Guam 14 April 1702

Original text in Spanish.

Al R.P.N. Thyrso Gonzalez

P.C.

Al Paternal amparo de V.P. se acoge esta desamparada, y, por tantas partes, afligida Mission y Christiandad, por la singular persecucion, que amenaza, no solo a estas Islas Marianas; sino a las que tenemos aqui cerca hacia el sur con la proxima esperanza de su conversion a Nuestra Santa Fe, mediante la Catholica Piedad de Nuestro nuevo Rey Felipe 5º; como vera V.P. por el papel adjunto, que resultò de consulta y pareceres uniformes de todos los Padres desta Mission juntamente con esas dos cartas para dicho nuevo Rey Nuestro Señor y su confesor: (por que dicen es de la Compañía; pero no sabemos su nombre) y que todo baya, dicen los PP. a V.P. para que vea lo que conviene, y si es bueno, o no, embiar las al Rey y a su confesor: Y al Padre Procurador General de Indias en Madrid ese dicho papel, por sí acaso allí se fraguare dicha persecucion, para que tenga materiales para presentar memorial al Consejo de Indias sobre el punto en defensa de todos estos miserables Indios Marianos, y de sus confinantes hacia el sur para que no perezcan eternamente.

Porque el origen desta persecucion, que nos amenaza, sino me engaño, es D. Fausto Cruzat y Góngora, que presto, pasando por Mexico, llegara a Madrid; por que acaba su gobierno de Filipinas, y el que año de 1700 embio a gobernar esto a D. Francisco de Medrano y Asiaín, Nuestro actual Governor, encargandole mucho le informase, que

cosa era esto como lo hizo, y el año pasado de 1701, le aviso, que era bueno transportar estos Marianos a Filipinas: como si fuera tan facil, el hacerlo, como el decirlo.

De todo lo qual dí ya parte al Padre Provincial con el Patache de Manila (que, llegando mui tarde, y vueltose mui temprano, solo nos dio lugar a esto, ya responder brevemente a las cartas de Filipinas) para que, en la Nao, que saldra de Cavite este Junio que viene, y en ella dicho D. Fausto para España: pueda noticiar a los PP. Procuradores Generales de Mexico y Madrid, y que esten alerta, por si dicho D. Fausto, en llegando allí, moviere la materia del transporte &c^a tengan ya los materiales para la oposicion, y defensa.

Para cuya mas aseguracion y efecto, ya que no pude entonces, embio tambien aora el mismo papel o materiales a Mexico a Nuestro Procurador Padre Francisco de Borja y Aragon, que por estar emparentado con los Señores de la Monarquía puede mucho en Madrid para deshacer con eficacia, caso que se arme, este nublado, y dar parte para esto al Padre Procurador General de Indias en aquella Corte, como [fol. 326v] tambien V.P., si asi le pareciere, para que de todas partes se pueda salir al encuentro con el mas eficaz y prompto remedio de la salvacion eterna de tantas almas. Hasta aqui tambien en esta el parecer de todos los desta Mission.

Ni yo tengo que añadir, sino lo que saben todos: que dicho D. Fausto poco nos favorecio mientras ha gobernado a Filipinas dando ordenes (contra los del Rey), a las Naos, que no den fondo aquí, llevandosenos con esto a Filipinas el socorro, que su Magestad nos embia de Mexico, todos los años, dejandonos tan necesitados, como si tal socorro no huviera para nosotros: y por fin y postre, al cabo de tantos meses, o años, quando vuelve de Manila: unas cosas mermadas, otras tan echadas a perder, que poco o nada sirven, y otras totalmente perdidas como sucedio año de 1700, que todas las que se propasaron en el barco que se desgarito, todas se perdieron, sin quedar ni una tan solamente.

Quiera Dios remediarlo todo, como nos lo prometio al pasar por aqui el año pasado de 1701, el que lleba a suceder D. Domingo Zabálburu, Cavallero (vizcayno) del orden de Santiago, muy contrario, segun mostró, a los dictámenes de su antecesor D. Fausto; Y asi de hecho mando dar fondo, y en menos de 24 horas nos echo todo el socorro en tierra lastimandose que no lo huviesen hecho asi los años antecedentes, pues se puede, dixo, con tanta facilidad, descanso, i conveniencia de todos, y que mientras governase las Filipinas daría orden a todas las Naos pacen [sic] por aqui y den fondo sin faltar.

Su Divina Magestad mantenga a su Señoria en estos tan buenos y caritativos dictámenes: para lo qual, pienso, haría mui mucho al caso, el que V.P. le escribiese, agradeciendosele y encomendando a su mucha piedad y christiano zelo el que por ser quien es su Señoria, se sirva favorecer, en quanto pudiere, a esta Mission y Christianidad, de la qual depende la conversion a Nuestra Santa Fe de todas almas confinantes hacía el sur: pues sabe ser obs..(?) tan grata a ambas Magestades para que se fome[n]te y mantenga para tanta gloria de Dios y salvacion eterna de tantas almas no solo Marianas, sino de las dichas sus confinantes redimidas todas al mismo tiempo que las Nues-

tras con la preciossima sangre y muerte de su Divina Magestad que nos guarde a V.P. con mucha salud y vida por muchos años para nuestro amparo y consuelo, en que interesa tanto el bien eterno de todos estos Isleños Marianos y dichos sus confinantes &c^a

Agadña en las Marianas y Abril 14 de 1702.

El menor y en nombre de todos los desta Mission Mariana

+

+ Lorenzo Bustillo +

Translation.

To our Rev. Fr. General, Thirso Gonzalez

P.C.

This forsaken Mission and Christian community, afflicted from so many sides, appeals for the paternal protection of Y.P., on account of the particular persecution that threatens, not only these Mariana Islands, but also those islands that lie nearby to the south of us, hoping that they will soon be converted to our holy faith, through the Catholic piety of our new King, Philip V, as Y.P. will see from the enclosed paper that is the result of a consultation of all the Fathers of this Mission and their consensus opinion, and from these two attached letters, one for the King our Lord, and the other for his confessor (whom they say is a member of our Society, though we do not know his name); it is the wish of the Fathers that these two letters be sent through Y.P., so that you may see if it is proper, and if so, forward them to the King and his confessor. Said paper may also be forwarded to our Fr. Procurator General of the Indies in Madrid, in case said persecution might be hatched overthere, thus providing him with materials to present in a memorial to the Council of the Indies about the matter in defence of all these miserable Mariana Indians, and their neighbors to the south so that they may not be subject to eternal perdition.

The origin of this persecution that threatens us, unless I am mistaken, is Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora, who will soon return to Madrid via Mexico, because his term of office as Governor of the Philippines is over. It was he who in 1700 sent overhere Don Francisco de Medrano y Asiaín, our present Governor, entrusting him to report on what this thing was all about, which he did, and this past year 1701, he advised him that it was a good idea to transport these Marianos to the Philippines—as if it were so easy to do that a simple verbal order would suffice.¹

I reported all of this to Fr. Provincial aboard the Manila patache² (which arrived very late here, and returned very early, so that we only had time to briefly answer to the letters from the Philippines) so that he might advise our Fathers Procurators General in Mexico and Madrid, via the galleon that will leave Cavite this coming June, and aboard which said Don Fausto will be on the way to Spain; they should be alert, in case said Don Fausto, upon his arrival overthere, were to bring up the subject of the

1 Ed. note: I have found no trace of such a report, and suspect that it was never written, or sent.

2 Ed. note: I have found no trace of this letter either.

transport, etc. they would then be ready with some arguments for opposition, and defence.

To make doubly sure that it would be safely have this effect, since I did not have the time then, I am now sending a copy of this paper or materials to Mexico to our Procurator, Fr. Francisco de Borja y Aragon, who, on account of his being a relative of gentlemen at the royal court, has much influence in Madrid to effectively undo the damage, in case this black cloud should appear, and so give a report to our Fr. Procurator General of the Indies at that court, as well as to Y.P., if he so wished, so that a multi-sided approach be taken to efficiently and promptly find a remedy for the eternal salvation of so many souls. Up to this point, my opinion is shared with all the Fathers of this Mission.

I have nothing left to add, except that everyone knows that said Don Fausto favored us very little when he governed the Philippines, as he gave orders (against those of the King) to the galleons, not to anchor here, thus carrying away the subsidy goods that His Majesty sends us every year from Mexico, all the way to the Philippines, leaving us so much in need, the same as if there was no subsidy at all for us. To make matters worse, at the end of so many months, or years, when the subsidy returns from Manila, some things have disappeared, others are so spoiled that few, or none, of them are of any use, and yet others are completely lost, as happened in 1700, when all of those that were [unloaded to and] aboard the boat that drifted off were lost, with not one being left behind.¹

God was pleased to remedy the whole situation, as the man sent to succeed him, Don Domingo Zabalburu, Knight of the Order of St. James (from Biscay), was very opposed to the decisions taken by his predecessor, as he demonstrated it when he passed by here last year 1701. In effect, he ordered the galleon to anchor, and in fewer than 24 hours he had placed all our goods ashore, feeling sorry for what happened in previous years, since in fact, as he said, it can be done so easily, calmly, and at the convenience of everyone that, as long as he was Governor of the Philippines, he would give orders to all the galleons to pass by here and anchor without fail.

May His Divine Majesty maintain His Lordship's determination to keep such good and charitable intentions. To this effect, I think that it would be very much to the point, if Y.P were to write to him, to thank him and entrusting him by referring to the great piety and Christian zeal of His Lordship, to please favor this Mission and community as much as he can, as it is one upon which depends the conversion to our Holy Faith of all the souls existing in our neighborhood to the south, since he knows very well how to gratefully serve both their Majesties, in order to foster and maintain it, much to the glory of God and the eternal salvation of so many souls, not only in the Marianas, but also in the southern lands, souls that have also been redeemed at the same time as our own by the most precious blood and death of His Divine Majesty.

1 Ed. note: See paragraphs 26 & 27 below for this story.

May He keep Y.P. in complete health for many more years for our protection and consolation, for your life is of interest to the eternal welfare of all these Mariana islanders and the others their neighbors to the south, etc.

Agadña in the Marianas, 14 April 1702.

The least one among those in the Mariana Mission and on their behalf,

+

+ Lorenzo Bustillo +

A2. 27 good reasons for not transferring the Chamorros out of the Marianas

Original text in Spanish.

...
El Señor actual interino destas Islas D. Francisco de Medrano y Asiaín el año pasado de 1701, quiso escribir al Rey N.S. persuadiendole, que ahorrando aqui los gastos, que hace en mantener el Presidio, sustentar los Padres Ministros, y Colegios de la Juventud, mande su Magestad sean estos Naturales transportados en las Naos, que vienen de Acapulco y Pataches de Manila a una de las Islas Filipinas: Por ser (dice) el mismo temple, que este, y allí ser administrados por un solo Ministro; pues no llegan a los millares que antes: y esto (dice) se podía hacer con la facilidad, que de las 8 Islas de Gani fueron transferidos sus Moradores a esta Isla de S. Juan de Guan en sus embarcacioncillas.

Reparos sobre este Arbitrio y lo imposible de su execucion.

1°. En orden a lo sustancial deste Parecer, no se puede omitir, el decir que jamas se ha dado otro peor de quantos hablaron mal destes; por pobres, tan perseguidos Marianos. Digo, que por pobres, son perseguidos: pues un quidam, de los mas sublimados aora en Manila, dixo a los que estaban presentes, oyendolo un Padre, que aun vive en esta Mission: Aya(?) orden(?)¹ las Islas Marianas, y de Manila iran a ellas; aunque sea por el ayre.

2°. Dos han sido los que en Propiedad tubieron este Gobierno por su Magestad y ambos dieron su parecer; no para desamparar, sino para mantener a estas Islas en la Fe, que en ellas se avía plantado, aunque fuese a costa de mas gastos. Y así el Señor Maestre de Campo D. Antonio Sarabia escribiendo a su magestad le suplico, entre otras cosas, que pidio a favor destas Islas: fuese su Magestad servido de acrecentar el Presidio, que ay aqui con otras noventa plazas, sobre las quarenta, que al presente tiene (palabras son de la Real Cedula de 29 de Setiembre de 1690, en que todo se lo concede) siendo en todas ciento y treinta plazas: lo qual, como digo, consiguio, dicho Señor Sarabia con todo lo demas, que contenia su memorial, sin que le fuese negada cosa alguna.

3°. Y así bien no aya sido tan favorable el arbitrio del segundo Señor Governador Propietario D. Damian de Esplana; fue menos pe[r]judic[i]jal a estos miserables: Pues nunca trato de desampararlos, como ni tan poco de transportarlos a las Islas Philipinas: Lo que pues intentò escribir al Rey como de cierto se ha sabido, era: que para mantener la Fe en estas Islas, y conservar a sus moradores en su Real Servicio, sería necesario poner presidio en cada Isla. [fol. 327 v] Este parecer, como claramente se ve, tiro para

¹ Ed. note: A wet spot has made the ink run off in the center of every page of the original.

que a cuenta del Real aver se acrecentasen aqui los gastos, caso que estos Naturales se huviesen de mantener en la sujecion debida a Dios y al Rey; Pero el Parecer arriba referido con el titulo especioso de ahorrar gastos al Rey, consiguientemente, quando menos, tira a que de un golpe se pierda esta Christiandad sin remedio, Porque deste Parecer, calificandole de facil, aunque a vista de ojos es impracticable, pudiera ser, que su Magestad en su Real Consejo de Indias mandando el transporte, que dicho Parecer pretende para ahorro de gastos, via facti se suspendan los necesarios para conservarse aqui la Fe, y dilatarla entre los que tenemos tan cerca; seguirase el perderse tantos eternamente sin remedio.

4°. Lo que el Señor Esplana pretendió proponer a su Magestad si bien menos favorable a esta Mission; no le amenazaba tan manifiesto peligro de perderse: Porque como insinuaba, que a cuenta del Real aver se avian de aumentar los gastos, si avia algun peligro, era de que no fuese admitida su propuesta, por no agravar mas la Real Caja de Mexico. El decir el Señor Esplana, que esto no podía mantenerse, sino es en poniendo en cada Isla un presidio, fue yerro como manifestó despues el suceso: pues las de Santa Ana de Rota, y S. Joseph de Saypan se mantienen, sin aver en ellas mas presidio, que el de S. Juan de Guan, pues a estas tres Islas se han reducido los que antes poblaban a las otras 8 hacia el Norte.

5°. Deste educion mal se arguye ser facil el transporte de todos estos aun de las Islas Filipinas, como constara despues de aver hecho algunos reparos sobre el desacierto de Parecer tan desproporcionado. Y sea dandoseme licencia. El primer motivo de ahorrar estos gastos al Rey, mas que se condenen tantos millares de almas, como de verdad se condenarian, no pudiendose efectuar el transporte despues de quitado el Presidio &c necesario para conservar a estos en la Fe. Oyendo el caso (no permita Dios N.S. suceda) su Santidad; la Congregacion de Propaganda Fide; los desafectos a la Corona de España; los Hereges &c* que no dirian improbando motivo tan indecoroso a su Magestad, tan injurioso a su Real y Catholica Piedad? No salen a los ojos las mentiras, y calumnias de los que por enemigos invidian a España su gran poder? No esparcerían a voces: que el Rey no quiere mas Indias de las que le ceban su codicia de oro, y plata? que la introduccion o manutencion de la Fe ya introducida no le sirve mas, que de Titulo colorado para mejor agarrar los Thesoros de las Indias: Estas y otras mil injurias no menos falsas, que del todo indignissimas de un Rey tan Catholico, como lo es su Magestad mas zeloso de la gloria de Dios, que de su misma corona, dirían a boca llena los Hereges.¹*

6°. Con mas razon afearan los Eminentissimos Cardenales de Propaganda Fide a su Magestad la resolucion que le propone dicho Parecer, solo para ahorrar gastos, quando por indulto de los sumos Pontifices goza el Rey tantas temporalidades con obligacion de gastarlas en Bien Espiritual de las almas. Si en qualquiera parte de las Indias ayan sus Naturales de acudir a su Magestad con las temporalidades de tributo; segun todo el rigor, viso tendria esta exaccion de sobrada codicia antes que de Piedad Catholica, y Christiana. Contra tal resolucion pudiera su Santidad alegar el derecho, que la Yglesia ya tiene adquirido, para que estos Naturales sean mantenidos en la Fe, que libre y voluntariamente han abrazado: Para contravenir su Magestad a ese derecho de la Yglesia; no es titulo justificado el ahorro de gastos, que le sugiere el Parecer arriba puesto: es pues el motivo de ahorrar gastos insuficiente sobre ser indecoroso a su Magestad para insinuarle tal resolucion.²

1 P. Nicol. del Techo in sua Epist. Dedic. Histor. Prov. Paraquar.

2 Ha mantenido, y mantiene su Magestad las Filipinas con muchos millones, que les embia de sus Reales tesoros de Nueva España; sin mas fruto, ni provecho, que la salvacion sola de aquellas almas. Vid. P. Franc. Colin: Misiones de la Compania de Jesus en Filipinas, Lib. 2. cap. 13. pag. 221 colum. 2.

7°. *Ni es menos insuficiente la razon tomada de no ser ahora tan numeroso el gentio destas Islas, como el que, segun los informes juridicos, las poblaba antes. Sea así esto: Pero aun oy dia despues de tantos contrastes, no es tan corto el numero de los que pueblan las Islas Marianas, que se aya de presumir en descredito de un Monarca tan piadoso, como lo es el de España, no querer su Magestad hacer estos gastos porque puedan salvarse estos Naturales, quando tan a la vista tiene el zelo catholico de sus gloriosos Progenitores y muy en particular de su Abuelo el Señor Rey D. Felipe Segundo de immortal memoria, cuya Real Piedad subio tan de punto, que para no desamparar a los Indios Filipinos, le fue motivo bastante el poderse salvar una sola alma en todo este Archipelago; y para con seguirlo, no rehusava su Real y Munifica Piedad emplear en ello todos los thesoros de las Indias, y todos las rentas de sus Reynos de España.*¹

8°. *A lo que se dice: no sera aora tan numeroso, como antes, el gentio destas Islas. Respondese, que ni en las Islas de Puerto-Rico, ni de la Habana, ni de Santo Domingo todas juntas no ay el gentio de Naturales oy dia, que en las Islas Marianas, siendo así, que su Magestad hace allí mayores gastos para conservarlas: verdad es, que aquellas Islas son de mas util a su Magestad y por tanto su conservacion mas necesaria para asegurarle la comunicacion y comercio con la America. Pero este no es titulo, que al Rey N.S. justificado la Posesion y Dominio de las Indias; si no el cuydado, que le tienen encargado los Sumos Pontifices de proveer los medios convenientes, y necesarios para dilatar la Fe de Jesu Christo en aquellas partes, y de conservarla, donde estubiere ya introducida.*²

9°. *Y por no faltar, quien quizas diga: No ser las Marianas de provecho para el Rey ni in re, ni in spe, se pudiera responder: que ni las Islas Filipinas le son a Su Magestad de tanto util, que para su conservacion aya de hacer gastos tan [fol. 328v] excesivos: Pues es constante, que quanto rentan al Rey; no basta para costear los gastos, que hace su Magestad para conservar a dichas Islas, supliendo de su real Caja de Mexico cada año tan notables cantidades como son menester para mantener en ellas los Presidios, Ministros Reales, y Evangelicos, Obispos &c*. No afín de conservar el trato con la Nueva España: Porque este, aunque a personas particulares es de bastante util; pero al Rey respectivamente no lo es; porque si lo fuera, no necesitava de gastar parte tan quantiosa de su Real aver, como su Magestad de hecho lo gasta todos los años; por ser menos lo que le rentan las Islas Filipinas, de lo que ellas necesitan para que su Magestad las mantenga en la Fe con esperanza, de que se ayan de salvar, sino todas quando menos algunas de aquellas almas. He aqui el motivo, que tubo el Señor Rey D. Felipe Segundo para no desamparar los Indios Filipinos aunque fuesen a costa de tan crecidos gastos; y es de creer, confiando en la Real y Catholica Piedad de Nuestro Gran Monarca, que nunca admitira, mas que a favor de su Real*

1 Epistola Dedicatoria Historiæ Provinciæ Paraquariæ Patris Nicolai del Techo Societatis Jesu: Præsidi et Senatoribus Senatus Regij Indici.

2 Epist. Dedic. P. Nicol. del Techo Hist. Prov. Paraquar.

*Caja de Mexico se le proponga el Parecer arriba dicho; no solo por no exponer a riesgo de perderse, sino por no perderse de cierto eternamente no una sola, sino tantos millares de almas, que, como confiesa dicho Parecer, pueblan aun oy dia las Islas Marianas.*¹

10. *Pero en orden al averse de condenar aqui estos miserables, no solo se han de considerar, los que al presente viven y pueblan estas Islas, sino tambien, los que dellos han de nacer para mientras huviere aqui gente, los quales, ya sere, a quantos millares de almas pueden llegar: si todas ellas se condenaren solo por ahorrar los gastos necesarios para conservar aqui la Fe, y administracion de los Santos Sacramentos, mucho, de verdad, tubiera, que responder a Dios por ellas, quien dio tal Parecer.*

11. *Mas: La razon de hacer aqui su Magestad estos gastos, no solo son, los que reducidos ya a Nuestra Santa Fe pueblan a estas islas Marianas; sino tambien los que pueblan las Islas por reducir hacia el Sur, que, segun los i[n]formes autenticos no son pocos: aquel gentio, que se espera (mediante Dios, y la Catholica Piedad del Rey N.S.) sujetar al suave yugo del Santo Evangelio, juntandole con estos Nuestros Marianos, haran, quiza tan crecido numero de gente, qual no pensaba quien pretende su desamparo a título de ahorrar al Rey estos gastos, cuyo parecer, si fuere admitido (no lo permita Dios) atajara de una vez la esperanza de poder salvarse todos aquellos de la misma manera como a estos pusiera en una necesidad fatal, y irremediable de averse de condenar. Porque quitado aqui el Presidio &c^a medios del todo necesarios para conservar estos ya Christianos en estas Islas, quien, y de donde procurara la conversion de aquellos? Y esto mismo tiene tambien lugar en el caso (que despues se mostrara ser impracticable) de trans- [fol. 329] -portarse estos a una de las Islas Philipinas.*

12. *Ni se califica de acertado dicho Parecer con decir: que ya tantas veces se ha salido para reconocer a las Islas, que dicen tenemos aqui tan cerca hacia el sur, y que nunca se aya hallado ni rastro dellas: Porque con replicar, que ninguno de quantos esto han governado, puso los medios suficientes para dar con ellas, desvanece la sospecha de no averlas. Y esta omision, no quiera Dios, se les atribuya la culpa el mismo Rey. Por que aviendo su Magestad mandado, que a costa de su Real aver, se nos despache desde Manila todos los años vagel bastante por lo que del necesitare esta Mission, despues de averse visto una y otra vez dichas Islas los años de 86, y 96, no se necesita mas que de llegar a ellas para dar cumplimiento a la Real voluntad, que es, y siempre sera de aumentar el Divino, y su Real servicio con la introduccion del Santo Evangelio donde se pudiere. Pero ninguno de los aqui Governadores se sirvio de mandar en nombre de su Magestad; ni procuro, siquiera, instando al Señor Governador de Filipinas, para que mandase al Cabo Superior del vagel, se acercase de ida, o vuelta (como le era facil) a dichas Islas, reconociendo las de a cerca para i[n]formar dellas con toda verdad, y ver, si ay aqui medios, o se ayan de solicitar, los que fueren convenientes para lograr el intento. Aora dado caso de inquirir su Magestad la causa, para que se omitio hacer esta diligencia, ay que temer no satisfaga al Rey, la que alegaren, para su disculpa; y mas siendo su Magestad informado de la grangeria, que desde el año de 89 hicieron los*

1 "De su Real Caja de Mexico gasta el Rey N.S. cada año cerca de docientos mil pesos para mantener en la Fe a las Filipinas; sinque dellas hasta oy aya tenido ni tenga su Magestad otro fruto; sino la salvacion de las almas. La qual su Magestad sustenta contra el parecer de sus Ministros, que siempre le han persuadido a que lo dexé, por los grandes gastos, y ningun provecho temporal, lo qual su Magestad nunca ha querido hacer: deste particular se puede colegir el universal y devotissimo pecho, con que acude a toda la conversion, y salvacion de las almas de todas las Indias." Ita P. Franc. Colin Lib. 2. cap. 17. Misiones de la Compañia de Jhs en Filipinas, pag. 253. Colum. 2. & El P. Nicol. del Techo, in Epistola Dedicatoria Historiæ Provinciæ Paraquariæ Societatis Jesu, multa alia refert pro Insulis Philippinis conservandis in Fide Catholica.

aqui Governadores no aviendo mas plata, en tierra tan pobre, como lo son las Marianas, que la del Real Situado para la Infanteria, ni mas generos para beneficiar, de los que en dicho vagel reciben, los que gobiernan esto, comprados en Manila para venderlos en su tienda a precio tan subido como tasara la codicia. A esta y otras contingencias expone su credito, quien dio ese Parecer de transportarse estos Isleños a una de las Islas Filipinas; pues de todo lo que importa al Real Servicio, es bien sea su Magestad informado, antes de tomar resolucion en lo que se le propone.

13. Pero, que resolucion se puede tomar en lo no practicable, sino es la negativa de la propuesta: Porque jamas podra pobrar, quien dio tal parecer, que todos quantos el dia de oy habitan las Islas Marianas, pueden transportarse a una de las Filipinas en la Nao de Acapulco para Manila, y en el Patache que de Manila se despacha para estas Marianas: y diciendo como dice, que el transporte de todos estos a Filipinas se puede hacer con la facilidad, que de las 8 Islas de Gani sus moradores fueron transportados a la de S. Juan de Guan en estas sus embarcacioncillas, se contra dice asi mismo, Porque para el transporte pretendido son menester la Nao de Acapulco, y Patache de Manila sin los quales se ha hecho el transporte de los de Gani a Guan; y asi no ay la misma facilidad en el uno y otro transporte. Mas: Juzgando, o suponiendo, que el transporte de los de Gani a Guan ha sido facil, [fol. 329v] como aun no avia venido a Marianas, es no saber el suceso: si lo supiera como quien lo vio que fue un Padre Missionero andando personalmente en aquella diligencia, y experimentando los peligros, que dicho Padre y los demas corrieron de perecer en aquellas atravesias, donde de hecho perecieron juntamente siete destas embarcacioncillas ahogandose toda la gente, que traían embarcada, sin escaparse alma viviente, ni poderlas socorrerlos de la Islas, que tenian mui cerca. Otra embarcacion se perdió con diez personas, otra con 4, otra con 8, otra con no se que tantos, fuera de los que naufragando se salvaron. Siendo esto asi, quien dira, sino quien se hallare sin experiencia destas Islas Marianas aver sido facil el transporte de los de Gani en estas sus embarcacioncillas? Agora se mostrara, que el embarque de todos estos para Filipinas no solamente no es facil, pero ni aun posible, hablando a lo humano.

14. Para esto supongo como indubitable que para el transporte pretendido no pueden servir estas embarcacioncillas; Pues por ser ellas insuficientes, pretende quien facilita el transporte, la Nao, y Patache de Manila, de cuyas frecuentes arribadas no digo nada; solo reparo en los muchos años que serían menester, antes de dar fin al transporte de toda esta gente: pues es evidente, que toda de una vez no se puede embarcar en dichos dos vageles. La Nao de Acapulco para Manila de ordinario viene atestada de soldados para los Presidios de Filipinas fuera de tantos marineros, grumetes, pasajeros &c de suerte, que si admitiere otros cien hombres, sera el non plus ultra de los que pudiere llevar de aca Pero bayan otros cinquenta mas: Asimismo en el Patache se embarquen tambien otros cinquenta (mucho sera si los pueda llebar) que por todos seran docientos los que cada año de aca se transportaran para las Filipinas en ambos a dos vageles: y pues cinco años son menester para el transporte de mil Marianos, hecha aora la cuenta; quien facilita el transporte de todos, quanto tiempo sería menester antes de acabar el transporte de tantos millares, como dice aver al presente en Marianas.*

15. Otra dificultad se ofrece en el embarque de los 150 que cada año se huvieran de transportar en la Nao, que de Acapulco hiciere su tornaviage para Manila, y es la detencion de dicha Nao para el embarque de aquellos 150 con el avio necesario para su Matalotage &c si esta detencion, aun mandada por el Rey en sus Reales Cedula y por los Señores Virreyes so pena de dos mil pesos, no podemos conseguir para que se desembarque el Real socorro para el Presidio, Padres Missioneros; y Colegios, que en menos de 24 horas se puede echar en tierra, como querran detenerse los de la Nao tanto tanto tiempo como*

sería necesario para juntarse los dichos 150 con sus trastos &c que se huvieren de embarcar? Ni vale el decir, que de antemano se pudieran juntar los dichos 150 para embarcarse [fol. 330] Juego, que llegase la Nao: Porque aqui no ay castillo, como en Acapulco, y en Manila, ni otra fortaleza cercada para encerrarlos, ni es conveniente, como se dira en adelante encerrar a estos Naturales; aunque huviese castillo, o fortaleza para poderlo hacer: y dejandolos sueltos no sería posible tenerlos juntos. He aqui la facilidad deste transporte.*

16. La imposibilidad de lo que al Rey se vende por facil, esta de parte de toda la muchedumbre, que se hubiere de transportar. Porque, pre[sc]indiendo (pues esta es otra dificultad muy diferente) si dicho transporte se pudiera executar con rigor, y fuerza, es indubitable, que de su voluntad no vendran estos jamas a que sacandolos de su tierra, sean trasferidos o desterrados a otra estraña distante trecientas leguas de aqui, para nunca jamas ver a la que aman como a su propia patria, de donde resultaría, que al sospecharlo tan solamente se alboroten, y alteren, y todos se huyan y nos quedemos sin ninguno acogiendo de tropel a sus antiguos escondrijos hasta las ultimas huroneras de Gani, de las quales, a costa de tantos trabajos y peligros, tres años ha que de muy mala gana se dejaron sacar para esta de Guan, Isla que espontaneamente frequentaban para sus mismas conveniencias. Por sola sospecha de lo que menos importaba, como ya tantas veces lo hemos experimentado; se huyeron estos de Guan, sin que hal-lasemos medio alguno para poderlos detener. Muy a las claras intentaron esto en el gobierno del Señor Maestre de Campo D. Antonio Sarabia, quando para asegurar su Real, empezo a levantar el fortin; y imaginandose ellos, que avia de encerrarlos alli, antes de poderlo estorbar, se fueron de huido a las Islas mas remotas desta cordillera. No permita Dios hagan otro tanto al barruntar desde lejos la pretencion deste transporte: porque como ya de vista conocemos aquellas no tan Islas, como madrigueras; no ay fuerzas en el Real, que de alli los puedan sacar poniendose ellos (como lo haran) en defenza. Dado pues este caso, siguese lo arriba dicho, que sin remedio se condenaran eternamente, apostatando todos de la Fe, sin ser bastante el zelo de quantos huviere para Doctrinarlos y administrarlos para que se conserven en la sujecion debida a Dios y al Rey: Porque aburridos de tanto trabajar, y contribuir, como sin alibio ya tantos años lo han continuado; mas que para su bien de ellos consagrasemos las vidas, ni nos permitiran vivir donde tubieren sus escondrijos, por creer, aunque falsamente, que nosotros somos la causa con pretesto de administrarlos de aver estado tan oprimidos, y queriendo aora mantener su antigua brutalidad, mataran a quantos sacerdotes pudieren tener a las manos.

17. Vea pues quien hace tan facil este transporte, como deshaga estas y otras mas dificultades, que convencen, no ser practicable. Pero finjamos el caso, que su Magestad por lo facil que se le propone este transporte, mandase via facti, para el ahorro de aquellos gastos, se suspenda a esta Infanteria su situado, su congrua a los Minis- [fol. 330v] -tros Religiosos y a los Colegios de la Juventud su limosna, no pudiendo en muchos años concluirse el transporte de todos estos, en el interim o quedarian aqui los soldados, y Religiosos atendidos tan solamente a la suma pobreza de la tierra, o no pudiendo subsistir, como es evidente, faltandoles a estos la congrua, y a aquellos el sueldo, huvieran de desamparar a estos. Si lo primero, ya no se ahorraran los gastos, que pretende ahorrar al Rey, quien le propone el transporte. Si lo segundo, ya se condenarian estos, faltandoles quienes los conservase en la Fe, y los administrase los Santos Sacramentos para remedio de sus almas.

18. Para que fuese practicable siquiera (Porque ser facil, nunca lo probara quien tal Parecer ha dado) el transporte destes a Filipinas avia de aver medios para de una vez embarcarlos a todos juntos: Pero como no señala mas medios, que la Nao, y Patache, y en estos dos bageles juntos a mas tirar no caben

sino docientos de tantos millares, que el mismo dice aver oy dia en estas Islas, ya se ve, que dicho transporte de una vez no se puede haver; de donde se sigue, no ser practicable, lo qual se muestra evidentemente. Porque dado caso de embarcarse, los que cupieren en dichos dos Navios, que como se dixo, seran docientos; demas, que siendo tantos millares, para quedarse en su tierra, no se pondran todos en cobro huyendose de tropel hasta las ultimas Islas desta cordillera? Y acogidos alli a lo mas fragozo, quien los podra sacar, y persuadirles, que se dexen transportar a una tierra estraña y no conocida &c, que en este caso se ofrece, que considerar. No señalando para el transporte mas medios, que aquellos dos Navios; [indirec-]tamente da a entender, que no ay otros, y esto esta pura verdad: Por que ni estas embarcacioncillas de la tierra, ni caracoas, que usan los Filipinos, ni champanes, que usan los Chinos, con que se navega entre Islas en Manila, son para el intento: Ni en el puerto de Cavite ay galeones de respeto para poder de golpe acabar con este transporte.*

19. *Pero finjamos aver los en numero bastante para que de una vez se embarque todo este gentio, y que para este fin se nos despache una armada entera de muchas y muy grandes Navios. Pregunto: en este caso, que de gastos no acrecentarian al Rey, quien pretende ahorrarselos? Pero poco importa, si aqui se ahorraran los gastos in futurum; si de predenti se le aumentasen de golpe tan excesivamente como en el caso seria inexcusable para pertrechar a tantos galeones, y aviarlos con bastante matalotage para la gente que los esquifasen proveerles de cabos, y oficiales necesarios, marineros, grumetes, y cada qual con el sueldo competente al puesto, y plaza, que sirviesen. En este caso asi fingido (pues nunca tal acontecera) desvanece el ahorro de gastos, motivo segun la imaginacion especioso; pero del todo arriesgado, antes si, certissimo de perdersele a Dios estas almas tan criadas de su divina Magestad, y redimidas con la preciosissima sangre de Jesu Christo como la suya de quien inconsideradamente tanpoco les favorece con aquel su Pa- [fol. 331] Parecer de transportarlos a Filipinas.*

20. *Quanto mejor y mas acertado le huviera tenido con escribir al Señor Governador de Filipinas suplicandole con instancia (pues sabe ya por experiencia, que estas embarcacioncillas no son para el intento) fuese su Señoria servido mandar al Cabo del Patache que de ida, o vuelta (como con facilidad lo pueda hacer) este servicio a Dios y al Rey, reconociendo de cerca esas Islas, que al Sur se columbraron los años de 86 y 96: y por ser tan zeloso huviese solicitado quantos medios prudentes y licitos se le huviesen ofrecido para que surtiese efecto cosa, en que interesa la salvacion de aquellos hasta aora tan desamparados, y destituidos de todo remedio para poderle salvar. Esto si era practicable, y facil de conseguir; no siendolo el transporte destes a Filipinas aunque fuese alli el mismo temple, que aqui en Marianas.*

21. *Dicelo asi, quien pretende este transporte, y con esto, parece, quiere insinuar, que en la mudanza desta su tierra por aquella no corren riesgo de morirse. A esto se responde, que el riesgo de morirse no consiste solo en la mudanza del temple (dado que sea el mismo) sino tambien, y mucho mas en lo que obra en ellos la melancolia Natural, la qual no sufren, aunque fuese a costa de quitarse ellos mismos la vida. De lo qual aqui hartos exemplos hemos tenido; y no los ignora quien insinua no aver peligro de morirse, por causa del transporte. El verse ellos contra su gusto y voluntad sacados de su patria, metidos en una Nao navegando por estos mares tanto tiempo sin ver tierra entre gente no conocida, sin poder seguir lo que cada dia estilaban para ser alivio, con los sobresaltos, y rezelo de padecer lo que les finge su natural temor &c* No es todo sobrada materia para morirse de melancolia? Demos que lleguen a Filipinas: al verse allí en tierra estrangera sacados de la suya, sin caudal, ni medios para comprar lo necesario, con que subsistir y alimentarse, sin casas ni viviendas a su modo, sin instrumentos, ni tierras para trabajar, sin alajas para su vivienda, divididos, quiza de su parentela &c* Que haran entre los que ni co-*

nocen ni entienden su lengua; sino de pesadumbre ahorcarse unos, y morirse otros de pura tristeza, sin que les aproveche la semejanza del temple ni para su vivir, ni para su remedio ni consuelo.

22. De lo aqui reparado se concluye: no solo no ser facil; Pero ni aun practicable, hablando a lo humano, el transporte destes a Filipinas. Por tanto el venderlo al Rey por facil, es engaño manifiesto, y el solicitarlo repugna a la caridad christiana, que el peligro de condenarse tantos millares de almas, como aun oy día ay en estas Islas, despues de tantos contrastes; y las que mas avra mientras huviere aqui gente, que las engendre. Asimismo resulta deste parecer, el quedarse para siempre sin esperanza de poderse salvar, los que tan cerca tenemos al sur en 24 [sic] Islas, cuyos moradores ya se dejaron ver el año pasado. Digo, que estos se quedaran sin esperanza de poderse salvar. Pues si aqui no huviere ni christianos, ni sacerdotes, quien, y de donde los iran a convertir, y administrar? Faltandoles [fol. 331v] esto para su remedio, no ay otro para que se salven. A esta imposibilidad, mas que tal no pretenda, los reduce aquel mal acertado Parecer, caso, que sin para mas ni menos, que ahorrar al Rey gastos necesarios para mantener y aumentar aca la Fe, fuese admitido, quedando con la obligacion a cuentas de responder a Dios por todos aquellos, que por su mal acertado arbitrio, se huvieren condenado. Lo cierto es, que en el Tribunal Divino no le sera admitido aver dado tal arbitrio para ahorrar gastos al Rey; el retratarse, sí, reconociendo su desacierto. Así se espera de su mucha christiandad, lo hara ya mejor aconsejado para lo que tanto importa a ambas magestades Divina y Humana.

23. Aunque huviera quantos medios son imaginables para el transporte, no sirven, que por todos estos Indios se han de alzar, y huir, y si acaso se intentare emb[il]jar algunos para Filipinas, primero se dejaran hacer pedazos, y caso, que a pura fuerza amarrados con prisiones se pueda conseguir el embarcar algunos (que bien pocos seran por averse huido los demas) se han de desesperar echandose luego a la mar con prisiones y todo, o para ahogarse, o para ver si puede escapar a nado, y coger otra vez su tierra, o se ahorcaran dentro de las mismas Naos, persuadidos todos ellos a que los lleban a Filipinas no para su mayor bien; sino para hacer los perpetuos esclavos de trabajos &c tal o qual que años pasados paso voluntario a Filipinas se ha vuelto otra vez a su tierra, y los mas destes murieron allí en Filipinas porque ni aquel temple ni modo de trabajar, y adquirir para comer y vivir en Filipinas y en Mexico (a donde tambien llegaron algunos) ni les armo, ni les agrado; sino su tierra, y su modo de trabajar y labrar sus sembreras, sus frutas, y pescas, y sus comercios aca entre sí; no con dinero; por que ni lo conocen, ni lo quieren; sino trocando o cambiando unas cosas por otras. Esto es lo que quieren, y no mas para su vivir aqui en su Patria, y lo demas, es querer sacar los peces del agua su centro para que vivan, lo qual es imposible. Esto es en quanto a estos Indios.*

24. Tambien el intentar el pretendido transporte cede en notable descredito de Nuestra Sagrada Religion la Compania de Jhs, y de sus hijos los Missioneros Marianos, porque aunque a noticia de muchos llegara quien fue el Autor; pero en el resto del mundo, donde tenemos tantos emulos, ninguno se podra persuadir, que una persona seglar intentò un enpeño tan grande, y nunca visto, sino que lo intento a influxos de los PP. Missioneros de Marianas, y de aqui sacaran las ilaciones [sic], que les dictare su passion, y desafecto, y entre otras sera una la codicia, diciendo, que como aqui no ay oro ni plata, que es lo que unicamente bu[s]camos (como indignamente dicen los malevolos) sino trabajos, hambres &c, sin conveniencia ninguna, por eso nos valemos de semejantes arcaduces [sic=artificios?], v.g. de los que goviernan por desamparar y dejar esta tierra. Este es discurso, y se juzga, que mas de quatro lo avian de hacer.*

25. Apuntose arriba como estos años antecedentes no quisieron dar fondo las Naos; aunque ay zedula apretada de su Magestad y notificada cada año a los generales por los Señores Virreyes de Mexico

con multa de dos mil pesos, hasta el año pasado de 701, que lo dio la Nao, en que paso a gobernar las Islas Filipinas el Señor D. Domingo Zabalburu cau- [fol. 332] -sandole mucha Compasion y lastima el vernos aqui desamparados de las Naos desta Carrera sin querer dar fondo para dexarnos el Real Socorro, no aviendo otra Nao en todo el año y pudiendo lo hacer tan facilmente como lo experimento con harta admiracion de que asi se quebranten los ordenes del Rey, y se malogre lo que cada año nos embia su Magestad para poder subsistir en tierra tan pobre y falta de lo necesario para vivir; y mas oyendo, que por esta causa se nos desgarró un barco el año antecedente, yendo en alcance de la Nao que no quiso dar fondo (con tener tan lindo tiempo y ya en el puerto) que aunque la alcanzò como era tan lejos no pudo coger tierra, y se vio necesitado a ir a coger a Filipinas a donde llevo al mismo puerto, que 8 dias antes avia llegado la misma Nao. Y nada, de lo que della recibio para traer a tierra de nuestro socorro, logramos, porque lo comestible les sirvio en el barco de matalotage, y lo demas se vieron obligados a arrojarlo al mar para aligerarle y salvar las vidas hasta Filipinas.

[Chance re-discovery of Ulithi by a boat that drifted from Guam in May 1700]

26. Fueron desgarrados en dicho barco 26 hombres, los 23 Indios Marianos, todos mozos robustos para boga de dicho barco, y al cabo de 16 meses, que se avian desaparecido, volvieron aca, en el Patache de Manila solos diez de los dichos 23 Indios Marianos porque los demas murieron en Filipinas tanta es la impresion que hace en ellos, el estar fuera de su tierra; aunque con esperanza de volver a ella quanto antes: y que fuera sino tubieron esperanza? Juzguelo cada uno. El Padre Antonino Tuccio, Rector de Nuestro Colegio de Manila, en carta de 7 de Junio de 1701, me escribe, diciendo: [“]Harto sentimos la desdicha de los Pobres Marianos, que se desgarraron y lo que mas sentimos, ha sido, que han muerto muchos dellos, siendo siempre fatal para ellos esta tierra. Sino fuera por el cabo (Juan Flamenco) todos huvieran muerto: cierto que es braba lastima el serles tan contrario este temple de Filipinas, que sino les fuera, no dudo, que aprovechara mucho el ir yendo y viniendo algunos, por el concepto, que cobraran asi de la christiandad, como de los Españoles &c”] Hasta aqui dicho Padre Rector.

27. Y dicho cabo Juan Flamenco refiere, que al segundo dia, que perdio de vista a esta Isla de S. Juan de Guan, unas cinquenta leguas de aqui, descubrio 28 Islas de Indios desnudos, pintados, y amulados, sus tierras llenas de los mismos arboles frutales, que estas Marianas, sin armas ningunas; las embarcaciones como estas de aqui; pero no la lengua; porque no la entendieron. Y queriendo dicho cabo saltar en tierra para tomar agua para su barco, por no llevar ni una gota, ni arma alguna para su defenza, con piedras, que le tiraban, y despedian de las manos aquellos Indios (sin honda ni otro instrumentos) no se lo permitieron, y asi se huvo de retirar, y tomar la derrota para Filipinas, &c Sea el Señor Bendito, que asi dispone las cosas por sus altos fines.*

Fecha en esta Ciudad de S. Ignacio de Agadna en esta Isla de S. Juan de [fol. 332v] Guan una destas Marianas y Abril 10 de 1702.

*En nombre de los Missioneros Marianos
su indigno Superior y Vice Provincial*

+

+ Lorenzo Bustillo +

[Endorsement, in Latin:]

Marianis.

Philippinæ 1702.

P. Laurentius Bustillo Super. Agdañæ [sic] in Marianis. 10 April.

Timet Gubernatorum Insularum velle proponere Regi arbitrium valde notiorum Religioni Christianæ in Insulis nempe, ut deserantur, et Indigenæ imponantur navibus et cogantur transmigrare in Philippinas.

Petit ut totis viribus medio di confessario impeditur arbitrium.

Ostendit cuius impossibilitatem quia nolent Indi transmigrare sed potius fugient in monte. Nec aliunde persit hos fieri nisi multis annis, cum naves non appetant, nec transmigratori aptæ sint cymbæ quibus utuntur tues(?)

Ostendit deinde fama Regis et nationis plurimum obease(?) tum dicere possint extore dominia Indica conservare in Rege non causa fidei, sed lucri, de cupiditatis.

Denique pluribus probat tot animas amittendas non in turito(?) tum in vicinis, quæ de suo deteguntur: et possunt conuestiti sustineatur Missio Mariana.

R.

Translation.

...

The actual interim Governor of these Islands is Don Francisco Medrano y Asiain. Last year, 1701, he wanted to write to the King our Lord¹ to persuade him to save the costs of maintaining a garrison here, supporting the Father Ministers, and the Colleges for the youth, and that His Majesty should order that these Natives be transported aboard the galleons that come from Acapulco and the pataches that come from Manila to one of the Philippine Islands, because (says he) they have the same climate, and overthere they could be ministered to by only one Minister, since their number does not reach thousands as before. And this (says he) could be done as easily as the transfer of the residents of the 8 Islands of Gani to this Island of Guan aboard their small craft.

Objections to this point of view. The impossibility of its execution.

1. Regarding the essence of this Opinion, one has to say that a worse opinion—among the many bad ones ever said—about these poor, and so persecuted Marianos, has never been heard. I say “poor, and persecuted;” indeed, a certain person, among the most exalted one now living at Manila, said to those who were present, including one Father who still lives in this Mission: “Let an order be given to go to the Mariana Islands, and from Manila they would go there, even if only for the good air.”

2. There have been two Governors who held this government, as a result of an official appointment from His Majesty, and both gave their opinion, that is, not to abandon these Islands, but to maintain the Faith that has been planted there, even though it might cost more. And so, His Lordship the Master-of-camp Don Antonio Saravia

1 Ed. note: There is no evidence in the archives that he did.

wrote to His Majesty, begging, among other things which he sought on behalf of these Islands, that he be pleased to augment the garrison located here with 90 new positions, over and above the 40 that it now has (words taken from the Royal decree of 29 September 1690, which conceded everything), making a total of 130 positions. This, as I said, was obtained by Mister Saravia, along with everything else that he asked for in his memorial, without a single thing being refused him.

3. Although the point of view of the second proprietary Governor, Don Damian de Esplana, was not so favorable, it was nevertheless less prejudicial to these miserable people. Indeed, he never tried to abandon them, in a way that would happen if they were transported to the Philippine Islands. What he did try to write to the King, as was ascertained then, was: that, in order to maintain the Faith in these Islands, and maintain their inhabitants in his royal service, it would be necessary to place a garrison on every island. This opinion, as can be seen clearly, tended toward an increase in the expenditure of royal funds here, in case these natives were to be maintained in the subjection due God and the King. However, the opinion mentioned above, under the facetious pretence of saving royal funds, would necessarily bring the result that this Christian community would be lost without a remedy, because, there is a possibility that such an opinion, which qualify the operation as an easy one, although it is plain to see that it is impracticable, could yet influence His Majesty in his royal Council of the Indies to order the transport, that said opinion pretends would save money and, by the same token, the funds necessary to maintain the Faith here, and expand it among those who live nearby; hence, the eternal loss of so many souls, without a remedy.

4. What Mister Esplana pretended in his proposal to His Majesty, though less favorable to this Mission, did not so obviously threaten it with extinction, because as he insinuated that the expenditures of funds by the Royal treasury be increased, if there was a risk, it was that his proposal be rejected, so as not to burden further the Royal treasury of Mexico. The opinion of Mister Esplana, to the effect that these Islands could not be maintained, unless a garrison be placed on each island, was an error, as the events later proved; indeed, the islands of Santa Ana of Rota, and San José of Saypan are maintained, without any garrison other than the one on the Island of San Juan of Guan; indeed, the people who formerly lived on the other 8 islands further north have all been reduced to these three islands.

5. Consequently, from the above facts, it is hard to argue that the transport of these people is easy, even from the Philippine Islands, as will be seen further on, after I make a few objections regarding such an erroneous opinion, if I may be given permission. The first part of the argument in favor of reducing royal expenditures, that is, the removal of the garrison, etc., which is necessary to preserve so many thousands of souls in the Faith, would in fact condemn them, given that it would be impossible to carry out the transport, once the garrison is removed. Should His Holiness, and the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, ever hear of this eventuality (may God our Lord prevent it), as well as those who opposed the Crown of Spain, the heretics, etc., what things would they not say in imputing such an improper motive, one so harmful, to the

piety of his Royal and Catholic Majesty? Is it not obvious that many lies and calumnies would be uttered by enemies who envy the great power of Spain? That many rumors would be spread to the effect that the King only wants the Indies to satisfy his greed for gold and silver? That the introduction, or preservation of the Faith already introduced, serves only as a screen, the better to grab treasures from the Indies? Heretics would widely utter these and a thousand other, no less false, insults, all unworthy of such a Catholic King, as is His Majesty, more zealous of the glory of God than of his own crown.¹

6. Their Eminences the Cardinals of the Propaganda Fide would more surely blame the decision recommended by said Opinion, only to save money, when, as a result of indulgences from the sovereign Pontiffs, the King enjoys so many temporal benefits, with the duty of spending them for the spiritual welfare of souls. If, in any part of the Indies, the natives must turn over the temporal benefits of their tributes over to His Majesty, in all fairness, this exaction could be seen as an excess of greed, rather than piety, on the part of his Catholic and Christian Majesty. Against such a decision, His Holiness could allege the right that the Church now has, to the effect that these natives be maintained in the Faith, which they have freely and willingly embraced. In order to infringe this right that the Church has, His Majesty could not claim the saving of money as a justification, as suggested by the above-mentioned opinion. Indeed, the saving of money is an insufficient, in addition to being improper, reason to justify recommending such a decision to His Majesty.²

7. The present small size of the population of these Islands, when compared with the previous population, according to official reports, is not a sufficient reason either. What if that were true; still, even now, after so many setbacks, the population of the Mariana Islands is not so little as to lead one to assume, in discredit of such a pious Monarch as is the King of Spain, that His Majesty does not want to make these expenditures to save these natives, when he has before him the Catholic zeal of his glorious progenitors, and very specially that of his grand-father, King Philip II of immortal fame, whose royal piety reached such a point that, so as not to abandon the Filipino Indians, he considered that to save but one soul in this whole archipelago, he was ready to use all the treasures of the Indies, and all the revenues from his Kingdoms in Spain to achieve it.³

8. One can reply the following to those who say that the population of these Islands is not now as numerous, that not even in the Islands of Puerto Rico, nor in that of Ha-

1 See Fr. Nicolas del Techo, S.J., in his dedicatory preface of his History of the Province of Paraguay.

2 See Fr. Francisco Colín's Missions of the Society of Jesus in the Philippines, Book 2, chapter 13, page 221, column 2: "His Majesty has maintained, and continues to maintain, the Philippines with many millions sent from his Royal treasury in New Spain, without any other fruit, or advantage, than the salvation of the souls there."

3 Dedicatory preface of Father Nicolas del Techo, S.J., in his book "History of the Province of Paraguay" addressed to the President and Members of the royal Council of the Indies.

vana, or in that of Santo Domingo taken altogether is there as much population nowadays as in the Mariana Islands.¹ Still, His Majesty makes greater expenditures there to maintain them. The truth is, that those Islands are more useful to His Majesty and therefore their maintenance is more necessary, in order to secure communication and commerce with America. However, this is not the main reason why the King our Lord holds ownership and dominion over the Indies; rather, it is because the Sovereign Pontiffs have entrusted him with the provision of the proper and necessary means to propagate the Faith of Jesus Christ in those parts, and to preserve it wherever it has already been established.²

9. And, to respond to anyone who might say that the Marianas are not worth anything to the King, neither now nor in future, one could say: that the Philippine Islands are not useful to His Majesty either, yet he spends a great deal of money on their preservation. Indeed, it has been a constant story that, no matter what they produce as revenue to the King, it is never enough to cover the expenditures made by His Majesty to preserve said Islands, and the bulk of the money must come from his royal treasury in Mexico every year, great sums as are required to maintain there the garrisons, the royal officials, the Gospel ministers, the Bishops, etc. This is not done to preserve trade with New Spain, because this trade, though rather useful to individual persons, relatively speaking is not so useful to the King, because, if it were, he would not need to spend such a large part of his royal income, as he does every year, since the Philippine Islands produce less income than what is needed for His Majesty to maintain them in the Faith, with the hope that most, if not all, of those souls will be saved by it. This is proof enough of the motive that His Lordship King Philip II had when he refused to abandon the Filipino Indians, even though it might be at such great cost; and it is hoped, trusting in the royal and Catholic piety of our great Monarch, that he will never listen to the above-mentioned opinion, and continue to spend his Royal funds from Mexico, so as not to expose not even one soul to eternal damnation, of the thousands that, as stated in said opinion, still live in the Mariana Islands today.³

10. However, with regards to condemning these miserable ones here, one should not only consider those who live and inhabit these Islands at present, but also those who will be born from them as long as there are people living here, and who knows how many thousand souls that might eventually be? If all of them be condemned, only to save the expenses that are made at present to preserve the Faith here, and to administer the holy sacraments, the person who first rendered such an Opinion would indeed have much to answer to God for.

11. Furthermore, the reason why His Majesty spends his money here is not just for those who inhabit these Mariana Islands and have already been reduced to our holy Faith, but also for those who inhabit the Islands to the south that are yet to be reduced.

1 Ed. note: He refers only to the native or indigenous population.

2 Dedicatory preface of Fr. N. del Techo in Hist. Prov. Paraguay.

3 "The King our Lord spends about 200,000 pesos every year from his Royal funds in Mexico to maintain the Philippines in the Faith..." (Fr. Colín, Book 2, Chapter 17, & Fr. del Techo).

According to authentic reports, the number of people there is not so small; these peoples, whom one hopes (God helping, and the Catholic piety of the King our Lord also) will be subjected to the sweet yoke of the Holy Gospel, when joined to the number of these our Marianos, a very large number of people that perhaps escaped the thoughts of the person who suggested they be abandoned, to save money to the King. His opinion, if accepted (God forbid), would permanently extinguish the hope of being able to save all of the former, the same way that the latter would be placed in a fatal jeopardy, and would become irremediably condemned, the reason being that, once the garrison, etc. have been removed from here, the means necessary to preserve those who are already Christians in these Islands, and to attempt the conversion of the others, would be gone. And this [argument] would apply also in the case (which will be demonstrated as being impracticable later on) of transporting them to the Philippine Islands.

12. Said opinion can no more be proven simply by saying that many times already voyages of exploration have gone out to the Islands that are said to be close by toward the south, and that no trace of them has ever been found. Suffice to reply that none of the many governors who have been in charge of this government has given the means sufficient for discovering them, to make the suspicion of their non-existence disappear. May God not let the facts come out, and have the King attribute this error of omission to any of them, in view of the fact that His Majesty has ordered that, at the cost of his own treasury, they send from Manila to us every year a vessel large enough for the needs of this Mission. Since said Islands were seen twice, in the years 1686 and 1696, it is only necessary to get there, to accomplish the King's will, which is, and always will be, to increase the divine, and his royal, service, by the introduction of the Holy Gospel wherever possible. However, none of those who acted as Governors here ever gave orders, in the name of His Majesty, or tried even to request same from the Governor of the Philippines, so that the senior officer of the vessel in question get close to said Islands when coming, or going back (it would have been easy then). The idea would have been to reconnoiter them from close range and to write a truthful report of them, and find out if the sufficient means exist here, or should be solicited, enough means to achieve the purpose. Now then, if His Majesty were to inquire about the reason why such a diligence was not carried out, it can be feared that the excuses they might give may not satisfy the King; the more so, if His Majesty be informed of the profit that, since 1689, the Governors here have made, in a land as poor as the Marianas, out of the royal subsidy meant for the infantry; they did so by bringing in goods aboard said vessel, bought in Manila and sold in their store at an elevated price, in line with their greed. This is the likely outcome to which is exposed the credit of the man who gave that Opinion of transporting these islanders to one of the Philippine Islands; indeed, it would be well, in the interest of the royal service, that His Majesty be well informed, before he makes a decision regarding the proposal in question.

13. However, what decision can be made regarding something not feasible, except the opposite of the proposal? That is why the person who made said recommendation will never be able to prove that the people now living in the Mariana Islands can be

transported to one of the Philippines aboard the galleon travelling from Acapulco to Manila, and aboard the patache that is despatched from Manila to these Islands. When he says that the transport of all of them to the Philippines can be done with the ease of their transportation from the 8 Gani Islands to that of San Juan of Guan, he is contradicting himself, because for the transport in question the Acapulco galleon and the Manila patache would be required, and they were not used in the transport from the Gani Islands to Guan; so, one transport does not have the same degree of ease as the other. Furthermore, when he talks about the transport of the Gani people to Guan having been easy, since he had not yet come to the Marianas, he does not know what he is talking about. If only he had witnessed it, as one Missionary Father did, who personally took part in that expedition, and shared in the same dangers as the Father in question and his companions, of losing his life in those crossings, in which **seven canoes actually foundered and their occupants all perished**, with not a single living soul saving itself, or being saved from the islands that were close by. Another canoe was lost that bore 10 persons, another with 4, still another with 8, plus one more with an unknown number of people, excepting those who were saved after their shipwreck. With such a result, who could say, except someone without any experience of these Mariana Islands, that the transport of the people of Gani aboard their own canoes was easy? Next, it will be demonstrated that the transport of all of these people to the Philippines is not only not easy, but not even possible, humanly speaking.

14. In effect, I suppose that it is unthinkable that the local canoes might be used for the transport in question, since they are quite insufficient. That is why the person proposing the transport was thinking about the galleon, and the patache from Manila. I do not need to mention here the latter's many returns in distress. I will only point out the many years that would be required to arrive at the end of the transport of all of these people; indeed, it is obvious that all of them cannot be carried by these two vessels all at once. The galleon from Acapulco bound to Manila usually comes already fully loaded with soldiers for the garrisons in the Philippines, with so many sailors, ship's boys, passengers, etc. so that, if 100 more men be added, that would be really excessive, but let us assume that one could pack 50 more, and also 50 more aboard the patache (much more than it can normally carry), all in all 200 could theoretically be transported from here to the Philippines in both of these vessels. So, if five years be needed to transport 1,000, how many years will be needed to transport the many thousands, which he says live at present in the Marianas?¹

15. Another difficulty presents itself with the embarkation of the 150 who would every year be transported by the galleon, that returns from Acapulco to Manila, and it is the detention of said galleon for the embarkation of those 150 people with the necessary supplies for their sustenance at sea, etc. Even if this detention is ordered by the King in his Royal decrees and by their Lordships the Viceroys under penalty of 2000 pesos,

1 Ed. note: Fr. Bustillo does not want to reveal that the native population was only 4,000. Still, 20 years would have been required, at least (4,000 divided by 200).

we cannot at present get it done, to unload the royal subsidy for the garrison, missionary Fathers, and Colleges, something that takes less than 24 hours to put ashore, how could those of the galleon possibly agree to detain it as much time as would be necessary to get said 150 people together with their belongings, etc. that would have to be taken on board? The argument to the effect that said 150 people could be assembled before the arrival of the galleon is not valid, because there is no fortress here, as in Acapulco, or Manila, not even a protected enclosure to hold them, nor would it be proper, as will be mentioned below, to lock up these natives, even if there were a fortress or enclosure to do so. And, if they are left at liberty, it would not be possible to get them together. So much for the ease of this transportation.

16. The impossibility of it being sold to the King as easy, is based on the multitude that would have to be transported, because, disregarding for now the fact that such a transport could be carried out with rigor, and force (that is another, very different difficulty), there is no doubt that they would never willingly accept to be taken out of their land, and be transferred or exiled to another strange land distant 300 leagues from here, with no hope of ever seeing their own land, which they love as their own fatherland; the outcome would be that, upon suspecting as much, they would rise up, and rebel, and all would flee, and we would remain alone. They would rush madly toward their ancient hiding places, as far away as the last boondocks in Gani, from where they had been taken before, at the cost of so many hardships and dangers, over a three-year period, and had come unwillingly to settle here in Guan, an island known to them, as they spontaneously visited it for their own purposes. We have experienced their fleeing before, as they only suspected something of less import; they fled from Guan, and no means was [then] found to detain them. They attempted this very much in the open during the term of Master-of-camp Don Antonio de Saravia, when, in order to make his camp more secure, he had begun to build the fort, and they, imagining that he was building it to imprison them all there, before he could do so, they fled to the more remote islands of this island chain. May God not let them do the same, upon sensing from afar the purpose of this transport, because, as we know from having seen them, those islands are not so much islands, as lairs; there are not enough forces in the royal camp, that could go from here to take them out, if they did place themselves on the defensive (as they would). If that were to happen, it follows then that what was said before would indeed happen, and that they would all be condemned for eternity, apostating the Faith, without a remedy, as the zeal of the missionaries would not be enough to teach them the doctrine and to administer them, to keep them in the subjection due God and the King. Why? Because they are fed up with so much work, and contributions, to which they have been subjected over so many years; furthermore, even if we were to consecrate our lives for their welfare, they would not allow us to live with them in their hiding places, if they believed, though falsely, that we ourselves are the cause of their having been oppressed so much, under the pretext of ministering to them, and they would wish to return to their ancient brutality, and would kill as many priests as they could get their hands on.

17. Let the man who says that the transport would be so easy, try and solve these and other difficulties, which convince one that it is impracticable. However, let us suppose the case that His Majesty accepts the argument that this transport is easy and orders it done, to save those expenses, and cut the subsidy to this infantry, the allowances to the Religious ministers and the alms to the Colleges for the youth. Since the transport of all of these people would take years to accomplish, in the interim, either the soldiers and the Religious would stay here and sustain themselves only on the extremely poor local products, or, unable to subsist, as is obvious, for lack of allowances to the latter and salary to the former, they would have to abandon the people. In the first case, the King would not save the money, that the person making the proposal suggests; in the second case, these people would be condemned, for the lack of those who might keep them in the Faith and minister the sacraments, for the remedy of their souls.

18. In order for the transport of these people to the Philippines to be practicable (because as easy as proposed by the man, it never can be), means beyond the galleon and patache would have to be found, in order to embark them all at once. However, since he mentions no other means, besides the galleon and patache, and since these two vessels together could at most accommodate up to 200 out of the many thousands, that he himself says exist, then it follows that it is not practicable. This point can be shown to be obvious, because, at the point of embarkation, as I have said, only 200 could fit on board said two vessels; as for the rest, the thousands remaining in their land, would they not all go and hide, fleeing as far as the last islands of this island chain? There, they would hide in the roughest parts, and who would be able to get them out, and persuade them to let themselves be transported to a strange land, an unknown land, etc. as the one under consideration? By not mentioning any other means for the transportation than these two vessels, he indirectly lets it be known that there are no other, and this is the pure truth, because neither these local canoes, nor the caracoas used by the Filipinos, nor even the champanes used by the Chinese, used among the islands of the Philippines, are fit for the purpose. In the port of Cavite, there are not enough galleons that could carry out this transportation at one time either.

19. However, let us presume that a sufficient number of them be available to carry out the transportation of all of these people at one time, and that a whole fleet of many large ships be despatched for this purpose, my question is: in such a case, would not the man pretending to save money to the King cause him additional costs? However, the potential savings to be made here in future are of little importance, if in effect huge expenses have to be made first, all at one time (so excessively that it is impossible), to outfit so many galleons, and provide them with enough supplies for the crew, their officers, the necessary officials, sailors, ship's boys, and each serviceman with the wages corresponding to his post, or position. In such a case, a theoretical one (since this will never happen), the savings disappear, and such a saving was the facetious reason dreamed up by the man, one that would put everything in jeopardy; in fact, these souls would surely be lost to God, souls that have been created by His divine Majesty and redeemed by

the most precious blood of Jesus Christ, as He did the soul of the man who inconsiderately favor them so little as to propose to transport them to the Philippines.

20. How much better and more appropriate it would have been, if he had written to the Governor of the Philippines to beg His Lordship earnestly (since he knows now that these canoes are not suitable for the purpose) to please order the commander of the *patache* to perform a service to God and King, either while coming, or going back (as can be done easily), to perform a close survey of those Islands that have been glimpsed to the south in 1686 and 1696. Had he been zealous enough, he would have proposed as many prudent and legal means at hand, to achieve a purpose, in which is involved the salvation of those people, so far so neglected and destitute of any means for their salvation. This is practicable, and easy to accomplish, but not so the transportation of these people to the Philippines, although the climate there be the same as here in the Marianas.

21. This is what the man proposing this transportation says, and so he seems to insinuate that they do not run the risk of dying in the move from this their land to that other one. To this one can answer that the risk of dying does not consist only in a change in climate (granted that it is the same), but also, and much more importantly for them, on what melancholy does to their native character; they cannot tolerate melancholy, to the extent that they might be driven to **suicide**. We have had many examples of this here, and the man insinuating that they do not run the risk of dying during their transportation knows that. Is it not a sufficient reason for them to die of melancholy, if faced with an involuntary exile from their country, placed aboard a galleon sailing through these seas, for so long without seeing any land, among unknown persons, unable to perform what they usually do every day to alleviate boredom, with the shocks, and the fear of suffering what their natural fear makes them believe, and so on? Let us suppose they make it [alive] to the Philippines. Upon seeing themselves in a strange land, far from their own, without resources, or means to buy necessities to subsist on and feed themselves, without houses or housing in their style, without tools, or land to plant, without furnishings for their shelter, divided perhaps from their relatives, etc. What would they do among people they do not know, and whose language they do not understand, except perhaps a few of them hanging themselves out of sorrow, and others dying of pure sadness? The similarity in climate would not help them stay alive, or compensate for their grief.

22. From the above objections, one can conclude: that it is not only not easy, but even impracticable, humanly speaking, to transport these people to the Philippines. Consequently, to sell the idea to the King as easy, is an obvious deception; to solicit it is repugnant to Christian charity, given the risk of condemning so many thousand souls, as still exist today in these Islands, after so many misfortunes, and those yet to exist as long as there are people here to give birth. In addition, this Opinion would bring about the permanent loss of the souls that we have at hand to the south, in the 24 [sic] islands,

whose inhabitants were already spotted last year.¹ I repeat, these people would be left without any hope of salvation; indeed, with no more Christians left here, nor priests, who would go and convert them, how would they be ministered to? Lacking this remedy, they could not be saved any other way. This is the impasse they would be led into by that bad proposal, though not mentioned in it. Still, if it be accepted, based solely on the idea of saving money to the King, by eliminating the expenditures necessary to maintain and increase the Faith here, there would remain the issue of the duty imposed upon the King's shoulders to answer to God for all of them, who would have been condemned by such a bad decision. What is certain is that at the last Judgment the King would not be absolved for this decision, based on the money saved; rather, on his having rejected it, once found unfounded. So it is expected from his great charity, once he has been counselled better, since the matter is of such importance to both their Majesties, the divine and the human.

23. It does not matter how many means of transporting them could be imagined, since all of these Indians would surely rebel, and flee, and if perchance there is an attempt made at sending some of them to the Philippines, they would let themselves be destroyed first. Supposing that some be placed in irons by sheer force and loaded on board (the majority of them would have fled already), they would despair and then throw themselves overboard with the irons and all, either to drown themselves, or to try and reach land by swimming, and return to their land, or else they would hang themselves inside the galleons themselves, all being persuaded that they are being taken to the Philippines, not for their better welfare, but to be turned into permanent work slaves, etc. That is so, since most of the individuals who willingly went to the Philippines in past years have returned home; most of those who remained there have died there in the Philippines, because not even that climate nor the necessary work they did to eat and live in the Philippines and in Mexico (where some of them also went) prepared them or pleased them. They preferred their own country, their own methods of working their plantations, collecting their fruits, and fishing, and their own form of bartering, because they do not know of, nor care for money. This is what they want, no more, to live here in their own country; to want them to do more would be like taking fish out of the water, the element they need to survive—an impossible thing. Now, the above was what concerned these Indians.

24. The intended transportation would also reflect badly on our sacred Order, the Society of Jesus, and on its sons, the missionaries of the Marianas, because, although many might find out who the author of the proposal really is, in the rest of the world, where we have so many rivals, none will admit that it was a secular person who attempted such a great endeavor, hence many vilifications dictated by their passion, and dislike, would arise, one of them being the accusation of greed, as they would be saying that, since there is no gold or silver here, our sole purpose for being here (as the malevolent reproachably say) except hardships, hunger, etc. with no comforts, then that is

1 Ed. note: See paragraph 26 below. Ulithi has indeed that many visible islets in its main group.

why we resort to such schemes, i.e. on the part of the governors, to abandon and leave this land. Such is the discourse, and one can see more than four arguments, that they would make.

25. I have already mentioned how in previous years the galleons did not want to anchor, in spite of a very strict decree from His Majesty and the yearly notification to the generals by their Lordships the Viceroys of Mexico, under a penalty of 2,000 pesos, until last year 1701, when the galleon did anchor. Don Domingo Zabalburu, the new Governor of the Philippine Islands was aboard. He was much saddened when he saw us here abandoned by the galleons of this run that do not want to anchor to leave us the royal subsidy, given that there are no more galleons in the rest of the year, and the fact they could do so as easily as he saw it done. He was much surprised that the royal orders were being broken, and that every year the goods, sent by His Majesty to ensure our subsistence in this poor and infertile land, were being spoiled. He was even more surprised when he heard that last year it was the reason why one boat drifted off, upon sailing to meet the galleon, which did not wish to anchor (though the weather was good and it was already inside the port);¹ indeed, though the boat did reach the galleon, it went too far and became unable to make the land again, and it became necessary for it to divert to the Philippines, where it made it into the same port that the same galleon had visited only 8 days before. The outcome was that we received nothing that had been sent for our succor, because the food served to maintain the crew of the boat alive, and the rest they had to jettison for the most part, to lighten the boat and make it safely to the Philippines.

[Chance re-discovery of Ulithi by a boat that drifted from Guam in May 1700]

26. Aboard said boat there drifted 26 men, 23 of whom were Mariano Indians, all of them able-bodied lads to sail said boat. Sixteen months after they disappeared, only 10 of the 23 Indians in question returned aboard the Manila patache. The others died in the Philippines; such is the great despair they feel at being away from their land, even though there be hope of returning soon. What would it be if there was no such hope? Let every one judge for himself. Father Antonino Tuccio, Rector of our College of Manila, wrote to me in a letter dated 7 June 1701:

"We deeply regret the misfortune of the poor Marianos who drifted off and what we regret even more has been that many of them have died, as this country is always fatal for them. If it had not been for the captain (Juan Flamenco) they would have all died. It surely is a real pity that the climate here in the Philippines is so contrary to them. If it were not, I have no doubt that a few of them would benefit much by travelling back and forth, on account of the idea they would then conceive, not only about Christianity, but also about the Spanish, etc." Unquote, according to said Father Rector.

1 Ed. note: The galleon San Francisco Xavier, Captain Martinez.

27. The above-mentioned Captain Juan Flamenco,¹ on the second day after losing sight of this Island of San Juan of Guan, sighted, at about 50 leagues from here, 28 Islands inhabited by Indians who were naked, tattooed, and as dark as mulattos. Their lands were full of the same fruit trees as in the Marianas, and they bore no weapons whatever. Their canoes are the same as those here, but not their language, because they could not understand it. However, when said Captain wished to step ashore to get some water for his boat, because he carried not one drop of it, and had no weapons for his defence, those Indians threw stones at him, with their hands (without slings, or other tools) and they prevented him from doing so. Thus, he was forced to withdraw, and took a course for the Philippines, etc. May our Lord be blessed, He who so arranges things to suit His lofty purposes.

Dated in this City of San Ignacio of Agadna in this Island of San Juan of Guan, one of the Marianas, on 10 April 1702.

On behalf of the Mariana missionaries,
their unworthy Superior and Vice-Provincial,

+

+ Lorenzo Bustillo +

[Endorsement in Latin:]

Marianas.

Philippines, 1702.

Fr. Lorenzo Bustillo, Superior. Agdana [sic] in the Marianas, 10 April.

He fears that the Governor of the Islands wants to propose to the King his opinion that it is indeed better, in the interest of the Christian religion, to abandon the Islands and place the natives on board ships and to transport them to the Philippines.

He requests that every means be taken through the confessional to impede this proposal.

He presents its impracticality, because the Indians would refuse to move, and instead they would flee to the bush. Besides, he points out that for many years the ships have not anchored, and that it would be impossible to transport them aboard the canoes used locally.

Therefore, he shows that the reputation of the King would be tarnished by many who might then say that the King holds a dominion over the Indies, not for the cause of the Faith, but on account of profit, and greed.

In short, he proves that there are so many souls yet to be found in the vicinity, that was discovered, and they could be converted if the Mariana Mission is maintained.

R.

1 Ed. note: His real last name was Martin, and he was German (see Doc. 1711C5).

Document 1702B

Jesuit annual report for 1701-1702, anonymous

Source: ARSI Phil. 14, fol. 94-95.

Original text in Spanish

Puntos para la Carta Annuar de la Mission de Marianas de la Compañia de Jhs Año de 1702.

1. Consta esta Mission de 10 sacerdotes[,] un Hermano Coadjutor formado, y otro Novicio; ai 10 Iglesias y Ministerios de Indios siete en esta Isla de Guan, una en Rota, y dos en Seypan. En la Ciudad de Agadña que es la Cabezera asisten el Padre Vice Provincial Lorenzo Bustillo, Padre Felipe Maria Muscati Ministro de los Naturales, Padre Miguel de Aparicio Rector de los Colegios de Niños, y Niñas y Ministro de los soldados del Presidio; el Hermano Jayme Chavary con el exercicio de Medico Zirajano [sic], Boticario, y los otros domesticos. El Hermano Melchor de Santa Cruz Novicio asiste en el Colegio de los Niños. En Pago administra el Padre Thomas Cardeñoso, en Agat el Padre Diego de Zarzosa cuidando tambien de la Iglesia o vicita [sic] de Fina, en Umatag el Padre Basilio Leroulx, en Merizo el Padre Antonino Cundari, en Inarahan el Padre Juan Sirmeisen, en la Isla de Rota el Padre Juan Tilpe, y en Seipan tiene solo ambas Iglesias el Padre Rector Gerardo Bouwens.

*2º. La Religiosa observancia en los nuestros esta en su vigor aplicandose todos con vigilante zelo al ayuda y bien de los proximos asi en lo espiritual cuidando del bien y aumento espiritual de sus almas, como en lo temporal socorriendolos con limosnas en sus necesidades, y ayudandoles con medicamentos en sus dolencias, en que este año ha dado bastante materia en que exercitar esta obra de caridad la **epidemia** que ubo en todas estas Islas de Igtericia [sic]; a que acudio el Hermano Jayme con eficaz remedio, el qual aplicado no sin gran trabajo y solicitud asi de dicho Hermano como de los PP. Ministros tuvo tan feliz successo que aviendo casi todos padecido esta enfermedad fueron mui pocos los que murieron de ella. Los ministerios espirituales assi con Indios,*

como con Españoles son los mismos que se han expresado otros años, de que se cogen copiosos frutos.

3°. *Demas de la buena disposicion con que se llegan estos naturales a los santos Sacramentos de la Penitencia, y comunion, asi en el tiempo de cumplir con el precepto de la Iglesia, como entre año en las mas solemnes festividades, en que muchos confiesan, y comulgan por su devocion; se pueden contar este año por fruto de la semilla de la Divina palabra, muchas confesiones generales asi de Españoles como de Indios que han sido de mucho consuelo para los Ministros viendo la eficacia de la palabra de Dios, que ha alumbrado y movido a los que estavan en mal estado a tratar de mejorar de vida, y revalidar las malas confesiones que avian hecho.*

[fol. 94v] 4°. *Una India casada con un soldado Español llevada de su fragilidad y mala crianza falto a la fee debida a su marido y se ausento de su casa, el que es muy piadoso, y buen Christiano, venciendo el gran sentimiento, que huvo de la ofensa y agravio recebido, la busco y traxo a su casa, y perdonando con generosidad Christiana asi a su muger, como al complice de su delito, la supo con razones Christianas y piadosas reducir a conocer y llorar sus pecados y hacer una confession general de toda su vida, la qual hizo con mucho dolor y muestras de verdadero arrepentimiento, y tratò de entablar una vida mui ajustada como lo ha hecho frequentando los sacramentos oyendo Missa todos los dias, y no tratando de otra cosa que de cumplir con las obligaciones de su estado: con lo qual el marido esta mui consolado y da muchas gracias al Señor porque le dio valor para perdonar su agravio, saber encaminar a su muger a tan ajustada y christiana vida.*

5°. *La devocion a la santissima Virgen se va estendiendo y arraigando mas en estos naturales con la experiencia de los favores que esta soberana Señora Patrona singular de estos sus Marianos hace a los que de corazon invocan su patrocinio; y rezan su santo Rosario, devocion que esta mui introducida en todas estas Islas. En Merizo aviendo muerto algunas mugeres de parto, les aconsejo el Padre Ministro de aquel partido, que tomasen las preñadas a la Santissima Virgen por Patrona para alcanzar por su medio felicidad en sus partos, y viniesen a oir los sabados la Missa de esta Señora; hicieron lo asi acudiendo luego que se sienten preñadas todos los sabados a Missa; y en casi dos años no ha peligrado ninguna pariendo todas felizmente.*

6°. *La caridad y misericordia con los pobres enfermos, huespedes, y peregrinos es casi comun y universal en todos estos naturales, pues aun en su gentilidad la usaban mucho, mas aora se aventajan en ella y con los motivos de piedad christiana la realzan y dan mayor merito. Asisten a los moribundos con palabras y exortaciones piadosas moviendolos a hazer repetidos actos de Fee esperanza y caridad y dolor de sus pecados, y algunos vienen a confesar y comulgar ofreciendo estas buenas obras por las almas de sus Parientes difuntos. En la Isla de Rota donde son frequentes los huespedes forasteros de esta Isla y de la de Seipan; por estar en medio de las dos, han hecho sementera de comunidad para tener que dar a los pasajeros.*

7°. *De los trabajos y epidemias con que misericordiosamente aflige Dios a estos naturales saca su Magestad copioso fruto asi de paciencia con que llevan estos golpes, como*

de dolor de sus culpas dandoles a conocer que dichos trabajos se los embia para purificarlos de sus pecados. Un Indio de esta Isla en este partido de Agadña llegando a confessarse dixo al Padre con palabras mui ex- [fol. 95] -pressivas: Padre. Yo me hallo enfermo, pobre, y cargado de trabajos, pero [co]nozco que Dios me embia estos trabajos [sic] por castigo de mis culpas, y porque no he tratado de servir de veras a su Magestad y proseguio su confession con muestras de mucho dolor, y firme proposito de emmendarse, de que el Confessor quedo mui co[n]solado.

8º. En la Isla de Seipan un Domingo, dos dias antes de un furioso bagueio, que arruino todas las casas de la Isla, y sementeras de arroz, quando estaban ya para cogerse, encontro el Padre a un Indio que estava trabajando descuidado de ir a Missa al tiempo que los demas se encaminavan a la Iglesia. Reprehendiolo y amenazole con el castigo de Dios y su Magestad. Se lo embio de contado, pues al empezar el uracan se le quemo su casa con todo quanto en ella tenia de sus pobres alhajas, hazienda, y comida estando el y su muger a riesgo de quedar hecho zenizas; pues salieron chamuscados de las llamas.

9º. No son pocas las mugeres asi casadas como solteras que solicitadas para mal se resisten y con valor y razones christianas rechazan y echan de si a quien las inquieta; cosa que a quien conoce la natural fragilidad de estos naturales e inclinacion al vicio da motivos de alabar a Dios nuestro Señor, y las fuerzas de su Divina gracia.

10º. Finalmente se pueden contar por frutos del cultivo de esta viña Mariana los Bautismos de parvulos que este año contando desde 1 de Mayo del año pasado de 1701 hasta ultimo de Abril de este presente año de 1702 han sido 265, Bautismos de adultos 67. Los difuntos que han muerto administrados los santos Sacramentos han sido 390. Los parvulos que han muerto con la gracia bautismal han sido 110.

Translation

Points for the Annual Report from the Mariana Mission of the Society of Jesus for the Year 1702.

1. The Mission has 10 priests, one trained Coadjutor Brother and another, a novice. There are 10 churches and parishes for Indians, 7 in this Island of Guan, 1 in Rota, and 2 in Seypan. In the City of Agadña, which is the capital, there reside Father Vice-Provincial, Lorenzo Bustillo, Father Felipe Maria Muscati, ministering to the natives, Father Miguel de Aparicio, Rector of the Colleges for Boys, and Girls, and ministering to the soldiers of the garrison. Brother Jaime Chavarri practices as a physician and surgeon, pharmacist, and looks after domestic affairs. Brother Melchor de Santa Cruz, the novice, assists in the College for Boys. Father Thomas Cardeñoso is minister at Pago; Father Diego de Zarzosa is minister at Agat, but he also looks after the church, or mission station, at Fina; Father Basile Leroux is at Umatag; Father Antonino Cundari at Merizo; Father Juan Sirmeisen at Inarahan; Father Juan Tilpe is in the Island of Rota, and Father Rector Gerardo Bouwens is in Seipan alone to take care of both churches there.

2. Religious observance by our members is vigorous. All apply themselves with vigilant zeal to the assistance and welfare of their neighbors, not only in spiritual matters, taking care of the welfare and spiritual progress of their souls, but also in material matters, by succoring them with alms in their needs, and helping them with medicine in their ailments, of which there were many this year, thus giving us ample matter with which to exercise this work of charity, as a result of an **epidemic** of Igtericia [sic = diphtheria?] that hit all of these Islands. Brother Jaime responded to it with an efficient remedy that, once applied, not without much labor and care by said Brother as well as the Father ministers, it had a successful outcome, because, although almost everyone was affected by this sickness, very few died from it. The spiritual ministries, with the Indians as well as with the Spanish are the same as was expressed in previous years, and many fruits are gathered as a result.

3. In addition to the good disposition of these natives when they approach the holy sacraments of penance and communion, not only when it is time to comply with the precept of the Church, but also during the year on the more solemn feast-days, when many came to confession, and communion for their own devotion, it was possible this year to count, as a result of the seed placed in them by the divine word, many general confessions, by Spanish and Indians alike, that have been of much consolation to the Ministers, upon seeing the efficacy of the word of God, that has enlightened and moved those who had been in a bad state to improve their way of life, and to revalidate the bad confessions they had made.

4. An Indian woman married to a Spanish soldier, carried away by her fragility and bad upbringing, failed in her duty to her husband and abandoned his house, but the man, being a very pious and good Christian, overcame the great sorrow suffered from the offence and harm received, looked for her and brought her back home, and forgave with Christian generosity not only her but also her accomplice in the crime. He was able with Christian and pious arguments to make her recognize and acknowledge her sins and make a general confession of her whole life, something she did with great pain and signs of true repentance. She tried to adopt a very tight way of life, and she did so by frequently attending the sacraments, hearing mass every day, and doing nothing else but complying with the duties of her station. That is why her husband is very consoled and gives thanks to the Lord for having given him courage to forgive her for the harm done, and to have found a way to guide his wife along such a tight and Christian way of life.

5. The devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary is propagating and becoming rooted more in these natives as a result of favors made by this sovereign Lady, the special patron of these his Marianos, to those who sincerely invoke her patronage, and recite her holy Rosary, a devotion that is very popular in all of these islands. In Merizo, after some women had died in giving birth, the Father Minister of that district advised the pregnant women to adopt the Blessed Virgin as their patroness in order to achieve success in their confinements, and to come to hear the mass to this Lady said every Saturday. They did so; as soon as they felt themselves to be pregnant, they came to hear mass

every Saturday, and in almost the last two years, none of them has been in danger and they all had happy childbirths.

6. The charity and mercy toward the poor, the sick, guests, and pilgrims have almost been common and universal in all of these natives. Indeed, even when they were heathen they were very hospitable. However, they excel in it now and the fact that they do so out of Christian piety can only enhance it and give them more merit. They tend the dying with pious words and exhortations, encouraging them to make repeated acts of Faith, Hope and Charity, and penance for their sins, and a few come to confession and communion, offering these good works for the souls of their deceased relatives. In the Island of Rota, where foreign guests from this Island and from Seipan are common, given the fact that it lies in-between, they have made a community plantation in order to have something to give to their visitors.

7. Out of the hardships and epidemics that God mercifully afflicts these natives with, His Majesty gathers much fruit, not only in the form of patience with which they bear these blows, but also in repentance for their sins, by making them understand that He sends such hardships to purify them from their sins. An Indian of this Island living in this district of Agadña came to confess and told the Father with very expressive words: "Father, I find myself sick, poor, and loaded with hardships, but I know that God sends these hardships to me as a punishment for my sins, and because I have not tried to serve His Majesty as I should," and he proceeded to make his confession, showing signs of much sorrow, and a firm determination of improving himself, something that touched his Confessor very much.

8. In the Island of Seipan one Sunday, two days before **a furious hurricane that destroyed all the houses in the island, and the fields of rice** when it was on the point of being harvested, the Father met with an Indian who was working, and neglecting to go to mass, at the time that the rest were on their way to church. He reprehended him and threatened him with the punishment of God and His Majesty. He was indeed sent much punishment, since his house was burned down at the beginning of the hurricane. All of his poor furnishings, property, and food were burned therein; he and his wife were in danger of being turned to ashes also, and they came out scorched by the flames.

9. There are not a few women, married as well as unmarried ones, who, upon being solicited for sex resist with courage and refuse with Christian arguments those who bother them—something that makes one who knows the natural fragility of these natives and their inclination to vice praise God our Lord, and the forces of divine grace.

10. Finally, as fruits of the cultivation of this Mariana vineyard, one can count the baptisms of children. This past year, counting from 1 May 1701 until the last day of April 1702, there have been 265 baptisms of children, and 67 of adults. The number of deaths, after reception of the holy sacraments, amounts to 390.¹ The children who have died with the grace of baptism have been 110.

¹ Ed. note: If the total population was 4,000, this represented a death rate of almost 10% per annum.

Document 1702C

Letter from Fr. Tilpe to Fr. de Boye, dated Rota 15 June 1702

Source: Stöcklein's Welt-Bott III, n° 64.

Published text in German

Brief P. Joannis Tilpe, der Gesellschaft JESu Missionarii, aus der Böhmischen Provintz, An R.P. Emmanuelem de Boye, gedachter Societät in Böhmen vorgesetzten Provincialem.

Geschrieben zu Sosa, auf der Marianischen Insul Rota, den 15. Junii 1702.

Innhalt. Ein gefährlicher Aufstand allda wird/ ehe er ausbricht/ zeitlich gedämpft/ die Rädelführer aber theils von GOtt/ theils von der weltlichen Obrigkeit nach aller Schärffe abgestrafft.

Ehrwürdiger Pater in Christo!

P.C.

Drey Marianer, so ehedessen wegen gestifteter Unruhe von andern Eylanden auf die Haupt-Insul Guahan waren übersetzt worden, (damit sie ohne Gefahr in ihr Vaterland möchten zuruck kehren) hatten sich mit einander verbunden, mit nächster Gelegenheit einen blutigen Aufstand zu erwecken, krafft dieses aber alle Jesuiter/ und mit denselben alle diejenige, so entweder uns zu Hülff kommen, oder unsern Tod rächen würden, umzubringen.

Allein GOtt, welche die Marianische Societät JESu so offt und wunderbarlich beschützt hatte, verliesse seine Diener auch dieses mal nicht; dann alle drey obgesagte Aufwickler sturben bald nach einander an der Pest. Doch vertraute einer aus ihnen in dem Tod-Bett das böse Vorhaben einem seiner guten Freunden, mit hefftiger Bitt, solches auch so gar nach seinem Hintritt außzuführen, mithin alle Missionarios samt allen Spaniern zu tödten.

Der Anschlag ward dermaßen vorsichtig ausgesonnen, daß denselben keines Menschen Verstand arglistiger hätte angeben können; dann dieser Schalck vertraute das

boßhafte Geheimnuß eben denjenigen zwey Landbotten, welche Amts-wegen die gesamte Insul jährlich durchwandern, damit sie zwischen ledigen Leuten standmäßige Heyrathen stifften; mit welcher Gelegenheit der Aufstand so geheim und künstlich unter denen vornehmsten Marianern ist verabredet worden, daß er unfehlbar nach ihrem Wunsch würde von Statten gegangen seyn, wann nicht ein ehrlicher Mann, welcher seinen Nahmen nicht wolte offenbaren/ die gantze Sach unserm Patri Provinciali, dieser aber ohne einigen Zeit-Verlust dem Statthalter und dem Obrist-Wachtmeister zeitlich entdeckt hätten/ welche hierauf denen Indianern alle Schiff hinweg nehmen, die Wachten verdoppeln, aller Orten fleißig patroulliren, mit einem Wort, alle Anstalten haben vorkehren lassen, die zu gänzlicher Zernichtung einer so verderblichen Meuterey dienlich waren, welche auf das Fest des Göttlichen Fronleichnams oder diesen heutigen Tag hat sollen ausgeführt werden.

Nachdem aber der Streich mißlungen, und die Häupter solcher Unruhe waren eingezogen worden, seynd dererselben zwey aufgehenckt, viel auf die Ruder-Banck geschmiedet, ihrer hundert scharff gezeisselt; hiemit aber Fried und Sicherheit durch Göttliche Obwaltung wieder hergestellt worden. Ich verbleibe in aller Eil mit tieffester Demuth.

Euer Ehrwürden und gesamter Provintz

Sosa auf der Insul Rota, den 15. Junii 1702.

Wenigster Diener und Sohn in Christo/

Joannes Tilpe, der Gesellschaft JESu Missionarius.

Translation

Letter from Fr. Juan Tilpe, missionary of the Society of Jesus, from the Bohemian Province, to Rev. Fr. Emmanuel de Boye, Provincial of the Bohemian Province of said Society.

Written at Sosa on Island of Rota, Mariana Islands, 15 June 1702.

Contents: A dangerous uprising here is suppressed just in time, and the ring-leaders are severely punished, some by God, some by the wordly authorities.

Reverend Father in Christ

Peace of Christ!

Three Mariana Islanders, who had been taken from other islands to the main Island of Guahan because they had some time ago started an uprising, had conspired to cause a bloody uprising at the next opportunity so that they could return to their fatherland in peace. Their plan was to kill all Jesuits as well as all those who might come to our aid or who would revenge our death.

But God, who has so often and miraculously protected the Mariana Islands, did not fail His servants this time either, for all three of the above-named usurpers soon died of the plague, one after another. However, one of them on his death bed revealed the

evil plan to one of his good friends, begging him to carry it out after his demise, and thus to kill not only all missionaries, but all the Spanish.

The assassination was planned so carefully that no man's mind would have been able to devise a scheme that was more clever, for this villain entrusted the evil secret to those two messengers whose duty it is to wander across all the islands every year to arrange proper marriages between single people. This provided an opportunity to discuss the uprising so secretly and artfully among the most high-ranking Mariana Islanders that without fail it would have been carried out according to their wishes, had not an honest man, who did not wish to give his name, revealed the whole affair to our Fr. Provincial, who without wasting time told the Governor and the Commander, who confiscated all the Indians' boats, doubled the guards and diligently patrolled all places, in other words, they took all necessary precautions which resulted in the total suppression of this potentially destructive uprising that had been planned for today, the holy feast of Corpus Christi.

After the coup had failed, and the leaders of the uprising had been arrested, two of them were hanged, many were condemned to become galley slaves, and 100 were severely whipped. This has re-established peace and security by divine order. I remain, in deepest humility,

Your Reverence's and the entire Province's
Least Servant and Son in Christ.

At Sosa on the Island of Rota, 15 June 1702.

Juan Tilpe, Missionary of the Society of Jesus.

Document 1702D

Manifest for the Marianas, for 1702

Source: AGN AHH 332. Note: The subsidy for 1702 was 32,188 pesos.

Part of the cargo aboard the San Francisco Xavier

Original text in Spanish.

Conocimiento de generos y reales para Marianas y Philipinas año de 1702. Galeon San Francisco Xavier. Registro.—

En la Ciudad y Puerto de Acapulco á veinte y seis de marso de mill setesientos y dos años[,] ante mi el escribano y testigos[,] el Capitan Don Joseph de Lisarrondo, maestro del Galeon Capitana de Philipinas San Francisco Xavier Principe del Mar de el cargo de el General Don Miguel de Elorriaga a quien doi fee conosco rexistro por parte de el Capitan D. Francisco Perez Nauaz apoderado de el Reverendo Padre Francisco Borja y Aragon de la sagrada religion de la Comp^o de Jesus Procurador General de la Provincia ciento y dies y ocho piasas en la manera siguiente:

Para los Padres de la mision de las islas Marianas con la marca de el margen sesenta y cinco piasas, las cinquenta y quatro cajones y caxas; cinco tercios de cacao; cinco varriles y un huacal;

Y de la segunda marca para los Colexios de la Juventud de dhas islas Marianas treinta y siete piasas en esta manera: treinta y un caxones y caxas; dos tercios de paños; un surron de cacao; un huacal; dos mollejones de a moler[,] de num^o uno a treinta y siete;

Y de la tercera marca dies caxones y caxoncillos; quatro tercios de cacao; dos varrillos de numero uno a dies y seis para el Procurador general de dha Ciudad de Manila que es ô fuera de Prov^a;

Y assimismo quatrocientos y setenta y ocho pesos siete tomines y tres quartillos en plata doble contados a su satisfacion á entregar; los ciento setenta y siete pesos y siete reales por quenta y ruego de los Colexios de la Juventud y los trescientos un pesos y tres quartillos por la de el Sargento Mayor de dhas islas Don Joseph de Quiroga y Losada a entregarlos con las dies y seis piasas de dha tersera marca al dho Padre Procurador general que es ô fuere de Provincia en dha Ciudad de Manila que dhas piasas confeso tener en su poder justamente con los reales estos en el pañol de la plata y las

demas en la vodega enjutas y bien acondicionadas y de las quales se dio por entregado a su voluntad con renunciacion de leies de la entrega y su prueba y se obligo a que[,] llevandole Dios con bien a dhas islas y puertos donde hiciere en derecho descargo dara y entregara todo lo referido a las personas a quienes van dirigidas ô a quien su poder cavia ô que lo representare con su persona y vienes havidos y por haver da poder a los jueces y justicias de su Magd. para que le apremien como por sentencia pasada en cosa jugada con renunciacion de leies de su fuero y general de el derecho y ottorgo partida de rexistro en forma y la firmo siendo testigos Antonio de Sola[,] Manuel de Arcos y Cristoval Lapidita presentes.

Joseph de Lisarrondo

*Ante mi Don Antonio Alfonso Ponce de Leon escrivano publico y de Real hazien-
da.*

*Concuerta con a partida de rexistro original y se saco el dia de su otorgamiento sien-
do testigos los dhos. En testimonio de verdad.*

Y hago mi signo en testimonio de verdad:

Antonio Alfonso Ponze de Leon, escrivano publico y de Real Hazienda.

Translation.

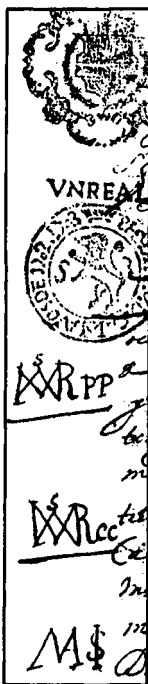
Bill of lading of the goods and cash for the Marianas and Philippines for 1702. Galleon San Francisco Xavier. Manifest.—

In the City and Port of Acapulco, on 26 March 1702: Before me the notary and witnesses, Captain Don Joseph de Lisarrondo, Master of the Philippine galleon and flagship **San Francisco Xavier, Principe del Mar** under the command of General Miguel de Elorriaga, whom I know and vouch for, registered on behalf of Captain Francisco Perez Navas, agent for Reverend Father Francisco Borja y Aragon of the sacred order of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General of the Province, 110 pieces in the following manner:

—For the Fathers of the Mariana Island Mission with the mark in margin 65 pieces, i.e. 54 crates and boxes; 5 half-loads of cacao; 5 barrels and 1 custom-made crate;¹

—And bearing the second mark, for the Colleges of the youth of said Mariana Islands, 37 pieces as follows: 31 crates and boxes; 2 half-loads of clothes; 1 pouch of cacao; 1 custom-made crate; 2 grind-stones, numbered from 1 to 37;

—And with the third mark 10 crates and small crates; 4 half-loads of cacao; 2 small barrels, numbered from 1 to 16, for whomever may be Procurator General in said City of Manila;



1 Ed. note: The latter type of crate was called “huacal”, or “guacal,” which was a wooden crate built-up around the contents, rather than a regular crate, which was like a large wooden box, or chest.

—And in addition 478 pesos 7 tomins and 3 cuartillos in silver, which he counted twice to his satisfaction, to be delivered as follows: 177 pesos 7 reales on the account and at the order of the Colleges of the youth, and 301 pesos and 3 cuartillos at the order of the Sergeant-Major of said islands, Don José de Quiroga y Losada, to be delivered along with the 16 pieces bearing the thirk mark to said Father Procurator general, whoever he may be, of the Province in said City of Manila.

He admits that said pieces are in his possession, along with the cash, the latter in the storage room for the silver, and the rest in the hold, dry and in good condition, and are deemed to have been delivered to him, with the waiver of his rights under the laws of delivery and their proofs, and he obliged himself, God willing to let him reach said islands and ports safely to make the proper unloading, to give and deliver all of the above-mentioned to the persons to whom they are addressed or to whomever may hold their power-of-attorney or be their representative, pledging his person and property, present and future, giving them up to the judges and justices of His Majesty, to be dunned by their decision as a thing properly judged, waiving his rights before the law, and he acknowledged this to be a copy of an entry in the manifest in due form, and he signed it in the presence of the following witnesses: Antonio de Sola, Manuel de Arcos, and Cristobal Lapidita.

Joseph de Lisarrondo

Before me, Don Antonio Alfonso Ponce de León, notary public and of the Royal treasury.

This is a certified copy of the entry in the original manifest, made on the day of its execution, before said witnesses, in testimony of the truth.

And in faith whereof, I have affixed my signature:

Antonio Alfonso Ponce de León, notary public and of the Royal treasury.

Document 1703A

Letter from Fr. Tilpe to Fr. de Boye, dated Rota 8 May 1703

Source: Stöcklein's Welt-Bott IV, n° 81.

Published text in German

Brief P. Joannis Tilpe, der Gesellschaft JESU Missionarii, aus der Böhmischen Provintz/ An R.P. Emmanuelem De Boye, besagter Societät und Provintz weiland Provincialem, nach Prag.

Geschrieben auf der Marianischen Insul Rota, den 8. Maji 1703.

Inhalt. Drey starcke Sturm-Wetter. Schutz des H. Ertz-Engels Michaëlis und Indianer-Apostels Francisci Xaverii. Tod P. Basilii le Roulx aus Nederland.

Ehrwürdiger Pater in Christo!

P.C.

Verwichenes Jahr hab ich berichtet wie daß die Marianer uns gesamte Missionarios der Gesellschaft JESU mit Feuer und Schwerdt haben vertilgen wollen. Wie wunderbarlich aber GOTT uns diesen wilden Thieren aus ihren Klauen und dem Drachen/ so die Kirch Christi zu verschlingen sich bestrebet/ aus dem Rachen gerissen habe/ wird beygeschlossener Bericht Euer Ehrwürden vorstellen.

Mittlerweile/ damit unsere Gedult beständig würde/ haben wir drey entsetzliche Wind-Bräut und Sturmweather versucht/ derer zwey der Insul Guahan/ das dritte der Insul Saypan/ alle drey aber meinem Eyland Rota hefftig zugesetzt haben. Das erste/ so sich den 14. Augusti 1702. erhoben/ hat in Guahan Häußer/ Bäum und Feld-Gewächs wurtzaus dermassen erschüttelt und verletzt/ daß wegen hieraus erfolgtem Hunger und Kranckheiten viel Leute daselbst gestorben seynd. Das andere ereignete sich den 13. Winter-Monats/ da zu Agadna die Gebäue samt unserer Kirch und Residentz zu Boden gefallen/ daß unsere Patres in dem Waisen-Hauß/ so nicht gäntzlich ist niedergeschlagen worden/ sich behelffen müssen. Das dritte hat den 1. Hornung dieses lauffenden Jahrs 1703. auf dem Ländlein Saypan Häusser und Bäume starck zerrüttet.

Weil nun zwischen Guahan und Saypan meine Insul Rota gleichsam in der Mitten ligt/ als haben alle drey Ungewitter dieselbe zwar starck getroffen/ doch nicht absonderlich beschädiget. Auf solcher stehen zwey Capellen; die eine des H. Xaverii gegen Mittag/ die andere des H. Ertz-Engels Michaëlis gegen Mitternacht; welcher beyder mächtigen Schutz wir unser Heyl danckbarlich zuschreiben.

Wir haben des H. Ertz-Engels Beystand noch in zwey andern Begebenheiten wercklich erfahren; Erstlich zwar an dessen Kirch-Weihe den 29. Septembris, da ein frommer Marianer/ Nahmens Carolus Agahi [sic], von brüderlicher Liebe angetrieben seines Nachbarn ehebrüchichte Uppigkeit mir verrathen/ welcher noch denselben Tag gestrafft/ und nach entlassenem Neben-Weib sich seiner Ehe zu halten ist gezwungen worden.

Es scheint/ solcher des Carl Agahi Eyfer habe dem Fürsten des himmlischen Heers nicht wenig gefallen; dann/ als wir eine Zeit hernach in erwehnt- seiner Capell/ um wegen abgewandtem schädlichem Sturm-Wetter uns durch eine gesungene Messe zu bedanken/ ein Lob-Fest hielten/ und das Knäblein/ so mich bediente/ zu Hauß zu bleiben von mir befehlet ware/ setzte es sich aus kindischem Vorwitz auf einen kleinen Weidling/ stoste solchen mit dem Ruder von dem Land/ und fienge an auf dem Meer nebst dem Ufer hin und her zu fahren. Allein der Meer-Swall ergriffe das Schiffein/ und triebe solches immer weiter gegen der Höhe hinaus/ daß/ als die Wellen grösser worden/ der Jung/ weil er zu schwach ware/ unfehlbar würde samt dem Nachen seyn umgestürzt worden/ wann nicht gedachter Carolus Agahi, welcher unweit davon an einem sichern Ort fischete/ und das Kind in dieser Gefahr zufällig erblicket hatte/ mit seiner Fischer-Kahnen eylends hinzu gefahren wäre/ und dasselbe errettet hätte.

Diß schreibe ich an eben dem Tag/ an welchem ich in gemeldeter Capelle das Fest der Erscheinung des H. Michaëlis heut feyerlich begangen hab/ wobey ihrer viel nach verrichteter Beicht das Göttliche Abendmahl genossen/ und ihre Andacht verrichtet haben/ welche zweifelsohne mit neuen Gnaden vom Himmel wird bezahlt werden.

Um diese Jahrbeit haben wir üblichermassen ein windiges/ und für die/ so auf dem Meer fahren/ wo nicht gefährliches/ wenigstens, arbeitsames Wetter/ gleichwie ich erst neulich auf meiner Hin- und Wiederfahrt nach Saypan erfahren hab. Allein es ist keiner unter uns Missionariis, welcher nicht um Gottes und des Nächstens Heyls willen Leib und Leben gern aufsetzet nach dem Beyspiel des Ehrwürdigen Patris Basilii le Roulx, eines unserigen Mit-Missionarii aus dem Frantzösischen Niederland/ quatuor votorum Professi, eines überaus liebreichen und friedsamens Manns/ welcher gleich einem Lämmlein oder Tauben schiene keine Gall zu haben. Er hatte bereits seit Anno 1679 allhier das Amt eines Apostolischen Manns mit nicht geringerem Lob als Nutzen vertreten/ biß er dieses Jahr am Grünen Donnerstag Abends nach Spanischen Gebrauch von dem Leyden Christi eine sehr eyferige Predig mit so hefftiger Bewegung zu dem Volck gehalten/ daß/ wen er voll des Schweisses unterwegs von einem giftigen Wind angeblasen und gähling abgekühlt ist worden/ er hierab tödtlich erkrankt/ und nachdem er sich in seinem Zimmer gelegt hatte/ eine halbe Stund hernach verschieden ist/ ohne daß ihm jemand/ als ein paar Knäblein/ so ihn bedienten/ beygestanden wäre. Dergleichen Ge-

fahren seynd die Marianische Missionarii unterworffen/ zumalen diejenige/ welche gantz allein auf einer besondern Insul wohnen/ folgens ihr eigene Seel wegen des Nächsten Heyl müssen in Gefahr setzen; allein eben diß ist die höchste Liebe und Vollkommenheit/ daß einer seine Seel für seine Freund dargebe. Woraus Euer Ehrwürden unschwer ermessen können/ wie sehr ich Deroselben und anderer guten Freunden von unserer Provintz Vorbitt bey GOtt nöthig habe/ um welche ich inständigst anhalte/ und ersterbe

Euer Ehrwürden

Zu Sosa auf der Insul Rota, den 8. May 1703.

Diener in Christo

Joannes Tilpe, der Gesellschaft JEsu Missionarius.

Translation

Letter from Fr. Juan Tilpe, missionary of the Society of Jesus, from the Bohemian Province, to Reverend Fr. Emmanuel de Boye of said Society in Bohemia and former Provincial, in Prague.

Written at Sosa on the Island of Rota, Mariana Islands, 8 May 1703.

Contents: Three severe storms. Protected by the Holy Archangel Michael and by St. Francis Xavier, Apostle of the Indies. Death of Fr. Basilio le Roulx, of the Low Countries [i.e. Belgium].

Reverend Father in Christ.

Peace of Christ!

Last year I reported how the Mariana Islanders had wanted to destroy all of us Missionaries of the Society of Jesus by fire and sword. The present report will inform Your Reverence on how miraculously God has worked to tear us from the clutches of these wild animals and to save the Church of Christ from the mouth of the dragon who was about to swallow it.

In the meantime, to try our patience, we have experienced three terrible wind storms, two of which have caused heavy damage to the Island of Guahan and one to the Island of Saypan, while all three have severely shaken my Island of Rota. The first storm began on 14 August 1702. On Guahan it shook and damaged houses, trees and field crops so severely that many people have died there from the resulting famine and disease. The second storm occurred on 13 January, when in Agaña the buildings, including our church and residence, were flattened, so that our Fathers must make do in the orphanage, which has not been destroyed completely. The third storm struck on 1 February of the current year 1703, when houses and trees on the Island of Saypan were severely shaken.

Since my Island of Rota is practically in the middle between Guahan and Saypan, all three storms have severely affected Rota, but not caused particularly heavy damage. There are two chapels here, one to the south devoted to St. Xavier, and one to the north devoted to the Holy Archangel Michael.¹ We gratefully attribute our good fortune to their mighty protection.

There were two other occasions when we experienced the help of the Holy Archangel. First, on 29 September, during his annual commemoration Sunday at his church, a pious Mariana Islander named **Carlos Agahi**, motivated by brotherly love, revealed to me his neighbor's adulterous relationship. The man was punished on the same day and forced to keep his marriage vows after his concubine was dismissed.

It seems that Carlos Agahi's enthusiasm pleased the Prince of the Heavenly Host. Some time later, we were celebrating a mass in his chapel to thank him for averting damage during the storm. I had ordered the boy who serves me to stay home, but as a childish prank, he sat in a small boat and rowed away from land, going up and down the shore in the sea. However, the surf caught the little boat and drove it out further as the waves became higher. The boy was not strong enough, and without a doubt his boat would have capsized, had not the said Carlos Agahi, who was fishing at a nearby safe place, happened to see the child in this danger. He went to him in his fishing boat and saved his life.

I am writing this on the very day on which I have celebrated the Feast of the Apparition of St. Michael in said chapel, during which many have partaken of Holy Communion after their Confession and have worshipped, which without a doubt Heaven will repay with new mercies.

[Death of Fr. Leroulx]

At this time of year, the weather is usually windy, which means difficulty if not danger for those who sail on the seas, as I have experienced recently during my two-way voyage to Saypan. Yet there is no-one among us missionaries who would not be glad to risk his life and limb for God and the salvation of mankind, following the example of the Reverend Fr. Basilio le Roulx, one of our fellow missionaries from the French Low Countries, a professed member with 4 vows, and an extremely-loving and peaceful man who—as a lamb and dove—seemed to have no bitterness. He had been serving here as an apostolic man since 1679, earning much praise for his good deeds. This year, in the evening of Maundy Thursday, he preached a very animated sermon about the passion of Christ in the Spanish fashion, using so much movement of action that he perspired profusely. On his return, an ill wind blew and cooled him down suddenly, from which he became deadly sick. He laid down in his room and died an hour later, without anyone attending to him other than the few boys who served him. Those are the dangers to

1 Ed. note: This indicates a temporary change in patron saints for these two parishes. Formerly, Sosa in the south had St. Francis Borgia as a patron saint, whereas Agusan in the north had St. Francis Xavier. The next curate, Fr. Bonani, went back to St. Francis Borgia as the patron saint of Sosa (see Doc. 1719A).

which the missionaries in the Mariana Islands are exposed, specially those who live alone on a separate island and must therefore risk their own soul to save others. But this very act is one of supreme love and perfection: that a man may sacrifice his soul for his friends. From all this, Your Reverence will find it easy to understand how much I need Your own prayers to God and the prayers of other good friends from our Province, for which I implore and beseech

Your Reverence,

from Sosa on the Island of Rota, 8 May 1703.

Your Servant in Christ,

Juan Tilpe, Missionary of the Society of Jesus.

Document 1703B

The shipwreck of the patache Concepción when returning from the Marianas in 1704

Source: AGI Ultramar 561, letter #6 of 1708.

Letter from Captain Rodriguez to Governor Zabalburu, dated Seboc Island 2 March 1704

Original text in Spanish.

Señor maestro de Campo D. Domingo Zabalburu y Echevarri, Gobernador y Capitan General por S.M.

Señor

Ya llegó la hora en que mi infeliz fortuna, me ha dado el pago despues de tantos trabajos, pues habiendo salido del Puerto de Tabaco el lunes veinte y cuatro del pasado, arribe por causa del viento contrario, y consecutivamente otras tres arribadas, y en la penúltima perdí un anclote por haberse rompido el Calabrote y tras el onu [uno?] que así mismo se me cortó otro cable y pude sacar el ancla, por ultimo bolvi a salir el día ultimo del pasado à la primera noche, con el viento de tierra, y estando como una legua de la mar se fué el viento al Norte, y por no arripar otra vez salí para fuera y fué tan recio el viento Nordeste que me entró à la media noche, y no pudiendo montar los bajos de esta Isla, que está à la entrada de este Puerto fuí à virar para entrarme dentro y por dos veces no me quizo tomar por delante el Patache obligandome à cambiar, botado arriva y habiendo cambiado, sondé doze brazas de agua, y mandando dar fondo con el ancla grande, y la tenia tambien prevenida el Contraamaestre que cuando la largó cayó en dos brazas y media cerca en los vajos, y aunque hize diligencia de tender una espia con una pieza, y tras de ella otra de ambas, à dos se me rebentaron los calabrotos, por causa de las muchas piedras, y viendo daba el Patache muchos golpes, por que iba la marea vaciando, corte ambos palos, por ver si se podia salvar el Patache, y fué en vano la diligencia, por que con la mucha mar y viento asi mismo los continuos golpes que

daba en brebe se abrió sin poderlo remediar, pues antes del medio dia, ya estaba la bodega llena de agua, la cual no he abierto hasta tanto que embie el Alcalde Mayor, persona que de fé si se pudiere sacar algo, y aunque mojados para lo cual lo he hecho despacho, y entre tanto quedo recogiendo los Peltrechos con los naturales de estos dos Pueblos Tabaco y Malinao, y aunque con harto trabajo, es cuanto se me ofrece, dar parte à Vuestra Señoria de quien espero sus ordenes, para obedecerla como harta aqui, cuya vida guarde Dios muchos años, para alivio de afligidos.

De esta Isla de Seboc, a dos de marzo de 1704.

Señor,

Juan Rodriguez Ballique

Translation.

Master-of-Camp Don Domingo Zabalburu Echevarri, Governor and Captain General for H.M.

Sir:

The hour of my unhappy fortune finally arrived, and it paid me for so many hardships. Indeed, I had left the port of Tabaco on Monday 24th last, but had to turn back on account of contrary wind, and consecutively I had three more similar returns. On the one before last, I lost a kedge-anchor on account of the stream-cable having broken, and after that I also had the break of another cable but managed to get the anchor out. Finally, I came out again on the last day of the month in the evening, with a land breeze, and when I was about one league from the sea, the wind shifted to North, and in order not to have to turn back once again, I veered toward the sea, but the northeasterly that hit me by midnight was so brisk that, being unable to double the shoals of this Island that lie at the entrance of this port, I veered back to enter the port, but twice the patache was pushed ahead, and I was forced to turn. When pushed forward and having turned, the sounding line gave me 12 fathoms. I ordered the patache to come to an anchor, with the large anchor down. The boatswain had it ready but when he let it go, it fell into 2 fathoms and a half near the shoals, and although I made an effort to warp my way out with a cable, and after that another on both [sides], at two [in the morning] the stream-cables snapped, on account of the many rocks. Seeing that the patache was being buffeted, because the tide was running out, I cut both masts, to see if the patache could be saved, but the effort was in vain because, with a heavy sea as well as the continuous surges, it soon opened up without remedy. Indeed, before noon, the hold was already full of water. I have not opened the hold; I am waiting for the Mayor to send a trustworthy person to see if anything can be salvaged, though in a wet condition. In the meantime, the natives of these two towns of Tabaco and Malinao are struggling to salvage the equipment and supplies.

This is as much as I can report to Your Lordship and I remain here hoping to receive your orders in order to carry them out. May God keep you alive for many years, for the relief of the afflicted.

From Seboc Island, on 2 March 1704.¹

Sir,

Juan Rodriguez Ballique

¹ Ed. note: The shipwreck occurred on the east coast of Luzon Island, at lat. 10°25'N & long. 123°45'E, near the NW tip of San Miguel Island in the Lagonoy Gulf.

Documents 1703C

Galleons of 1702-1703

C1. The galleons Rosario and San Francisco Xavier

Sources: RAH, formerly Legajo 4, N° 24; abstracted by Ventura del Arco, and now found at NLA, Ayer 1300, Vol. 4, pp. 245-246.

News from the Philippines from last July 1703 until June of the present year 1704

In said news, it is said that Don Fausto Cruzat y Góngora, the former Governor of the Philippines, died during the voyage from Manila to Acapulco aboard the galleon **Rosario**, on 25 November 1702, and his younger daughter died on 12 December of said year. This galleon returned to the Islands in 1703 and entered the Strait of San Bernardino on 30 June.

[It is also said] that in the month of May 1704, the construction of **two war frigates** was concluded, both [sic] with 40 guns,¹ that they were sent to the Embocadero to meet with and take care of the galleon coming from Acapulco, on account of the fear of war with the English.

For the defence of the port of Cavite the galleon **San [Francisco] Xavier** is being refitted to carry 60 guns.²

1 Ed. note: Del Arco may have made a mistake. The plan had called for 20 guns each, for a total of 40 guns (see Doc. 1704C1).

2 Ed. note: This explains why she was unavailable for the voyage to Acapulco in either 1703 or 1704. She sailed into oblivion in 1705.

C2. Manifest of the galleon Rosario in 1703

Source: AGN AHH 332.

Original text in Spanish.

Registro de las piezas y generos que se embarcaron en Acapulco pertenecientes a Marianas y Philipinas con los reales que espresa, año de 1703.

Anttonio Ximenez de Gusman escribano de S. Magd.

Yo [e] asistido a el despacho del Galeon Nuestra Señora del Rosario y demas remisiones del cargo del Señor Capitan de Cavallos Corasas Don Juan Joseph de Veitia Linage[,] Cavallero del orden de Santiago. Sertifico y doi testimonio como a los dies y ocho del corriente el Sarxento mayor Don Francisco de Olavide[,] Capitan y Maestre de dho Galeon[,] en nombre del Rdo. Padre Francisco de Borja y Aragon de la sagrada Comp^a de Jhs por mano de Don Francisco Perez Nauaz, y como procurador general que es dho Rdo. Padre de la Prov^a de Philipinas y Marianas sinquentta y una piess perttenecienttes a los Padres Micioneros de dhas Marianas que se conponen de quatro varriles de vino; dos fardos; quarenta y sinco cajones con la marca del marxen;

Yten treintta y siete piasas perttenecienttes a los Colexios de la Jubentud de dhas Yslas Marianas: un barril; dos fardos; treinta y quatro cajones con la marca del marjen;

Asi mesmo dies y nueve piasas perttenecienttes a la Prov^a de las Yslas Philipinas y a el Colexio de San Ygnacio de la ciudad de Manila con la del marxen que son las siguientes: ocho cajones en que se yncluye uno chico; sinco tercios; seis surrones; Yten quatro mill sientto dies y ocho pesos y seis reales en reales a entregar a el Rdo. Padre Francisco Diez Procurador general de la Prov^a de dhas Yslas: los ochocientos sesenta y ocho pessos y ttres tomines perttenecienttes a la limosna de los Padres de dhas Marianas, y los un mill trecientos noventta y seis pesos y dos tomines de la limosna de los Colexios de niños y niñas de las Yslas Marianas; quattrosientos settenta y seis pessos perttenecienttes a el sueldo del Sarxento mayor Don Joseph de Quiroga; un mill y tresientos sinquentta y siete pesos y tomin y medio de las renttas que tiene en este registro dha Prov^a de Manila;

Ytten seis mill quinientos pesos a entregar al Rdo. Padre Gaspar Marco Procurador general de dho Colexio de San Ygnacio, los dos mil y quinientos de quentta del mismo Colexio, y los quattro mill a quentta del legado, que dexo a dho Colexio de dies mill pesos el Hermano Joachin de Arrialetta que fallecio Relixioso Novicio de dha sagrada Comp^a como mas largamente consta y parece de dho rexistro a que me referio y para que conste[,] de pedimiento de dho Don Francisco Perez Nauas doy el presente en el Puerto de Acapulco veintte y nueve dias del mes de Marzo de mill sietesientos y tres años siendo testigos Manuel Ortiz[,] Pedro de Herrera y Miguel Fernandez de Saldana presentes.—

Y hago mi signo en testimonio de verdad:

Antonio Ximenez de Gusman, escribano Real y de Real Hazienda.

Translation.

Manifest of the pieces and goods that were loaded in Acapulco, belonging to the Marianas and Philippines with the cash mentioned therein, for the year 1703.

Antonio Ximenez de Guzman, royal notary.

I have attended the despatch of the galleon **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** and other despatches in the care of the Captain of Dragoons, Don Juan José de Veitia Linage, Knight of the Order of St. James. I certify and vouch for the fact that on the 18th of the present month, Sergeant-Major Francisco de Olavide, Captain and Master of said galleon, on behalf of Rev. Father Francisco de Borja y Aragon of the sacred Society of Jesus through the hands of Don Francisco Perez Navas, this Father being Procurator general of the Province of the Philippines and Marianas, 51 pieces belonging to the missionary Fathers in said Marianas, which consist of 4 barrels of wine; 2 bundles; 45 crates bearing the mark in margin;

MRPP.

MRCC.

Also 37 pieces belonging to the Colleges of the youth in said Mariana Islands: 1 barrel; 2 bundles; 34 crates bearing the mark in margin;

Also 19 pieces belonging to the Province of the Philippine Islands and the College of San Ignacio in the city of Manila, with the mark in margin, which are as follows: 8 crates including one small one; 6 pouches; also 4,118 pesos 6 reales to be delivered to Rev. Father Francisco Diez, Procurator general of the Province of said Islands: 868 pesos 3 tomins of which belong to the alms for the Fathers in said Marianas, and 1,396 pesos 2 tomins to the alms for the Colleges of boys and girls in the Mariana Islands; 476 pesos belonging to the salary of Sergeant-Major José de Quiroga; 1,357 pesos 1-1/2 tomins to the investment income that said Province of Manila has in this manifest;

§

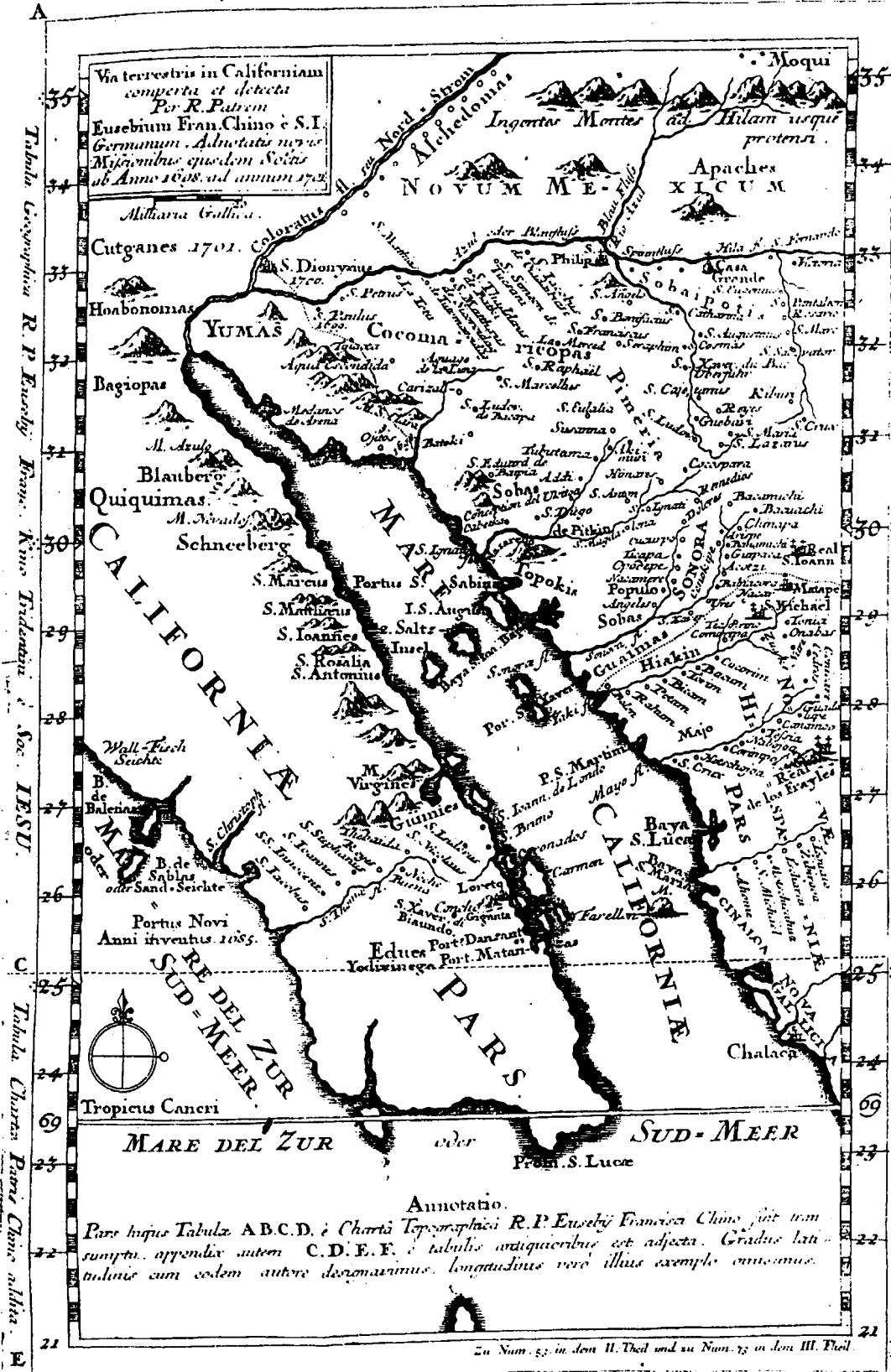
Also 6,500 pesos to be delivered to Rev. Father Gaspar Marco, Procurator general of said College of San Ignacio, 2,500 of which going to the College itself, and 4,000 to the account of the legacy of 10,000 pesos left to said College by Brother Joaquin de Arrialeta who died as a Religious, and novice of said sacred Society, as is explained at greater length in said manifest to which I refer.

And in faith whereof, at the request of said Don Francisco Perez Navas, I gave the present at the Port of Acapulco, on the 29th of March 1703, in the presence of the following witnesses: Manuel Ortiz, Pedro de Herrera, and Miguel Fernandez de Saldaña.—

And in faith whereof I have affixed my signature:

Antonio Ximenez de Guzman, royal notary and notary of the Royal treasury.

TABULA CALIFORNIAE Anno 1702.
Ex autoptica observatione delineata à R.P. Chino S.I.



Via terrestrius in Californiam
 comperta et detecta
 Per R. Paterm
 Eusebium Fran. Chino S.I.
 Germanum. Adnotatus in 1702.
 Missionibus quodam S. Chino
 ab Anno 1698. ad annum 1702.

MARE DEL ZUR oder SUD-MEER
 Proxi. S. Lucae

Annotatio.

Pars hujus Tabulae A.B.C.D. è Charta Topographica R.P. Eusebii Francisci Chino fuit sumpta. appendix autem C.D.E.F. è tabulis antiquioribus est abstracta. Gradus latitudinis cum eodem autore determinamus. longitudines vero illius exemplo sumimus.

Zu Num. 52. in dem II. Theil und zu Num. 72. in dem III. Theil.

Document 1703D

Diary of notable events in Mexico during the 1665-1704 period, by Antonio Robles

Source: Orozco y Berra, Manuel (ed.). Documentos para la historia de Méjico (Méjico, Juan R. Navarro, 1853).—Primera serie: 7 tomos en 5 volúmenes. Available at the Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico, under numbers 331, 332 and 333 of the Lafragua Collection. Tomos II y III, Diario de sucesos notables, escrito por el Licenciado D. Antonio de Robles, y comprende los años de 1665 a 1703 [sic].

Notes: The large number of small errors in names, if not dates, appearing in this work makes me say that it is not completely reliable, at least for the 1675-95 period, which was in fact authored by Diego Calderón, and only edited by Robles (see his comment under April 1696).

Excerpts from the Robles Diary regarding the Pacific—Original text in Spanish

Año de 1665.

...

Enero.

Jueves 8 llegó correo de Colima, con nueva de que á 1º del corriente pasó la nao que viene de Filipinas por el de Navidad, y de haber saltado en tierra el sargento mayor que fué del conde de Baños, que lo habia enviado allá á emplear; que viene D. Sabiniano Manrique de Lara, gobernador que fué de Manila, y el Lic. D. Juan de Bolívar, oidor de aquella audiencia, promovido á la de Guadalajara, y desde este dia comenzó la rogativa en la catedral y demas iglesias.

En 20 llegó correo de Acapulco con aviso de haber surgido en aquel puerto la nao de Filipinas el dia 13, y que el haberse tardado tanto en llegar, fué por haber faltado vientos y por venir muy cargada.

...

(Facing page:) **Map of California in 1702, drawn by Fr. Eusebio Francisco Kino.** (From *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, tomes II & III).

...

Abril.

En 25 salió por provincial de la Compañía de Jesus el padre Francisco Carbonel[.] sucedió al padre Hernando Cabero.

...

Noviembre.

*En 24 llegó nueva de haber llegado á Acapulco el galeon **San José**, que vino de Filipinas, y salió del pueblo de Cabite a 26 de junio, y por su general Antonio Perez.*

...

Año de 1666.

...

Enero.

Nueva de la nao de China.—Martes 26 vino nueva de Colima de cómo habían visto pasar la vuelta para Acapulco una nao de Filipinas.

...

Febrero.

Nao de China.—Martes 9 al mediodía vino nueva de que el dia 4 se amarró en Acapulco la nao de China, y viene por general Francisco Esteivar, el cual se quedó en este reino (y de vuelta fué por general D. José de Zamora[)] y fueron en ella dos religiosos de nuestra Señora del Cármen, llamados Fr. Gabriel del Santísimo Sacramento y Fr. José de la Concepcion, y por forzados el alguacil de la guerra, Isidro, el guarda mayor, Mendoza, Zicardo el Carbonero y Antonio Leal, otros forzados que salieron de [rather para] Acapulco el dia 30 de marzo.

Muerte.—Miércoles 10 murió el Dr. D. Diego de Céspedes, en esta ciudad de Méjico su patria, primicerio de la congregacion de San Francisco Javier (que debe á su celo y fomento grande parte del lustre que hoy goza en la parroquia de la Santa Veracruz) y canónigo de esta santa iglesia metropolitana; en la enfermedad pidió el hábito de la reforma de San Diego: enterróse en dicho convento como religioso.¹

...

Noviembre.

Nueva de la nao de China.—Martes 23 vino nueva de estar amarrada la nao de China, que ha mas de cuarenta años que no viene tan temprano.

...

Año de 1667.

...

Marzo.

¹ Ed. note: San Diego is a misprint for San Francisco, I think.

Ida de la nao de China.—En 14 salió de Acapulco para Filipinas el galeon **San José**; fué por general el capitan Pedro Rodriguez, porque Antonio Perez, que lo trajo el año de 65, se quedó acá. Fueron en él veintiun religiosos agustinos descalzos.

...

Año de 1668.

...

Enero.

El patache.—A 11 llegó á Acapulco el patache **San Diego**, que salió de Cabite el año pasado de 67, y por almirante Bartolomé Muchos [sic = Muñoz], y el mismo día llegó á Méjico la noticia; trae por nuevas que el galeon **San José** que fué de Acapulco para Filipinas el año pasado, á vista de tierra tuvo un mes de calma, y quisieron los forzados alzarse con la nao de que era piloto Leandro Coello, capitaneados de un fulano Sofía, natural de Méjico, donde habia sido de la compañía, y pasó á Filipinas el año de 63, y allá mató á un hombre malamente, y el año pasado se vino huyendo en la misma nao; y ahora se volvió á pagar allá su delito, porque le dieron garrote, y otros castigos á otros muchos cómplices: tomó esta nao puerto en el de San Jacinto de la Isla de Ticao en las Filipinas, á 13 de julio de año de 67; **vinieron en él los padres Tomas de Cardenoso y Diego Luis de San Vítores**, porque estando este patache aparejado para ir á las islas de los Ladrones, que hoy se llaman Marianas, á la conversion de aquellas gentes; el gobernador de Filipinas, D. Diego de Salcedo, recelándose de que la nao **Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro**, que se acababa en Albay, podria arribar y no hacer viaje á esta Nueva-España, determinó por asegurar el situado que pasase este patache á Acapulco, y de vuelta dejase á dichos padres en dichas islas, porque dicho padre San Vítores con celo de la salvacion de aquellas almas, ejerció los años pasados á S.M. informándole sobre ello y remitido informes del arzobispo de Manila, y del gobernador y de otras personas que habian estado en dichas islas, con lo cual S.M. mandó al gobernador le diese avío, y aunque le aparejó este patache, no le dió cosa alguna por estar alcanzada la caja real, y por eso lo despachó á este reino al virey, á quien escribió dicho padre desde Acapulco con esta razon: y habiendo hecho junta de hacienda para el caso, se resolvió no haber lugar por no venir despacho en forma, no trayendo un tanto de la cédula, que no lo advirtió; y habiendo sabido el padre esta determinacion, vino á Méjico, y despues de varias diligencias, en otra junta se determinó que se le diesen 10,000 pesos, dando fianzas de que los volveria si S.M. no lo aprobase, y habiendo dado veinte fiadores de á 500 pesos se le dió dicha cantidad, y el virey le dió 500 pesos, y diferentes personas le dieron algunas cantidades, y la congregacion de San Javier, que está fundada en la parroquia de la Santa Veracruz, le dió ricos ornamentos y alhajas de altar, tambien ayudó mucho el Lic. Cristóbal Vidal, clérigo.

...

Nao de China.—A 23 llegó al puerto de Acapulco el galeon **Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro**. que se fabricó en Albay, de donde salió á 27 de agosto del año pasado,

y vino por general José [sic] de Arévalo, y el padre Andres de Ledesma, de la Compañía, por procurador á Roma.

Febrero.

Auto de la fe de Santo Domingo.—Viernes 3 se celebró auto particular de la fe en el convento de Santo Domingo, en que salieron penitenciados once reos, y entre ellos un Fernando de Tolosa, cuyo principio fué herrador y despues fué cirujano, por haberse fingido ministro del santo tribunal, y en la iglesia del pueblo de Ixmilquiltam puesto dosel y haber hecho suspender el santo sacrificio de la misa para que se leyese en su presencia un edicto, supuesto por él, en el cual decia haberle dado autoridad el santo tribunal para absolver de amancebamiento, dándole un tanto por cada año, y al recibirlo decia: *ni recibas cohecho ni pierdas derecho.* Diéronle doscientos azotes en esta ciudad y otros doscientos en el pueblo de Ixmilquiltam, y desterrado á las islas Filipinas. Asimismo salió en dicho auto D. Diego de Peñalosa, gobernador del Nuevo-Méjico, por suelto de lengua contra sacerdotes y señores inquisidores, y algunos disparates que tocaban en blasfemias: salió en cuerpo (que lo tenia muy bueno) vestido de terciopelo negro, el pelo (que era propio y crecido) muy peinado, las medias arrugadas, puños que se usaban de puntas de Flandes muy grandes, que parece se compuso al propósito, sin capa ni sombrero, con vela verde en la mano: causó mucha lástima.

Tembler.—En 11, sábado cerca de las cuatro de la tarde, hubo un gran temblor de tierra, y duró casi una hora.

...

Tembler.—Este dia cerca de las seis de la tarde hubo otro temblor de tierra que duró mucho rato.

Tembler.—Este mismo dia á las ocho de la noche repitió otra vez el temblor con tanta fuerza, que causó mucho temor en la ciudad.

...

Marzo.

Cometa.—Lunes 5 se apareció un cometa á las siete de la noche, hacia el Poniente, á modo de espada; no se vió la estrella; duró hasta 19 del presente.

Muerte.—Martes 13, á las ocho de la noche falleció el padre Estévan de Aguilar, de la Compañía de Jesus.

Salida del patache.—A 23, viernes Santo, salió de Acapulco el patache **San Diego**, en que va el padre San Vítores y otros nueve padres para dejarlos en las islas Marianas y pasar á Filipinas.

Salida de la nao de China.—A 26 salió para dichas islas la capitana **Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro.**

...

Beatificacion de Santa Rosa del Perú.—Que en 12 de febrero beatificó S.S. á la madre Rosa de Santa María...

...

Año de 1669.**Enero.**

A 6, vino nueva de haberse divisado nao de China, **Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion**.

Nao de China.—A 13, miércoles, á la una de la mañana vino nueva de cómo estaba ya la nao de China en el puerto; trae por nuevas que á 8 de diciembre de 67 murió el arzobispo de Manila, Dr. D. Miguel de Poblete: fué canónigo de Méjico, maestre-escuela de la Puebla y arzobispo de Manila. Enterráronle con palma y corona, como merecía su pureza.

...

Marzo.

A 25, día de la Anunciacion de nuestra Señora, se hizo á la vela la nao de China, y se tardó el correo cuatro días en traer la nueva.

...

Mayo.

Aviso de España.—Domingo 12, al amanecer vino nueva á esta ciudad de haber llegado aviso de España: trae por nuevas que á solicitud del Sr. D. Juan de Austria y de los de su séquito, se consiguió que saliese de la corte de Madrid, como salió el día 26 de febrero de este año, el padre Juan Everardo Nitardo, de la Compañía de Jesus, confesor de la reina madre, y del consejo de Estado, inquisidor general; y por sosegar los ánimos se le mandó salir, y porque fuera con decoro lo nombró la reina por embajador extraordinario para Alemania ó la corte romana, y eligió ir á Roma.

...

Año de 1670.

...

Diciembre.

Dos naos de Filipinas.—Por este mes vinieron de Filipinas dos naos: capitana, el **Buen Socorro**, y almiranta **San Diego**; murió en la navegacion por el mes de octubre D. Diego de Salcedo, que habia sido gobernador de aquellas islas y se venia.

...

Año de 1671.

...

Marzo.

Nao de China.—En 18 salió del puerto de Acapulco la capitana que vino de Filipinas de vuelta, y se quedó la amiranta **San Diego**.

...

Abril.

A 25, salió por provincial de la Compañía de Jesus el padre Andres Cobian; sucedió al padre Valencia.

...

Año de 1672.

...

Diciembre.

Monja peregrina.—*Estuvo en esta ciudad una monja gachupina, natural de Italia, que llamaban la peregrina, del orden de San Francisco: dijo que habia hecho voto de peregrinar treinta y tres años. Pasó al Perú.*

...

Año de 1673.

...

Marzo.

Ida de la nao de China.—*Miércoles 1º, vino nueva de Acapulco de que á 27 de febrero salió la nao almiranta **San Diego** para Filipinas.*

...

Mayo.

Aviso [de España].—*Jueves 4, entró el cajon de los pliegos y se abrieron en el acuerdo: trae por nuevas que el padre Everardo, confesor de la reina doña Mariana de Austria, inquisidor general, que fué nombrado embajador de Roma, habiendo ascendido á la púrpura de cardenal el año pasado, falleció poco despues...*

...

Junio.

Provincial de la Compañía.—*En 4, entró por provincial de la Compañía el padre Manuel de Arteaga.*

...

Agosto.

Muerte.—*Jueves 31 murió el padre Pedro de Valencia, de la Compañía, que habia sido provincial.*

...

Año de 1674.**Enero.**

A 17 de enero, día de San Antonio Abad, á las siete de la noche vino nueva de que á 15 de este llegó la nao de China al puerto de Acapulco.

Muerte de Quijo.—*Miércoles 28, murió el secretario Nicolas del Guijo, se enterró en la capilla de los escribanos en San Agustín: escribió un diario curioso.*

...

Agosto.

Muerte.—*Este día [i.e. lunes 20] murió el padre Manuel de Arteaga, provincial de la Compañía de Jesus. En 22, entró por provincial de la Compañía el padre Francisco Jimenez.*

...

Año de 1675.

...

Marzo.

Lunes 4, salieron los soldados para Acapulco; este día bajaron los forzados á los cuarteles sobre tarde.

Miércoles 6, salieron treinta y un forzados, los mas españoles, para Filipinas, y fueron por la calle de San Agustín.

...

Año de 1676.**Enero.**

Jueves 16, entró nueva de nao de China, á las once, y que se propasó del puerto.

Domingo 19, entró el gentil-hombre de China á las siete de la mañana, y da por nuevas haber muerto el obispo D. José Millan de Poblete, obispo de la Nueva-Segovia, que murió á 25 de junio de 1674 años; que viene un obispo frances que pasó por Holanda.

Miércoles 22, entró nueva de estar amarrada la nao, y se repicó á las diez de la mañana.

...

Febrero.

Miércoles 19, de ceniza... este día hubo nueva de diez y siete naos del enemigo en la mar del Sur; hubo junta general á medio día.

Marzo.

Miércoles 4, se fueron los soldados á Acapulco, noventa y seis hombres.

Viernes 6, salieron los forzados á las diez del día, como cincuenta hombres pocos mas ó menos.

...

Agosto.

Lunes 10, enterraron al Lic. Gregorio del Guijo, hombre insigne en pluma y juicio...

...

Año de 1677.

...

Enero.

Nueva de nao de China.—Domingo 10, á las ocho y media de la noche entró nueva de la nao de China, y se tocó plegaria hasta las nueve y media de la noche.

...

Nao de China amarrada.—Viernes 22, entró nueva de estar amarrada la nao de China en 17 de este, y se repicó.

...

Lunes 25, se pregonó bando en que se perdonaban á todos aquellos que hubieran cometido delitos, como fueran á China con 125 pesos de sueldo.

...

Abril.

Sábado 3, vino nueva á las cuatro de la tarde, de haber salido la nao de China á 30 de marzo.

...

Año de 1678.**Enero.**

Nao de China.—Lunes 10, entró correo á las 7 de la noche con nueva de nao de China, y hubo equivoco en la catedral que empezaron á repicar con esquila; cesó breve y se tocó plegaria generalmente.

Martes 11, vino correo de Colima de haber echado hombre en tierra la nao de China.

Muerte del gobernador.—Este día [i.e. Lunes 17] á las oraciones entró el gentil-hombre de China, y dice murió el gobernador en una quinta de Manila de repente...

Nao de China amarrada.—Este día [i.e. Martes 25] entró nueva de estar amarrada la nao de China, á 21 de este; se repicó á las cuatro de la tarde.

Banderas de China.—Miércoles 26, arbolaron las banderas de China y la compañía del gobernador; marchó el alférez sobrino del obispo de Zebú, maestro D. Fr. Diego de Aguilar, en la calle de San Bernardo, y puso en la bandera las armas del gobernador D. Juan Vargas, y S.E. las mandó quitar.

...

Marzo.

Forzados.—Martes 8, salieron los forzados para China, hasta cuarenta hombres. Este día salió el señor obispo de Zebú para Acapulco.

Lunes 28... Obispo de Zebú no va á Filipinas.—Este día vino nueva de Acapulco de que estaba malo el señor obispo de Zebú, y que no va á China.

...

Abril.

Ida de la nao de China sin el obispo de Zebú.—Lunes Santo, 4, vino nueva de haberse hecho á la vela la nao de China á 31 de marzo, y no fué el señor obispo, y se quedó en Tasco; fué el gobernador D. Juan de Vargas.

...

Diciembre.

Nao de China.—Sábado 31, entró nueva de nao de China y se tocó plegaria.

Año de 1679.**Enero.**

Gentil-hombre de China.—Miércoles 4, entró el gentil-hombre de China con el pliego que trajo del puerto de la Navidad.

Nao de China.—Viernes 13, se repicó á las nueve de la noche por estar amarrada la nao de China; la que fué de aquí llegó á Cabite á 29 de noviembre.

...

Abril.

*Martes 4, vino nueva de haberse hecho á la vela la nao para Filipinas, á 30 de marzo: va en ella D. Fernando Valenzuela: es el galeon **San Antonio**.*

...

Año de 1680.**Enero.**

*Nueva de nao de China.—Domingo 14, entró nueva de nao de China, á las nueve de la mañana, de Colima: hubo carta del gobernador; la nao **Santa Rosa** fué mentira, que solo se sabe que pasó la nao á 5 de este.*

*Jueves 18... **Gentil-hombre de China**.—Este día á las dos de la tarde entró el gentil-hombre de la nao **Santa Rosa** de China.*

Muerte del padre Altamirano.—Miércoles 13, murió á las ocho de la noche el padre Tomas Altamirano, provincial de la Compañía de Jesus...

Febrero.

Provincial de la Compañía.—Viernes 2, abrieron el pliego de la Compañía; y es provincial el padre Antonio Nuñez.

...

Viernes 9, se tomó resolucion por el cabildo eclesiástico, de poner dos cofres de hierro en la sala de cabildo, y administrar los diezmos de gruesa y fábrica por mano del racionero D. José Vidal, con salario de 1,500 pesos.

Marzo.

Lunes 4, salieron los soldados para China como setenta y tantos; ausentáronse veintiun pagados.

Miércoles de Ceniza, 6, sacaron de la cárcel á los forzados.

Jueves 7, llevaron como hasta sesenta hombres forzados para China, y rapados los galones hasta veinte; fué D. Frutos con ellos hasta Cuernavaca.

Viernes 8, salió otro forzado para China, religioso solicitante.

...

Abril.

Se fué la nao de China.—Vino nueva que la nao de China salió de Acapulco en 29 de marzo para Filipinas, y que se embarcó el Sr. D. Fr. Diego de Aguilar.

Setiembre.

Provincial de la Compañía.—Viernes 20, se abrió el pliego de la Compañía de Jesus, y es provincial el padre Bernardo Pardo.

Obispos para Filipinas.—Vienen dos obispos para Filipinas, uno para Cenópolis, D. Fr. Juan Duran; otro para Troya, D. Fr. Jinés Barrientos.

...

Noviembre.

Cometa.—Este día [i.e. Viernes 15] se ha visto un cometa hacia el Oriente, que sale á las cuatro de la mañana.

...

Diciembre.

Cometa.—Lunes 23, se volvió á ver el cometa que salió á 15 de noviembre del año [rather mes] pasado, hacia el Oriente, y ahora se ve hacia el Occidente, y camina para el Norte, que sale á la oracion de la noche.

Año de 1681.**Enero.**

Nao de China.—Domingo 12, entró nueva de nao de China á las siete de la noche, y se tocó plegaria.

Lunes 20, entró el gentil-hombre de China.

Lunes 27, en la tarde vino nueva de estar amarrada la nao de China y se repicó.

...

Marzo.

Martes 4, salieron los soldados para China.

Sábado 8, salieron los forzados.

Abril.

Ida de la nao de China.—Miércoles Santo, 9, se tocó plegaria á la oracion por la nao de China que salió del puerto de Acapulco á 28 de marzo.

Obispo de China.—**Su consagracion.**—Domingo 13, de Cuasimodo, fué la consagracion del señor obispo de China, mercedario, D. Fr. Juan Antonio Duran, en la catedral; consagrólo el señor arzobispo D. Fr. Payo Enriquez de Rivera: asistió el señor virey y vireina...

Año de 1682.**Marzo.**

Para Manila, obispo auxiliar D. Fr. Juan Duran...

Soldados.—Se fueron los soldados para China el jueves 5.

Forzados.—Domingo 6, salieron los forzados para China á las diez.

Abril.

Nao de China.—Miércoles 1º, entró nueva de haber salido la nao de China, el viernes Santo 28 del pasado, y se tocó plegaria á las once del dia.

...

Año de 1683.**Septiembre.**

Provincial de la Compañía.—Se abrió el pliego de la Compañía, y vino por provincial el padre Luis del Canto.

Año de 1684.**Enero.**

...

Nao de China.—Este día [Miércoles 26] entró nueva de estar amarrada la nao de China **San Telmo**, á las ocho de la noche, y se repicó.

Jueves, á las nueve de la mañana, se repicó por la otra nao capitana, **Santa Rosa**.

...

Febrero.

Soldados.—Sábado 11, salieron ciento cincuenta soldados para China.

Esta tarde salió el gobernador [blank] para Acapulco. Va por visitador de China, D. Juan de Salaeta, castellano de Acapulco, y por castellano el almirante que vino de China D. Fabian de Avila, y por almirante [blank] Cantabrana el mozo.

Forzados.—Lunes 13, salieron los forzados para China como hasta cuarenta hombres.

...

Abril.

Ida de las naos de China.—Viernes 7, se tocó rogativa por haber salido las dos naos de China.

...

Diciembre.

Nao de China.—Jueves 14, hubo nueva de haber echado en tierra la nao de China gentil-hombre.

Nao de China.—Viernes 29, entró nueva de estar amarrada la nao de China, y se repicó á las nueve de la mañana.

...

Año de 1685.

...

Marzo.

Soldados.—Jueves 1º, se fueron los soldados para China, como ciento setenta hombres, buena gente.

Forzados.—Lunes 5, de Carnestolendas, se fueron los forzados, como treinta y seis hombres.

...

Jueves 8... esta tarde sacaron dos forzados para China.

...

Abril.

Ida de nao de China.—Jueves 6, vino nueva de haber salido la nao de China á 27 del próximo pasado.

...

Julio.

Domingo 1º, se abrió la iglesia de San Gregorio, del colegio de la Compañía de Jesus.

...

Octubre.

Nueva de Tehuantepec.—Este día [Sábado 20] vino nueva de Tehuantepec de haber echado el enemigo gente con tres navíos en tierra, y que salieron doscientos hombres de los nuestros y los hicieron ir á otra parte.

...

Noviembre.

Nueva.—Este día [Viernes 2] vino nueva de estar á la vista de Acapulco el enemigo con siete navíos.

Nueva.—[Viernes 16] vino nueva de haberse ido el enemigo de Acapulco con sus navíos.

Nueva de enemigos.—Lunes 19, vino nueva de haberse visto velas por la costa de Colima de enemigos, y se tocó plegaria.

Martes 20, vino nueva del puerto de la Navidad de haber visto dos navíos.

Nueva.—Viernes 23, vino nueva que los navíos atras dichos que vieron en el puerto de la Navidad y Colima, son enemigos.

Nueva.—Sábado 24, vino nueva de Acapulco de estar en la barra cuatro navíos de enemigos, á las ocho de la mañana; estaba S. E. en los Remedios.

Muerte.—Esta noche [Jueves 29] doblaron á las ocho de la noche en San Pedro y San Pablo, por haber muerto en Maninalco el padre Francisco de Vera, rector del colegio del dicho San Pedro y San Pablo.

...

Diciembre.

Nueva de Colima.—Miércoles 12, hubo nueva de la costa de Colima de cómo las cuatro embarcaciones de enemigos echaron gente, y mataron al beneficiado y á algunas personas españolas.

Nueva del Perú.—Salió de Acapulco el navío del Perú que trajo azogues.

Correo.—Jueves 13, en la noche, entró correo de la Laguna, de haberse estado los enemigos allí, y haberse visto otro navío grande en diferente paraje; que se juzga es de China.

Nao de China.—Martes 18, día de la Espectacion de nuestra Señora, entró correo de Acapulco (estando el virey en los Remedios) de haber entrado el viernes 14 de este la nao en el puerto, y se repicó antes de las oraciones. La nueva es de D. Isidro Otondo, de catorce leguas del puerto; y echaron gentil-hombre; y el dicho D. Antonio Otondo con carta de S.E., fué desde las Californias con sus dos bajeles a encontrar el navío de China, y á los 28 de noviembre la encontró y vino con ella en resguardo de los piratas que estaban junto á Colima y Navidad.

Correo.—Domingo 23, vino correo de estar á la vista del puerto de Acapulco el navío de China, y dos jornadas para acá el gentil-hombre: dicen martirizaron en las islas Marianas cinco padres de la Compañía y cincuenta y tantos soldados.

Nueva de estar amarrada la nao de China.—Martes 25, día de Pascua, entró el gentil-hombre de China a medio día; da por nuevas estar restituído el señor arzobispo á su arzobispado.

*Miércoles 26, segundo día de Pascua, á las ocho de la mañana, vino nueva de estar amarrada en el puerto la nao **Santa Rosa**; y se descubrió el Santísimo en la procesion, y misa, y se cantó el Te Deum Laudamus en la procesion y se acabó antes de las doce con repique.*

Año de 1686.

Enero.

Jueves 17, le vino patente de rector de San Pedro y San Pablo al padre José Vidal, de la Compañía de Jesus.

Febrero.

Nueva de Acapulco.—Lunes 25, de Carnestolendas, vino nueva de estar el enemigo veinte leguas de Acapulco, y quemó un navío suyo y echó la gente en los cuatro que le quedan, y los prisioneros nuestros los echó en tierra.

Marzo.

Soldados.—Miércoles 6, salieron los soldados para China, mas de ciento y tantos, á las diez del día.

Forzados.—Miércoles 13, salieron treinta forzados para China.

...

Julio.

Nueva de Acapulco.—Este día [Viernes 12] á la oracion entró nueva del puerto de Acapulco de estar á la vista de él un navío que no se sabe si es enemigo ó del Perú, que se habian enviado á reconocer las vijías.

*Nueva de Acapulco.—Miércoles 17, vino nueva de Acapulco de que la nao que se habia visto era de frutos de cruzada, que estaba ya surta en el puerto; llámase **El Santo Rey D. Fernando**.*

...

Noviembre.

Nueva.—Miércoles 27, hubo nueva de enemigo en la mar del Sur.

...

Año de 1687.

...

Abril.

Jueves 24... azotaron al que hurtó la lámpara [de plata] de Bethlem, y lo echaron á China por toda su vida, por tener poca edad.

...

Diciembre.

Lunes 29, ha corrido voz de dos naos de China en la costa.

Año de 1688.

Enero.

Nuevas de Acapulco.—Dicho día jueves 15, hubo nueva de las naos de Acapulco, que salieron en busca del enemigo, y volvieron al puerto sin noticia de enemigos: dicen vuelven á salir á encontrar la nao de China.

Febrero.

Nueva de Acapulco.—Martes 17, entró nueva de haber vuelto los dos navíos que fueron á encontrar la nao de China, sin hallar cosa alguna.

...

Abril.

Ida de la nao de China.—Lunes 5, se tocó plegaria por haber salido del puerto la nao de China á 31 del pasado.

...

Año de 1689.

Enero.

Gentil-hombre de China.—Lunes 17, entró el gentil-hombre de China, y da por nuevas vienen dos naos, y solo ha parecido la almiranta, general D. [blank] Urquiza; llegó el navío con los oidores desterrados y el gobernador viejo D. Juan de Vargas y D. Juan Salaeta, que quiso hacerse gobernador.

Nueva.—Jueves 26, vino nueva de haberse pasado la nao de China de Acapulco á Jicayan.

Febrero.

Nueva.—Martes 1º, hubo nueva de Tehuantepec, de cómo vieron en aquella costa el navío de China, á 26 del pasado.

Nueva.—Sábado 5, entró nueva de la capitana de China y de haber echado gente en la Navidad.

Nueva de la nao de China.—Viernes 11, vino nueva de Soconusco de haber dado fondo la nao **Santa Rosa**, de China, y estar haciendo bastimento para ir al puerto.

Centil-hombre de China.—Sábado 12, entró á las dos el gentil-hombre de la nao capitana de China: saltó en tierra con otros dos; trajo muchos pliegos.

...

Nao de China.—Jueves 17, á la noche, vino nueva de estar amarrada en el puerto de Acapulco la nao de China, y hubo repique general.

Nueva de la otra nao de China.—Lunes 28, vino nueva de la segunda nao de China de Tehuantepec, de que va para Acapulco.

Marzo.

Soldados.—Lunes 14, se fueron ciento diez y siete soldados para China, y pasaron por casa del conde de la Monclova para que los viera.

Dicen entró en el puerto de Acapulco la almiranta de China.

Forzados.—Este día [Miércoles 16] salieron cuarenta y seis hombres forzados.

Nao de China.—Jueves 17, á las ocho de la mañana, entró nueva cierta de estar amarrada en Acapulco la nao almiranta de China.

Abril.

Ida de la nao de China.—Miércoles Santo, 6, vino nueva de haberse ido la nao de China á 31 de marzo; y se tocó plegaria.

Junio.

Jueves 23, fueron los últimos soldados para Acapulco.

Octubre.

Provincial de la Compañía.—Domingo 23, se abrió el pliego de la Compañía, y es provincial el padre Ambrosio Odon.

Diciembre.

Nueva de la nao de China.—Martes 13, entró nueva de haber visto la nao de China, á las once de día, y se tocó plegaria.

Miércoles 14, dicen saltó hombre en tierra.

Gentil-hombre de China.—Lunes 19, entró el gentil-hombre de China á las cinco de la tarde; da por nuevas murió el gobernador D. Gabriel de Crusalegui [sic], y que queda gobernando el visitador D. Francisco de Campos, que vino siendo alcalde de corte de Madrid; que murió de repente el oidor D. Pedro Bolivar; que viene el duende D. Fernando Valenzuela.

Nao de China.—Viernes 23, entró nueva de estar amarrada la nao de China, á las diez; y se repicó generalmente.

Año de 1690.**Enero.**

Entrada del duende.—Lunes 30, entró D. Fernando Valenzuela á ver á S.E.; le dió orden de S.M. viva en Méjico y se le hable de V.S.

...

Marzo.

Gobernador de China.—Miércoles 1º, salió de esta ciudad para su oficio, con cinco literas, el gobernador de China D. Fausto Cruzate [sic] y Góngora.

Soldados.—Jueves 2, salieron los soldados para China.

Forzados.—Sábado 4, salieron los forzados para China, como ochenta hombres y el Marquesito.

Ida de la nao de China.—Domingo 26, vino nueva de haber salido las dos naos de China el lunes Santo, 20 de este.

...

Diciembre.

Nueva de la nao de China.—Lunes 4, entró nueva de nao de China á las nueve de la mañana; se llama el **Santo Cristo de Burgos**; general de ella Arocha: saltó el gentil-hombre en el puerto de la Navidad.

Muerte del arzobispo de Manila.—Ha habido cartas de China, y dan noticia de cómo se perdió la armadilla que iba, **Santa Rosa**, y que murió el señor arzobispo D. Fr. Felipe Pardo, del orden de Santo Domingo.

Nao de China.—Sábado 18, entró nueva de estar amarrada la nao de China el *Santo Cristo de Burgos*, á las dos de la tarde, y se repicó generalmente.

...

Año de 1691.

Marzo.

Sábado 3, se recogieron las banderas para China, para pagar á los soldados.

Soldados.—Lunes 5, salieron los soldados para China y bajaron los forzados al parque.

Forzados.—Miércoles 7, salieron los forzados para China hasta sesenta y dos hombres; muchos de España.

Ida de la nao de China.—Dicho día, jueves 29, vino nueva de haber salido la nao de China á 24 de este; tocóse plegaria á las nueve de la noche.

...

Año de 1692.

Enero.

Sacramentaron al duende.—Sábado 5, sacramentaron al duende D. Fernando Valenzuela, y no pudo firmar su testamento; lo firmaron los testigos; es albacea el virey que le asistió

Muerte de D. Fernando Valenzuela.—Lunes 7, esta noche á las nueve de ella, murió D. Fernando Valenzuela, alias el Duende, y se dobló en todos los conventos; en San Agustín con veinticinco campanadas, y en la catedral se dobló de cabildo á las seis de la mañana.

Martes 8, lo embalsamaron, y lo habian de enterrar este día, y fué tanta la gente que ocurrió, que se dejó para el día siguiente.

Entierro de Valenzuela.—Miércoles 9, fué entierro de D. Fernando Valenzuela (quien obtuvo los puestos que se refieren en el día 15 de julio de 1677 de este diario): llevaron el cuerpo á San Agustín á la sala de capítulo á las cuatro de la mañana... Se depositó el cuerpo en la capilla de los Flores, en una caja con cuatro llaves, en el claustro de dicho convento de San Agustín.

...

Banderas para China.—Este día [Viernes 11] se arbolaron las banderas para China.

...

Nao de China.—Miércoles 19, á las diez de la noche, vino nueva de nao de China; se empezó á repicar y cesó con la plegaria.¹

Dicen es general de la nao Antonio Nieto.

Gentil-hombre de China.—Viernes 28, entró el gentil-hombre de China, y da noticia de cómo murió en la mar por octubre el gobernador que fué de Manila que venia

1 Ed. note: Wrong month; this entry and the next three have been printed out of sequence, and belong to December 1691.

preso de orden del comisario de la inquisicion de Manila; y que está todo quieto lo espiritual y temporal, y que hay paz en todas las islas y comercio.

Nao de China.—*Domingo 30, entró nueva á las doce de estar amarrada la nao de China, y se repicó generalmente.*

Cos de un caballo.—*Este dia [30] le dió un caballo una cos al duende D. Fernando Valenzuela, en en vientre; le dieron veinte puntos.¹*

Ida de la nao de China.—*Miércoles 26, se tocó plegaria á las once del dia por haber salido de Acapulco la nao de China á 21 de este mes; cogieron los mas de los veintisiete forzados que se habian huido.*

Abril.

Forzados y presos.—*Miércoles 2, á la una, entraron diez y siete forzados que se habian huido de los que iban á China.*

Azotados.—*Este dia [Sábado 12] azotaron doce hombres que se huyeron de los forzados que iban á China.*

Azotados.—*Jueves 17, azotaron otros cinco de los dichos forzados.*

Marzo.

Ida de los soldados para China.—*Miércoles 5, se fueron los soldados para China.*

Forzados.—*Viernes 7, salieron como cincuenta forzados para China.*

Huida de forzados.—*Lunes 27 [sic], vino nueva de haberse huido veintinueve forzados.*

Prision.—*Este dia [Lunes 21] cogieron otros tres forzados de los dichos para China.*

Azotes.—*Martes 22, los azotaron.*

...

Año de 1693.

Enero.

Provincial de la Compañía.—*Jueves 8, se abrió el pliego de la Compañía, y es electo provincial el padre Diego de Almonasir, maestro de novicios de Tepozotlan.*

...

Año de 1694.

Enero.

Nueva de Acapulco.—*Lunes 18, vino nueva de haber arribado á Acapulco un navío del Perú con vinos y aguardiente.*

Febrero.

¹ Ed. note: This entry is out of sequence. Also, some April entries were printed before some March entries in the original. They are left here as is, but will be placed in sequence in the translation below.

Pregonada la nao de China.—Miércoles 10, se pregonó el despacho de la nao de China en la del Perú **San José**, por no haber venido la que se esperaba de Manila; llevóla D. Andres Arriola.

Marzo.

Forzados para China.—Este día [Lunes 1^o] salieron diez y seis forzados para China.

Ida de la nao de China.—Martes 23, á las ocho y media de la noche se tocó plegaria por haber salido la nao de China, llamada **San José**, el mismo día del santo, despachada por el virey con parte del situado, por haber dos años que no vienen de allá; y va por cabo el sargento mayor de la Veracruz, D. Andres de Arriola.

...
Diciembre.

Nao de China.—Sábado 11, entró nueva de nao de China, que pasó por Colima con viento, con dos banderas; y se tocó plegaria á la una del día.

Nueva de enemigo.—Miércoles 29, vino nueva de Acapulco de haber visto naos de enemigos; hubo junta general á la oracion.

Año de 1695.

Enero.

Correo de Acapulco.—Sábado 8, vino correo de Acapulco con noticia de cómo salió una embarcacion con cincuenta hombres a registrar el mar, y vió un navío de enemigos con cincuenta piezas.

Febrero.

Nao de China.—Esta noche entró correo de nao de China á las siete de la noche, con noticia de estar á la vista del puerto de Acapulco un patache que es él en que el año pasado á 19 de marzo se fué D. Andres de Arriola, y viene ahora en él, en once meses, que ha sido gran felicidad; y el haberse retardado desde 11 de diciembre, que lo vieron en Colima, hasta ahora, es porque se propasó á las costas de Guayaquil; trae malísimas nuevas, de cómo se perdieron los dos navíos de los años de 1692 y 1693, y se ahogaron mas de trescientas personas en un navío solo. Era general Maderazo, y del otro D. Fernando Yangués, que se ahogó.

Gentil-hombre de China.—Viernes 18, entró el gentil-hombre de la nao de China, y se repicó: confirma la pérdida de los dos navíos **San José** y el **Santo Cristo de Burgos**, del año de 1693, que no parece; que murió D. Fr. Diego de Aguilar, obispo de Zebú, del orden de Santo Domingo; que ha habido grandes debates entre los prebendados de la iglesia de Manila con el obispo de Troya, D. Fr. Jinés de Barrientos, del orden de Santo Domingo, que fué auziliar del arzobispo D. Fr. Felipe Pardo, difunto...

[Discovery of Marcus Island]

Los que vinieron en este navío de China descubrieron isla nueva donde hacer agua y carne.

Marzo.

Forzados.—Este día [Viernes 11] salieron treinta forzados y los soldados á las ocho de la mañana.

Abril.

Ida de las naos de China.—Domingo 3, día de Pascua, salieron los dos navíos para China, á 25 de marzo. Los navíos dichos que van á China uno se llama el **Nombre de Jesus** [sic] y el otro **Nuestra Señora de la Limpia Concepcion**.

Martes 5, hicieron plegaria por los navíos.

...

Octubre.

Noticia de nao de China.—Este día [Lunes 3] hubo noticia, que la nao de China llamada **Santo Cristo de Burgos**, que anda perdida, arribó á la Batavia.

Noviembre.

Nueva de nao de China.—Este día [Lunes 28] se ha dicho han visto por Sinaloa nao de China.

Diciembre.

Nao de China.—Viernes 2, entró nueva de nao de China por el puerto de la Navidad, y se tocó plegaria á las doce del día que entró la nueva, que fué de Caponeta, y de haber echado hombre en tierra, y que se llama la nao **Nuestra Señora del Rosario**: viene por general D. Francisco de Ardila [sic], y que van entrando los dos navíos del año de 1694.

Nao de China.—Jueves 15, se repicó á las cuatro de la tarde por estar amarrada la nao de China.

Pliego de China.—Domingo 18, entró el pliego de China con cajones.

Año de 1696.

Enero.

Provincial de la Compañía.—Domingo 8, se abrió el pliego de la Compañía de Jesus, y se halló electo provincial el padre Juan de Palacios.

Febrero.

Miércoles 29, fué el nuevo virey á hacer la visita de la cárcel, y echó algunos presos por deudas, y remató otros para China.

Marzo.

Soldados.

Sábado 3, encerraron los soldados para China.

Soldados.—Lunes 5, se fueron los soldados para China.

Forzados.—Miércoles 6 [sic], salieron como cincuenta hombres forzados para Filipinas.

Notificacion al señor arzobispo de Manila.—Jueves 8, notificaron al señor arzobispo de Manila, Dr. D. Diego Camacho, que se embarque para su arzobispado.

Ida del señor arzobispo de Manila.—Martes 13, por la tarde, salió el señor arzobispo de Manila para embarcarse en Acapulco.

...

Abril.

Ida de la nao de China.—*Martes 3, se tocó plegaria á las nueve del dia, por haber salido de Acapulco la nao de China á 22 de marzo de este año, en que va el señor arzobispo de Manila Dr. D. Diego Camacho y el señor obispo de Zebú D. Fr. Miguel Bayote [sic = Bayot], del orden de San Diego [sic] de Méjico.*

Junio.

Muerte.—*Domingo 3, murió el Lic. Diego Calderón, presbítero, ministro de la santa inquisicion. Escribió el diario antecedente desde el mes de febrero de 1675 hasta la partida antecedente.*

Octubre.

...

Pliegos.—*Domingo 7, entraron los pliegos, y en ellos la nueva de la muerte de la reina madre doña Mariana de Austria, que sucedió á 16 de mayo de este año, cerca de las doce de la noche, de enfermedad de un cangrio; tenia de edad sesenta y uno y cinco meses, fué hija, nieta y viznieta de emperadores, hermana del presente, mujer de Felipe IV, madre de nuestro rey Carlos II y de la emperatriz doña Margarita de Austria, primera mujer de su tio Leopoldo, emperador; lleváronla á enterar al Escorial el domingo siguiente, por la noche...*

Año de 1697.**Enero.**

Rogativa por la nao de China.—*Dicho día sábado [12], á las cinco y media de la tarde, se tocó á rogativa por la nao de China.*

Nao de China.—*Viernes 25, á las siete de la noche, se repicó porque vino nueva de haberse amarrado la nao de China.*

Diciembre.

Nao de China.—*A fines de este llegó á Acapulco la nao de China **San Francisco Javier**, y por su general D. Bernardo de Andaya.*

Año de 1698.

[Nothing relevant]

Año de 1699.**Enero.**

Pliego de la Compañía.—*Jueves 8, se abrió el pliego de la Compañía, y salió electo provincial el padre Francisco de Arteaga; preposito de la casa Profesa, el padre Juan de Palacios, que acabó de ser provincial; rector del colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo el padre Ambrosio Odon.*

Nao de China.—*Viernes 18, á las nueve del dia, se repicó por haber venido nueva del puerto de Acapulco de estar amarrada la nao de China: vinieron en ella los informes del arzobispo de Manila por los disturbios que el año pasado han tenido las religiones, sobre no querer reconocer al ordinario ni sujetarse á exámen para confesar,*

predicar y administrar, ni dejarse visitar como curas; vino en ella por alcalde de esta corte D. Alonso de Avella Fuertes.

Abril.

Rogativa por la nao de China.—Lunes 6, se tocó a rogativa por la nao de China que iba al puerto de Cabite.

...

Año de 1700.

Enero.

Nueva de nao de China.—Lunes 4, vino nueva de nao de China, y se tocó rogativa.

Nao de China amarrada.—Este día [Lunes 18] entre diez y once del día, se repicó por haber venido correo con nueva de estar amarrada la nao de China: vino en ella D. Juan de Ozaeta y Oro, oidor de Manila, por alcalde de corte de esta ciudad de Méjico.

...

Año de 1701.

Abril.

Viernes 1º, despues de las doce del día, se tocó á rogativa en todas las iglesias por la nao de China, que salió de Acapulco el día 27 de marzo por la tarde.

...

Año de 1702.

Enero.

Nao China amarrada.—Jueves 12, á las ocho del día, se repicó generalmente por haber venido la noche antecedente nueva de Acapulco de estar amarrada la nao de China, llamada **San Francisco**, en que vino por general D. Bernardo de Andaya, el cual habiendo desembarcado, murió; y en el discurso de la navegacion murieron mas de treinta personas: trae por nuevas, que murió el obispo D. Fr. Manuel Bayot, que lo era de Zebú, casi á mediodía el año pasado, y el oidor Maestres Borres.

Marzo.

Sábado 18, se ajustó el indulto de la nao de China en 145,713 pesos.

Abril.

Nao de China salió para Filipinas.—Martes 4, á las siete y media de la noche, se comenzó á tocar rogativa en la catedral y siguieron las demas iglesias hasta las ocho, por haber venido correo de Acapulco con nueva de haberse hecho á la vela la nao para Filipinas, el sábado 1º del corriente.

Junio.

Muerte del padre Vidal, de la Compañía.—Viernes 2, esta madrugada, á las cuatro, falleció en el colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo el padre José Vidal, religioso de la Compañía de Jesus, varon muy estimado por su gran virtud; murió de mas de ochenta años.

Sábado 3, vigilia de Pentecostés, despues de las diez del dia, se hizo el entierro del padre Vidal...

...

Año de 1703.

Enero.

Rogativa por la nao de China.—*Sábado 6, dia de la Epifania, a mas de la una y media del dia, se comenzo á tocar rogativa en la catedral, y siguieron las demas iglesias, por haber venido correo con nueva de nao de China, y que saltó gentil-hombre en el puerto de la Navidad: que en la navegacion murió á 25 de noviembre D. Fausto Cruzat, que habia sido gobernador de Filipinas, á donde fué el año de 168 [sic]; que tambien murió una hija suya.*

Provincial de la Compañía.—*Lunes 8, se abrió en la Compañía el segundo pliego de los tres que vinieron cuando vno nombrado el provincial actual, y en su conformidad es provincial el padre Ambrosio de Odon, que era actual rector del colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo, y por rector en su lugar el padre Diego Marin.*

Domingo 14... Anoche entró el gentil-hombre de China.

Nao de China.—*Este dia [Lunes 15], á las once y media, se repicó.. por haber venido nueva de Acapulco de haberse amarrado la nao de China **Nuestra Señora de Rosario**, de que vino por general D. Francisco de Arcocha.*

...

Marzo.

Ida de la nao de China.—*Jueves 29, á las nueve y media del dia, se comenzó á tocar á rogativa en la catedral y demas iglesias, por haber salido de Acapulco la nao de China para aquellas islas.*

...

Translation of the above excerpts

Year of 1665.

...

January.

On Thursday 8, the mail arrived from Colima with the news that on the 1st of this month it was learned there that around Christmas the galleon coming from the Philippines passed by the port of Navidad, and that the Sergeant Major, whom the [Viceroy] Count of Baños had sent to be employed overthere, had stepped ashore, that Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara, the former Governor of the Philippines is coming, as well as Licentiate Don Juan de Bolivar, a member of that Audiencia, who has been promoted to the Audiencia of Guadalajara. As of this date, the round of prayers began in the Cathedral and other churches.

On the 20th, the mail arrived from Acapulco with the news that the Philippine galleon had anchored in that port on the 13th, and that the reason for its arriving so late was that the winds had failed and that she came heavily laden.

...

April.

On the 25th, the name of Fr. Francisco Carbonel came out as Provincial of the Society of Jesus. He replaced Fr. Hernando Cabero.

...

November.

On the 24th, the news arrived that the Philippine galleon **San José**, which had left the town of Cavite on 26 June, had arrived at Acapulco, under the command of General Antonio Perez.¹

...

Year of 1666.

...

January.

News of the China galleon.—On Tuesday 26th came news from Colima that a Philippine galleon had been spotted on her way to Acapulco.

...

February.

China Galleon.—On Tuesday 9th at midday came the news that on the 4th the China galleon had anchored in Acapulco. Her general was Francisco Esteivar who remained in this kingdom (Don José de Zamora being general on the return voyage). Aboard her went two religious of Our Lady of Carmen, named Fr. Gabriel del Santísimo Sacramento and Fr. José de la Concepción, along with the following convicts: Isidro, the military policeman, Mendoza the senior guardsman, Sicardo the coalman, and Antonio Leal, plus other convicts who left [for] Acapulco on March 30th.

Death.—On Wednesday 10th died Dr. Don Diego de Céspedes, in this city of Mexico, his hometown. He was the principal of the Sodality of San Francisco [Xavier] (which owes a great part of the luster it enjoys today in the parish of Veracruz [in Mexico City] to his zeal and efforts);² he was also the dean of this holy metropolitan church. During his [final] illness, he requested the habit of the reformed Order of San Diego [sic]; he was buried in said convent as if he had been a religious.³

...

1 Ed. note: This is incorrect; the San José was the galleon that came in, and left, earlier that year; besides, the 1665 galleon was named Concepción and was very late (see HM4: 690-691, and below).

2 Ed. note: Another important contribution had been made by Fr. Sanvitores between 1660 and 1662.

3 Ed. note: A non-existent order. I think that San Diego is a misprint for San Francisco; in other words, he became a discalced Franciscan.

November.

News of the China galleon.—On Tuesday 23rd came the news that the China galleon had anchored. The last time she arrived so early was over 40 years ago.

...

Year of 1667.

...

March.

Departure of the China galleon.—On the 14th departed from Acapulco for the Philippines the galleon **San José**. Her general was Captain Pedro Rodriguez, because Antonio Perez, who brought her in 1665, has remained here. Twenty-one discaled Augustinian religious went aboard her.

...

Year of 1668.

...

January.

The patache.—On the 11th arrived at Acapulco the patache **San Diego**, that had left Cavite last year 1667, under command of Admiral Bartolomé Muñoz, and on the same day the news arrived at Mexico. The news that it brings is that the galleon **San José**, that left Acapulco for the Philippines last year, was becalmed for one month in sight of land, and the convicts on board tried to take over the galleon, whose pilot was Leandro Coello. The ringleader was a certain Sofia, a native of Mexico, where he had been part of the company that passed to the Philippines in 1663, and overthere he killed one man on purpose, and last year he had fled aboard the said galleon; now then, he went back overthere to pay for his crime, because they gave him the choking collar, and other punishments were given to his many accomplices. This galleon made port in that of San Jacinto in the Island of Ticao in the Philippines, on 13 July 1667.

There came aboard it Father Tomás de Cardeñoso and Father Diego Luis de San Victores, because when this patache was being outfitted to go to the Islands of the Ladrões, which are called Marianas now, to convert their inhabitants, the Governor of the Philippines, Don Diego de Salcedo, fearing that the galleon **Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro** that was being completed in Albay, might turn back and not make the voyage to this New Spain, decided, the better to secure the subsidy, to have this patache come to Acapulco, and then leave said Fathers at said Islands on the return voyage, because said Father San Victores, moved by zeal for the salvation of those souls, had exerted H.M. over the past few years, submitting a memorial about this and remitting reports from the archbishop of Manila, and from the Governor and from other persons who had been in said islands, as a result of which H.M. ordered the Governor to give him an outfit, and although he outfitted this patache for him, he did not give him anything because the royal treasury was short of funds. That is why he despatched it to this kingdom to the Viceroy, to whom said Father wrote from Acapulco for this rea-

son, and, after a meeting of the treasury took place to consider this case, it decided that there was no case, because the despatch did not come in the proper form—there being not even [a copy of] the decree, and no reference to it. Once the Father was told about this decision, he came to Mexico and, after various proceedings, another meeting decided that he should be given 10,000 pesos, after he presented bonds to the effect that the money would be repaid if H.M. did not approve. He was given said money after 20 backers offered [bonds of] 500 pesos each, and various persons gave him various sums. The Sodality of San [Francisco] Xavier, which is based in the parish of Veracruz, gave him rich ornaments and vessels for the altar. Licentiate Cristobal Vidal, a secular priest, gave him a lot of help also.¹

...
China galleon.—On the 23rd there arrived at the port of Acapulco the galleon **Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro** that was built in Albay, whence she departed on 27 August of last year, under the command of General José [rather Diego] de Arévalo, with Father Andrés de Ledesma, of the Society of Jesus, aboard as procurator to Rome.

February.

Auto-da-fé at Santo Domingo.—On Friday 3rd, a special auto-da-fé was celebrated at the convent of Santo Domingo, in which 11 prisoners were condemned, and among them a certain Fernando de Tolosa, who had been originally a blacksmith, and later was a surgeon, for having passed himself off as a minister of the holy tribunal [i.e. the Inquisition], and, in the church of the town of Ixmiquilpam he had installed a dais and he had interrupted the holy sacrifice of the mass in order to have an edict, supposedly written by him, read in his presence, in which he said that the holy tribunal had given him authority to absolve concubinages, as long as a certain sum was paid every year, and upon receiving same, he would say: “Do not accept a bribe, do not lose your right.” He was condemned to being whipped 200 times in this city and 200 more times in the town of Ixmiquilpam, and then expelled to the Philippine Islands.

In addition, Don Diego de Peñalosa, Governor of New Mexico, appeared in said auto, because he had let loose his tongue against some priests and some inquisitors, and for a few tirades that they interpreted as blasphemies. He appeared with his body (which he had very good) dressed with black velvet, his hair (which was his own and full length) very well combed, his stockings well creased, while his hand-ruffles made of lace from Flanders were so very large that it seemed that he had them made to order, without a cape or hat, but with a green candle in one hand; many thought it was a pity.

Earthquake.—On Saturday 11th, at about 4 p.m., there was a strong earthquake; it lasted one hour.

...
Earthquake.—Today at 6 p.m. there was an earthquake that lasted a long while.

1 Ed. note: The original documents were published in Vol. 4 of this series.

Earthquake.—Today also, at 8 p.m., there was another earthquake, and it was so strong that it caused much fear in the city.¹

...

March.

Comet.—On Monday 5th, there appeared a comet at 7 p.m., toward the west, in the shape of a sword. The star was not visible; it lasted until the 19th of the present month.

Death.—On Tuesday 13th, at 8 p.m., died Father Estevan de Aguilar of the Society of Jesus.

Departure of the patache.—On the 23rd, Good Friday, the patache **San Diego** departed Acapulco with Father San Victores and nine other Fathers on board, to leave them at the Mariana Islands and go on to the Philippines.

Departure of the China galleon.—On the 26th the flagship **Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro** departed for said Islands.

...

Beatification of St. Rose of Peru.—That on the 12th of February His Holiness [Pope Clement X] beatified Mother Rosa de Santa María...

...

Year of 1669.

January.

On the 6th came the news that the China galleon, the **Nuestra Señora de la Concepción**, had been spotted.

China galleon.—On Wednesday 13th, at one in the morning, came the news that the China galleon was then in port. She brings news that on 8 December 1667 the Archbishop of Manila, Dr. Don Miguel de Poblete, died; he had been dean of Mexico, school master in Puebla and Archbishop of Manila. They buried him with the palm and crown, as his purity deserved.

...

March.

On the 25th, the feast-day of the Anunciation of Our Lady, the China galleon sailed away, and it took four days for the mail to bring the news.

...

May.

Advice boat from Spain.—On Sunday 12th, in the morning, came the news to this city that the advice boat from Spain had arrived. It brings the following news that Don Juan de Austria and those of his retinue succeeded, on February 26th of this year, to have expelled from the court of Madrid Father Juan Everardo Nitardo of the Society of Jesus, the confessor of the Queen Mother, member of the Council of State, and Inquisitor General; and, in order to placate the minds, he was ordered to leave, and so

¹ Ed. note: These earthquakes were the ones that so impressed the Viceroy and the members of the treasury council to change their minds and favor Fr. Sanvitores with a grant of 10,000 pesos.

that he would leave with decorum, the Queen appointed him ambassador extraordinary to Germany or to the Roman court, but he selected to go to Rome.

...

Year of 1670.

...

December.

Two galleons from the Philippines.—During this month arrived two galleons from the Philippines: the flagship **Buen Socorro** and the almiranta **San Diego**. During the voyage, and during the month of October, Don Diego de Salcedo died, he who had been governor of those islands and was on his way back.

...

Year of 1671.

...

March.

China Galleon.—On the 18th, the flagship that came from the Philippines departed the port of Acapulco on her return voyage, and the almiranta **San Diego** stayed behind.

...

April.

On the 25th, the name of Father Andrés Cobián came out for Provincial of the Society of Jesus; he succeeded Father Valencia.

...

Year of 1672.

...

December.

Nun on a pilgrimage.—A foreign travelling nun, a native of Italy, whom they called the Pilgrim, of the Order of St. Francis, was in this city; it was said that she had made the vow to travel as a pilgrim for 33 years. She went on to Peru.¹

...

1 Ed. note: The year quoted here may be the only correct fact, as this nun was probably the same Polish woman, whose name was Sister Mariana Paulosca, who was given permission by the Queen Regent of Spain, as stated in her letter to the Governor of the Philippines, dated 9 June 1671, in which she says that she has issued a laissez-passer to her, that she had been on the road for 28 years, intent on completing her 33-year vow of pilgrimage around the world (ref. AGI Fil. 341, L7, pp. 280-281).

Year of 1673.

...

March.

Departure of the China galleon.—On Wednesday 1st came news from Acapulco that on the 27th of February the almiranta **San Diego** had departed for the Philippines.¹

...

May.

Advice boat [from Spain].—On Thursday 4th, the mail crate came in and the mail was opened by agreement. It brings the news that Father Everard [Nithard], confessor of the Queen Mother, Doña Mariana de Austria, Inquisitor General, who had been appointed Ambassador to Rome, died a short time after he had acquired the purple vestments of a Cardinal...

...

June.

Provincial of the Society.—On the 4th, Father Manuel de Arteaga became the new Provincial of the Society.

...

August.

Death.—On Thursday 31st died Father Pedro de Valencia of the Society, who had been Provincial.

...

Year of 1674.

January.—On January 17th, the feast-day of St. Antonio Abad, at 7 p.m. came the news that on the 15th of this month arrived the China galleon at the port of Acapulco.

Death of Quijo.—On Wednesday 28th died the Secretary Nicolas del Guijo. He was interred in the chapel of the clerks in San Augustin. He wrote a curious diary.²

...

August.

Death.—On this day [i.e. Monday 20th] died Father Manuel de Arteaga, Provincial of the Society of Jesus. On the 22nd, Father Francisco Jimenez became Provincial of the Society.

...

1 Ed. note: This is an error. The San Diego stayed behind in 1671, but left in 1672. The ship that left in 1673 was named San Antonio.

2 Ed. note: His brother Gregorio was the one who saw his diary published (see below).

Year of 1675.

...

March.

On Monday 4th, the soldiers departed for Acapulco. On this day, in the afternoon, the convicts were brought to the barracks.

On Wednesday 6th, 31 convicts, most of them Spaniards, came out to go to the Philippines, and they made their way along San Agustin Street.

...

Year of 1676.**January.**

On Thursday 16th came news about the China galleon, at 11 a.m., and that she had sailed past the port.

On Sunday 19th arrived the gentleman from China at 7 a.m., and he brings the news that Bishop José Millán de Poblete, the Bishop of New Segovia, had died on 25 June 1674; that a French Bishop is coming, who passed by way of Holland.¹

On Wednesday 22nd came the news that the galleon was anchored, and at 10 a.m. the bells were rung.

...

February.

On Wednesday 19, Ash Wednesday... Today came news that 17 enemy ships are in the South Sea; at midday a general meeting took place.

March.

On Wednesday 4th, the soldiers went to Acapulco, 96 men in all.

On Friday 6th, the convicts went out at 10 a.m., something like 50 men more or less.

...

August.

On Monday 10th, they buried Licentiate Gregorio del Guijo, a man made illustrious by his pen and wisdom...

...

Year of 1677.

...

January.

News about the China galleon.—On Sunday 10th, at 8:30 p.m., came news of the China galleon, and the bells called to prayers until 9:30 p.m.

...

1 Ed. note: This was Bishop Palu.

China galleon anchored.—On Friday 22nd came the news that the China galleon had anchored on the 17th, and the bells were rung.¹

...

On Monday 25th, a crier went around announcing that all those who might have committed crimes could be forgiven if they went to China [sic]² with 125 pesos in salary.

April.

On Saturday 3rd came the news at 4 p.m. that the China galleon had left on March 30th.

...

Year of 1678.

January.

China galleon.—On Monday 10th came the mail at 7 p.m. with the news of the China galleon, and there was confusion in the cathedral because they began to ring with the small bell, but soon that stopped and then they rang all bells, calling for prayers.

On Tuesday 11th came the mail from Colima with the news that the China galleon had sent a man ashore.

Death of the Governor.—Today [i.e. Monday 17th] during [afternoon] prayers, the gentleman from China came in, and he says that the Governor [de León] had died suddenly in a country-house at Manila...

China galleon anchored.—Today [i.e. Tuesday 25th] came the news that the China galleon had anchored, on the 21st of this month; the bells were rung at 4 p.m.

Flags for China.—On Wednesday 26th, the flags for China were displayed and that of the Governor's company. The Second Lieutenant who is the nephew of the Bishop of Cebu, Master Don fray Diego de Aguilar, marched along San Bernardo Street, and he placed on the flag the arms of the Governor, Don Juan Vargas, but His Excellency had them removed.

...

March.

Convicts.—On Tuesday 8th, the convicts for China came out, up to 40 men.

Today the Lord Bishop of Cebu came out for Acapulco.

On Monday 28th... **The Bishop of Cebu is not going to the Philippines.**—Today came the news from Acapulco that the Lord Bishop of Cebu is sick, and is not going to China.

...

1 Ed. note: This galleon had to be the Santa Rosa.

2 Ed. note: In this diary, as was the customary phrase in Mexico, the word China, used in this context, meant the Philippines.

April.

Departure of the China galleon without the Bishop of Cebu.—On Holy Monday, the 4th, came the news that the China galleon had sailed on March 31st, and that the Lord Bishop did not go, and remained in Taxco. The Governor, Don Juan de Vargas, did go.

...

December.

China galleon.—On Saturday 31st came news of the China galleon and the bells called to prayers.

Year of 1679.**January.**

The gentleman from China.—On Wednesday 4th came the gentleman from China with the letter pouch which he carried from the port of Navidad.

China galleon.—On Friday 13th, the bells were rung at 9 p.m. on account of the China galleon being anchored; it was the one that went from here and arrived at Cavite on 29th of November.

...

April.

On Tuesday 4th came news that the galleon had sailed for the Philippines on March 30th. Aboard her is Don Fernando Valenzuela. Her name is the galleon **San Antonio**.¹

...

Year of 1680.**January.**

News of the China galleon.—On Sunday 14th came news about the China galleon, at 9 a.m., from Colima. There was a letter from the Governor. The name **Santa Rosa** for this galleon was a lie; it is only known that a galleon was spotted on the 5th of this month.

On Thursday 18th... **Gentleman from China.**—Today at 2 p.m. came the gentleman from the China galleon, the **Santa Rosa**.

Death of Father Altamirano.—On Wednesday 13th died, at 8 p.m., Fr. Tomás Altamirano, Provincial of the Society of Jesus...

February.

Provincial of the Society.—On Friday 2nd, they opened the envelope of the Society, and Father Antonio Nuñez is the new Provincial.

¹ Ed. note: Aboard her also was Captain José de Quiroga, who was to spend the rest of his life in the Marianas. Don Fernando Valenzuela was the Marquis of San Bartolomé de los Pinales y de Villasierra, the former lover of Queen Mariana de Austria who lost out in the intrigue at court (along with Fr. Nithard) that was won by Don Juan de Austria, the uncle of the young King Charles II and the Captain of his guard (see also HM8:173).

...
 On Friday 9th, a decision was taken by the church government to place two iron safes in the hall of the municipal council, and to administer the tithes for the general and fabric finances through the hands of the prebendary, Don José Vidal, with a salary of 1,500 pesos.

March.

On Monday 4th, the soldiers for China came out, about 70 of them; 20 of them absented themselves after they had been paid.

On Ash Wednesday, the 6th, they brought out the convicts from jail.

On Thursday 7th, they took out up to about 60 convicts for China, and up to 20 men who were stripped of their chevrons. Don Frutos went with them [to guard them] as far as Cuernavaca.

On Friday 8th another convict came out for China; he was a religious applicant.¹

...

April.

The China galleon went off.—There came news that the China galleon had left Acapulco on March 29th for the Philippines, and that His Lordship, Don fray Diego de Aguilar was aboard.

September.

Provincial of the Society.—On Friday 20th, the envelope of the Society was opened, and Father Bernardo Pardo came out Provincial.

Bishops for the Philippines.—Two bishops come for the Philippines, one for Cenopoli, Don fray Juan Durán; the other for Troya, Don fray Ginés tBarrientos.

...

November.

Comet.—Today [i.e. Friday 15th] a comet was seen toward the East, that comes out at 4 in the morning.

December.

Comet.—On Monday 23rd, the comet that came out on 15 November of last year [rather month], was seen again toward the West, and it travels toward the North; it comes out at the time of evening prayers.

Year of 1681.

January.

China galleon.—On Sunday 12th came news about the China galleon at 7 p.m., and the bells called for prayers.

On Monday 20th, the gentleman from China came in.

On Monday 27th, in the afternoon, came news that the China galleon had anchored, and the bells were rung.

...

¹ Ed. note: He probably had been convicted of some minor religious crime by the Inquisition.

March.

On Tuesday 4th, the soldiers left for China.

On Saturday 8th, the convicts left.

April.

Departure of the China galleon.—On Wednesday in Holy Week, the 9th, the bells called to prayers for the China galleon that left the port of Acapulco on March 28th.

China Bishop.—His consecration.—On Sunday 13th, the first Sunday after Easter, the China bishop, Don fray Juan Antonio Durán, was consecrated bishop in the cathedral. His Lordship the Archbishop, Don fray Payo Enriquez de Rivera, consecrated him. His Excellency the Viceroy and the Vicequeen were present...

Year of 1682.**March.**

For Manila, the auxiliary Bishop, Don fray Juan Durán...¹

Soldiers.—The soldiers for China went off on Thursday 5th.

Convicts.—On Sunday 6th, the convicts for China left at 10 o'clock.

April.

China galleon.—On Wednesday 1st came the news that the China galleon had left, on Good Friday 28th of last month, and the bells called to prayers at 11 a.m.

...

Year of 1683.**September.**

Provincial of the Society.—The envelope of the Society was opened and Father Luis del Canto became Provincial.

Year of 1684.**January.**

China galleon.—Today [i.e. Wednesday 26th] at 8 p.m. came the news that the China galleon **San Telmo** had anchored, and the bells were rung.

On Thursday, at 9 a.m., the bells were rung for the other galleon, the flagship **Santa Rosa**.

...

¹ Ed. note: Bishop Durán, a member of the Order of Mercy, was auxiliary bishop to the Bishop of Cebu. He was favorable to the Jesuits and baptized some Chamorros when the galleon stopped at Guam, in 1682. Contrary to what is said in HM7:637, Bishop Barrientos had preceded him in 1681.

February.

Soldiers.—On Saturday 14th, 150 soldiers left for China.

This afternoon, Governor [blank]¹ left for Acapulco. Don Juan de Zalaeta, the warden of Acapulco is going as Visitor of China.² The man who will replace him as warden of Acapulco is Don Fabián de Ávila, who came as admiral from China. The new admiral is [blank] Cantabrana Junior.³

Convicts.—On Monday 13th, the convicts for China left, up to 40 men.

...

April.

Departure of the China galleons.—On Friday 7th, the bells called to prayers, because the two China galleons had left.

...

December.

China galleon.—On Thursday 14th came the news that the gentleman from the China galleon had stepped ashore.

China galleon.—On Friday 29th came the news that the China galleon had anchored, and the bells were rung at 9 a.m.

...

Year of 1685.

...

March.

Soldiers.—On Thursday 1st, the soldiers left for China, about 170 men, good people.

Convicts.—On Monday 5th, preceding Shrove Tuesday, the convicts left, about 36 men.

...

On Thursday 8th... this afternoon they took out two convicts for China.

...

April.

Departure of the China galleon.—On Thursday 6th came the news that the China galleon had left on the 27th of the previous month.

...

July.

On Sunday 1st the church of San Gregorio was opened, that of the college of the Society of Jesus.

...

1 Ed. note: His name was Curuzeláegui.

2 Ed. note: A visitor was an official inspector, or special prosecutor. The Jesuits had thought that this Zalaeta would become Governor of the Marianas.

3 Ed. note: The name Cantabrana is a misprint for de Fabra, I think.

October.

News from Tehuantepec.—Today [i.e. Saturday 20th] came news from Tehuantepec, to the effect that enemies landed from three ships, but that 200 of our men went out and they made them go elsewhere.¹

...

November.

News.—Today [i.e. Friday 2nd] came the news that the enemy was with 7 ships in sight of Acapulco.²

News.—[On Friday 16th] came the news that the enemy ships had gone from Acapulco.

News of enemies.—On Monday 19th came the news that enemy sails had been sighted along the coast of Colima, and the bells called to prayers.

On Tuesday 20th came news from the port of Navidad that two ships had been spotted.

News.—On Friday 23rd came the news that the previously-mentioned ships, that were seen off Navidad and Colima, are enemies.

News.—On Saturday 24st, at 8 a.m., came news from Acapulco that 4 enemy ships were in the entrance to the port; His Excellency was then at Los Remedios.

Death.—Tonight [i.e. Thursday 29th] the bells tolled at the College of San Pedro y San Pablo, on account of the death at Maninalco of Father Francisco de Vera, the rector of said college.

...

December.

News from Colima.—On Wednesday 12th came the news from the coast of Colima, to the effect that 4 enemy boats had landed men, and they had killed a local priest and some Spanish people.

News from Peru.—The ship that had brought quicksilver from Peru has left Acapulco.

Mail.—On Thursday 13th, at night, came the mail from La Laguna, with the news that enemies had been there, and that another large ship was seen in a different neighborhood, which is thought to be the China galleon.

China galleon.—On Tuesday 18th, the feast-day of Expectancy of Our Lady, came the mail from Acapulco (the viceroy being in Los Remedios) to the effect that the galleon had entered the port on Friday 14th of this month, and the bells were rung before the regular prayers. The news comes from Don Isidro Otondo, from 14 leagues from the port; and they landed a gentleman; said Don Antonio Otondo is the man that was sent with a letter from H.E. to the Californias with his two vessels to meet with the ship

1 Ed. note: Those were the ships of Captains Swan, Dampier and Townley (see Wycherley, p. 206).

2 Ed. note: Those were the men of Captain Townley in 12 canoes (see Wycherley, p. 208). They gave up when they saw that the Lima ship was anchored below the guns of Fort San Diego.

from China, and on November 28th he met her and came with her to protect her from the pirates who were next to Colima and Navidad.

Mail.—On Sunday 23rd came the mail to the effect that the China ship was in sight of the port of Acapulco, and that the gentleman is but two days' journeys from getting here. They say that in the Mariana Islands five Fathers of the Society were martyred, along with some 50 soldiers.

News that the China galleon has anchored.—On Tuesday 25th, Christmas Day, the gentleman from China arrived at noon; he reports that the Archbishop has been restituted to his see.

On Wednesday 26th, Boxing Day, came the news that the galleon **Santa Rosa** is anchored in the port. The Most Holy was uncovered during the procession, and mass, and the *Te Deum Laudamus* was sung during the procession and the ceremony ended before noon, with the bells pealing.

Year of 1686.

January.

On Thursday 17th, the patent for the new rector of San Pedro y San Pablo came to Father José Vidal, of the Society of Jesus.

February.

News from Acapulco.—On Monday 25th, preceding Shrove Tuesday, came the news that the enemy was 20 leagues from Acapulco, and they burned one of their ships and put its crew aboard the remaining four ships, and our people who had been prisoners were placed ashore.

March.

Soldiers.—On Wednesday 6th the soldiers for China left, over 100 or so, at 10 o'clock.

Convicts.—On Wednesday 13th, 30 convicts left for China.

...

July.

News from Acapulco.—Today [i.e. Friday 12th] at prayer time, news came from the port of Acapulco that one ship was in sight of it, that it was not known whether it were enemy or from Peru, and that look-outs had been sent to reconnoiter.

News from Acapulco.—On Wednesday 17th came news from Acapulco that the galleon that had been spotted was the ship bringing the fruits of the crusade, that she was already anchored in the port; her name is the **El Santo Rey Don Fernando**.¹

...

November.

News.—On Wednesday 27, news came of enemy in the South Sea.

...

¹ Ed. note: This ship was to be requisitioned 2 years later and sent to Manila.

Year of 1687.

...

April.

On Thursday 24th... they whipped the man who had stolen the [silver] lamp from Bethlehem, and they expelled him to China for the rest of his life, for he was very young.

...

December.

On Monday 29th, a rumor was spread about two China galleons on the coast.¹

Year of 1688.**January.**

News from Acapulco.—On said day, Thursday 15th, news came about the galleons from Acapulco, that had gone in search of the enemy, that they returned to port without any encounter with the enemy. It is said that they will leave again to go and meet the China galleon.

February.

News from Acapulco.—On Tuesday 17th came the news that the two ships that went to meet the China galleon have returned without having seen anything.

...

April.

Departure of the China galleon [sic].—On Monday 5th the bells called to prayers on account of the China galleon having left the port on March 31st.²

...

Year of 1689.**January.**

Gentleman from China.—On Monday 17, the gentleman from China came in, and he reports the news that two galleons are coming, but that only the almiranta [i.e. Pilar] has appeared, General Don [blank] Urquiza.³ The ship arrived with two exiled members of the Audiencia on board, as well as the old Governor, Don Juan de Vargas, and Don Juan Zalaeta who tried to make himself Governor.

News.—On Thursday 26th came the news that the China galleon had overshot Acapulco and was in Jicayan.

-
- 1 Ed. note: This was indeed a rumor, as no galleon came from Manila in 1687; she had to turn back.
 - 2 Ed. note: This was not a regular galleon, but the patache San Fernando sent by the Viceroy.
 - 3 Ed. note: This is the same man as the former Sergeant-Major Lucas Mateo Urquiza, acting as agent for Governor Esplana in the Philippines (HM8:380-381). The almiranta was the Pilar, and the flagship was the new galleon Santo Cristo de Burgos.

February.

News.—On Tuesday 1st came news from Tehuantepec, to the effect that they saw the China ship on that coast, on the 26th of last month.

News.—On Saturday 5th came the news of the flagship from China, and that she had landed people in Navidad.

News of the China galleon.—On Friday 11th came news from Soconusco that the galleon **Santa Rosa** [sic], from China, had anchored, and that she was taking on food in order to go to the port [of Acapulco].¹

Gentleman from China.—On Saturday 12th came in, at 2 p.m., the gentleman from the flagship galleon from China; he had stepped ashore with two others. He has brought many documents.

...

China galleon.—On Thursday 17th, at night, came news that the China galleon was anchored in the port of Acapulco, and there was a general pealing of bells.

News of the other China ship.—On Monday 28th came the news that the second China ship from Tehuantepec, to the effect that she was on her way to Acapulco.

March.

Soldiers.—On Monday 14th, 117 soldiers left for China, and they passed by the house of the Count of Monclova, so that he would see them.

They say that the almiranta from China made it into the port of Acapulco.

Convicts.—Today [i.e. Wednesday 16th] 46 convicts left.

China galleon.—On Thursday 17th, at 8 a.m., came certain news that the almiranta galleon from China was anchored in Acapulco.

April.

Departure of the China galleon.—On Wednesday of Holy Week, the 6th, came the news that the China galleon had left on March 31st; and the bells were rung.²

June.

On Thursday 23rd, the last soldiers left for Acapulco.

October.

Provincial of the Society.—On Sunday 23rd, the envelope of the Society was opened, and Father Ambrosio Odon became Provincial.³

December.

News of the China galleon.—On Tuesday 13th came the news of the China galleon, at 11 a.m., and the bells called to prayers.

On Wednesday 14th, they say that a man stepped ashore.

1 Ed. note: According to old maps, the port of Soconusco was beyond Tehuantepec, and perhaps corresponds to Puerto Arista today; I was there in 1973.

2 Ed. note: This was the flagship Santo Cristo alone; the Pilar remained until 1690, to make her fateful voyage.

3 Ed. note: He replaced Fr. Bernabé de Soto, whose appointment was not recorded by Robles under the year 1686.

Gentleman from China.—On Monday 19th, the gentleman from China came in at 5 p.m. He reports that Governor Don Gabriel de Crusalegui [sic] has died; that the Visitor, Don Francisco de Campos, the former Chief Justice of the city of Madrid when he came over, has become Governor; that Don Pedro Bolivar, member of the Audiencia, died suddenly; that the “Fairy”, Don Fernando Valenzuela, is coming.

China galleon.—On Friday 23rd, at 10 a.m., came the news that the China galleon was anchored, and the bells pealed all over [the city].

Year of 1690.

January.

Entrance of the Fairy.—On Monday 30th, Don Fernando Valenzuela came to see H.E. He was given a verbal order from H.M. that he is to live in Mexico and to speak about Your Lordship with him.

...

March.

Governor of China.—On Wednesday 1st, the China Governor, Don Fausto Cruzat y Góngora, left this city for his post, with five litters.

Soldiers.—On Thursday 2nd, the soldiers for China left.

Convicts.—On Saturday 4th, the convicts for China left, about 80 men and the little Marquis.¹

Departure of the China galleon.—On Sunday 26th came the news that the two China galleons had sailed on the Monday after Easter, the 20th of this month.

...

December.

News of the China galleon.—On Monday 4th, at 9 a.m., came news of the China galleon; she is named the **Santo Cristo de Burgos**, General Arocha. The gentleman had stepped ashore at the port of Navidad.

Death of the Archbishop of Manila.—Letters have come from China [sic], and they report that the small fleet, that of the **Santa Rosa**, was lost, and that the Archbishop, Don fray Felipe Pardo, of the Order of St. Dominic, has died.

China galleon.—On Saturday 18th, at 2 p.m., came news that the China galleon, the **Santo Cristo de Burgos**, had anchored, and the bells pealed all over.

...

Year of 1691.

March.

On Saturday 3rd, the flags for China were collected, in order to pay the soldiers.

Soldiers.—On Monday 5th, the soldiers for China left and the convicts were brought down to the park.

¹ Ed. note: This man could have been a young army officer and a relative of the former Viceroy, Marquis of Laguna.

Convicts.—On Wednesday 7th, the convicts for China left, up to 62 men, many of them from Spain.

Departure of the China galleon.—On said day, Thursday 29th, came news that the China galleon had sailed on the 24th of this month; the bells called to prayers at 9 in the evening.

...

China galleon.—On Wednesday 19th, at 10 p.m., news came of the China galleon; pealing of the bells started but it ended up with the prayer call.

They say that the general of the galleon is Antonio Nieto.¹

Gentleman from China.—On Friday 28th came the gentleman from China, and he reports that the former Governor of Manila died at sea during October; he was coming as a prisoner by order of the Commissioner of the Inquisition of Manila. He also says that all is quiet, in matters spiritual and profane, and that there is peace in all the islands and commerce.

China galleon.—On Sunday 30th, at noon, came the news that the China galleon had anchored, and the bells were rung all over.

Kick of a horse.—On this day [30th] a horse kicked the Fairy, Don Fernando Valenzuela, in the belly; they gave him 20 stitches.

Year of 1692.

January.

They gave extreme unction to the Fairy.—On Saturday 5th, they gave extreme unction to the fairy, Don Fernando Valenzuela, and he was unable to sign his testament. The witnesses signed it; the Viceroy, who assisted him, is the executor.

Death of Don Fernando Valenzuela.—On Monday 7th, at 9 in the evening, died Don Fernando Valenzuela, also known as the Fairy, and the bells tolled in all the convents; in that of San Agustin, with 25 rings of the bells, and in the cathedral the bells tolled officially at 6 in the morning.

On Tuesday 8th, they embalmed him, and they were to have buried him on that day, but there were so many people who came up to see him that the burial was postponed until the next day.

Burial of Valenzuela.—On Wednesday 9th, Don Fernando Valenzuela was buried (he who obtained the posts that are mentioned under 15 July 1677 in this diary). They took the body to the chapter hall at San Augustin, at 4 in the morning... The body was deposited in the chapel of the Flowers, in a box with four keys, in the cloister of said convent of San Augustin.

...

¹ Ed. note: This was the new galleon Rosario.

Flags for China.—Today [i.e. Tuesday 11th] they raised the flags for China.

1
...

Departure of the soldiers for China.—On Wednesday 5th, the soldiers for China left.

Convicts.—On Friday 7th, about 50 convicts left for China.

Imprisonment.—On Monday 27th [rather 17th] came the news that 29 convicts had fled.

Departure of the China galleon.—On Wednesday 26th, the bells called to prayers at 11 a.m., as the China galleon had sailed from Acapulco on the 21st of this month.

April.

Convicts and prisoners.—On Wednesday 2nd, at 1 o'clock, 17 convicts came in, from those who had fled when on the way to China.

Whipped.—Today [i.e. Saturday 12th] they whipped 12 men, from the convicts who had fled when on the way to China.

Whipped.—On Thursday 17th, they whipped five more of the said convicts.

Imprisonment.—Today [i.e. Monday 21st] three more of the said convicts for China were taken prisoners.

Whipping.—On Tuesday 22nd, they whipped them.

...

Year of 1693.

January.

Provincial of the Society.—On Thursday 8th, the envelope of the Society was opened, and Father Diego de Almonasir, the Master of novices at Tepozotlán, was elected Provincial.

...

Year of 1694.

January.

News from Acapulco.—On Monday 18th, came the news that a ship from Peru, loaded with wines and brandy, has arrived at Acapulco.

February.

China galleon announced.—On Wednesday 10th, the despatch of the China galleon was announced and it is the **San José** from Peru, because the galleon that was expected from Manila did not come. Don Andrés Arriola took it over.

March.

Convicts for China.—Today [i.e. on Monday 1st] 16 convicts left for China.

1 Ed. note: Some entries for January, March and April of this year did not appear in the proper sequence and the days of the week were incorrect for the months stated. Using a perpetual calendar, and some logic, I have corrected this problem below.

Departure of the China galleon.—On Tuesday 23rd, at 8:30 p.m., the bells called to prayers, because the China galleon named **San José** has sailed, on the very feast-day of its patron saint,¹ despatched by the Viceroy with part of the subsidy, because it has been two years that they do come from overthere. Don Andrés de Arriola, the Sergeant-Major of Veracruz, is going as commander.

...

December.

China galleon.—On Saturday 11th came the news of the China galleon, which passed by Colima with a wind, showing two flags; and the bells called for public prayers at 1 p.m.

News of the enemy.—On Wednesday 29th came news from Acapulco that enemy galleons had been seen; a general meeting took place at the hour of prayer.

Year of 1695.

January.

Mail from Acapulco.—On Saturday 8th came the mail from Acapulco with the news that a boat went out with 50 men to check the sea, and an enemy ship was spotted with 50 guns.

February.

China galleon.—Tonight at 7 p.m. came the mail from the China galleon, with the news that a patache was in sight of the port of Acapulco, and it is the same [sic] that left on 19 March of last year with Don Andrés de Arriola. He has now returned with it, after [only] 11 months, which has been a great success. The long delay since it was first spotted off Colima last December 11th until now is because he overshot to the coasts of Quayaquil [in Ecuador]. It brings very bad news, to the effect that the two ships of the years 1692 and 1693 were lost,² and over 300 persons were drowned in one ship alone. [José] Madrazo was her general, and the general of the other was Don Fernando Yangués, who was drowned.

Gentleman from China.—On Friday 18th came the gentleman from the China galleon, and the bells were rung. He confirms the loss of two ships, the **San José** and the **Santo Cristo de Burgos** of the year 1693, which does not appear; that Don fray Diego de Aguilar, Bishop of Cebu, of the Order of St. Dominic, has died; that there have been great debates between the prebendaries of the Church of Manila and the Bishop of Troya, Don fray Ginés de Barrientos, of the Order of St. Dominic, who was auxiliar bishop to the late archbishop, Don fray Felipe Pardo...

1 Ed. note: That is, on St. Joseph's Day, March 19th.

2 Ed. note: The galleon Santo Cristo turned back to the Philippines in 1692, and disappeared in the North Pacific in 1693.

[Discovery of Marcus Island]

Those who came in this ship from China discovered a new island where there is water and meat.¹

March.

Convicts.—Today [i.e. Friday 11th] 30 convicts and the soldiers left at 8 a.m.

April.

Departure of the China galleons.—On Easter Sunday, the 3rd, [news was received that] the two ships for China sailed on March 25th. The said ships that are going to China have the following names: one is the **Nombre de Jesús** [sic] and the other is the **Nuestra Señora de la Limpia Concepción**.²

On Tuesday 5th, the bells were rung to call for public prayer for the ships.

...

October.

News of the China galleon.—Today [i.e. Monday 3rd] news was received that the China galleon named **Santo Cristo de Burgos**, which was thought to be lost, had turned back to Batavia.³

November.

News of the China galleon.—Today [i.e. Monday 28th] it was said that the China galleon had been spotted off Sinaloa.

December.

China galleon.—On Friday 2nd came news of the China galleon off the port of Navidad, and the bells called for prayers at noon, which was the time that the news arrived. This news comes from Caponeta; they have apparently placed a man ashore, and the name of the galleon is the **Nuestra Señora del Rosario**, and she is commanded by General Francisco de Ardila,⁴ and that the two ships of 1694 were seen as they were arriving.

China galleon.—On Thursday 15th the bells were rung at 4 p.m. because the China galleon had anchored.

Mail from China.—On Sunday 18th came the mail from China in crates.

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1694A for the discovery of Marcus Island by Arriola. The water came from shallow wells and the meat from booby birds nesting on this island.

2 Ed. note: In the first case, this was certainly the same as the patache properly named **San José y la Bendición (de Dios)** (see Doc. 1695F) which was sold upon arrival at Manila, and in the second case, if Robles is to be believed, the **Nuestra Señora de la Concepción** was the same as the boat in which Arriola had returned from Manila (see Doc. 1695G).

3 Ed. note: This news was but a false rumor.

4 Ed. note: His name is incorrectly given as Ardilla in B&R 42:204. He had been Master-of-camp by interim before 1678.

Year of 1696.

January.

Provincial of the Society.—On Sunday 8th, the envelope of the Society of Jesus was opened and it was revealed that Father Juan de Palacios had been elected Provincial.

February.

On Wednesday 29th, the new Viceroy went to inspect the jail, and he let go a few prisoners who were there for non payment of debts, and he converted the penalty of others to exile to China.

March.

Soldiers.

On Saturday 3rd, they locked up the soldiers for China.

Soldiers.—On Monday 5th, the soldiers left for China.

Convicts.—On Wednesday 6th [sic], about 50 convicted men left for the Philippines.¹

Notification sent to the Archbishop of Manila.—On Thursday 8th, they notified the Archbishop of Manila, Dr. Diego Camacho, that he is to embark for his see.

Departure of the Archbishop of Manila.—On Tuesday 13th, in the afternoon, the Archbishop of Manila left to go to Acapulco to embark.

...

April.

Departure of the China galleon.—On Tuesday 3rd, the bells called to prayer at 9 a.m., because the China galleon sailed from Acapulco on March 22nd of this year. Aboard her is the Archbishop of Manila, Dr. Diego Camacho, and the Bishop of Cebu, Fray Miguel Bayot, of the Order of San Diego of Mexico.²

June.

Death.—On Sunday 3rd, died the Licenciado Diego Calderón, priest, minister of the holy Inquisition. He wrote the preceding diary, from the month of February 1675 until the previous entry.

October.

The mail.—On Sunday 7th, the mail came in, and with it came the news of the death of the Queen Mother, Doña Mariana de Austria, that occurred on 16 May of this year, at about midnight, from illness due to cancer. She was 61 years and 5 months old, and had been daughter, grand-daughter, and great-grand-daughter of emperors, sister of the present one, wife of Philip IV, mother of our King Charles II and of the Empress Doña Margarita de Austria, and the first wife of her uncle, the Emperor Leopold. They took her to be buried at the Escorial the following Sunday, during the night...

1 Ed. note: Among them were six men condemned by the Inquisition (see Doc. 1696C).

2 Ed. note: Since it is known for a fact that Bayot was a disalced Franciscan, i.e O.S.F. (see B&R 42:45), the word Diego here (and elsewhere in this Diary) should be changed to Francisco.

Year of 1697.

January.

Prayers for the China galleon.—On said day, Saturday [12th], at 5:30 p.m., the bells called to prayers for the China galleon.

China galleon.—On Friday 25th, at 7 p.m., the bells were rung because there came news that the China galleon had anchored.

December.

China galleon.—At the end of this month, the China galleon named **San Francisco Xavier** arrived at Acapulco, and Don Bernardo de Endaya is her general.

Year of 1698.

[Nothing relevant to the Pacific.]

Year of 1699.

January.

The envelope of the Society.—On Thursday 8th, the envelope of the Society was opened, and Father Francisco de Arteaga's name came out as Provincial; as Superior of the Profess House is Father Juan de Palacios, who just finished his term as Provincial; as Rector of the College of San Pedro y San Pablo is Father Ambrosio Odon.

China galleon.—On Friday 18th, at 9 a.m., the bells were rung because news has come from the port of Acapulco that the China galleon has anchored. Aboard her came the reports from the Archbishop of Manila about the disturbances that the Orders have caused last year, when they did not want to recognize the regular bishops nor subject themselves to examinations in order to confess, preach and administer [the sacraments], nor let themselves be visited as parish priests. Don Alonso de Avella Fuertes came to become mayor of this court.

April.

Prayers for the China galleon.—On Monday 6th, the bells called to prayers for the China galleon that was going to the port of Cavite.

...

Year of 1700.

January.

News of the China galleon.—On Monday 4th, came news of the China galleon, and the bells called to prayers.

China galleon anchored.—Today [i.e. Monday 18th], between 10 and 11 a.m., the bells were rung because the mail has come with the news that the China galleon was anchored. Aboard her was Don Juan de Ozaeta y Oro, member of the Audiencia of Manila, to become Chief Justice at this city of Mexico.

...

Year of 1701.**April.**

On Friday 1st, after noon, the bells called to prayers in all the churches on account of the China galleon, that sailed from Acapulco on March 27th in the afternoon.

...

Year of 1702.**January.**

China galleon anchored.—On Thursday 12th, at 8 a.m., the bells ran all over because on the previous evening news had come from Acapulco that the China galleon named **San Francisco** [Xavier] was anchored. Her general was Don Bernardo de Endaya, but as soon as he stepped ashore, he died. During the course of the navigation, over 30 persons died. She brings the news that the Bishop of Cebu, Fray Manuel Bayot, has died, at almost noon last year, as well as the Audiencia member Maestres Borres.¹

March.

On Saturday 18th, the exemption for the China galleon was adjusted at 145,713 pesos.

April.

The China galleon left for the Philippines. On Tuesday 4th, at 7:30 p.m., the bells of the cathedral began to call to prayers and the other churches followed suit until 8 p.m., because mail had come from Acapulco with the news that the galleon had sailed for the Philippines on Saturday 1st of the present month.

June.

Death of Father Vidal, of the Society.—On Friday 2nd, this morning at 4 a.m., Father José Vidal, religious of the Society of Jesus, died at the College of San Pedro y San Pablo. He was a very esteemed man on account of his great virtue; he died being over 80 years old.

On Saturday 3rd, on the eve of Pentecost, after 10 in the morning, Father Vidal was buried...

...

Year of 1703.

January.—On Saturday 6th, Epiphany, shortly after 1:30 p.m., the bells of the cathedral began a call to prayers, and the other churches followed suit, because mail had come with news of the China galleon, and that her gentleman had stepped ashore at the port of Navidad; that during the voyage, Don Fausto Cruzat died, he who had been Governor of the Philippines, and gone there in the year 168 [sic, rather 1690]; a daughter of his has also died.²

1 Ed. note: The name of the latter seems to have been misprinted.

2 Ed. note: Governor Cruzat died on 5 November 1702 and his younger daughter, Teresa, on 12 December (B&R 42:312).

Provincial of the Society.—On Monday 8th, the second of three envelopes that came when the present provincial was named was opened at the Society, and in accordance with it, Father Ambrosio de Odon, who was the present Rector of the College of San Pedro y San Pablo, became Provincial, and in his place as Rector, Father Diego Marín.

On Sunday 14th... Last night the gentleman from China came in.

China galleon.—Today [i.e. Monday 15th], at 1:30 p.m., the bells were rung because news came from Acapulco that the China galleon named **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** has anchored, and that Don Francisco de Arcocha came as her general.

...

March.

Departure of the China galleon.—On Thursday 29th, at 9:30 a.m., the bells of the cathedral and of the other churches began to ring, because the China galleon has sailed from Acapulco for those islands.

...

[See the appendix for more information about Manila galleons, for the period up to 1741.]

Document 1704A

The charter of a Portuguese patache sent to the Marianas in 1704

Source: AGI Ultramar 561.

*Note: The name of this patache is stated as the **Rosario** of Macao in the inspection papers that preceded its charter; elsewhere, in the papers that followed the shipwreck, it is said that her full name was *Nuestra Señora del Rosario* (a common name then), and its owner was a Captain Pedro Vaz de Sequeira of Macao.*

Decision to charter a Portuguese patache

Original text in Spanish.

Decreto.—Manila y Abril doce de mil setecientos y cuatro.

Despachase vagel à las Islas Marianas, en conformidad y cumplimiento de la real cédula inserta en estos autos, en atencion tambien à no haberse podido despachar el año de setecientos y dos, aunque hizo instancia la parte de la sagrada religion de la Compañia de Jesus y haber arrivado y padecido naufragio el que se despacho el siguiente y tres, y respecto de no haberlo de cuenta de S.M. se solicite por los juezes Oficiales Reales el fletar el que proponen en su informe de nueve del corriente, y estar reconocido y aprobado para este viage con algun aderezo como consta por carta del Castellano de Cavite de diez de el, cargando sus costos à los efectos que S.M. tiene destinados para el avio y despacho de este vagel.

Zabalburu.

Translation.

Decree.—Manila, 12 April 1704.

Let a vessel be despatched to the Mariana Islands, in conformity and compliance with the royal decree inserted in this record,¹ and also in view of the fact that none could

¹ Ed. note: See Doc. 1687Q.

be despatched in the year 1702, despite a request presented by the sacred Order of the Society of Jesus, and the fact that the one despatched the following year 1703 turned back and suffered a shipwreck.¹ Given that His Majesty has no vessel available, the Royal officials are requested to charter the one which they have recommended in their report of 9th instant, and have it surveyed and approved for this voyage after some repairs, as stated in the letter from the Warden of Cavite of 10th instant, charging such expenses to the account of H.M. under outfitting and despatching of said vessel.²

Zabalburu.

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1703B.

2 Ed. note: The high risk of a voyage to the Marianas had been foreseen by the Portuguese concerned, who asked to have their stake secured, and other tax-free benefits, in exchange for their collaboration.

Document 1704B

The purchase of the patache San José that visited Guam in 1697

Source: AGI Fil. 332, libro 11, fol. 73v-74v, pp. 213-216.

Note: This so-called patache of 200 tons seems to have been purchased circa 1695, as it crossed from Manila to Acapulco in 1696, and returned in 1697. It was condemned in 1700.

Letter from the King to the Audiencia, dated Trujillo 7 July 1704

Original text in Spanish.

*A la Audiencia de Manila ejecute lo que se lo ordena sobre la compra de un patache nombrado **San Joseph** en que fue lesa la real hacienda.*

El Rey

El Presidente y hohidores [sic] de mi Audiencia Real de la Ciudad de Manila en Philipinas

*Don Domingo de Zabalburu mi Governador y Capitan General de esas Islas y Presidente de esa Audiencia, en carta de 30 de Mayo del año pasado de 1702 avisa haver obedezido el despacho en que se aprovo à su antezesor la compra que hizo en 34,351 pesos de un patache nombrado **San Joseph** de porte de 200 toneladas que hera de Don Juan de Garaicochea; y que por hallarse con notizia de haver sido lessa la Real hazienda gravemente en el ajuste paso ha hazerse diferentes diligenzias, y haviendose abreguado [=averiguado] que el valor del vagel solo pudo haver importado haziendose legitimamente hasta en cantidad de 17,000 pesos por ser interesados en el Don Thomas de Endaya con Don Juan de Garaycochea se havia hecho la abaluzion a contemplazion de estos sin atender a que por haver hecho un viage à los Reynos immediatos à esas Islas estava maltratado de forma que para executarle à la Nueva España se gastaron 19,965 pesos y luego que bolbio se hecho al traves y el año de 1700 le havian [d]esguazado ó desquartelado para aprovecharse del sin que los Ofiziales Reales hubiesen venido intervencion alguna y remite los autos de todo lo expresado.*

Y visto en mi Consejo de las Indias con lo que dijo el fiscal ha parecido ordenaros mandeis dar vista de autos y de lo que seos informa al fiscal de esa Audiencia que pida lo combeniente dirigiendo la de[sc]izion contra Don Thomas de Endaya y Don Juan de Garaycochea estando en quenta de que de lo que se determinare en la primera instancia haveis de otorgar la suplica ó apelazion para mi Consejo de las Indias y remitiendo los autos originales quedandoos con traslado de ellos y citadas las partes con señalamiento de estrados y respecto de haverse entendido que Don Juan de Garaycochea assiste en la N^a Esp^a seos advierte se da orden al fiscal de la Audiencia de Mexico para que se le aperciva y cite à que otorgue poder ó comparezca en esa ciudad à el seguimiento y determinazion de esta causa, y que si otorgare poder lo recoja y remita à esa Audiencia y de lo que resultare me dareis quenta.

Fha en Truxillo à 7 de Julio de 1704.

Yo el Rey

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Señalado del Consejo.

Translation.

To the Audiencia of Manila for it to carry out their orders regarding the purchase of a patache named **San José** in which the Royal treasury was cheated.

The King

[To] the President and Members of my Royal Audiencia of the City of Manila in the Philippines.

Don Domingo de Zabalburu, my Governor and Captain General of those Islands and President of that Audiencia, in a letter dated 30 May of the past year 1702, reports having obeyed the despatch in which was approved the purchase made by his predecessor for 34,351 pesos of a patache named **San José** with a capacity of 200 tons that belonged to Don Juan de Garaicochea. Then, having found out that the Royal treasury had been seriously cheated in the settlement, he made various inquiries, and, having discovered that the value of the vessel could only have been worth at most 17,000 pesos, with a legitimate assessment, but that Don Thomas de Endaya was in collusion with Don Juan de Garaycochea and the evaluation was made for their benefit, without due regard for the fact that it had already made one voyage to Kingdoms neighboring those Islands, that it needed repairs, so that it became necessary to spend 19,965 pesos in repairing it. Then, upon its return it was again overhauled, and in the year 1700 they had dismantled it to salvage it, without the Royal officials being involved in any way, and he remitted the records of proceedings in the matter.

This matter having been seen in my Council of the Indies, along with the opinion of the Fiscal, I have decided to order you to have a review of the records done by the Fiscal of that Audiencia, for him to recommend a proper legal action against Don Thomas de Endaya and Don Juan de Garaycochea; then, once you have learned of the sentence brought in first instance, you are to grant a request for an appeal before my

Council of the Indies, and forwarding the original copies of the records, you may remain with transcriptions thereof, and having brought subpoenas against said parties, given that it is understood that Don Juan de Garaycochea now lives in New Spain, you are advised to order the Fiscal of the Audiencia of Mexico to summon him, or his attorney, to appear in that city for the continuation and determination of this case, but if he gives a power-of-attorney, this document is to be collected and sent to that Audiencia. You are to report on any follow-up action.

Made at Trujillo, 7 July 1704.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Countersigned by the Council.

Documents 1704C

The King does not agree with the costs of a new 800-ton galleon

Source: AGI Fil. 332, libro 11, fol. 96v-99v, pp. 260-266.

Note: The name of this new ship is not given. It is not obvious which one it could be, as the next new galleon was the Encarnación that made her first voyage to Acapulco only in 1707. I conclude that the project was modified to fully refit the San Francisco Xavier and to build the two war frigates mentioned in Doc. 1703C.

C1. Letter to the Governor of the Philippines, dated Madrid 21 December 1704

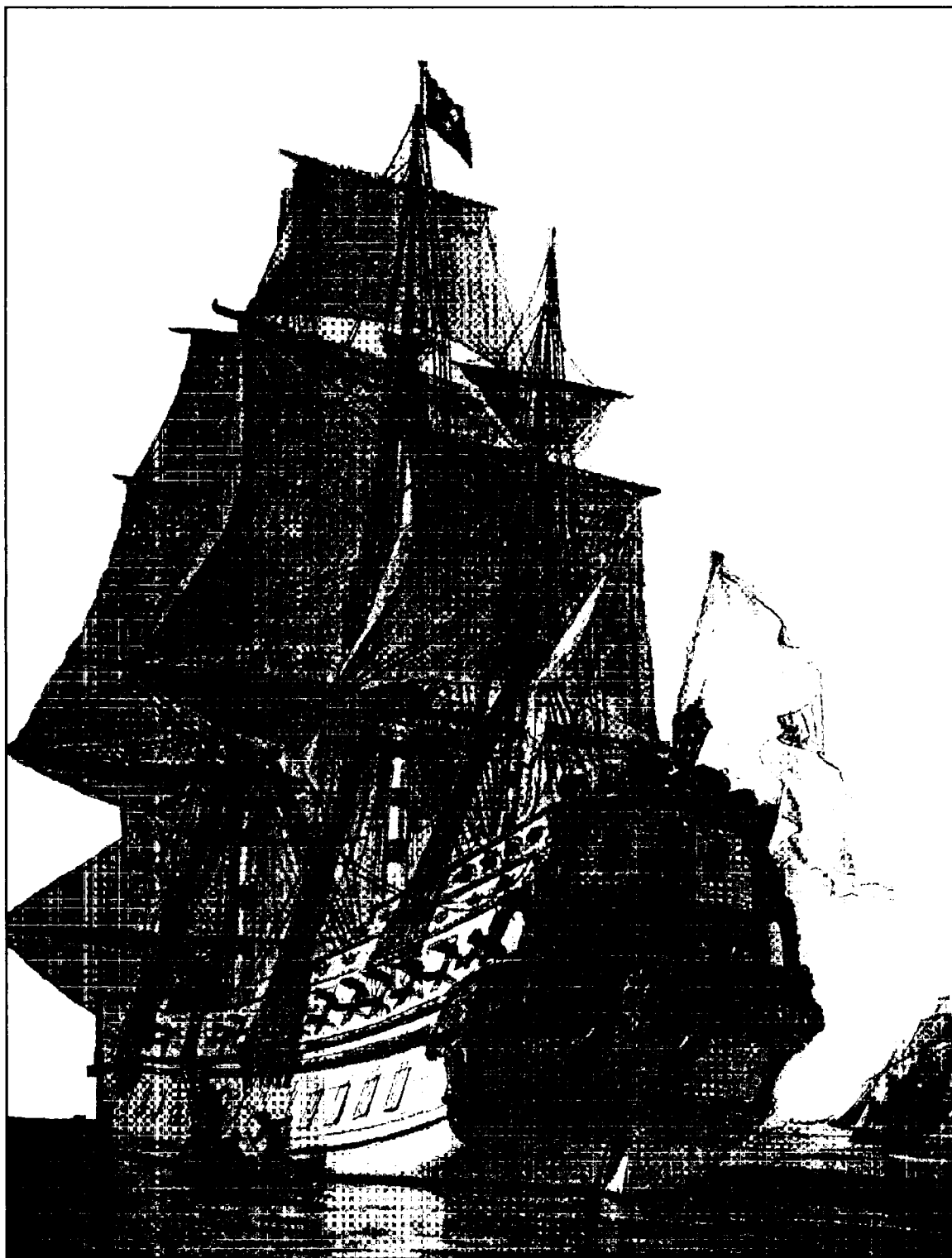
Original text in Spanish.

Al Governador de Philipinas desaprobándole lo obrado en la fabrica de un Galeon de 800 toneladas, y que ejecute lo demas que se le ordena.

El Rey

Maestro de Campo Don Domingo de Zabalburu Cavallero del orden de Santiago mi Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas y Presidente de la Audiencia de Manila.

*En cartas de 25 de Mayo, y 7 de Junio del año pasado de 1702 expresais que al tiempo que entrasteis en esa Ciudad hallasteis gran falta de vageles para el resguar[r]do de esas Islas y navegacion a la N^a Esp^a a cuyo fin estaban destinados los dos Galeones **San Francisco Xavier**, y **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** de los quales el Javier estava en la N^a Esp^a y el Rosario le haviais puesto en carena en el Puerto de Bagatao, y que por ser ambos vageles muy viejos, y trabajados en los viages haviais determinado la fabrica de otro Galeon y de dos pataches de a veinte cañones para el resguardo de esas Islas y viage a las Marianas corriendo la fabrica tambien en el Puerto de Bagatao por la mayor comodedad de maderas y aorro de mi Real Hazienda y combeniencia de los Indios de aquellas Provincias y alivio de los de la de Cavite que es el Puerto destinado para las fabricas y que discurriendo en el porte del vagel haviais tomado resolucion con parecer de Junta de Ministros y hizisteis combocar que fuese de 800 toneladas considerada la*



The new 800-ton galleon of 1703 may have looked like this. *In fact, it was the galleon San Francisco Xavier refitted to carry 60 guns at Bagatao. It became lost in the Pacific in 1705, probably on the coast of Oregon.*

navegacion de esas Islas à Acapulco a que teniais dado principio habiendo encargado su fabrica a dos Indios los mas inteligentes en esa facultad.

Y visto en mi Consejo de las Indias habiendo oydo al fiscal ha parecido deziros ha sido de mi desagrado todo lo que por vuestra parte y de los Ministros que concurrieron en las Juntas se obró tocante al Buque del Vagel de 800 toneladas habiendo os tornado arvitrio para exceder de lo que con tanta deliveracion esta acordado y lo desapruexo por haver faltado a vuestra obligacion en no haver ejecutado lo resto y hecho la fabrica de esta Nao de mayor Buque que el que os esta mandado perjudicando en ello al comercio de esas Islas pues en teniendo ordenes tan claras y expresas no se ofrezca materia de duda que motive a hacer Juntas para arbitrar ni desviarse un punto de su observancia devajo de cuya inteligencia me dareis quenta y noticia distinta del costo que ha tenido este vagel pasando desde luego como os lo ordeno a dar principio a la fabrica de las Naos de a 500 toneladas que tengo resuelto para que se de pronpta ejecucion a todo lo demas que conduze al comercio de esas Islas con la N^a Esp^a teniendo entendido que el Navio de 800 toneladas que avisais se quedava fabricando ha de venir solo a la N^a Esp^a mientras no se fabricaren los dos respecto de exceder del Buque de las 500 que se os ha prescripto para los dos que han de haçer este viage guardando todo lo demas que abreis entendido cerca de esta materia como es mi voluntad.

Fha en Madrid a 21 de Diziembrte de 1704.

Yo el Rey

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Señalado del Consejo.

Translation.

To the Governor of the Philippines disapproving what he did regarding the construction of a galleon of 800 tons, and he is to comply with other orders given him.

The King

[To] Master-of-camp Don Domingo de Zabalburu, Knight of the Order of St. James, my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of the Audiencia of Manila.

In letters dated 25 May, and 7 June, of the past year 1702, you mentioned that when you entered that City you found a great lack of vessels for the defence of those Islands and the navigation to New Spain, to whose purpose were destined the two galleons **San Francisco Xavier** and **Nuestra Señora del Rosario**, at which time the Xavier was in New Spain and that you had left the Rosario at Bagatao for careening,¹ and that because both vessels were very old and worn-out as a result of the voyages, you had

1 Ed. note: It was the other way around; the Xavier was being refitted to carry 60 guns, and the Rosario was then on the way from New Spain.

decided to build another galleon and two pataches to carry 20 guns **each** for the defence of those Islands and the voyage to the Marianas, to be built also in the port of Bagatao for greater access to timber and saving of my royal treasury and greater convenience for the Indians of those Provinces and the relief of those of Cavite which is the port earmarked for shipbuilding, and that you had discussed the capacity of the vessel in a ministerial meeting where it was decided that it be of 800 tons,¹ considering the navigation of those Islands to Acapulco, and that you had started on this construction, having entrusted its construction to two Indians from among the most knowledgeable in that type of work.²

And this having been seen in my Council of the Indies, and having heard the opinion of the fiscal, it was decided to tell you that I have been displeased by everything you and the Ministers who took part in the meetings have done regarding the ship with a capacity of 800 tons, because you have deliberately twisted the regulations, arrived at after so many deliberations. I disapprove of your decision because you have failed in your obligation in not having carried out the rest, and pursued the construction of this galleon of greater capacity than is ordered, thus damaging the trade of those Islands. Indeed, you had such clear orders that they left no room for doubt that might provide you with a reason for convening meetings to decide the point, or deviate from their strict observance. Based on this intelligence, you are to report to me and give me a detailed list of expenditures made in the construction of this vessel, and you are of course to start building galleons of 500 tons in accordance with the regulations and you are to obey promptly all the others that deal with the commerce of those Islands with New Spain. Besides, you are to keep in mind that the 800-ton ship, which you said was being built, must be kept only for the run to New Spain, meanwhile the other two with a capacity of 500 tons are being built to make this voyage, as I have prescribed to you, and please obey everything else that you have been told regarding this matter, as such is my will.

Made at Madrid, 21 December 1704.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord, Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Countersigned by the Council.

-
- 1 Ed. note: A ship of 800-ton capacity was considered a large ship in Europe in 1700. Regulations then in effect forbid galleons larger than 500 tons. However, in the important decree of 1720 (Doc. 1720E), the Philippines were allowed to run two galleons of 500 tons; they ignored this restriction as well and continued to use but one, forever larger ship.
 - 2 Ed. note: There was not one European master shipbuilder in the whole of the Philippines at that time, ever since Thomas de Endaya took over the supervision of all shipbuilding activities (ostensibly to save money to the King). The master craftsmen were all Filipinos, something that must have appeared very strange when seen from Madrid.

C2. Letter to the Royal Officials, dated Madrid 21 December 1704

Original text in Spanish.

A los ofiziales Reales de Philipinas que imformen segun se les ordena sobre un galeon de 800 toneladas que se quedava fabricando en Bagatao.

El Rey

Ofiziales de mi Real Hazienda de las Islas Philipinas.

Por Don Domingo de Zabalzuru, mi Governador y Capitan general de ellas se ha entendido que por la gran falta que halló de Galeones para su resguardo, y navegacion à la N^a Esp^a havia tomado resolucion con parecer de Junta de Ministros que formo de fabricar un Galeon en el Puerto de Bagatao por la mayor conmodidad de maderas y ahorro de mi Real hazienda combeniencia de los Indios y de porte de 800 toneladas.

Y como quiera que visto en mi Consejo de las Indias se hallo no expresar las personas por cuiã mano se havian de destribuir librar, y satisfacer las cantidades del gasto de esta fabrica y que huviesen de tener la quenta de mi Real hazienda asi para que no huviese dispendios, como para que se supiese a punto fijo el mayor ahorro que ay en que se hiziese esta fabrica en Bagatao, y no en Cavite; ha parecido mandaros (como lo hago) que en la primera ocasion me ynformeis y deis quenta de todo y del gasto de este vagel con toda claridad, y distincion que asi es mi voluntad.

Fha en Madrid 21 de Diziembre de 1704.

Yo el Rey

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Señalado del Consejo.

Translation.

To the Royal Officials in the Philippines, for them to inform according to their orders regarding a galleon of 800 tons that was being built at Bagatao.

The King

[To the] Officials of my Royal Treasury in the Philippine Islands.

Through Don Domingo de Zabalburu, my Governor and their Captain General, it was learned that, on account of the great lack of galleons that he found for their defence, and the navigation to New Spain, he had taken the decision, after holding a meeting of the Ministers, to build a galleon in the port of Bagatao, on account of the easier access to timber and greater saving in my Royal treasury and convenience for the Indians, and of a capacity of 800 tons.

And as this matter was seen in my Council of the Indies, it was found wanting, as there was no mention of the persons in whose hands the sums of money for this construction were to be channelled and accounted for, and who should keep the accounts of my royal funds, not only to make sure there would be no waste, but also to learn exactly the amount of this greater saving that would supposedly result in building it at

Bagatao, rather than at Cavite; consequently, it was decided to order you (as I do now) to inform me at the first opportunity and to give me a report about everything and about the expenditures for this vessel, with a detailed and clear statement of all expenditures made, as such is my will.

Made at Madrid on 21 December 1704.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord, Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Countersigned by the Council.

C3. Letter to Accountant Juan Antonio Ibarra, dated Madrid 21 December 1704

Original text in Spanish.

A Don Juan Antonio Ibarra Contador de Quantas de las Islas Philipinas que informe y ajuste la quenta segun se le ordena sobre un Galeon de 800 toneladas que se quedava fabricando en Bagatao.

Don Juan Antonio de Ibarra Contador de Quantas de las Islas Philipinas.

Por Don Domingo de Zabalburu mi Governador y Capitan general de ellas se ha entendido que por la gran falta que hallo de Galeones por su resguardo y navegacion a la N^a Esp^a havia tomado resolucion con parecer de Junta de Ministros que formo, de fabricar un Galeon en el Puerto de Bagatao por la mayor comodidad de maderas y haorro [sic] de mi Real Hazienda y combeniençia de los Indios y de porte de 800 toneladas.

Y como quiera que visto en mi Consejo de las Indias se havian de destrubuir librar, y satisfacer las cantidades del gasto de esta fabrica y que huviesen de tener la quenta de mi Real hazienda asi para que no huviese dispendios como para que se supiese a punto fijo el maior aorro que ay en que se hiziese esta fabrica en Bagatao y no en Cavitef,] ha parecido ordenaros y mandaros que por lo tocante a vuestros oficios me informeis, y deis quenta de todo y con distincion del cuidado que tubo esta Nao si ya no lo huvieris hecho que asi es mi voluntad.

Fha en Madrid 21 de Diziembre de 1704.

Yo el Rey

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Señalado del Consejo.

Translation.

To Don Juan Antonio Ibarra, Keeper of Accounts of the Philippine Islands, who is to inform on and adjust the accounts as he is ordered to do, regarding a galleon of 800 tons that was being built in Bagatao.

Don Juan Antonio de Ibarra, Keeper of Accounts of the Philippine Islands.

Through Don Domingo de Zabalburu, my Governor and their Captain General, it was learned that, on account of the great lack of galleons that he found for their defence, and the navigation to New Spain, he had taken the decision, after holding a meeting of the Ministers, to build a galleon in the port of Bagatao, on account of the easier access to timber and greater saving in my Royal treasury and convenience for the Indians, and of a capacity of 800 tons.

And as this matter was seen in my Council of the Indies, it was found wanting, as there was no mention of the persons in whose hands the sums of money for this construction were to be channelled and accounted for, and who should keep the accounts of my royal funds, not only to make sure there would be no waste, but also to learn exactly the amount of this greater saving that would supposedly result in building it at Bagatao, rather than at Cavite; consequently, it was decided to order you (as I do now) to inform me at the first opportunity and to give me a report about everything and about the expenditures for this vessel, with a detailed and clear statement of all expenditures made, as such is my will.

Made at Madrid on 21 December 1704.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord, Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Countersigned by the Council.

Document 1704D

Official reaction to Fr. Clain's report on the Caroline Islands

Sources: AGI Fil. 332, libro 11, fol. 57v-59v, pp. 182-186; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 4.

Notes: For Fr. Clain's letter, see Doc. 1697F. This letter was reproduced in a memorial by Fr. Serrano, despatched from the Philippines, to foster the exploration of this little-known archipelago, then called the New Philippines. The King of Spain was then travelling, returning from Portugal to Madrid. Niza is a town on the border.

Letter from the King to the Audiencia, dated Campo Real de Nissa, 16 June 1704

Original text in Spanish.

A la Audiencia de Manila que haga el informe que se le ordena sobre la reduccion de 87 Islas que habiendose descubiertas cerca de la de Samar y Babao.

El Rey

Presidente y oidores de mi Audiencia Real de la Ciudad de Manila en Philipinas.

*Por Domingo Medel de la Compañía de Jesus se ha representado que por el año de 96 arivaron en dos pequeñas embarcaziones 21 Indios gentiles y rebatados del viento leste à las costas de la Isla de Samar y Babao en que tiene su religion muchas misiones y pueblos de Christianos antiguos à su cargo; los quales Indios eran naturales de unas Islas que demoran mui cerca de la de Samar y Babao y llegaron à sus playas y a una punta que haze la Isla llamada Guivan en tiempo que se hallava en ella visitando una mission ó pueblo del mismo nombre Antonio Tuccio Provincial de la Provincia de Philipinas y su Secretario Pablo Clain de la misma Compañía y que habiendo sido llevada à su presencia le acataron con grandes muestras de umiliazion y rendimiento y havien-dolos examinado respondieron **eran naturales de una Isla llamada Pais** y que hal-landose en otra llamada Amorsot [Lamotrek] queriendo volber à su Isla Pais fueron arebatados del viento sin poder gobernar sus embarcaziones para otra parte aportaron alli y a la punta de Guivan y que à las Islas circunbezinas asi à la propia de su nazimien-to como à la de Amorsot de donde salieron quando fueron arrebatados del viento eran*

*87 no mui distantes las unas de las otras (de que formaron Mapa) que de las Islas de los Ladrones ó Marianas tenian alguna noticia que saliendo de la punta de Guivan gobernandose al leste en tres dias se descubre la primera cuio nombre es **Panlog** [Palau] que tiene 30 dias de bogeno en sus ligeras embarcaciones, que estas Islas tienen un Rey que las governa que vive en la que llaman Falu, y por que los naturales de ellas son mui doziles por la experiencia que se ha tenido, y nada belicossos y por el tanto mui apropiado para rezivir las luzes de nuestra Santa fée:*

Suplico que mirando con ojos de piedad la perdizion de estas almas, mandase dar providenzia para que se exploren las expresadas Islas y se bea la forma que hai en ellas de introducir nuestra Santa fée, consignando para este efecto 3,000 pesos que es lo bastante continuado por algunos años para este descubrimiento y que respecto de que todos los años sale patache para las Marianas, y es por los meses de Septiembre y Henero en que soplan las brisas se mandase, este no haga el viage en derechura al embocadero de San Bernardino, sino es dando un giro declinando azia el sur, poniendo la proa azia la punta de Caraga ó punta de Guivan, con lo qual toparan de las mencionadas Islas, pues aunque se retarde un mes no sea peligro el viage.

Y visto en mi Consejo de las Indias ha parecido mandaros (como lo hago) que con intervencion y comunicacion de los practicos de esa navegacion me informeis distinta y puntualmente quanto se os ofrezere sobre el contenido de las noticias expresadas.

Fha en Campo Real de Nissa à 16 de Junio de 1704.

Yo el Rey

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Señalado del Consejo.

Translation.

To the Audiencia of Manila, instructing them to inform on the reduction of the 87 Islands that have been discovered near the Island of Samar and Babao.¹

The King

[To] the President and Members of my Royal Audiencia of the City of Manila in the Philippines.

Through Domingo Medel of the Society of Jesus, I have been advised that in about 1696 there arrived in two small craft 21 heathen Indians, pushed by an easterly wind to the coasts of the Island of Samar and Babao, where his Order has many missions and towns of old Christians in its care. The Indians in question were natives of some Islands that lie very near that of Samar and Babao, and they arrived on its beaches and at a point determined by the Island called Guiban, at the time that Antonio Tuccio, Provincial of the Province of the Philippines and his Secretary, Pablo Clain, of the same Society, were visiting a mission or town of the same name. When they were brought into

1 Ed. note: Ibabao is an old name for the east coast of Samar, where a small island exists by that name.

his presence, they showed him much respect, making great signs of humility and submission. Upon his examining them, they answered that **they were natives of an Island called Pais**, that they had been visiting another Island called Amorsot [=Lamotrek]; when they tried to return to their own Island of Pais, they were pushed by the wind and were unable to make headway with their canoes toward any other point, so that they headed overthere, and to the point of Guiban; that the Islands neighboring not only their own Island where they were born but also the Island of Amorsot from which they had departed when they were carried away by the wind, there were 87 islands not very distant from one another (charts of which were made); that they had knowledge of the Ladrone or Mariana Islands,¹ that upon leaving the point of Guiban heading east, after three days the first Island called **Panlog** [Palau] is sighted and it has a circumference of 30 days in their light craft, that these Islands have a King who governs them, and he lives in the Island called Falu,² and because the natives of said islands are docile, based on experience with them, and not at all warlike, and consequently very suitable to receive the light of our Holy Faith, he begged me to look with pious eyes on the perdition of these souls, and order that a provision be made to have the above-mentioned islands explored, and to examine the manner in which our Holy Faith could be introduced to them, by assigning 3,000 pesos per year for this purpose, which should be sufficient for this exploration over a few years. Furthermore, in view of the fact that a patache goes out every year to the Marianas, and that the tradewinds blow during the months of September and January, orders should be given that said patache not go out [i.e. return] directly to the mouth of the Strait of San Bernardino, but that it should first make a great detour to the south, heading for the point of Caraga or the point of Guiban, to make sure it would come upon the above-mentioned Islands, since the voyage would not be thus placed at risk, even if it were delayed by one month.

This matter having been seen in my Council of the Indies, I have decided to order you (as I do now) to get in touch with coastal pilots knowledgeable about that navigation and to inform me clearly and in detail about what should be done regarding the contents of the above-said notices.

Made in the Royal camp at Niza, on 16 June 1704.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Countersigned by the Council.³

1 Ed. note: This notion of their knowing about the Marianas must be an invention of Fr. Medel, because it is not contained in the original report of Fr. Clain.

2 Ed. note: Another name for Lamotrek (see Doc. 1697G).

3 Ed. note: This decree arrived at Manila aboard the galleon Rosario, only in 1707.

Document 1704E

Instruction to the Governor of the Marianas in 1704

Source: AGI Ultramar 562.

Note: The text of this instruction is based on a previous instruction (Doc. 1696I).

Instruction given by Governor Zabalburu to Major Villamor, dated Manila 18 June 1704

Original text in Spanish.

Orden é instruccion.—

El Maestro de Campo Don Domingo de Zabalburu y Echevarri, Caballero del Orden de Santiago &c:

Ynstruccion de lo que ha de observar y ejecutar el Sargento Mayor Don Antonio de Villamor y Vadillo en el puesto que va á ejercer de Gobernador interino de las Yslas Marianas y Teniente de Capitan general de ellas nombrado por este Gobierno y Capitania General de Filipinas en lugar del Sargento mayor Don Francisco Madrazo [rather Medrano] y haciain que lo estaba sirviendo en interin.

Primeramente luego que llegue á las dichas Yslas Marianas y tome posesion de el Gobierno de ellas, hará que el Sargento mayor Don Francisco Medrano y Aziain á cuyo cargo está al presente [el] Gobierno ó quien en su lugar estubiere le entregue todos los reales y géneros y demas cosas pertenecientes al situado de dichas Yslas y infanteria de ellas, haciendose cargo de ellos el dicho Sargento mayor Don Antonio de Villamor y Vadillo, con toda distincion y claridad en comformidad de lo que está dispuesto y mandado por una Real Cédula de trece de Noviembre de mil seiscientos ochenta para distribuirlo como en ella se previene en la paga y socorros de la dicha Infanteria que sirve en dichas Yslas.

2. Y por que al tiempo que dicho Sargento mayor Don Francisco de Medrano y Aziain, fué proveido en aquel Gobierno por la instruccion que se le ordenó recibiese del General Don José Madrazo, todos los reales y géneros que estubiesen en ser perte-

necientes al situado de ellas, y le toman cuenta asi de lo que debió percibir y recaudar, como de los situados que entraron en su poder se le ordena al dicho Sargento mayor Don Antonio de Villamor y Vadillo que luego que haya tomado posesion de aquella plaza, pida y tome cuentas al dicho Sargento mayor Don Francisco de Medrano y Aziain, de todo lo que ha entrado en su poder asi de lo que recibió del General Don José Madrazo quien tomó cuentas por comision de este Gobierno al Sargento Mayor Don José de Quiroga como de los situados que se le han recibido y remetido de la Nueva España y de las Yslas Filipinas, haciendole cargo de todo ello con mucha distincion y claridad y con la misma recibiendo en data todo lo que constare haber distribuido justificadamente en los socorros y pagamentos de la Ynfanteria de dichas Yslas, y de resultar algun alcance de reales ó géneros le obligara a que inmediatamente le satisfaga y remitirá á este Gobierno la cuenta original y instrumentos de ella para que se reconezca y de cuenta á S.M. si pareciere necesario, y por la contingencia que hay de que se pueda perder quedara dicho Sargento mayor con copia auténtica de todo para que siempre conste[.]

3. segun lo dispuesto en dicha Real Cédula arriba citada ha de recibir el dicho Sargento mayor Don Antonio de Villamor y Vadillo los situados de reales y géneros que se remitieren de la Nueva España de que se ha de hacer cargo con separacion de reales y géneros para distribuirlo á la Infanteria que sirve en dichas Yslas Marianas en la forma que S.M. tiene mandado, de todo lo cual y lo demas que en cualquiera manera recibiere ha de tener cuenta formada para darla siempre que se le pida, y para que en su distribucion haya el orden que conviene observará lo que en esta irá prevenido.

4. Ha de tener lista formada de toda la gente que sirve á Su Magestad y goza sueldo en dichas Yslas haciendo asiento de cada sugeto en que se espresa su nombre, patria[,] naturaleza y edad.

5. El dia primero de cada mes y si fuere fiesta el siguiente ha de pasar muestra general de dicha gente, y socorrerá á cada persona en mano propia, con los reales que le correspondieren de los situados que vienen de la Nueva España segun y en la forma que Su Magestad lo tiene mandado, cargandoles lo que asi recibieren mes por mes en dichos asientos.

6. Las municiones ó géneros que se remitieren de la Nueva España, y los que se embian á comprar á estas Yslas Filipinas, de todo de cuenta de el situado de dicha Ynfanteria se repartirá enteramente entre ella de seis en seis meses, ó como al dicho Sargento mayor ó Gobernador le pareciere que lo necesita mas en cuyos asientos se les ha de cargar su valor segun el que consta habian tenido por las Cartas cuentas que se remitieren de la Nueva España y de esta Ciudad de Manila.

7. Y por que ha tenido noticia que con el pretesto de fletes de dichos géneros y reales se han pagado por la traida de ellos, algunas cantidades de reales á los Maestres de los Galeones que vienen de la Nueva España, lo cual haciendo es injusto pues siendo dichos Galeones de S.M. y viniendo de su Real cuenta y órden dichos reales y géneros para aquella Infanteria es obligacion de los Maestres el hacerse cargo de ello, y entregar in dichas Yslas Marianas, todo lo que recibieren en Acapulco para el situado de

ellas, sin que por ellos lleven ni descuenten cosa alguna por fletes, ni por otra razon, lo cual ejecutara asi en virtud de este Capitulo á que no se ha de poder contravenir ni por los dichos Maestres de cualesquiera vageles de S.M. ni por el Gobernador de dichas islas Marianas, pena á los unos de que serán castigados con todo rigor de derecho si lo intentaren, y a lo otro de que no se hará bueno lo que pagare.

8. El estilo que han estilado los Gobernadores de dichas Islas Marianas para llevar á ellas los géneros que necesitan de estas Filipinas para la Ynfanteria embian de el situado de ella la Cantidad que les pareciere en cada un año, dirigiendola á un podatario ó correspondiente que tienen en esta Ciudad de Manila para que la emplee en lo que se avisa por dichos Gobernadores y es lo que se ha ejecutado hasta aqui con independencia, cuya forma y costumbre de mas de los inconvenientes que en si tiene por los gastos que se ocasionan y cargan á dicha Ynfanteria y el riesgo que se espone el dinero corriendo por mano de un particular áun suponiendo que en las compras de los géneros obrare con legalidad no es justo que habiendo Ministros Reales se permita que otra persona que las suyas tenga intervencion en el manejo de dicho situado real ni Su Magestad lo tubiera ha bien á hallarse noticioso de ello, en cuya consideracion se ordena y manda al dicho Sargento Mayor Don Antonio Villamor y Vadillo que desde ahora en adelante todo el dinero que se hubiere de embiar á esta Ciudad de cuenta del real situado de dicha Ynfanteria venga dirigido á dichos oficiales Reales con memoria de los géneros que se han de comprar, dando siempre cuenta á este Gobierno de todo ello por menor para que por el se de la providencia que mas convenga al mayor alivio y ahorro de dicha Ynfanteria, asi en quanto á la calidad y precios de los géneros que se compraren, como en su remision.

9. Por el titulo y real provision que S.M. despachó de Gobernador de dichas Yslas Marianas al Maestre de Campo Don Antonio de Saravia, su fecha en Madrid á veinte y seis de Agosto de mil seiscientos setenta y nueve entre otras cosas que se le mandaron fué que al tiempo de entrar á servir dicho cargo, hiciese Padrones de los Yndios tributarios de las dichas Yslas Marianas y cobrase indefectiblemente los tributos que debiesen pagar con la precision y demas circunstancias que en dicho real titulo se expresan mas por menor; y por que esto hasta ahora segun se tiene entendido no ha tenido efecto alguno, asi por el corto número de Indios que hay reducidos y la poca estabilidad que se ha experimentado en ellos como por la esterilidad de la tierra, para que de todo ello se de cuenta á Su Magestad como es de obligacion el dicho Sargento mayor Don Antonio de Villamor y Vadillo contara toda la gente que en dichas islas hubiere reducida haciendo Padrones en cada pueblo con distincion de los casados y solteros[,] hombres y mujeres, viejos y niños, en que pueblos hay iglesias, cuales son visitas[,] que religiosos administran en cada pueblo, y si hay alguna gente que no este reducida á poblado y que no sea cristiana, que distancia hay de Pueblo á Pueblo, que circunferencia y lactitud [sic] tiene la Ysla en que residen dichos religiosos y el Presidio de Ynfanteria, si hay algunos Puertos á que rumbo y de que fondo; que alimentos produce la tierra, que materiales de mader[,] piedra y otros para poder fabricar Yglesias, Casas y embarcaciones y si hay otras islas que esten sujetas al Rey Nuestro Señor, y

hay en ella Cristiandad con Ministros sobre todo lo cual informara dicho Sargento Mayor á este Gobierno con individualidad en cada circunstancia de las referidas lo que hubiere espresado su sentir en cuanto á el estado de dichas Yslas; y si en ellas puede haber esperanzas de que se aumente la Cristiandad.

*10. En la Ysla nombrada la Zarpana [rather Saipan], una de las dichas Marianas se perdió un navio nombrado **la Concepcion** el año de mil seiscientos treinta y ocho, cuya artilleria, tiene S.M. mandado por repetidas cédulas se solicite sacar, lo cual hasta ahora no ha podido tener efecto; y por lo que combiene á su real servicio le tenga, dicho Sargento Mayor Don Antonio de Villamor y Vadillo, se aplicará con la eficacia posible á recoger dicha artilleria valiendose de todos los medios que le parecieren conducentes á su logro, ejecutando de ella lo que S.M. tiene dispuesto, y en todas las ocasiones que se ofrecieren dará cuenta á este Gobierno de lo que se hubiere obrado y conseguido en dicho particular.*

11. Su Magestad (que Dios guarde) tiene mandado, que cada año se despache de estas Yslas Filipinas un Patache de socorro á las Yslas Marianas, y por que puede subceder que algun año se hallen proveidas de todo lo necesario y que no necesiten de el para el siguiente, mayormente con el socorro y habio [=avio] que reciben de los Galeones que vienen de la Nueva España, como sucedió el año de mil seiscientos noventa y tres en que se habió el Gobernador Don Damian de Esplana, que el siguiente de seiscientos noventa y cuatro no era necesario se le despachase dicho Patache por hallarse proveido el presidio, de viveres y municiones para dos años, mediante lo cual se suspendió; en cuya consideracion siempre que llegare el caso se ordena y manda al dicho Sargento mayor Don Antonio de Villamor y Vadillo ejecute lo mesmo avisando si es ó no inescusable el despacho y embio de dicho Patache por que sino fuere preciso no hay razon para que no se escusen los considerables gastos que se ocasionan á la Real Hacienda en cada despacho del referido Patache.

12. La cual instruccion y Capítulos de ella observará y guardara inviolablemente el dicho Sargento mayor Don Antonio de Villamor y Vadillo y otro cualquiera que le subceda en dicho Gobierno de Marianas, en interin que S.M. mandare otra cosa, y para que no pueda contravenir á su tenor el presente Escribano mayor de esta Gobernacion y guerra se le entregara original haciendosele primero notorio de que ha de dar testimonio para quedar en la Secretaria de Gobierno juntamente con copia que se sacara auténtica de esta Instruccion.

Dada en Manila á diez y ocho de Junio de mil setecientos y cuatro años.

Don Domingo de Zabalburu.

Por mandado de Su Señoria,

Don Pedro Maldonado.

Translation.

Order and Instruction.—

Master-of-Camp Don Domingo de Zabalburu y Echevarri, Knight of the Order of St. James, etc.

Instruction that must be observed and carried out by Sergeant-Major Don Antonio de Villamor y Vadillo in the post that he is going to fill as interim Governor of the Mariana Islands and Lieutenant of Captain General of them, appointed by this Government and Captaincy General of the Philippines to replace Sergeant-Major Don Francisco Madrazo [rather Medrano] y Aciain who was serving on an interim basis.

Firstly, as soon as you arrive at said Islands and take possession of their Government, you will make Sergeant-Major Don Francisco Medrano y Aciain, in whose charge the said Government is at present, or whomever may be in his place, deliver to you all the money, goods and other things belonging to the subsidy of said Islands and infantry there, and you, Sergeant-Major Don Antonio de Villamor y Vadillo, are to take charge of it with complete distinctness and clarity in accordance with the disposition and order contained in a Royal decree dated 13 November 1680 in order to distribute it as foreseen therein as salaries and succor for said infantry serving in said Islands.

2. Inasmuch as said Sergeant-Major Don Francisco de Medrano y Aciain, at the time he was placed in that Government, was ordered by his Instruction to receive from General Don José Madrazo all the moneys and goods that then belonged to the subsidy of the Islands, and to take over the accounts from him, not only of what was due him, but also of the subsidies that he received, so you, Sergeant-Major Don Antonio de Villamor y Vadillo, as soon as you have taken possession of that post, you are to request and take over the accounts from said Sergeant-Major Don Francisco de Medrano y Aciain, of everything that he received, not only from General Don José Madrazo, who took over the accounts from Sergeant-Major Don José de Quiroga by commission of this Government, but also as subsidies remitted and received from New Spain and from the Philippines, making sure that it be done with much distinctness and clarity, and you are to accept in the same manner what would have been distributed justifiably as succors and payments to the Infantry of said Islands, and you are to oblige him to immediately show and hand over any surplus in cash or goods. To this effect, you are to remit to this Government the original copy of this accounting report, so that it may be reviewed and reported to His Majesty, if need be, and, given that it might be lost during the navigation, you are to keep an authenticated copy, to insure against loss of information.

3. [Same text as art. 4 of Doc. 1696I]
4. [Same text as art. 5 of Doc. 1696I]
5. [Same text as art. 6 of Doc. 1696I]
6. [Same text as art. 7 of Doc. 1696I]
7. [Same text as art. 8 of Doc. 1696I]
8. [Same text as art. 9 of Doc. 1696I]
9. [Same text as art. 10 of Doc. 1696I]
10. [Same text as art. 11 of Doc. 1696I]
11. [Same text as art. 12 of Doc. 1696I]

Given at Manila, on the 18th of June 1704.
Don Domingo de Zabalburu.
By order of His Lordship,
Don Pedro Maldonado.

Documents 1704F

Management audits for the Governors of the Marianas

F1. Royal decree of 13 February 1704

Source: AGI Fil. 332, libro 11, fol. 12v-14v, pp. 92-96.

Original text in Spanish.

Al Governador de Philipinas partizipandole lo resuelto sobre la forma que se a de obserbar en las Residencias que se tomasen a los Governadores de las Islas Marianas.

El Rey

Maestro de Campo Don Domingo de Zabalburu Cavallero del orden de Santiago mi Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas y Presidente de la Audiencia de Manila.

En carta de 22 de Mayo del año pasado de 1702 dais quenta con Testimonio de quedar entendiendo en que Don Joseph Madrazo Castellano actual del Castillo de Santiago, diese quenta de 19,200 pesos que entraron en su poder pertenecientes a los situados de las Islas Marianas y la residencia del tiempo de 2 años que las governo en interin sin embargo de la oposizion que seos havia echo por los oidores Don Geronimo Barredo y Don Joseph Antonio Pabon y haver coperado el fiscal Don Joseph Torralba como tambien a enbarazar el punto de la quenta de forma que os havia sido preziso comminarlos con multa y penas pecuniarias para que firmasen la Comision de la residencia pasando a ponerlas en execuzion con Don Geronimo.

Y visto en mi Conssejo de las Indias con lo pedido por mi fiscal; ha parecido dezir he venido en que las residencias de los Governadores de las Islas Marianas se vean y determinen en esa Audiencia y que los Presidentes y Governadores despachen las provisiones de ellas con acuerdo de los ohidores en conformidad de lo ordenado por la Ley 21 Libro 5º Titulo 15 de la Recopilacion que dispone que las Comisiones de residencias se despachen con acuerdo de las Audiencias y que los Presidentes nombren Juezes lo qual tendreis entendido y que se lo prevengo à esa Audiencia en desp[ach]o de estadia, y os advierto que demas de hallarse dispuesto por la Ley 170 Libro 2º Titulo 15 de la

Recopilacion que los Virreyes y Presidentes escusen multas pecuniarias con los ohidores en casos contrabertidos, esteis en quenta del gran tieno y reparo con que deveis portaros en orden à inponer multas a los Ministros.

En Madrid à 13 de febrero de 1704.

Yo el rey

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Señalado del Consejo.

Translation.

To the Governor of the Philippines, letting him know about the format to be used in the Residencias to be taken of the Governors of the Mariana Islands.

The King

[To] Master-of-camp Don Domingo de Zabalburu, Knight of the Order of St. James, my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of the Audiencia of Manila.

In a letter dated 22 May of the past year 1702, you reported along with a Record of proceedings that it was understood that Don José Madrazo, the present Warden of Fort Santiago [in Manila] was to give an account of the 19,200 pesos that had come into his possession, as belonging to the subsidies of the Mariana Islands and the audit of his term of office for the two years in which he governed on an interim basis, in spite of the opposition raised by the members of the Audiencia, Don Geronimo Barredo and Don José Antonio Pabon, but with the support of the Attorney General, Don José Torralba, thus obstructing the point about the accounts, so that you had to threaten them with a fine and financial penalties to get them to sign the Commission for the residencia, and you then entrusted its execution to Don Geronimo.

This matter having been seen in my Council of the Indies, along with the opinion of my Fiscal, I have decided to tell you that I want the residencias of the Governors of the Mariana Islands to be seen and determined in that Audiencia, and that the Presidents and Governors are to despatch the provisions thereof with the agreement of the members of said Audiencia, in conformity with the order contained in Law 21, Book 5, Title 15 of the Revised Code, which states that the Commissions for residencias be despatched with the agreement of the Audiencias and that the Presidents are to appoint Judges, of which you are to take into account. That Audiencia has been advised that the matter has been stayed, and I warn you that, in addition to being stated in Law 170, Book 2, Title 15 of the Revised Code that the Viceroys and Presidents cannot impose pecuniary fines on the members of Audiencia in controverted cases, you are to act very tactfully and with careful decorum when it comes to imposing fines on [royal] Ministers.

Madrid, 13 February 1704.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Manuel de Aperregui.
Countersigned by the Council.

F2. Letter to the Audiencia, dated Madrid 13 February 1704

Sources: AGI Fil. 332, libro 11, fol. 14v-16, pp. 96-99; copy in AGI Fil. 526.

Original text in Spanish.

A la Audiencia de Manila partizipandole lo resuelto sobre que las residencias de los Gobernadores de las Islas Marianas se vean y determinen en aquella Audiencia y que los Presidentes con acuerdo de los oidores despachen las provisiones.

El Rey

Presidente y ohidores de mi Audiencia Real de la Ciudad de Manila en Philipinas.

El Presidente actual de esa Audiencia a dado cuenta de que con motivo de un Despacho de 26 [24] de octubre del año pasado de 1700 que se dirigió a su antezesor a fin de que ajustase las quantas del situado que havia estado à distribuzion de Don Damian de Esplana del tiempo que fue Gobernador en interin de las Islas Marianas, y le hiziese los cargos de residencia que mirasen a rrestituzion, tubo por preziso se le tomase à Don Joseph Madrazo que sirvio este gobierno el tiempo de 4 años y diese cuenta de 109,422 pesos que havian entrado en su poder y que haviendose controvertido en esa Audiencia si se le havia de despachar por no haver zedula para ello, como la havia para Don Damian de Esplana se resolvió en ese acuerdo afianzase la residencia y que en cumplimiento de la cedula espresada se nombrase Juez para la de Don Damian y para que ajustase sus quantas y que por lo que mirava a las residencias de otros qualesquiera Gobernadores que huviese havido interinos se diese noticia a mi Consejo de las Indias en atenzion a lo prevenido en la Ley 69 del Libro 2º Titulo 15 de la Recopilazion.

Y visto en el [Consejo] con lo pedido por el fiscal he rresuelto que las residencias de los Gobernadores de las Islas Marianas se vean y determinen en esa Audiencia y que los Presidentes y gobernadores con acuerdo de los oidores despachen las provisiones de ellas en conformidad de lo dispuesto por la Ley 21 Libro 5º Titulo 15 de la Recopilazion que ordena que las comisiones de residencia se despachen con acuerdo de las Audiencias y los Presidentes nombren Juezes, lo qual tendreis entendido para que en los casos que se ofrezieren se ejecute prezisa y puntualmente que asi es mi voluntad.

Fecha en Madrid à 13 de febrero de 1704.

Yo el Rey

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Señalado del Consejo.

Translation.

To the Audiencia of Manila, to let them know the decision about the residencias of the Governors of the Mariana Islands that are to be seen and determined in that Audiencia and that the Presidents are to despatch the provisions with the agreement of the Members.

The King

[To] the President and members of my Royal Audiencia of the City of Manila in the Philippines.

The actual president of that Audiencia has reported that, in view of the facts that a Despatch dated 26 [or 24] October of the past year 1700 addressed to his predecessor, for an audit to be taken of the accounts of the subsidy that had been distributed by Don Damian de Esplana during the time that he was interim Governor of the Mariana Islands, and for charges of residencia be made against him for the purpose of restitution, he judged it necessary to carry out a similar audit of Don José Madrazo who served in the same post for 4 years and he was to give an account of the 109,422 pesos that had come into his hands, but that the last matter was controverted in that Audiencia, not knowing whether or not it should be also despatched, in the absence of a specific royal decree, as in the case of Don Damian de Esplana, it was decided in that agreement to have him post a bond for his residencia, and in the case of Don Damian Esplana, the above-mentioned royal decree was to be complied with and a Judge named to audit his accounts, and in the general case of future residencias of any Governor who might serve on an interim basis, a report was to be sent to my Council of the Indies, as provided for in Law 69, Book 2, Title 15 of the Revised Code.

This matter having been seen in Council, along with the request of the Fiscal, I have decided that the residencias of the Governors of the Mariana Islands be seen and determined in that Audiencia and that the Presidents and Governors are to despatch the provisions of same in agreement with the Members, in conformity with the provisions of Law 21, Book 5, Title 15 of the Revised Code, which orders that commissions for residencias be despatched with the agreement of the Members and that the Presidents are to appoint Judges. You are advised of same, so that in future cases that might come up be processed exactly and in a timely manner, as such is my will.

Made at Madrid, 13 February 1704.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord, Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Countersigned by the Council.

**F3. Stern warning to Geronimo Barredo [de Valdés],
dated Madrid 13 February 1704**

Source: AGI Fil. 332, libro 11, fol. 16-17, pp. 99-101.

Original text in Spanish.

A Don Geronimo Barredo ohidor de Manila diziendo devio escusar lo que ejecuto tocante a la residencia de Don Joseph Madrazo del tiempo que fue Governador de las Marianas.

El Rey

Don Geronimo Barredo de Baldes ohidor de mi Audiencia real de Manila en las Islas Philipinas.

Teniendose entendido en mi Consejo de las Indias que con motivo de haverse prob-eido auto por el Governador Don Domingo de Zabalburu para que Don Joseph Ma-drazo Castellano actual del Castillo de Santiago de esa Ciudad diese residencia del tiempo que fue Governador Don Domingo de Zabalburu para que Don Joseph Ma-drazo Castellano actual del Castillo de Santiago de Santiago de la Ciudad diese residen-zia del tiempo que fue Governador interino de las Islas Marianas y se despachase la Comission de ella y asimismo de las cantidades que se le havian remitido os haviais es-cusado de firmar la provision expresando diferentes razones que teniais para ello avien-do sido uno de los Juezes que concurrieron en el acuerdo à la determinazion de este punto y obligando al Governador a que os comminase con multa para haverlo de ejecu-tar;

Ha parezido reprenderos vuestro modo de obrar y preveniros era de vuestra obliga-zion quando servais la fiscalia haver pasado à pedir Residencia y solizitar no entrarse à otro empleo sin haverla dado conforme à la disposizion de las Leyes de que he queri-do preveniros para que os halleis con notizia de ello.

En Madrid à 13 de febrero de 1704.

Yo el Rey

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Señalado del Consejo.

Translation.

To Don Geronimo Barredo, Member of the Audiencia of Manila, telling him that he should have avoided doing what he did regarding the residencia of Don José Ma-drazo for the period that he was Governor of the Marianas.

The King

[To] Don Geronimo Barredo de Valdés, Member of my Audiencia of Manila in the Philippine Islands.

It was given to understand in my Council of the Indies that, in view of the decree is-sued by the Governor, Don Domingo de Zabalburu, to have Don José de Madrazo, actual Warden of Fort Santiago of that City to give an audit of the time that he was in-terim Governor of the Mariana Islands and to have a Commission set up for it, and also about the sums of money that had been sent to him, you had avoided signing the provision, and given various reasons for your action, yet having been one of the Judges who agreed with the agreement determining said point, thus obliging the Governor to threaten you with a fine to make you do it.

I have decided to reprehend you for your manner of proceeding and to warn you that it was your duty in matters of fiscality to have gone on to ask for the residencia and solicit that nothing else be done until it be done in accordance with the provision of the Laws. I have therefore decided to warn you and inform you of same.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord, Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Countersigned by the Council.

F4. Letter from Governor Zabalburu to the King, dated Manila 12 June 1708

Source: AGI Ultramar 561, Zabalburu letter # 5.

Original text in Spanish.

Numero 5º—El Gobernador de Filipinas da cuenta à V.M. de haber recibido, y quedar practicada en aquellas Islas, la real cedula de 13 de Febrero de 1704 que previene la forma que se ha de observar en las residencias que se tomaren à los Gobernadores de Marianas.

Señor

La real cedula de trece de Febrero de 1704, en que V.M. se sirve participarme lo resuelto sobre la forma que se ha de observar en las residencias que se tomaren à los Gobernadores de las Islas Marianas, queda obedecida y practicada, con los que hasta aqui han servido aquel Gobierno, segun previene su real contexto y decision, y se continuará en adelante.

Dios guarde la Católica y Real Persona de V.M. muchos años como la Cristiandad ha de menester.

Manila y Junio 12 de 1708

Domingo de Zabalburu.

Translation.

Number 5.—The Governor of the Philippines reports to Y.M. that he has received, and carried out in those Islands, the royal decree of 13 February 1704, in which is specified the manner of proceeding in the residencias of the Governors of the Marianas.

Sire:

The royal decree of 13 February 1704 in which Y.M. was pleased to let me know of your decision with regards to the manner of proceeding in the residencias to be taken of the Governors of the Mariana Islands, has been obeyed and put into practice by those who until now have served this government, in accordance with the royal provisions and decision, and so too in future.

May God save the C. and R. person of Y.M. for many years as Christendom needs.

Manila, 12 June 1708.

Domingo de Zabalburu.

Document 1704G

Letter from the King to the Viceroy, dated Talavera 10 July 1704

Sources: AGI Fil. 332, libro 11, fol. 76-76v, pp. 219-220; copy in AGI Ultramar 561.

Letter regarding the salary of the Governor of the Marianas

Original text in Spanish.

Al Virrey de N^{ra} Esp^a diziendole ha venido S. Mgd. en aprovar los sueldos que Don Joseph Sarmiento su antezesor señalo à los empleos de Governador y Sargento mayor de las Islas Marianas.

El Rey

Duque de Albuquerque Primo y Gentilhombre de mi Camara, mi Virrey Governor y Capitan general de las Provincias de la N^{ra} Esp^a y Presidente de mi Audiencia Real de Mexico.

El año pasado de 1686 se proveyo en propiedad el puesto de Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Marianas en Don Damian de Esplana, y el de Sargento Mayor de ellas en Don Joseph de Quiroga, y respecto de que no tenian sueldo fijo estos empleos, se dio orden al Virrey Conde de Galve(z) para que pidiendo informe al Governador de Philipinas les señalase el que juzgase preziso, y en execuzion de esta orden, dio quenta Don Joseph Sarmiento de Valladares vuestro antezesor en carta de 12 de Abril de 1698 de que con el informe expresado del Governador de Philipinas, havia señalado al Governador Don Damian 110 escudos de à 10 Reales de plata al mes, y al Sargento Mayor Don Joseph de Quiroga 55 y à los que fuesen interinos la mitad.

Y como quiera que he benido en aprovar lo ejecutado en esto os lo participo asi à fin de que entendido de ello, deis la orden combeniente para que desde hahora y en adelante se hasista à los que sirvieren los referidos empleos em propiedad, con los expresados sueldos, y se les remita en la forma que se acostumbra.

Fha en Talavera à 10 de Julio de 1704.

Yo el Rey

*Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,
Don Manuel de Aperregui.
Señalado del Consejo.*

Translation.

To the Viceroy of New Spain telling him that His Majesty has finally approved the salary that Don José Sarmiento, his predecessor, set for the posts of Governor and Sergeant Major of the Mariana Islands.

The King

[To the] Duke of Albuquerque, Cousin and Gentleman of my Chamber, my Viceroy, Governor and Captain General of the Provinces of New Spain and President of my Royal Audiencia of Mexico.

In the past year 1686, the post of Governor of the Mariana Islands was officially granted to Don Damian de Esplana and that of Sergeant Major to Don José de Quiroga, but since said posts did not have any fixed salaries attached to them, the Viceroy, Count of Galve, was ordered to request a report about it from the Governor of the Philippines, and to fix them as he saw fit. And, in compliance with this order, Don José Sarmiento de Valladares, your predecessor, in a letter dated 12 April 1698, stated that, after he had received the above-mentioned report from the Governor of the Philippines,¹ he had fixed the salary of Don Damian the Governor at 110 escudos of 10 silver reals each, and that of the Sergeant Major, Don José de Quiroga, at 55, while those holding the posts on an interim basis were to receive half of that.

Since I have decided to approve what was done in this matter, I thus let you know about it, for you to give the appropriate order, so that from now on those who will serve in the above-said posts on a proprietary basis receive the above-stated salaries, which are to be sent to them in the usual manner.

Made at Talavera, 10 July 1704.

I, the King.

By order of the King, our Lord,

Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Countersigned by the Council.²

1 Ed. note: Both documents will appear in the Supplementary volume as Doc. 1696S.

2 Ed. note: The Viceroy reported compliance on 16 August 1706 (see Doc. 1706C in the Suppl. volume).

Document 1705A

The Inquisition to Fr. Bustillo, dated Mexico 26 February 1705

Source: AGN Inquisición 650, folio 210v.

Original text in Spanish.

*Al Rdo. Pe. Lorenzo Bustillo de la Comp^a de Jesus Comissario en la Ziudad de Agaña [sic] en las Yslas Marianas en los Autos para Balthasar de Orope-
sa.*

*En este Tribunal se rezivio el seguido testimonio de Autos que con carta de 25 de Mayo del año pasado de 1704 remitio V.Pd. Rda. de que se le da aviso. Y luego que se tome resoluzion sobre la materia que contienen se le ordenara lo que ubiere de ex-
ecutar á V. Pd. Rda.*

Guarde Dios &^a

Ynquisición de Mexico y febrero 26 de 1705.

Fho Sr Ynquisidor y Secretario.

Translation

To Rev. Fr. Lorenzo Bustillo of the Society of Jesus, Commissioner in the City of Agaña [sic] in the Mariana Islands regarding the case file of Baltasar de Oropeza.

The on-going case file that accompanied the letter dated 25 May 1704 sent by Your Paternity was received by this tribunal, and we acknowledge receipt thereof. As soon as the case will have been determined, Your Reverend Paternity will be ordered what to do.

May God etc.

Inquisition of Mexico, 26 February 1705.

Done. The Inquisitor and Secretary.



Captain William Dampier.

Document 1705B

Two English pirate ships via Rota in 1705—Second visit by Captain Dampier

The narrative of William Funnell, Captain of the *Dragon*

Source: William Funnell, A Voyage Round the World (London, Knapton, 1707); available in the rare book collection at LC, under number G420.D2F9.

Notes: There are two other booklets written in connection with this voyage, but they are not relevant to Micronesia: (1) Captain William Dampier's Vindication (London, 1707, 8 pages), and (2) John Welbe's An Answer to Captain Dampier's Vindication of his Voyage in the Ship St. George (London, 1708, 8 pages). Callander was wrong in assuming that Dampier was aboard the same ship as Funnell.

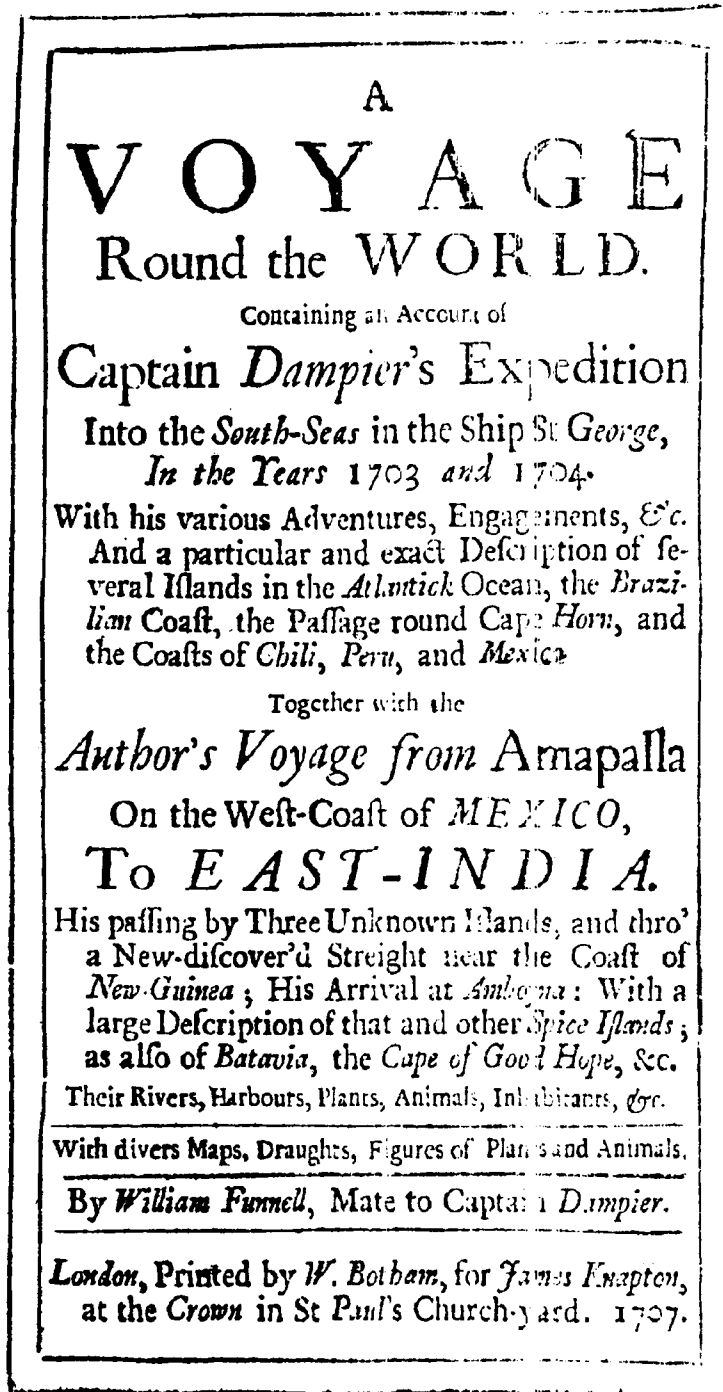
The Author's Voyage from Amapalla on the West-Coast of Mexico [sic], to East-India.

...
[p. 221]

On the 1st of February, 1705 [O.S.], we left the Gulf of Amapalla, and Captain Dampier in his Ship the **St George** at anchor in it. We steered out between the Island of Amapalla and the Island Mangera; and many times had not above two fathom Water. We had a fine Gale of Wind at N.E. which soon carrycd us out of the Mouth of the Gulf.¹

...
Our Vessel [i.e. the **Dragon**] was a small Bark with two Masts, of about seventy Tuns, which we had taken from the Spaniards; But whilst we lay here, she was so eaten by the Worms, that she begun to grow very leaky; and to add to our Afflictions, we had no Carpenter; neither if any of us should fall sick, had we any Doctor, or any Medicines to make use of; And, which was worst of all, we had no Boat to assist our selves, if our Vessel should fail us; for the Doctor, Carpenter and Boat were left with Captain Dam-

¹ Ed. note: Since the latitude is given as 13° below, he was then inside the gulf now called of Fonseca, which lies in sight of the modern countries of El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua.



Title page of the original edition of Funnell's Voyage.

pier. But trusting to Gods Providence, who had already delivered us out of so many dangers, we proceeded on our intended Voyage for India.

...

On the 3d of February... about six in the Evening we had a Land-wind at N.E. a fine fresh Gale: So we took our departure from the Mount of St Michaels, a noted Mount, of which I have already given a Description. It lies in the Gulf of Amapalla, in the Latitude of 13d. North. We reckoned Longitude from London West. 97d. 30m. and, as I said before, we found Variation 3d. 26m. westerly.¹ We steered away S.W. the sooner to get off the Land into the true N.E. or E.N.E. Trade. For we knew the present Wind to be only the Land-Wind, which we could not think would last long. For we did not expect to get into the true Trade, till we had run about ninety or a hundred leagues from the Land. For which reason we steered away, as I said, S.W. and S.W. by W. Which course we held till we came into the Latitude of 10d. When finding our selves in the true Trade, we hauled away W.N.W. intending to get into the Latitude of 13d. North; and so as near as we could, to maintain our Latitude till our arrival at the Ladrone Islands; knowing, if we kept in that Latitude, it was impossible to miss them; We had fine fresh Gales of Wind, first at N.E; but as we run off the Land, we found it edge to the N.E. by E, and thence to the E.N.E; where it continued with us till our passing the Ladrone Islands. We got our studding Sails up by day break every morning, and at Sun-set haul'd them down again: For it commonly blew so fresh in the Night, that we were forced to settle our Top-sail; and with the rising of the Sun, the Wind would something abate again: Yet we always had as much as we could well carry with our Studding-sails. The Trade-wind we found here to blow much brisker than it does in the Atlantick or East-Indian Oceans.

For the first twenty Days after our Fish and Turtle was gone, we fed upon nothing but our Plantains, of which we allowed our selves two for a Meal, and two such Meals a Day: But after our Plantains were gone, we went to our half pound of Flower a Man per day, and our two ounces of Salt Beef or Pork every other day. The Meat had been so long in Salt, that when we boiled it, it commonly shrunk one half. So we finding a loss in boiling our Meat, concluded to eat it raw; which we did all the Voyage after, so long as it lasted. We now and then caught a Dolphin, and sometimes saw a great many Sea-birds, as Boobies, Noddies, &c. which would come and settle upon our Vessel; and happy was he, that could catch one of them.

In this Run I think none of us took the pains to observe by the AZth [=Azimuth] Compass. For the variation was so little, that we never minded it.

1 Ed. note: San Miguel, in present-day El Salvador is almost 88° W of Greenwich; hence, Funnell's longitude was 9° too far west.

[Arrival at Rota Island]

On the 10th of April 1705, towards Evening, we saw the Clouds gather about the Horizon much more than usual. This was a great sign or token of Land. For it is common between the Tropics to be foggy or cloudy over the Land; although it be never so clear at Sea. Therefore all this Night we took a special care to look out; and on the 11th in the Morning betimes we saw the Island of Magon [sic]¹ bearing West, distant about ten Leagues. It was a high woody Island, and very plain and green on the top. So we stood towards it; and when we had brought it to bear North, distant about a Mile, I took the Draught of it, which appeared as in the Figure [Missing].

Being in so near, we laid our Ship by; and several fishing Boats came to us, and brought us some Fish, with some Eggs, Yams, Potatoes, &c. These were very acceptable to us; for now our Salt Beef and Pork was just at an end; and we had nothing to trust to, but our half pound of Flower a Day for each Man, and that very full of Vermin, Maggots and Spiders. The Men in those Fishing-Boats were a very tall and large-limb'd People, of a tawny Complexion, having long black Hair reaching down to their middle: They all go stark-naked, not so much as covering their Privy-parts. In exchange of what we had of them, we would have given them Money; but they looked on it and gave it us again, making Signs to us to give them Tobacco in the room of it; which we did, and they seemed very much pleased. We also gave them some old Shirts, which they immediately tore in pieces, and rowled them round about their Heads. We would have given each of them a Dram of Brandy, but they were afraid to drink it. Only one of them, seeing us drink to each other, and that it did us no hurt, at last made Signs that he would drink with us. So we gave him a good Glass full, which he immediately drank off; but we thought the Fellow would never shut his Mouth again; for he was so amazed at the Heat it had left in his Mouth and in his Belly, that I believe he thought he had set himself on Fire. He laid himself down and roared like a Bull; which scared most of the rest of them away. After he had roared near half an Hour, he fell fast a sleep: And we being in haste, put the poor Fellow into his Boat; and made signs to his Consorts to take care of him, that he might not fall over-board. They seemed to be a very civil People; but however we did not care to let too many of them come into our Vessel at a time.

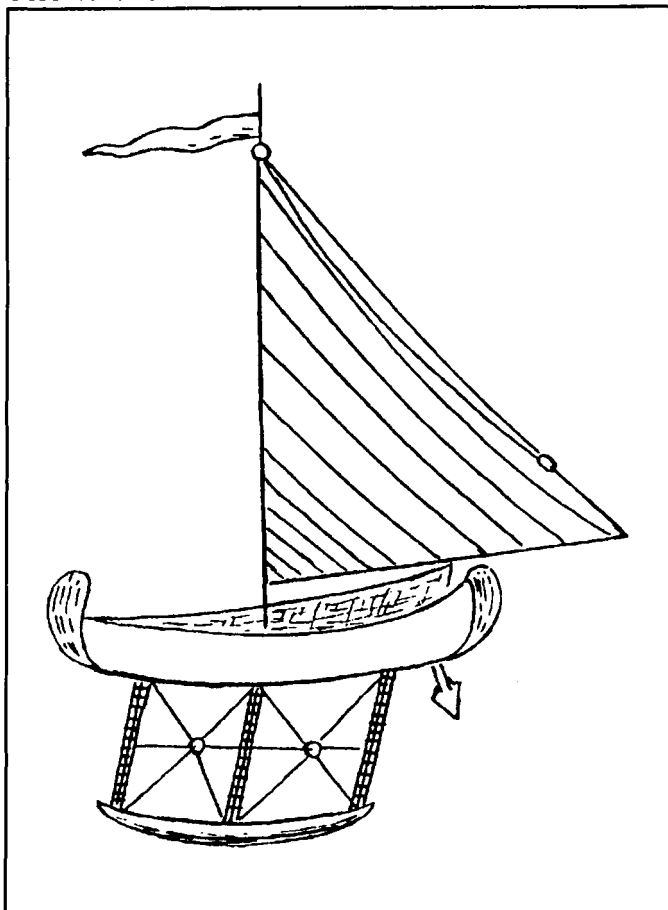
Their Language we could not understand at all. When they first approached us, they tied two Sticks together in fashion of a Cross, and held them up for us to see: Which was, as we suppose, to signify to us that they had some knowledge of the Christian Religion. We in return showed them a Crucifix, which we had taken from the Spaniards; at the sight of which they all bowed their Bodies, and came on board.

¹ Ed. note: Their charts were obsolete. This was Rota Island.

This Island of Magon I make to lie in the Latitude of 13d. 00m. North; and we made Longitude from the Mount of St Michael's W. 120d. 09m. or 7029 Miles; allowing between 58 and 59 Miles to a degree of Longitude in this Parallel.¹

[Description of Chamorro canoes]

The Boats which these Fishermen came on board in, were about forty foot in length, and about seventeen or eighteen Inches broad aloft, but not above three Inches broad below. Their Head and Stern were alike. The bottom to the Waters edge, was one entire piece, but hollow; upon which,



Crude sketch of a Chamorro canoe.

for the side of the Boat, was a piece of thin Plank, about three foot broad, and of the same length as the Boat it self. It had its lower Edge sowed with Rattans to the bottom of the Boat. They had two long Poles put out of one side; One was within ten foot of one end of the Boat, and the other within ten foot of the other end: So that they lay distant from each other about twenty foot. The Poles were about thirty foot in length;² at the end of which was a long piece of Plank of about twenty-one foot, of the same shape, and about one fourth part of the bigness of the bottom of the Boat. This piece is laid across at the outer end of the Poles, from one Pole to the other; where it is very securely made fast: And this altogether, is called the Out-leaker.³

This is always the Weather-side; and the use of it, is to keep the Boat from over-setting. For without the

Out-leaker the Boat is so narrow, that it would not bear it self. They have but one Sail, which is made of Matt, and like our Bermuda's Sail. It is not above two Inches broad

1 Ed. note: The Dragon's latitude was then exactly 14°, which means that Funnell's observation was over 1° in error. As far as the longitude was concerned, since Rota's is actually 145°E and San Miguel 88°W, their difference is 35° + 92° = 127°, so that Funnell's estimate was good, with only 7° from true.

2 Ed. note: "This length of the booms is preposterous," says Hornell.

3 Ed. note: Callander, who had edited this Voyage, writes "Outlayer or Outleaker."

at top, and hauls out by a Boom. When they have a mind to go about; it is only letting go the Sheet of the Sail, and hauling it aft on the same side at the other end of the Boat; and then that which was the Stern before, is now become the Head; any end going foremost, and no distinction in the built of either end: But the same Side still and always remains the Weather-side. Most of these Boats were painted red. See the Figure of the Boat with its Out-leaker.

We were now in Consultation amongst our selves, whether we should steer away for the North West, amongst the Philippine Islands; or to the South West, for the Coast of New-Guinea; But after a debate of about two Hours, we concluded to haul away South West, for the Cape of New Guinea. Which accordingly we did; and the same day passed by the Island of **Guam**, which lies South from the Island of Magon, about seven leagues: So that I make this Island to lie in the Latitude of 12d. 39m. North. We only passed by it at a distance. Wherefore I can give no particular Description of it. Yet as we passed by, I took a Draught of it, as it appeared to us South, distance 5 leagues. The land to us seemed of an indifferent height; but it was quite plain and flat on the top. This Island belongs to the Spaniards, who have a small Fortification on it. It is kept for the conveniency of the Manila-Ship, which always touches here to refresh, in her way to Manila.

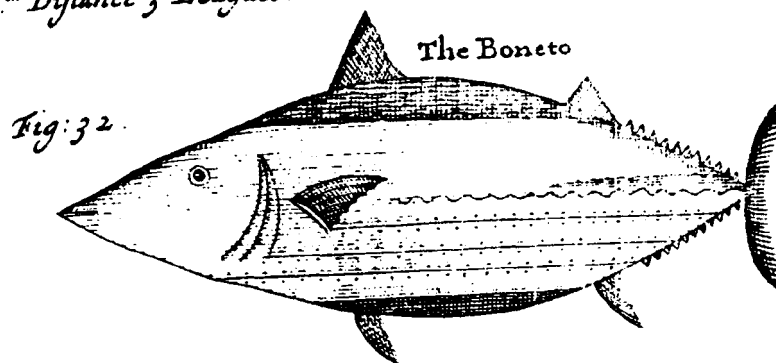
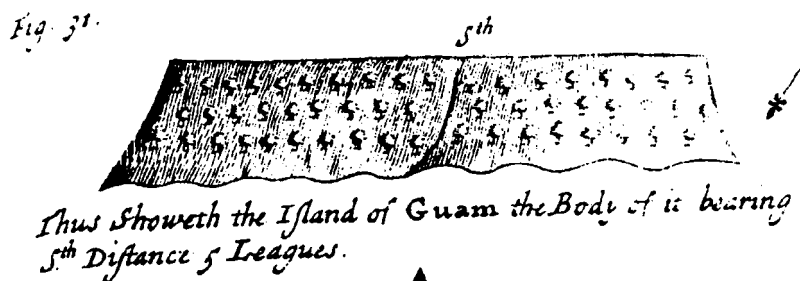
From hence we kept our Course South West, and passed by the Island of Matan, which lies about six leagues due North from the Islan[d] Guam.¹ And at six this same Evening, being April the 11th, we took our departure from the Island of Magon, it then bearing North East, distant nine leagues. We still had a fresh Gale, as usual, at East by North and East North East.

[Re-discovery of Yap]

And on the 17th we saw the Island of Arracife [sic], bearing East by North distant 10 leagues. It seemed to be a very high Island. Whether it is inhabited or no, I know not.

From hence we steered away South South West, till we came into the Latitude of 5d. North. Hitherto we had fine fresh Gales of wind at North East; but now drawing near the Line, we found the Winds veer to East South East, and South East, and often met with small Squalls of Wind and Rain, till we came into the Latitude of 4d. North, and then we had a Calm for seven days. This was a great disheartning to us; for now we had so little Victuals, that it would hardly keep us alive. For we could not allow our selves any more than six Ounces of course Flower a Man per day. This we used to scald with hot water, and so eat it. For want of sufficient Food, we now found our selves to grow very weak. But it was our good Fortune to have store of Water, of which, when we could not sleep for hunger, we would drink a large draught: This would satisfie us a

1 Ed. note: His bad chart has confused him. Matan and Magon were one and the same, Rota. The words originally came from a misplaced Alamagan.



little at the present, so that we could sleep; but as soon as we waked, we always found our selves as hungry as before.

[Re-discovery of Mapia Islands]

On the 3d of May, sprung up a small Gale of Wind at West; and we steered away South, till being almost out of hopes, because the Wind began to die away again, on the 5th, about ten in the Evening, we smelt a very fine and fragrant smell, which gave us new hopes that we were near some Land. We looked over our Draughts; but they gave no Description of any; yet we were sure we could not be far off some Land, from whence that fragrant smell must proceed. So we continued in our hopes till the next Morning; when accordingly we saw Land right a-head of us, as far as we could see. And a small Gale springing up at South East, we steered away South West by West directly to it. By Noon we made it to be three small Islands, very low Land, but all very green and pleasant. At the same time we had an Observation, and found our selves in the Latitude of 00d. 50m. North. The Eastermost [sic] of the said three Islands bearing South East, distant about four leagues, which makes its Latitude to be 00d. 42m. North.¹

At the same time we caught two Bonetoes, which were very welcome to us; for they made a good Meal for all our Company; And this was the first we had had for a long time. This Fish is commonly of about three foot in length, and two foot about. It hath two middling Fins on his Back, with eleven small ones stretching to his Tail. He hath

¹ Ed. note: The Mapia Islands had first been discovered in 1537 by the Spanish ship Santiago, Captain Castilla. The proper latitude of this group of 3 islets is indeed 00°40'N. The other possible alternative, the Aju Islands, which are 3°30' further west, must be rejected, because they have 5 or 6 islets.

the like number opposite under his Belly: with two large ones, one on each side, near his Gills. He hath a very sharp Head, with a small Mouth, a full Eye, and a half-moon'd Tail. It is a very fleshy Fish, having no Bone but his Back-bone: And they make very good Broth.

All this Night we stood off and on; designing not to venture too near these unknown Islands in the Night; not knowing what danger there might be near them. The next Morning, at Day-break, being May the 7th, we found our selves within a Ships length of a great ledge of Rocks, which ran from 1 Island to the other; which we not seeing before, and thinking to go between the two Islands, had like to have been upon them; But through God's great Mercy, a small breeze of Wind coming from the Shore, we got off, and stood to the westernmost Island; because we saw many Shoales lying off the rest of them. The Rocks we had like to have been upon, were near the Northermost Island; which, upon account of our miraculous escape, we call'd the **Island of Deceit**; it having, to the Eye, discover'd no such danger. When we came near the Westernmost Island, which was the biggest of the three, we stood in for the Island; and as we drew nearer, about forty or fifty of their flying Proes came off; in which might be about four hundred and fifty Men, allowing ten to each Proe: And we could see multitudes of people upon the Shore: For as we past by any of these Islands to go to the next, the people also followed us. Their flying Proes lay at a distance from us, and viewed us; till we beckoned and made Signs for them to come to us. Then one of them, which was in the midst, advanced towards us; and being pretty near, lay and looked on us for a while. We still made Signs for him to draw nearer: Then he came within a Ships length of us, and lay still again. In her were ten Men all naked; and in the midst of them, a grave chearful old Man, of a pleasant Countenance; who had on his Head a four-cornered Cap, without a Crown; but otherwise he was quite naked, as were all the rest of them. This Man, by the Respect which all the rest in the Boat showed to him, we guessed to be a King or Prince. At their approach to us they sung a Song, which continued about a quarter of an hour: We could not understand it, but it was tuned very prettily. When this Song was done, they came almost close to our Vessel's side, and then sung another Song. This was begun by the grave old Man, and followed by all the rest in the Boat. Which done, they put themselves in the posture of praying, and made several Bows and Cringes towards us, after the manner of their Country. Then one of the Men in the Boat, having a very fore Leg, held it up to us, and pointed to the Wound: By the Signs he made to us, we understood that he would have us to cure it; for we being white, and they (I believe) having never seen any while Man before, they seem'd as if they did not think us to be mortal Men. After this, we poured some Water out of a Bucket into a Glass; and pointing to our Mouths, made signs that we wanted Victuals and Drink. Then they shook their Heads, in way of Denial, as I suppose. But seeing us still make towards the Island, one of the Men in the Boat blew a Horn; at the sound of which, all the rest of the Boats made boldly to us. Upon this, we all believing they would be aboard of us, fired a Musket over them; not designing to harm, but only to frighten them: At the noise of which they seemed wonderfully amazed, and drew back; menacing us at a

distance with their Paddles, and still following us. So, seeing, as I said before, many hundreds of them upon the shore; and finding we could have nothing from them, but by force; and having no Anchors or Cables by which we dare trust our Bark; and besides having no Boat to go ashore in; so that should we swim ashore, as some of our Men proposed, yet we could not carry our Arms with us; and the Indians might knock us on the Head with Stones, whilst we were in the Water; we concluded there was no good to be done here. Wherefore examining our Water, and finding sufficient for eighteen Days at a quart of Water to each Man per Day; we resolved to leave these Islands, and to trust to God's Providence to guide us to a more friendly place, where we might supply our wants; not doubting but we should furnish our selves with Water at some Island or other, in a place where there were so many. So we left the said Islands, and called the Westernmost of them **The Island of Disappointment**, because we made certain account of getting some Water here, but could not.

They were all three, low, flat, even Islands; full of several sorts of Trees, all very green and flourishing; And no doubt, if we had had a Boat, we might have met with something which would have been beneficial to our selves, and of advantage to our Country: As we might also at several other small Islands, which we afterwards pass'd by. The Inhabitants of most of these Islands, were a very large strong-bon'd People. They had long black streight Hair, which reached down to their middle; and they all go stark naked, not so much as covering their Privy-parts. I think I never saw such a parcel of large stout-limb'd Fellows together in my Life. We here found a Current setting pretty strongly to the Northward; as it did ever since we left the Ladrone Islands.

From these Islands we steered away South West; having a fine fresh Gale of Wind at East. The water here was very foul, being full of Grass and other Trash, which lay driving up and down. We sounded several times, but had no Ground at a hundred Fathom; so we still kept on our Course, and kept good looking out all night. The next Morning betimes, being May the 8th, we saw the main Land of New-Guinea, distant eighteen or nineteen leagues. And now with a few old broken Boards, which we had in our Vessel, we went to work to build us a small Boat; which afterwards proved very useful to us. The Land was very high and mountainous. At a distance it looked very black; but drawing nearer, it looked more grey.

The 9th, we had dirty squally uncertain weather, and the Winds variable all round the Compass. We kept the Coast of New-Guinea aboard; and the Land still continued to be of a good height, very full of great high Hills, and small Valleys; which all seemed very barren. It is all a rocky Coast; neither could we perceive any Harbour, Bay, or place to anchor in. Whether there be any Inhabitants hereabouts, I know not; but we never saw any, nor any sign of any, either by Sea in Boats, or upon the Land by Fires or Smokes, as is usual in all inhabited Countries. The same day we came abreast of two small Islands; neither of which was above a league in length. They were low, etc...

Document 1705C

Brief from Pope Clement XI to King Louis XIV of France, dated Rome 1 March 1705

Sources: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 343-344, with a draft in fol. 335-336; published in Latin as Chapter IV of Fr. Serrano's Breve Noticia (Madrid, 1706); published in Latin and French in Fr. Le Gobien's Lettres édifiantes, tome VI (Paris, 1706), pp. XXXIII-XXXVIII, and repeated in later volumes, e.g. XV (Paris, 1781), pp. 214-222; VIII (Lyon, 1819), pp. 364-369. Also in RAH 9/2670.

Original text in Latin

*Charissimo in Christo Filio Nostro Ludovico Francorum Regi
Christianissimo.*

Clemens Papa XI.

Charissime in Christo Fili Noster Salutem &c.

Quem admodum singularis illa felicitas qua à tot annis Regnum istud fruitur, iure est adscribenda peculiari studio fovendæ ac tutandæ catholicæ Religionis, quod Maiestas tua tot in occasionibus loculenter, ac magnifice declaravit, sic merito credimus nihil fieri gratius tibi posse, quam si occasio aliqua eiusdem Religionis amplificandæ orandæque tibi ipsi præbeatur. Detectæ sunt nuper ultra Philippinas in vastissimo illo circa Sinas Oceano, quem tuæ classes interdum navigant Novæ Insulæ; in quas Religio Catholica non dum penetravit. Id accepimus e litteris Venerabilis Fratris Archiepiscopi Manilani, et e narratione nobis oblata per Dilectos Filios Religiosos quosdam viros Societatis Jesu, qui Romam procuratorio nomine advenere. Iis in Insulis, ut ipsi referunt, per magno numero sunt homines optima Indolis, et ad fidem Catholicam amplectendam satis propensi. Pro eo itaque desiderio, quo flagras propagandi Divinum Cultum, et [fol. 343v] Catholicam veritatem, te hortamus, ac rogamus ut opus tanti momenti ad salutem Animarum promovere velis, si qua se dabit occasio, ac præsertim ut novam missionem ad illas ipsas Insulas destinandam commendare per litteras Regi Catholico ne graveris; et si enim satis eum incitet, accendatque pietas sua, quam a Maiestatis tuæ

sanguine, et exemplis hausit, nihilominus intelligimus quantum habitura sit ponderis apud ipsum tam insignis commendatio; et habemus sane unde eidem Regi nepoti tuo gratulemur, ut nostris litteris fecimus, quod Avi vestigia tam spendide, tam religiose premat, studiumque singulare præseferat amplificandæ religionis non solum in Europa, sed etiam in remotissimis Regionibus, ubi non ita pridem Præconibus Evangelicis in Insula California laborantibus summam non levem pecuniæ singulis annis erogandam certo, et perpetuo censu assignavit. Quod vero spectat ad Insulas illas recens detectas adiuvandas et invehendam in easdem Christianam fidem, id maxime præstandum esse videtur a [fol. 344] Rege Catholico, ut per Gubernatorem Philippinarum navem comparari iubeat, et Operariis illuc mittendis necessaria suppeditari, quod quanto citius fieri poterit, tanto fructus maior existet, tantoque uberius in ipsum, ex regna sua superni numinis favor redundabit; interim vero dilectum filium religiosum virum Andream Serranum Societatis Jesu alterum ex Procuratoribus, qui ex Philippinis Insulis in has partes advenerunt, te hoc proposito aditurum, ut de opportunitate suscipiendi tam salutarem expeditionem tecum agat, atque ad eam urgendam te, quem maximis consiliis parem esse novit, suis precibus incendat, enixe comendamus Maiestati tuæ, cui diuturnam incolumitatem a Deo precamur, et Apostolicam Benedictionem amatissime impertimus.

Datum Romæ et die prima Martij 1705, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Quinto.

Spanish translation, by Fr. Serrano

A nuestro carissimo hijo en Christo Luis, Rey Christianissimo de los Franceses.

Clemente Papa XI.

Carissimo en Christo hijo, salud, y Apostolica Bendicion.

Assi como la singular felicidad, que tantos años ha gozado tu Reyno, se debe con razon atribuir al particular estudio de fomentar, y defender la Catolica Religion (lo qual tu Magestad ha mostrado clara, y magnificamente) assi justamente creemos, que ninguna cosa te puede ser mas agradable, que el darte alguna ocasion de amplificar, y exaltar la misma Religion. Hanse descubierto poco ha ultra de las Philipinas en el vastissimo Oceano de la China, que tus naves algunas vezes navegan, nuevas Islas, à las quales no ha penetrado aun la Religion Catolica. Esto hemos sabido por cartas del Venerable Hermano el arçobispo de Manila, y por la narracion, que nos han hecho los amados hijos Religiosos de la Compañia de Jesus, que han venido à Roma con el titulo de Procuradores. En estas Islas, segun cuentan, ay un muy gran numero de habitadores de excelente natural, y bien dispuestos para abrazar la Fè Catolica. Y assi te exortamos, y rogamos, por el gran deseo, que tienes de propagar el Divino Culto, y la verdad Catolica, que ofreciendose buena ocasion, quieras promover obra de tanto momento para la salvacion de las Almas, y especialmente tengas por bien encomendar por tus letras al Rey Catolico una nueva Mission, que se destine para aquellas mismas Islas. Porque

aunque su piedad, que heredò de la sangre, y exemplos de tu Magestad, lo incita, y enciende à ello abundantemente, no obstante tenemos bien entendido de quanto peso será para con èl mismo tan insigne recomendacion. Y tenemos verdaderamente motivo, por el qual agradecemos al mismo Rey, Nieto tuyo, como lo hemos hecho por nuestras letras, porque sigue tan esplendida, y religiosamente las huellas de su Abuelo, y muestra estudio singular de amplificar la Religion, no solo en Europa, sino tambien en las Regiones remotissimas, donde no ha mucho que señalò para los Predicadores Evangelicos, que trabajan en la Isla California, suma no pequeña de dinero fixa, y perpetua. Y por lo que mira à ayudar à las Islas de nuevo descubiertas, y introducir en ellas la Christiana Fè, lo que principalmente parece deber hazer el Rey Catolico es, que mande al Governador de las Islas Philipinas, que apreste Nave, y dè à los Operarios, que han de ser embiados à ellas, lo necessario, lo qual quanto antes se pudiere hazer, tanto mayor será el fruto, y tanto con mayor abundancia experimentará el favor del Supremo Señor consigo, y con sus Reynos. Entretanto, pues, encomendamos encarecidamente à tu Magestad al amado hijo Andrés Serrano, Religioso de la Compañia de Jesus, uno de los Procuradores, que de las Islas Philipinas vinieron à estas partes, que va à ti por este negocio, para tratar contigo de la oportunidad de emprender tan saludable expedicion, y para acelerarla, encenderte con sus ruegos, como à persona que conoce ser de sumo consejo. Rogamos à Dios, que te guarde con perpetua felicidad, y con grande amor te damos la Bendicion Apostolica.

Dado en Rome, primero dia de Marzo de 1705 de nuestro Pontificado año quinto.

English translation, by R.L.

To our dearest son in Christ, Luis, most Christian King of the French.

Pope Clement XI

Dearest son in Christ, greetings, and an apostolic blessing.

We rightly believe that the happiness that your Kingdom has enjoyed for so many years must not only be attributed to your special diligence in propagating and defending the Catholic Religion—something your Majesty has shown clearly and magnificently—but also that nothing can be more agreeable to you than to give you some opportunity to enlarge and exalt the same Religion. New islands have been discovered recently in the extremely vast Chinese Ocean which your ships sometimes sail through, beyond the Philippines, where the Catholic Religion has not yet penetrated. This we have learned through letters from our Venerable Brother, the Archbishop of Manila, and through the narrative made to us by beloved sons, Religious men of the Society of Jesus, who have come to Rome with the title of Procurators. In these islands, they say, there is a large number of inhabitants with an excellent nature, and well disposed to embrace the Catholic Faith. That is why we exhort you, and beg you, given the great desire that you have of propagating the Divine Cult, and the Catholic truth, if given a good opportunity, you might wish to promote a project of so much importance for the salvation of souls, and in particular you might think it appropriate to write to the Cath-

olic King to recommend that a new Mission be established in said Islands, because, although his piety, which he inherited by blood from Your Majesty and by your examples, incites him, and sufficiently urges him to do so, nevertheless we understand that such an august recommendation may have much weight. And we have reason to thank said King, your Grandson, as we have in fact done in a letter, because he follows so splendidly and religiously the steps of his Grandfather, and shows a particular diligence in propagating the Religion, not only in Europe, but also in the remotest regions; for instance, not long ago he earmarked not a small sum of money every year, on a permanent and perpetual basis, for the Gospel workers working in the Island [sic] of California. And as far as helping the newly-discovered islands, and in introducing the Faith there, it seems that the main thing that the Catholic King should do is to order the Governor of the Philippines to make ready a ship, and give necessities to the Workers who ought to be sent there, and the sooner the better will be the fruit, and the greater the blessing from our Supreme Lord he will attract upon himself and his Kingdoms. In the meantime, then, we recommend to Your Majesty our beloved son, André Serrano, Religious of the Society of Jesus, one of the Procurators who have come from the Philippine Islands to these parts, and who goes there to see you on this business, to discuss with you the opportunity of undertaking such a salutary expedition, and in order to expedite it, to excite you with his requests, as to a person whom he knows to be of supreme wisdom. We beg the Lord to keep you in perpetual happiness, and with great love we give you the Apostolic Blessing.

Given at Rome, on the first day of March of 1705, the fifth year of our Pontificate.

Document 1705D

Brief from Pope Clement XI to King Philip V of Spain

Sources: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 341-342; RAH 9/2670; Serrano, *op. cit.*, chapter V; Le Gobien, *op. cit.*, V (Paris, 1706), pp. XLI-XLVI; XV (1781): 224-230; VIII (1819): 372-375; also in "Clementis XI Epistolæ et Brevia selectiora" I (Rome, 1724), p. 195.

Note: There is a note in margin that says: "In favor of the Philippine Province."

Original text in Latin

*Charissimo in Christo Filio Nostro Philippo Hispaniarum Regi Catholico.
Clemens Papa XI.*

Charissime in Christo Fili Noster Salutem &c.

Confisi gratam admodum fore eximiæ pietati Maiestatis tua occasionem explicandi præclarum zelum, quo pro Divini Cultus, et Catholicæ Religionis propagatione fervet, liberti animo eam Tibi proponimus, quæ satis insignis in præsens occurrere videtur ex his, quæ suis litteris Venerabilis Frater Archiepiscopus Manilæ, et viva voce dilecti Filij Religiosi Viri Andreas Serranus, et Dominicus Medel Societatis Jesu ex Philippinis Insulis huc advecti nobis exposuerunt. Referunt itaque appulsos elapsis annis vi tempestatis, sed potius, ut pium est credere, fuisse Divina Providentia ad præfatas Philippinas adductos externos non nullos homines, qui se ad quasdam Insulas pertinere dixerunt, quas conjicere erat, nondum ab ullo Nautarum nostri Orbis fuisse detectas, aut saltem esse hactenus incerta, et obscura fama vix cognitæ, et inter Philippinas ipsas, et Marianas Insulas iacere, multas illas quidem numero, et Incolis valde frequentes. Quod vero [fol. 341v] attinet ad eorum Populorum Indolem ipsi nedum suo testimonio, sed eo, quod præferebant, miti, ac facili ingenio satis explicabant docilem eam esse, ex in æquitatem summo pere propensam, idololatræ vero superstitionis prorsus ne sciam. Quæ ubi veritati undequaque consentiant, campum, et quidem præclarum, aperire videntur Fidelibus ad inferendas in illas Partes non magno admodum, ut creditur, locorum intervallo, a regionibus, quæ authoritati tuæ subsunt, dissitas Christianam fidem, ubi tu propenso, quo esse soles, in pium Missionum opus animo, Sacris

Operarijs eo proficisci paratis navigio, et commeatum per administros tuos suppeditari mandes, quod ut facere velis, te etiam, atque etiam hortamus, et te quidem facturum non levi nobis argumento pollicemus, cum exploratum habeamus quanto fervore, et quam liberali manu eandem Dei causam alijs in locis, et præcipue in ea Americæ Septentrionalis Insula, quæ California dicitur, promoveris, unde certe nobis magna suppetit tibi gratu- [fol. 342] - landi occasio, et perpetua tuo nomini laus accessit. Itaque Animarum lucri, quod nunc quoque a proposita nova profectio speratur, ac proinde meriti, quod iure maximum inde expectandum est, itemque spiritualis mercedis participes procul dubio efficieris, ac præcipuus tanti boni author merito reputaberis. De qua re, quæ sane, pro munere nostro nobis valde cordi est, tecum pluribus aget, tum Nuncius noster Ordinarius, tum idem ipse dilectus Filius Religiosus vir Andream Serranus e Societate Jesu, quem laudabili zelo promovendi tam salutarem expeditionem intime incensum, ac propterea Regio tuo favore dignum, etiam, atque etiam commendamus Maiestati tuæ, quam diu sospitem, et bonis omnibus cumulatam esse cupimus, eidemque Apostolicam Benedictionem amantissime impertimur.

Datum Romæ, et die prima Martij 1705. Pontificatus nostri anno quinto.

Spanish translation, by Fr. Serrano

Al muy amado en Christo Hijo nuestro Phelipe, Rey Catolico de las Españas.

Clemente Papa XI.

Carissimo en Christo Hojo nuestro, salud, y Apostolica Bendicion.

Confiados, que serà sumamente grata à la eximia piedad de tu Magestad la ocasion de explicar el excelente zelo, en que arde, de la propagacion del culto Divino, y de la Catolica Religion, te la proponemos de buena gana, y con animo gustoso; la qual se ofrece al presente muy insigne, por lo que nos noticia por sus cartas el Venerable Hermano Arçobispo de Manila, y con viva voz nos han dicho los amados hijos Religiosos de la Compañia de Jesus Andrés Serrano, y Domingo Medel, que de las Islas Philipinas han venido à estas partes. Refieren, pues, que estos años passados arribaron con la fuerza de una tempestad, aunque principalmente (como piadosamente creemos) fueron llevados de la Divina Providencia à las susodichas Philipinas, algunos hombres, que dixeron pertececer à unas Islas, que segun se congetura, no han sido aun descubiertas de ninguno de los navegantes de nuestro Orbe, ò à lo menos no avia noticia de ellas, sino incierta, y obscura; las quales tienen su situacion entre las mismas Islas Philipinas, y Marianas, y son muchas en numero, y muy pobladas de gente. Y por lo que mira al natural de sus habitadores, no tanto por el testimonio de ellos, quanto por lo que ne sí mostravan, davan à entender ser dociles, de ingenio facil, y mansos en grande manera, inclinados à la equidad, y del todo ignorantes de la idolatrica supersticion. Las quales cosas, siendo por todas partes conformes à la verdad, abren à los Fieles un gran campo para introducir la Fè Christiana en aquellas partes, que segun se cree, no distan mucho

de las Regiones, que están sugetas à tu dominio; donde tu con el animo propense (segun tienes de costumbre) à la piedadosa obra de Misiones, mandes à tus Ministros den Navios, y las cosas necessarias à los sagrados Operarios, que estan prontos para ir à dichas Islas; y que assi lo hagas, te rogamos, y exortamos una, y otra vez, y tenemos por cierto, con no ligero fundamento, que lo haras, pues sabemos con quanto fervor, y con quan liberal mano has promovido la misma causa de Dios en otras partes, y especialmente en la Isla de la America Septentrional, que llaman California; de lo qual verdaderamente tenemos ocasion grande de darte gracias, y parabienes, y se aumenta una perpetua alabanza de tu nombre. Y de la misma manera sin duda seras participante del logro de las almas, que se espera tambien aora de la propuesta nueva expedicion, y del merito, que con razon se espera de ella muy grande, y de su espiritual remuneracion, y justamente seras tenido por el Autor principal de tanto bien. De la qual materia, que por la obligacion de nuestro cargo la tenemos muy en el corazon, tratarà contigo mucho assi nuestro Nuncio Ordinario, como el mismo amado hijo Andrés Serrano, Religioso de la Compañia de Jesus, al qual (grandemente encendido de promover con loable zelo tan saludable empresa, y por esso digno de tu Real favor) una, y otra vez encomendamos à tu Magestad, à quien deseamos larga vida llena de todos bienes, y damos con grande amor la Apostolica bendicion.

Dado en Roma, primero dia de Março de 1705, de nuestro Pontificado año quinto.

English translation, by R.L.

To our most beloved Son in Christ, Philip, Catholic King of the Spaniards.

Pope Clement XI.

To our dearest Son in Christ, greetings, etc.

Trusting that the distinguished piety of Your Majesty will welcome any opportunity of explaining the excellent zeal that moves you to propagate the Divine cult and the Catholic Religion, it is our pleasure to propose to You at present one very good opportunity that we have heard about, through a letter we received from our Venerable Brother, the Archbishop of Manila, and through the verbal report made to us by our beloved sons, Religious men of the Society of Jesus, Andrés Serrano and Domingo Medel, who have come from the Philippine Islands to these parts. They relate, in fact, that these past years some men drifted to said Philippine Islands, pushed by a storm, although we piously believe that they were led by Divine Providence. These men said that they were from some islands which, it is believed, have not yet been discovered by any of the navigators of our World, or at least, there were no certain notices about them, except obscure ones. They are situated between the Islands of the Philippines themselves, and the Marianas, and in any case there are numerous, and heavily populated. And, regarding the character of their inhabitants, it seems, not because they said so themselves, but rather as shown by their actions, that they are generally docile, easy to deal with, peaceful and fair-minded, and above all, ignorant of any superstitious idol worship. If such things turn out to be true, they can usually open the way for the Faith-

ful to introduce the Christian Faith to those parts, which are believed to lie not far away from the regions subject to your dominion, where you, with your usual disposition, support the pious work of the Missions, and may order your Ministers to give ships and necessities to the sacred Workers who are ready to go to said Islands. We beg you to do so, and we exhort you to same, once again, and we are positive that you will, because we know how zealously and how liberally you have promoted the same cause of God in other parts, and in particular in the Island called California in North America. By the way, we take this great opportunity to sincerely thank you and congratulate you, and may your dominions increase and your name be praised forever for it. And in the same way you no doubt will be a party to the salvation of the souls that, it is now hoped, will result from this newly-proposed expedition, and will share in the very great merit and spiritual reward which are reasonably expected from it, and you will be justly held as the principal Author of so much good. Regarding this matter, which we have very much at heart, given the duty of our position, our Ordinary Nuncio, as well as our beloved son, Andrés Serrano, Religious of the Society of Jesus, will deal with you at length. Once again we recommend this matter to Your Majesty (greatly inspired as you are to promote with praiseworthy zeal such a salutary enterprise, and for that reason worthy of your Royal favor), and we wish you a long life full of every good things, and it is with great love that we give you our Apostolic blessing.

Given at Rome, on the first day of March of 1705, the fifth year of our Pontificate.

Document 1705E

Brief from Pope Clement XI to the Archbishop of Mexico

Sources: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 339-340v; Serrano, op. cit., chap. VI; Le Gobien, op. cit., tome V, pp. XLVII-L; XV, pp. 230-236; VIII, pp. 376-378; "Clementis XI Epistolæ," p. 198.

Original text in Latin

Venerabili Fratri Archiepiscopo Mexicano.

Clemens Papa XI.

Venerabilis frater salutem &c.

Spectatam pietatem, ac zelum, fraternitatis tuæ affuturam nobis esse confidimus, dum quod muneris nostri ratio postulat, ad propagandam Christi fidem in alias terrarum partes, in quas nondum invecta est, arepta propitia occasione animum cogitationesque nostros dirigimus. Admoniti itaque per litteras a Venerabili fratre Archiepiscopo Manilæ, et coram a Religiosis Viris Societatis Jesú, qui procuratorio nomine ab Insulis Philippinis Romam nuper advenere, spem ibi certam elapsis annis appulsisse detegendi novas Insulas in Oceano Sinico, ex quo nonnulli illarum partium Incolæ in eas oras coniecti fidem de illis fecerunt, et locorum conditione, Populorumque Indole explicata non obscure indicarunt, magnam ibi messem proponi, ubi eo mitantur Evangelici Operarij qui in fide erudiant homines pacis per se, ac æquitatis amantes, eoque magis ad Christi Fidem suscipiendam idoneos, quo nihil usque modo erroris de idolatrica superstitione contraxerunt, licet alioquin in tenebris, quoad veri Dei cultum, et in umbra mortis versentur. Ut itaque fax veritatis in eas Insulas pro spiritali tot Animarum salute inferatur omnino cupimus, et postquam eximiam pietatem Catholici Regis ad promovendum, qua solet, liberali manu tantum opus incedere cura- [fol. 339v] -vimus fraternitatem quoque tuam omni studio hortamus, et quibus in rebus per te, aut per Fideles vigilantia tuæ commissos opem, tum spiritualem, tum temporalem negotio, quod tanti momenti est, ad Divinam gloriam conferre posse cognonevis, eam præstare diligentissime velis, quod cumulum addet tuis apud Deum meritis, et nos-

tram tibi benevolentiam et uberius conciliabit; fraternitati tuæ Apostolicam Benedictionem peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romæ, die prima Martij 1705.

Spanish translation, by Fr. Serrano

Al Venerable Hermano Arçobispo de Mexico.

Clemente Papa XI.

Venerable Hermano, salud, &c.

Confiamos, que tu conocida piedad, y zelo nos assistirá propicia en el tiempo, que por pedirlo assi la obligacion de nuestro oficio, encaminamos nuestro animo, y pensamientos à propagar la Fè de Christo en otras Regiones, donde no ha sido aun introducida, valiendonos de la favorable ocasion, que para ello se ha ofrecido. Aviendo sido avisados por cartas de nuestro Venerable Hermano el Arçobispo de Manila, y en presencia por los Religiosos de la Compañia de Jesus, que con oficio de Procuradores vinieron de las Islas Philipinas à Roma, que estos años passados ha avido esperança cierta de descubrir nuevas Islas en el Oceano Sinoco, desde què algunos naturales de aquellas partes, traídos à sus riberas, dieron de ellas testimonio, y declarada la condicion de los lugares, y natural de sus habitadores, claramente mostraron proponerse allí una gran mies, à donde sean embiados los Obreros Evangelicos, que enseñen la Fè à sus habitadores: los quales son de suyo amantes de la paz, y de la equidad, y por esso mas a proposito para recibir la Fe de Christo, y especialmente no aviendo contraído hasta aora yerro alguno de Idolatrica supersticion; aunque por otra parte, en quanto al culto del verdadero Dios vivan en las tinieblas, y sombra de la muerte. Por lo qual deseamos con grandes ansias, que la antorcha de la verdad se introduzga en dichas Islas para la salud espiritual de tantas almas. Y despues de aver procurado encender la eximia piedad del Rey Catholico, para que promueva, como suele, con liberal mano tan grande obra, exortamos tambien con muy especial afecto a tu Caridad, que en todas aquellas cosas, que conocieres poder ayudar espiritual, y temporalmente, à gloria de Dios, à negocio, que es de tanto momento, por tí mismo, y por medio de los Fieles, que estan encomendados à tu Pastoral cuydado, lo quieras diligentemente executar; lo qual à mas de el crecido merito, que te dará para con Dios, conciliarà tambien en nosotros una especial benevolencia para contigo, à quien con grande amor damos la bendicion Apostolica.

Dado en Roma, primero de Março de mil setecientos y cinco, {de nuestro Pontificado año quinto.}

English translation, by R.L.

To our Venerable Brother the Archbishop of Mexico.

Pope Clement XI.

Venerable Brother, greetings, etc.

We trust that the known piety and zeal of Your Fraternity will assist us in the future, since we have made up our mind to propagate the Faith of Christ in other regions, where it has not yet been introduced—this being the duty of our position—and we take advantage of the opportunity that has offered itself to think of same. Having been informed by a letter from our Venerable Brother, the Archbishop of Manila, and verbally by a Religious of the Society of Jesus who came with the title of Procurator from the Philippine Islands to Rome, that there was certain hope these past years of discovering new Islands in the Chinese Ocean, from which some natives from those parts drifted to their shores, and gave information about them, declaring their situations, and the character of their inhabitants. Clearly they showed that there was a large harvest available there, should Gospel workers be sent to teach the Faith to their inhabitants, who show themselves to be peaceful and fair-minded, and therefore most suitable to receive the Faith of Christ, specially because they have not yet acquired any sign of superstitious idol worship, although on the other hand, with respect to the cult of the true God, they live in darkness and the shadow of death. That is why we very anxiously wish that the torch of the truth be introduced in said Islands for the spiritual salvation of so many souls. And after having tried to excite the august piety of the Catholic King, so that he would, as usual, promote such a great work with a liberal hand, we also exhort with very special affection Your Fraternity, which in all those things might know how to provide spiritual, and also material help, for the glory of God, to this business which is of so much importance, either by yourself or by whatever efforts you may do by means of the Faithful entrusted to your Pastoral care. This will not only gain you increased merit, towards God, but will also foster in ourselves a special benevolence towards Your Fraternity, to whom with great love we give the Apostolic blessing.

Given at Rome, on the first day of March of 1705.¹

1 Ed. note: The ARSI copy must have been a draft copy, because it bears the earlier date: “quarta Aprilis 1704.”

Document 1705F

Brief from Pope Clement XI to the Archbishop of Manila

Sources: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 337-338v; Serrano, *op. cit.*, chap. VII; Le Gobien, *op. cit.*, tome V, pp. LI-LV; XV, pp. 236-241; VIII, pp. 378-381; Stöcklein's Welt-Bott, n° 127a.

Original text in Latin

Venerabilis Fratri Archiepiscopo Manilæ

Clemens Papa XI.

Venerabilis frater salutem &c

Nullis conclusa finibus Apostolica nostra charitas tunc maxime exultat cum in cordibus eorum, qui in remotissimis a nobis terrarum partibus agunt, fervere zelum amplificandæ Catholicæ Religionis, et filialem in Nos, atque in hac Sanctam Sedem observantiam vigere conspiciamus. Hoc sane gaudio affecti fuimus, ubi tum et fraternitatis tuæ litteris, tum ex narratione nobis facta a Religiosis Viris Procuratoribus Societatis Jesú, qui ex istis partibus huc nuper advenerunt, agnovimus spem, ac desiderium a te, et ab illis qui solliciti sunt de Fidei in alia loca ad quæ nondum delata est, ex quo per fortuitum elapsis annis nonnullorum hominum ad istas Insulas appulsum innotuit, Regiones, unde illi prodierunt, amplas esse, et populorum frequentia cultas, ibique homines ingenio mites, ac in æquitatem propensos, facile imbui posse suavissimis Evangelicæ legis præceptis, utpote qui ethnicæ superstitionis nullum unquam antea præiudicium, quo mens eorum labefactari posset, persenserint. Adiecimus itaque nos ipsi quo maiori potuimus studio, animum ad tantum Dominici gregis bonum promovendum, egimusque tum nostris litteris, tum per Nuncium nostrum omni [fol. 337v] officiorum genere apud Catholici Regis Maiestatem, ne dimitteretur tam plæclara lucrandi animas, et demerendi Deum occasio, quam imo Rex ipse complecti vellet ea pietate, atque magnanimitate, qua ipse alibi Operarijs veritatem ad exterarum nationes allaturis adfuerat. Dum itaque fructum nostræ sollicitudinis relatuos nos esse confidimus, significandum tibi esse duximus, quantum re ipsa nobis cordi sit, non tam ut commendemus curam, ac vigilantiam tuam in suscipiendo, ac fovendo tanti momenti negotio, quam

ut tibi sponte incitato stimulos addamus, quatenus consilijs tuis, et fuis ad Deum precibus, et pijs crediti tibi Populi studijs, atque conatibus urgeas hoc opus Deo procul dubio gratissimum, dum nos singularis benevolentiae, qua te complectimur, perpetuum pignus Apostolicam Benedictionem fraternitati tuae peramantes impertimur.

*Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum sub Annulo Piscatoris, die prima Martij 1705. Pontificatus nostri anno quinto.*¹

[Endorsement:] *1704. Brevi, id est Litteræ Pontificiæ de horis Insulis detectis in Mari Sinico.*

Spanish translation, by Fr. Serrano

Al Venerable Hermano Arçobispo de Manila.

Clemente Papa XI.

Venerable Hermano, salud, y Apostolica Bendicion.

Nuestra Apostolica caridad, à ningunos terminos ceñida, entonces se alegra sumamente, quando vè afervorizarse el zelo de amplificar la Religion Catolica, y que florece la filial observancia para con Nosotros, y esta santa Sede en los corazones de aquellos, que viven mas lexos de nosotros en las remotissimas partes de la tierra. Este gozo tuvimos verdaderamente, quando assi por las letras de tu Caridad, como por la narracion, que nos hizieron los Religiosos Procuradores de la Compañia de Jesus, quienes de estas partes poco ha vinieron à Nos, conocimos esperança, y gran deseo en tí, y en aquellos, quienes andan solicitos del aumento de la Fè, de introducir esta misma Fè en aquellas partes, à las quales no ha sido aun llevada, desde que se supo por el arribo fortuito de algunos hombres à estas Islas, estos años passados, que las Regiones, de donde ellos salieron, son dilatadas, y muy numerosas de gente, y que sus habitantes de su genio mansos, y inclinados à la equidad, podian facilmente ser instruidos en los preceptos suavissimos de la Ley Evangelica, por ser de tal calidad, que jamas sintieron perjuizio alguno de la ethnica supersticion, que pudiera aver cegado sus entendimientos. Y assi nosotros mismos aplicamos nuestro animo con el mayor esfuerço, que nos es possible, à promover tan gran bien para el Rebaño del Señor, y hemos tratado tanto por medio de nuestras letras, quanto por el de nuestro Nuncio con todo genero de diligencias, con la Magestad del Rey Catholico, que no dexè passar tan excelente ocasion de lograr almas, y agradar à Dios; la qual el mismo Rey antes quisiera abrazar con aquella piedad, y magnanimidad, con que el mismo lo ha hecho en otras ocasiones, embiando Operarios, que lleven la verdad à Naciones estrañas. Mientras, pues, confiamos que hemos de contar el fruto de nuestra solicitud, juzgamos que te debemos significar, quanto tenemos en el corazon, no tanto el encomendarte el cuydado, y tu vigilancia en recibir, y fomentar negocio de tanta importancia, quanto añadir estímulos à tí ya mo-

¹ Ed. note: The ARSI copy must have been a suggested draft, because it bears the following date line instead: "Datum Romæ et die quarta Aprilis 1704."

vido, para que con tus consejos, y oraciones à Dios, y con piadosas obras, y conatos del Pueblo à tí encomendado, alentadamente instes esta obra, sin duda gratissima à Dios, mientras Nosotros te damos con grande amor la Apostolica bendicion, como prenda perpetua de la singular benevolencia con que te abrazamos.

Dado en Roma en San Pedro, debaxo del Anillo del Pescador, en el primer dia de Março de 1705, de nuestro Pontificado año quinto.

English translation, by R.L.

To our Venerable Brother, the Archbishop of Manila.

Pope Clement XI.

To our Venerable Brother, greetings, and our Apostolic Blessing.

Our Apostolic charity, not limited in any way, is therefore extremely pleased when we see the zeal to amplify the Catholic Faith burning, and a filial observance towards Us, and this Holy See, flourish in the hearts of those who live farthest from Us in the remotest parts of the earth. We were thus very much pleased when advised, not only through the letter that Your Fraternity, but also through the narrative made to us by Religious men of the Society of Jesus, their Procurators, who have come from those parts recently, we learned about the hope, and the great desire that you, and those wishing to increase the Faith, have of introducing said Faith in those parts where it has not yet been taken to, and from which some men drifted to these Islands in these past years; that the regions where they come from are vast and very populated with people, and that their inhabitants are by nature docile and fair-minded, they could be easily taught the most sweet precepts of the law of the Gospel, since they were never affected by any ethnic [sic] superstition,¹ that might have blunted their understanding. Thus we ourselves apply our spirit to make a greater effort than is possible for us, to promote something that is so good for the flock of the Lord, and we have recommended through our letters, as well as through our Nuncio, very diligently, to His Majesty the Catholic King, not to let such an excellent opportunity of saving souls and please God go by; we hope that said King will want to grab same with that piety and liberality which he has shown on other occasions, by sending Workers to carry the truth to foreign Nations. Meanwhile, then, we trust that our solicitude will not be in vain, and think that we must let you know something that is close to our heart, which is to recommend to you care and vigilance in accepting, and fomenting a business of such importance, and so moved, we urge you to encourage others by your advice, by prayers to God, and with pious works and efforts made by the People, while We give you with great love our Apostolic Blessing, as a perpetual mark of the special benevolence with which we embrace you.

¹ Ed. note: I think that the word "ethnic" in the original was a misprint for "diabolic," the word used in the previous documents.

Given at Rome in St. Peter, under the ring of the Good Shepherd, on the first day of March of 1705, the fifth year of our Pontificate.

[Endorsement:]¹ 1704. Briefs, that is Letters of the Pope about some Islands discovered in the China Sea.

1 Ed. note: This endorsement appears only on the ARSI (draft) copy.

Document 1705G

Letter from Cardinal Paolucci to Fr. Serrano, dated Rome 5 March 1705

Sources: Serrano, *op. cit.*, chap. VIII; Le Gobien, *op. cit.*, tome V, pp. LVI-LXIV; XV, pp. 241-252; VIII, pp. 382-387; Davin's "Cartas edificantes," III (Madrid, 1734), pp. 270-297.

Note: The date of this document is indeed 5 March, although the draft may have been dated 26 February 1705.

Original text in Latin

Copia de la carta, que mando su Santidad al Eminentissimo Cardenal Paulucio, su primer Ministro de Estado, escribir al P. Andrés Serrano, Procurador de la Provincia de Philipinas de la Compañia de Jesus, antes de salir de Roma.

Adm. Rev. Pater.

Ex ijs, quæ Sanctissimus Dominus noster nuperrime scripsit Serenissimis Regibus Christianissimo, et Catholico, necnon Archiepiscopis Mexicano, et Manilensi, multoque etiam uberius ex ijs, quæ pluries Paternitati tuæ coram explicavit, satis, ut arbitrator, intelligere potuisti, quam gratum, atque iucuncum acciderit suæ Sanctitati nuncium a te ipso non ita pridem allatum, quod propitia offeratur occasio propagandæ Catholicæ Religionis in eas Oceani Sinici Insulas, quæ ante hac orbi nostro nullo plane commercio notæ, divini numinis providentia, recens detectæ sunt: quantoque insuper studio, et zelo sua Sanctitas promovendum suscepit negotium tanti momenti, quod in maximam Christiani nominis gloriam, animarumque salutem cessurum probe novit, ac sperat, divina opitulante gratia, ad optatum exitum perductum iri. Verum tamen Sanctissimi Patris eximia, et vere Apostolica charitas, quæque abunde te monuit, Pastor alii Officij debito satis adhuc factum non esse ducens, cum te Roma brevi discessurum audiverit, ut reditum ad Philippinas Insulas aggrediaris, meas hasce litteras, quasi itineris comiter, ad te dari iussit, ut Pontificiam ea in re sollicitudinem assidue tibi in mentem revocent, et quam enixe commendent. Itaque sua Sanctitas, me interprete, te, cuius perspectæ pietati, et zelo plurimum considit, rursus etiam, atque etiam

admonet, et hortatur, ut nulli labori, nullis officijs, nulli parcas industriæ, qua tam sanctum, et pium opus urgeri, ac perfici posse cognoveris. Illud autem in primis diligenter curare te vult, ut necessaria ad memoratas novas Insulas expeditio sacrorum Operariorum, quanto citius fieri poterit, adornetur, et peragatur, quorum ope infelices illi mortalium greges, qui in tenebris ambulant, lucem Evangelicæ veritatis aspicere, ac Creatorem, et Salvatorem suum agnoscere incipiant. Alios præterea pios Fideles per te excitari vehementer cupit Sanctitas sua; ut quæcumque poterunt spiritualia, vel temporalia subsidia ad provehenda in illis partibus Fidei semina, et incrementa, liberali animo conferri velint. Quibus omnibus conficiendis, etsi sua Sanctitas minime vereatur te sponte tua sedulo intentum fore, nihil ominis novos hosce stimulos, tamquam calcari currenti, admovendos tibi duxit, ut certius intelligas Sanctitati suæ nihil magis in votis esse, quam ut tu hac in re, et Dei honori, et Pontificio desiderio, et tui Ordinis instituto, unde plurima, et quidem egregia tibi suppeditabuntur exempla, quæ imitanda proponere tibi debes, quam cumulatissime satisfacias. Cæterum ut Missionarij, quos ad trasmittendum in antedictas novas Insulas Divinæ Gloriæ zelus accendet, eo libentius huiusmodi profectionem suscipiant, ibique Catholicæ Fidei prædicationi alacrius etiam, atque studiosius incumbant, Sanctissimus Pater universis eisdem Missionarijs, et eorum cuilibet, in mortis articulo constitutis, si vere pœnitentes, et confessi, ac sacra communionem refecti, vel quatenus id facere nequiverint, saltem contriti, nomen Iesu ore, si potuerint, sinminus corde, devote invocaverint, plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum indulgentiam, et remissionem cum Apostolica Benedictione misericorditer in Domino concedit, et elargitur. Strenuo itaque, erectoque animo Pontificijs mandatis obsequere, in omnibus labora, opus fac Evangelistæ, ministerium tuum imple, sciens repositam esse tibi coronam iustitiæ, quam reddet tibi Dominus in illa die iustus iudex, dum ego Pontificio nomine hæc tibi significare iussus Deum precor conatus, studiaque tua secundare benigne velit, tibi que prosperum iter cum assidua cælestium gratiarum accessione largiri.

Data Romæ die 5 Martij 1705.

Paternitatis tuæ

Ad officia, J. Cardinalis Paulutius.

Spanish translation, by Fr. Serrano

Muy Reverendo Padre.

Por los Breves, que el Santissimo Nuestro Señor muy poco ha escribió à los Serenissimos Reyes Christianissimo, y Catholico, y à los Arçobispos de Mexico, y Manila, y mucho mas abundantemente por las cosas, que muchas vezes significò en presencia à V.P. avràs podido entender, segun juzgo, quan agradable, y gustosa fue para su Santidad la nueva, que poco ha tu mismo le traxiste, de la favorable ocasion, que se ofrece de propagar la Religion Catolica en aquellas Islas del Oceano Sinico, que antes de aora con ningun comercio, conocidas à nuestro Orbe, aora recientemente por providencia de Dios han sido descubiertas; y assimismo con quanto estudio, y zelo su Santidad aya tomado el promover negocio de tanta importancia, que ha conocido claramente que

ha de ceder en muy grande gloria del nombre Christiano, y de la salvacion de las almas, y espera, que con la Divina gracia se ha de llevar al deseado fin. Pero la excelente, y verdaderamente Apostolica caridad del Santissimo Padre (la qual no permite estrechase à terminos algunos) juzgando que aun no ha hecho bastantemente lo que debe a su Pastoral Oficio, con todo aquello, que hasta aora ha hecho, y copiosamente te ha amonestado, aviendo oido que en breve te partiràs de Roma, para emprender la buelta a las Islas Philipinas, me mandò darte estas letras, como compañeras del camino, para que te traygan continuamente à la memoria la Pontificia solicitud en esta materia, y te la encomienden apretadamente. Y assi su Santidad, siendo yo su interprete, de nuevo una, y otra vez te amonesta, y exorta, confiando mucho en tu conocida piedad, y zelo, que no perdones à ningun trabajo, à ningunos officios, y à ninguna industria, que conozcas pueda conducir à llevar adelante, y poner en perfeccion tan santa, y piadosa obra. Lo que quiere primeramente de tí, es, que cuydes con diligencia, que quanto antes fuere possible se prevenga, y disponga la expedicion necessaria de sagrados Operarios, para las ya nombradas nuevas Islas, con cuyo favor, y ayuda aquellos infelizes rebaños de los mortales, que andan en tinieblas, comiencen à ver la luz de la Evangelica verdad, y à conocer à su Criador, y Salvador. Demàs de esto desea grandemente su Santidad, que por tí sean movidos los piadosos Fieles, para que se animen à acudir liberalmente con los socorros espirituales, y temporales, que pudieren, para plantar en aquellas partes la semilla de la Fè, y aumento de ella. Y aunque su Santidad confia, que tu de tu voluntad atenderas diligentemente à hazer todas estas cosas, no obstante tuvo por bien de aplicarte estos nuevos estímulos, como la espuela al que corre, para que mas ciertamente entiendas que ninguna cosa desea mas su Santidad, sino que tu en este negocio satisfagas colmadissimamente à la honra de Dios, y al deseo Pontificio, y al Instituto de tu Orden, en la qual hallaras muchos, y verdaderamente insignes exemplos, que te debes proponer à tí mismo para la imitacion. Y para que los Missioneros, à los quales encenderà. el zelo de la gloria Divina a passar à las ya dichas nuevas Islas, reciban esta empresa con animo mas gustoso, y allí se apliquen à la predicacion de la Catholica Fè mas alegremente, y con mayor estudio, el Santissimo Padre concede, y dà en el Señor misericordiosamente, con bendicion Apostolica, plenaria Indulgencia, y remission de todos sus pecados, à todos los mismos Missioneros, y à qualquiera de ellos, que puestos en el articulo de la muerte, verdaderamente penitentes, y confessados, y recibida la Sagrada Comision, y no pudiendo hazer esto, à lo menos contritos invocaren devotamente el Nombre de Jesus con la boca, si pudieren, y si no, con el corazon. Y assi con fuerte, y alentado animo obedece à los mandatos Pontificios, trabaja en todas las cosas, haz obra de Evangelista, cumple tu ministerio, sabiendo que te està guardada la Corona de justicia, que te darà el Señor justo Juez en aquel dia, mientras yo en nombre de su Santidad, mandado significarte estas cosas, ruego à Dios quiera benigno faborecer tus esfuerzos, y cuydados, y darte prospero viage con continua asistencia de celestiales gracias.

Dado en Roma, dia 5 de Março 1705.

English translation, by R.L.

Copy of a letter which His Holiness asked His Eminence Cardinal Paolucci, his first Minister of State, to write to Fr. Andrés Serrano, Procurator of the Society of Jesus for the Province of the Philippines, before he left Rome.

Very Reverend Father,

By the Briefs that His Holiness our Lord has written recently to their Most Serene Highnesses the Most Christian King, and Catholic King, and to the Archbishops of Mexico, and of Manila, and much more so by the actions that he has taken many times in the presence of Your Paternity, you will have understood, I think, how agreeable and pleasant was for His Holiness to hear the news, that you have brought to him recently, of the possibility of expanding the Catholic Religion to those Islands in the Chinese Ocean, which heretofore had no contact with, and were unknown to, our World, but were recently discovered, thanks to God's providence. In addition, it was with great consideration and zeal that His Holiness examined the promotion of a matter of such importance, as he clearly recognized that it had to end up in the greater glory of the Christian name, and the salvation of souls, and hope that, with Divine grace, it has to lead to the desired objective. Nevertheless, the excellent and truly Apostolic charity of our Holy Father (which knows no bounds), judging that he had not done enough, on account of his Pastoral position, despite what he has already done up to now, has amply admonished you. Upon learning that you will leave Rome shortly, to begin your return voyage to the Philippine Islands, he has ordered me to give you this letter, to accompany you along the way, so that it would continuously act as a reminder of the Pontifical solicitude in this matter, and so be an appropriate inspiration for you. Thus His Holiness, through myself as an interpreter, once again admonish you, and exhort you, relying very much on your known piety, and zeal, not to forego any hardships, any jobs, nor any efforts which you know might lead to some progress, to realize such a holy, and pious project. What he wants from you is, firstly, to take care that as soon as possible the necessary expedition of sacred Workers be prepared and arranged, to go to said Islands recently discovered, thanks to whose favor and help those unfortunate flocks of mortals, who walk in darkness, will begin to see the light of the Gospel truth, and to know their Creator, and Savior. In addition, His Holiness greatly wishes you to move pious Faithful, so that they may be encouraged to respond liberally with as much spiritual help and material subsidies that they can provide, in order to plant the seed of the Faith in those parts, and see it grow. And although His Holiness trusts that you will tirelessly attends to all of these things, nevertheless he chose to apply this new stimulus to you, to spur you forward, to make you understand that His Holiness wishes nothing more seriously than your most complete fulfillment of this business, for the honor of God, the Pontifical desire, and the Institute of your Order, among which you will find many, and truly significant examples, that you must choose

for yourself to emulate. And, in order for the Missionaries, who will be inspired by the zeal for Divine glory to pass to the above-mentioned new Islands, may accept this endeavor with the most happy spirit, and there may apply themselves to the preaching of the Catholic Faith most happily, and with greater effort, our Most Holy Father grants, and gives most mercifully in the Lord, with his Apostolic blessing, a plenary Indulgence, and remission of all their sins, to all said Missionaries, and to any one of them, who might find himself at the hour of death, and being truly remorseful, having received confession and holy Communion, or, in the event that this not be possible, at least contritely and devoutly invoke the Name of Jesus with their mouth, if they can, and if not, in their heart. So, by obeying the Pontifical mandate with a strong and deliberate spirit, work in all of those things, act as an Apostle, comply with your ministry, knowing that the Crown of justice is reserved for you, one that the Lord, our Judge on that day, will give you. Meanwhile, I, who was mandated by His Holiness to tell you these things, beg God to be pleased to bless your efforts, and cares, and to grant you a prosperous voyage with the continuous assistance of his heavenly graces.

Given at Rome, on the 5th day of March 1705.

Your Paternity,

In an official capacity, J. Cardinal Paolucci.

Document 1705H

Letter from the King of France to the King of Spain, dated Versailles 10 June 1705

Sources: Serrano, op. cit., chap. IX; Le Gobien, op. cit., V, pp. XXXIX-XL; XV, pp. 222-224; VIII, pp. 370-371.

Note: Fr. Serrano's versions are in Latin and Spanish.

Copy of a letter that the Most Christian King sent to his grandson the Catholic King regarding the said exploration

Original text in French.

Très haut, très excellent, et très puissant Prince, nostre très cher, et très aimé bon frère, et petit-fils le Roy de Espagne.

Nous avons appris par le P. Serrano de la Compagnie de Jésus, Procureur de la Province des Philippines, la nouvelle découverte faite depuis peu de plusieurs Isles très peuplées situées entre les Philippines, et les Isles Marianes. Il nous en a raconté ly mesme dans l'audience que nous luy avons donnée beaucoup de particularitez, que nous avons entendues avec plaisir, et nous avons esté très aisé de sçavoir que les Pères de sa Compagnie animez de leur zèle ordinaire pour la propagation de la foy avoient desseins de faire des nouvelles Missions dans ces Isles. Il part pour aller rendre compte à V.M. et pour luy demander en mesme temps de protéger cette entreprise. Quoyque l'utilité que la Religion en doit recevoir suffise pour engager V.M. à l'appuyer de son autorité, nous sommes persuadez qu'elle sera bien aise de joindre encore à une raison aussi pressante, celle de la recomendation, que nous luy faisons en faveur de ces nouvelles Missions, et qu'elle voudra bien ordonner aux Gouverneurs des Philippines de fournir à ces Missionnaires tout les secours dont ils auront besoin pour passer dans ces Isles, et pour y accomplir l'ouvrage où ils sont appelez. Et la présente n'estant à autre fin, nous prions

Dieu qu'il vous ayde, très excellent, et très puissant Prince nostre très cher, et très aimé bon frère, et petit-fils, en sa sainte, et digne garde.

Ecrit à Versailles le 10ième jour de Juin 1705.

Vostre bon frère, et grand Père.

Louis.

Colbert.

Translation.

Your Highness, Your Excellency, and Almighty Prince, dearest and beloved Brother, and Grandson, King of Spain.

We have learned through Fr. Serrano of the Society of Jesus, Procurator of the Province of the Philippines, about the new discovery made recently of many Islands, very populated and situated between the Philippines and the Mariana Islands. He has personally narrated to us in the audience that we had granted him many details, which we heard with pleasure, and we were very glad to learn that the Fathers of the Society, moved by their usual zeal for the propagation of the faith, intended to open new Missions in those Islands. He is on the way to report to Y.M. and to ask you at the same time to protect this enterprise. Although the usefulness that Religion will derive from it may be sufficient to convince Y.M. to support it with your authority, we are persuaded that you will be glad to add to such a pressing argument, that of the recommendation that we make to you in favor of these new Missions, and that you will be pleased to order the Governors of the Philippines to provide these Missionaries with all the assistance that they will need to go to those Islands, and to carry out there the work to which they have been called. Since the present has no other purpose, we pray God to help you, Your Excellency, and Almighty Prince, dearest and beloved Brother, and Grandson, in your holy and worthy cause.

Written at Versailles, on the 10th day of June 1705.

Your dear Brother, and Grand-father.

Louis.

[Drafted by:] Colbert.

Document 1705I

Memorial presented to the King by Fr. Andrés Serrano on 27 August 1705

Sources: (1) AGI Fil. 215; (2) RAH 9/2670, doc. n° 25, and 27 (printed version); (3) copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 4, pp. 211 et seq.; (4) also in Fr. Serrano's Breve Noticia, chapter X; (5) reprinted by Retana y Gamboa, in Vol. 2 of his Archivo del Bibliófilo Filipino (15 pages); (6) also reprinted by Pastor y Santos, in his Territorios (1949), pp. 129-132; (7) photocopies in NLA Chicago, in TNL Medina #2210, etc.

Summary note: Fr. Serrano styles himself Vice-Provincial of the new Mission in the Palaos Islands. He suggests that the escort soldiers be supplied with a change of clothes and articles for barter, plus 2 small boats with their sails.

Text of the petition itself

Original text in Spanish.

Señor.

Andrés Serrano de la Compañía de Jesus, y Procurador General de su Provincia de Philipinas, puesto à los Reales Pies de V. Magestad, pone en su noticia, como entre las Islas Philipinas, y Marianas, à la parte Austral de estas, y muy vezinas à aquellas, ay un gran numero de Islas de Gentiles, por nombre Pais, ò Palaos, muy pobladas de gente de muy docil natural, y sin especie, que se haya conocido, de idolatria, ni mezcla de la infame Secta de Mahoma; y por lo que de sus habitantes se ha colegido, y experimentado, muy dispuestos para recibir la verdad Catolica, y luzes del Santo Evangelio.

Estas noticias se han adquirido en las Islas Philipinas, sugetas al dominio de V. Magd. con ocasion de aver arribado diversas vezes à ellas los Isleños de las dichas Islas de Pais, traídos de la fuerza de los vientos Orientales, que llaman Lestes, y en ellas hechoso Christianos, y vivido con grande exemplo, especialmente en el Pueblo, y Provincia de Caraga (que es en la Isla de Mindanao) y en el de Guiguan, que està cerca de la Punta, ò Promontorio, que haze la Isla de Samar, y Ybabao, donde estàn las Misiones antiguas de los Religiosos de la Compañía de Jesus.

Y queriendo Nuestro Señor, que V. Magd. tuviera mas clara, y expresa noticia de estas nuevas Islas, para los fines de su alta providencia, dispuso, que el año de 1696, dia

de los Santos Inocentes, arribassen à dicho Promontorio de Guiguan treinta Indios de ellas en dos pequeñas Embarcaciones, ò Canoas, los quales aviendo salido de una Isla, por nombre Amorsot para ir à la suya propia, llamada Pais, los arrebatò el viento con tanta continuacion, y fuerza, que aunque resistieron à su vehemencia por espacio de setenta dias, por no extraviarse de su derrota, y camino, no pudieron mas resistir, y se dexaron llevar de èl, y en breves dias aportaron al dicho Promontorio de Guiguan, donde fueron recibidos de los Christianos, y del Religioso Missionero, que los cuydaba, con todas las muestras de benevolencia, y Christiana caridad.

Con la venida de estos Isleños, y por las noticias, que antecedentemente avia en las Philipinas de estas nuevas Islas, se supieron, y averiguaron las siguientes particularidades.

Primera, que dichas Islas son en numero ochenta, y siete: todas, menos tres, pobladas de tanta multitud de habitantes, que sus Naturales los comparaban à las arenas del mar: las tres, que no son habitadas de hombres, las habitan pajaros.

Segunda, que estas Islas tienen un Rey, que las domina à todas, y à quien obedecen sus vassallos con singular rendimiento. Entre los Indios, que de nuevo vinieron à la Philipinas, vino el yerno del Rey, casado con su misma hija, de quien los demás hazian particular estimacion.

Tercera, que una de estas Islas es habitada de solas mugeres, las quales al modo de las antiguas Amazonas, conservan la especie, teniendo comercio una vez al año con los hombres de las vezinas Islas: los quales cada año van à la dicha Isla, y en ella se detienen algun tiempo, y despues se buelve à las suyas propias; y bolviendo el año siguiente hallando, que de esta comunicacion han nacido hembras, las dexan con sus madres en la dicha Isla, y si han nacido varones, los llevan à sus propias Islas.

Quarta, que estos Isleños son de naturales pacificos, y rara vez riñen entre sí, ni saben que es matar un hombre à otro: y quando alguna vez se enojan entre sí, se compone presto la pendencia, dandose algunos golpes con la mano sobre la cabeza; y las mas vezes media alguna persona, que facilmente los pone en paz.

*Quinta, que la grandeza de dichas islas es varia porque unas son grandes, otras pequeñas, y otras medianas. La mayor tiene por nombre **Panlog**, y es tan grande que no se puede bogear, ò rodear con sus pequeñas, y ligeras Embarcaciones, sino en espacio de treinta dias con buen viento. Esta Isla solamente dista tres dias de camino de la sobredicha de Samar, y de su Punta, ó Promontorio de Guiguan. Entre sí mismas distan tambien poco: porque la mayor distancia es de tres dias de navegacion; la menor de un solo dia. Algunas distan entre sí solos dos dias.*

Sexta, que aunque estos Isleños son de su condicion mansos, y pacificos, no son de genio frio, ni floxo, como otros Indios, sino antes vivaz, y brioso; el cuerpo bien proporcionado, en el qual [sic], y en el color son semejantes à los Indios de Philipinas, aunque no en la lengua, que es diversa, y en la pronunciacion se asemeja à la lengua Arabiga. Los hombres, y las mugeres dexan crecer los cabellos, que les caen sobre las espaldas con donayre. Vistense con bastante decencia, y quando han de parecer delante de al-

guna persona de respeto, pintan sus cuerpos los hombres con color amarillo, que es su gala para el publico: mas esto no estilan las mugeres.

Septima, que abundan de aves, mas no de animales quadrupedos; no tienen gatos, ni perros. Se sustentan de la pesca, y de frutas silvestres. Usan terminos de cortesia, y de urbanidad, la qual consiste en tomar la mano, ò pie de la persona, à quien pretenden honrar, y con la misma mano se tocan la cara levemente. Creese, que no carecen dichas Islas de generos preciosos, como oro, ambar, perlas, cera, y especies aromaticas, por estar casi en el mismo paralelo con las Malucas, Borneo, Mindanao, Nueva Guinea, y Tierra de Papoas, y otras Islas, que abundan de estos generos.

Quedaron admirados dichos Isleños del gobierno, y politica de los Españoles, de la Magestad, y ceremonias Eclesiasticas en la celebracion de los Divinos Oficios, de la musica, y armonia de sus instrumentos, de las armas, que usan, y sobre todo de la actividad de las de Fuego, y eficacia de la polvora. Y se enamoraron tanto de nuestro modo de vivir, del vestido, color, y demas propiedades de la nacion Española, que se ofrecieron de su propia voluntad bolver à sus tierras para traer à otros, à fin de que se entablasse un perpetuo comercio, y correspondencia. Y el Governador de las Philipinas (que entonces era Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora) prometió cooperar à ello con todo empeño, no solo por aumentar Estados à V.Magd. sino tambien por abrir esta gran puerta à la dilatacion de la Fé Catolica.

Ser facil la comunicacion de las Islas Philipinas con estas nuevas Islas, consta claramente por la poca distancia, que ay de las unas à las otras, comprobada con muchas experiencias de arribos en pequeñas Embarcaciones de los Indios de las nuevas Islas à las Philipinas, y tambien de las Philipinas à las nuevas Islas. No ha muchos años, que una Capilla entera de Cantores de la ya nombrada Isla de Samar, que iba de un Pueblo de esta Isla à otro de la misma à celebrar una fiesta, fue arrebatada del viento Vendabal, ò del Occidente, y llevada à dichas nuevas Islas. Y en otra ocasion el hermano del Rey de estas Islas vino à parar à las nuestras, y à la ya nombrada Provincia de Caraga en el Mindanao, donde se hizo bautizar, y vivio algun tiempo. Despues aviendo despachado el Rey su hermano cien Embarcaciones para buscarlo entre las Islas de su dominio, la una de ellas fue arrebatada de los vientos y llevada al mismo parage, y sitio, à donde estaba el hermano de el Rey, y aunque le persuadieron la buelta à sus Islas, por entonces no lo quiso hazer, aunque despues passado algun tiempo lo hizo en una pequeña embarcacion.

Aviendo acaecido este ultimo sucesso de los treinta Indios, que vinieron al Promontorio de Guiguan, en tiempo que governaba la Provincia de Philipinas de la Compañia de Jesus Antonino Tuccio, de Nacion Siciliano, llevado de un fervoroso zelo de la salvacion de las innumerables Almas, que habitan las dichas Islas, y se pierden por falta de Operarios Evangelicos, mandò prontamente prevenir, y disponer, à costa de la dicha Provincia, una Fragata de mediano porte para ir à ellas, y señaló dos Religiosos, que fueran à explorarlas, y ver la forma, que podia aver en ellas de introducir la luz del Santo Evangelio; y luego el año siguiente à este descubrimiento, que fue el de 1697 diò cuenta de todo el sucesso à Thyrso Gonzalez, General de la Compañia de Jesus. Lo

mismo hizo su Secretario Pablo Clain en carta de diez de Junio del mismo año, embiandole una muy larga relacion.

El mismo assunto siguiò Luis de Morales, que le sucediò en el oficio de Provincial, quien en una carta de dos de Junio de 1698 dize à su General estas palabras:

[Letter from Fr. Morales to Fr. Gonzalez, dated 2 June 1698]

“No obstante hallarse tantos sugetos impedidos, se ha puesto en execucion el deseo de descubrimiento de la Mission de los Palaos en las Islas Australes, por el singular zelo del Padre Antonino Tuccio, y por principios de Mayo de este año se despachò una Fragata competente, y en ella el Padre Francisco de Prado, y Hermano Jayme Xavier, y se espera con ansia el sucesso de tan gloriosa empresa. Al despacho de dicha Fragata concurrio con mas de seiscientos pesos de su caudal el Governador de estas Islas Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora, Cavallero del Orden de Santiago; concurriò tambien con cantidades, y con su industria el Sargento Mayor Don Francisco de Atienza Ibañez, Castellano, y Justicia Mayor, por su Magestad, del Puerto de Cavite.”

Hasta aqui la carta del Provincial.

A la qual relacion, y cartas, respondiendole el General de la Compañia de Jesus con sus letras de 26 de Diciembre de 1699 dirigidas à Antonino Tuccio, como à Provincial, le habla en esta forma:

[Letter from Fr. Gonzalez to Fr. Tuccio, dated Rome 26 December 1699]

“Dame el Padre Pablo Clain mas larga noticia de las Islas de los Palaos, ò desgariados, que el año de 97 se descubrieron con la extraordinaria providencia, y sucesso, que V.R. entonces escribiò. Alabo el que V.R. en execucion de los deseos del Governador de essas Islas, aya embiado al P. Francisco de Prado, y al Hermano Jayme Xavier con algunos de los Indios, que aportaron à Visayas (son Pueblos de las Misiones antiguas, que tiene la Compañia en la Isla de Samar) à que reconozcan aquellas Islas, y la disposicion, que puede aver en ellas para introducir el Santo Evangelio. Harto necesario era para la conversion de estos nuevos Indios, para las Misiones antiguas, para Marianas, y para los demas empleos de la Provincia, de un buen numero de sugetos, segun la penuria de ellos, que V.R. representa, y desde aca reconocemos muy bien.”

Hasta aqui la carta del General.

Y despues añade de su propia mano: “es convenientissimo el embiar sugetos, que exploren la disposicion de aquellos Isleños para recibir la Fè; V.R. lo procure con todo esfuerzo.”

A mas desto, el año de 1701 el Arzobispo de Manila escribiò à su Santidad sobre este mismo descubrimiento, significandole la mucha gloria de Dios, y bien de innumerables Almas, que resultaria de que las dichas Islas, tantas en numero, y en habitantes, y tan vezinas à las Philipinas, se agregassen al gremio de la Santa Iglesia, induciendo con estas letras al Sumo Pastor, para que interpusiese su autoridad con V. Magestad, como Patron General de las Iglesias, y Christiandad de las Indias, para que tomara à su cargo

esta Apostolica expedicion con el santo zelo y fervor con que ha tomado otras muchas en ambas Americas, Austral, y Septentrional.

Aviendo llegado estas noticias, y papeles à las manos de N.B.P. Clemente Undezimo con una Carta Geografica de dichas Islas, y de su situacion, y informadole en su presencia los Procuradores, que dos años ha vinieron de la Provincia de Philipinas, recibió un sumo contentamiento, y gozo de ello, celebrando la gran misericordia de Dios en aver abierto esta gran puerta al Evangelio, y manifestado este gran campo à los amantes de su gloria, y honor, donde puedan trabajar en el cultivo, y conversion de tantas Almas, que ignoran el camino de la verdad, y perecen por faltarles este conocimiento. Y para proceder en esta materia con mas prudente acuerdo de lo que debia hazer para el remedio de esta inculta, y misera gentilidad, remitió todos los dichos papeles à la Sagrada Congregacion de Propaganda Fide, en la qual estuvieron muchos dias; y aviendo conferido entre sí los Eminentissimos Cardenales de dicha Congregacion punto de tanto peso, y tan importante para la exaltacion de la Fè, y dilatacion de la Santa Iglesia, resolvieron, que su Santidad debia despachar sus letras Apostolicas à V. Magestad, para que se encargasse de esta obra de tanto agrado de la Divina Magestad, y tan propia del zelo de los Reyes Catolicos, à quienes como à Patronos de las Indias incumbe esta grande obligacion. Su Santidad despachò dichas letras, que son las que el dicho Procurador de la Provincia de Philipinas pone en las Reales manos de V. Magestad.

Assimismo la dicha Sagrada Congregacion resolvió, que su Santidad debia tambien despachar particulares Breves Apostolicos à los Arzobispos de Mexico, y Manila, para que por sí mismos, y por medio de los Fieles encomendados à su Pastoral cuydado, promoviessen y contribuyessen con socorros espirituales, y temporales à esta eximia obra, que es de tanta gloria de Dios Nuestro Señor; y assi lo executò el Santissimo Padre.

Por todo lo qual el Procurador de la Provincia de Philipinas, en atencion à los ardientes deseos, que el Vicario de Christo tiene de que no se pierda esta ocasion de dilatar su Fè, y amplificar su gloria, y que quanto antes se ponga en execucion la conversion de dichas Islas, embiando à ellas Missioneros. Y porque dicho Santissimo Padre manda en letras especiales, dirigidas al dicho Procurador, que no dexede de la mano empresa de tanto momento, y que la solicite con todas veras con V. Magestad, y con sus Fieles y zelosos vassallos, concediendo en las mismas letras Indulgencia plenaria para el articulo de la muerte à todos los Missioneros, que movidos del zelo de Dios se quisieren dedicar al cultivo de esta su Viña. Por tanto:

A V. Magestad ruega, y suplica mande despachar su Real Cedula por triplicado al Governador de las Islas Philipinas, para que luego, y sin dilacion alguna haga prevenir Embarcacion suficiente, en que los Missioneros de la Compañia de Jesus puedan ir à predicar el Santo Evangelio à las sobredichas nuevas Islas, y que los provea de todo lo necessario, assi para el viage, como para mantenerse en ellas, y que se continúe el socorro todos los años, mientras en ellas perseveraren los dichos Missioneros. Y que las clausulas de la dicha Real Cedula sean tan eficaces, que no den lugar à escusa, ò pre-

texto à dicho Governador, para no executar prontamente la Real voluntad de V. Magestad, y santos deseos del Vicario de Christo.

Assimismo suplica à V. Magestad mande despachar especial Cedula al Virrey de Mexico, para que de las Caxas Reales de aquella Ciudad contribuya con dos mil pesos en cada un año, que se entregen al Procurador que la Provincia de Philipinas tiene en el Reyno de la Nueva España, para que el dicho Procurador los remita à Manila, y ayuden à asegurar mas el despacho de Embarcacion, y Missioneros à dichas Islas, en consideracion de que la Caxa Real de Manila no suele tener siempre el dinero necessario para los gastos precisos de las Islas Philipinas, y para los supernumerarios, que se puedan ofrecer.

Tambien ruega, y suplica à V. Magd. que por sus Reales Cédulas, dirigidas à los Arzobispos de Mexico, y Manila, se sirva de encomendar, promuevan obra de tanto servicio de Dios, y bien de las Almas en la forma, y manera que lo haze su Santidad, para que por sí mismos, y por medio de las personas poderosas de aquellos Reynos, cooperen, y contribuyan à ella con socorros espirituales, y temporales.

Otro si, por quanto por orden de V. Magd. sale cada año del Puerto de Cavite una Balandra, ò Patache, que lleva el situado à las Islas Marianas, al qual le es muy facil de buelta de Marianas à las Philipinas, explorar algunas de las ya nombradas nuevas Islas, dexando el rumbo ordinario de Leste à Oeste, y declinando algun tanto à la banda del Sur, como en diversas ocasiones lo mandò à los Pilotos el Governador de las Philipinas, que assi lo executassen, aunque sin efecto alguno. Por tanto à V. Magestad ruega, y suplica ordene con eficaz encargo al dicho Governador lo haga executar en la forma dicha, para que mas en breve se exploren plenamente las dichas Islas, y tenga V. Magestad el consuelo de ver en ellas dilatado el Reyno de Christo, y propagada su Santa Fè.

Translation.

Sire:

Andrés Serrano of the Society of Jesus, and Procurator General for its Province of the Philippines, placed at the Royal feet of Your Majesty, would like to let you know of the existence, between the Philippine and Mariana Islands, and to the south of the latter, but very close to them, of a great number of Islands with Heathens. They are called the Pais, or Palaos, Islands, and are very populated with people with a very docile nature, and without any sort of idol worship, as far as is known, nor any mixture of the infamous Sect of Mahomet; and through what has been learned of their inhabitants, they are very disposed to receive the Catholic truth, and the light of the holy Gospel.

These notices have been acquired in the Philippine Islands, subject to the dominion of Your Majesty, on the occasion of many arrivals there of Islanders who had drifted from said Pais Islands, pushed as they were by the force of the easterly winds, which are called Tradewinds, and they became Christians in the Philippines, where they lived with great example, specially in the town, and Province of Caraga (which is in the

Island of Mindanao), and in that of Guiguan, which is near the Point, or Promontory, made by the Island of Samar and Ibabao, where there are old Missions of the Religious of the Society of Jesus.

And Our Lord, wishing Your Majesty to receive a clearer and express notice of these new Islands, for purposes of His high providence, arranged, in the year of 1696, on the feast-day of the Holy Innocents, that thirty Indians from there should arrive at said Promontory of Guiguan in two small boats, or Canoes. These people, having left one Island, named Amorsot, to go back to their own, named Pais, were carried off by the wind with such persistence and force that, although they resisted to its vehemence for a total of 70 days in order not to stray from their course, they could no longer resist, and let themselves be carried by it, and within a few days they make port at said Promontory of Guiguan, where they were received by the Christians, and the Religious Missionary in charge of them, with all the marks of benevolence and Christian charity.

With the arrival of these Islanders, and through the notices that had been received previously in the Philippines about these new Islands, the following information has been learned, and verified.

Firstly, said Islands are 87 in number; all, except three, are inhabited with so many people that their natives compared them to grains of sand on the beach; the other three, are not inhabited by men, but only by birds.

Secondly, these Islands have one King, who has dominion over them all, and his vassals obey him with singular submission. Among the Indians who came of late to the Philippines, there came the son-in-law of the King himself, married with his very own daughter, and the others were treating him with particular esteem.

Thirdly, one of these Islands is inhabited by only women who, in the style of the old Amazons, preserve their species by having contact once a year with men from the neighboring Islands who, every year go to said Island, and stay there for a while, and afterward return to their own islands. When they return the following year, should they find that this contact has produced females, they leave them with their mothers in said Island, but if males were born, they take them to their own Islands.

Fourthly, these Islanders are by nature peaceful; they rarely fight among themselves, and do not even know what it is for one man to kill another. When they are angry at one another, the dispute is quickly settled, by giving one another a few punches on the head; most of the time some person intervenes, and easily arranges peace between them.

Fifthly, the size of said Islands varies, because some are big, some are small, and others of average size. The largest is called **Panlog**, and is so big that it cannot be circumnavigated in their small and light canoes, except after 30 days with a good wind. This Island is located only three days' sail from the above-mentioned Samar Island, and from its Point, or Promontory of Guiguan. The distance between them is also small, because the largest distance is three days' sail, and the smallest is only one day. Some are only two days apart.

Sixthly, although these Islanders are by nature docile, and peaceful, their temperament is not cold, and they are not as lazy as other Indians; rather, they are lively and

spirited. Their body is well proportioned; in shape and color, it is like that of the Indians of the Philippines, but not so their language, which in pronunciation is similar to Arabic. The men and women let their hair grow long; it falls gracefully over their shoulders. They clothe themselves rather decently, and when they have to appear before some person of respect, the men paint their bodies with a yellow color, which is their formal way in public, but this custom is not followed by the women.

Seventhly, they have an abundance of birds, but no quadrupeds; they do have any cats, or dogs. They sustain themselves with fish, and wild fruits. They make use of polite and civilized manners, such as taking the hand, or foot, of the person they wish to honor, and with said hand they touch their own face gently. It is believed that said Islands do not lack precious products, such as gold, amber, pearls, wax, and spices, on account of their being on the same parallel as the Moluccas, Borneo, Mindanao, New Guinea, and the Land of the Papuas, and other Islands that have an abundance of such goods.

Said Islanders remained in awe of the government, and civilization of the Spanish, of the majesty and church rites of the celebration of the divine offices, of the music and harmony of their instruments, of the weapons they use, and above all of the activity of the firearms, and efficiency of gunpowder. And they fell in love so much with our way of life, of dressing, color, and other properties of the Spanish nation, that they offered themselves willingly to go back to their lands, to bring others, so that a permanent contact and commerce will become established. And the Governor of the Philippines (who was then Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora) promised to cooperate with every effort, not only to increase Your Majesty's dominions, but also to open this great door to the propagation of the Catholic Faith.

Contact between the Philippine Islands and these new Islands is thought to be easy, on account of the short distance between the ones and the others, proven as a result of many drift voyages aboard small boats of the Indians of the new Islands to the Philippines, and also from the Philippines to the new Islands. Not many years ago, one whole choir in the above-mentioned Samar Island was on the way from one town to another of the same Island to attend a celebration; it was carried off by the Monsoon, or westerly wind, and taken to said new Islands.¹ And on another occasion the brother of the King of these Islands ended up at ours, in the previously-mentioned Province of Caraga in Mindanao, where he was baptized and lived for some time. After the King his brother had despatched 100 canoes to look for him among the Islands of his dominion, one of them was carried off by the winds and taken to the same neighborhood, and site, where the brother of the King lived and, although they urged him to return to their Islands, at that time he refused, but after some time had passed, he did so aboard a small boat.

1 Ed. note: It was later ascertained that they had gone no further than Siargao Island, off the NE coast of Mindanao.

After the occurrence of the last incident, that of the 30 Indians who arrived at the Promontory of Guiguan, at the time that the Province of the Philippines of the Society of Jesus was led by Antonino Tuccio, born in Sicily, he, moved by a fervent zeal to save the numberless souls inhabiting said Islands, and that are lost for lack of Gospel workers, ordered the quick preparation and outfitting, at the expense of said Province, of a frigate of average tonnage to go there. He appointed two Religious to go and explore them, and see the method that could be used to introduce therein the light of the Holy Gospel. Later on, the following year, which was 1697, he gave an account of the venture to Thyrso Gonzalez, General of the Society of Jesus. His secretary, Pablo Clain, did the same, in a letter dated 10 June of said year, by sending him a very long report.¹

The same matter was pursued by Luis de Morales, who succeeded him in the office of Provincial, he who in a letter dated 2 June 1698, says to his General the following words:

[Letter from Fr. Morales to Fr. Gonzalez, dated Manila 2 June 1698]

“In spite of so many individuals being unavailable, the desired exploration of the Mission of the Palaos in the Southern Islands has been carried out, thanks to the singular zeal of Father Antonino Tuccio, and at the beginning of May of this year a suitable frigate was despatched, and aboard it Father Francisco de Prado, and Brother Jayme Xavier, and the result of such a glorious enterprise is being anxiously awaited. The Governor of these Islands, Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora, Knight of the Order of St. James, contributed over 600 pesos from his own pocket to the despatch of said frigate. Another man who contributed some of his money, and his diligence, was Sergeant-Major Don Francisco de Atienza Ibañez, Warden and Magistrate of the port of Cavite for His Majesty.”

End of quote from the letter of the Provincial.

To said report, and letters, the General of the Society of Jesus, in his letter dated 26 December 1699, addresses Antonino Tuccio, as Provincial, in the following terms:

[Letter from Fr. Gonzalez to Fr. Tuccio, dated Rome 26 December 1699]

“Father Pablo Clain has given me a long report about the Islands of the Palaos, or drifters, who in 1697 were discovered through the extraordinary providence, and success that Y.R. wrote to me about at the time. I praise Y.R. for having carried out the wishes of the Governor of those Islands, and sent Fr. Franciscó de Prado and Brother Jayme Xavier, along with some of the Indians who drifted to the Visayas [they are old Missions stations that the Society has in Samar Island] to explore those Islands, and survey the possibility of introducing the Holy Gospel there. Y.R. mentioned the urgent need of a goodly number of subjects, in short supply overthere, for the conversion of these new Indians, as well as the old Missions, for the Marianas, and for the other jobs in the Province. This need is very much acknowledged overhere.”

¹ Ed. note: See Doc. 1697F.

End of quote from the letter of the General.

He adds a postscript in his own hand: "it is most proper to send subjects, to test the disposition of those Islanders to receive the Faith; Y.R. is to make every effort to achieve this."

Furthermore, in 1701, the Archbishop of Manila wrote to His Holiness regarding this same exploration, stating that much glory for God, and welfare of numberless souls, would result if said Islands, so great in number and inhabitants, and so close to the Philippines, were to be annexed to the flock of the Holy Church, thus insinuating to the Supreme Shepherd, that he should interpose his authority on Your Majesty, as General Patron of the Churches and Christian communities in the Indies, so that you may take care of this Apostolic expedition with the holy zeal and fervor with which you have supported so many others in North and South America.

When our Blessed Fr. Pope Clement XI received these notices, and papers, along with a Geographic Map of said Islands, and of their location, and was informed in the presence of the Procurators who two years ago came from the Province of the Philippines, he received much contentment, and enjoyment out of it, and praised the great mercy of God in having opened this great door to the Gospel, and shown this great field to those who love his glory, and honor, which they might cultivate, and convert so many souls that ignore the way to the truth, and perish for lack of this knowledge. And, in order to pursue this matter, with the most prudent method of achieving a remedy for these savage and miserable pagans, he forwarded all said papers to the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. They were under consideration there for many days. After their Eminences the Cardinals of said Congregation had conferred among themselves about a point of such weight, and so important for the exaltation of the Faith, and propagation of the Holy Church, they decided that His Holiness should despatch his Apostolic letters to Your Majesty, to entrust you with this endeavor of so much acceptance by the Divine Majesty, and so proper of the zeal of the Catholic Kings, to whom, as Patrons of the Indies, is incumbent this great duty.

In addition, said Sacred Congregation decided that His Holiness should also despatch individual Apostolic Briefs to the Archbishops of Mexico and Manila, for them to promote and contribute, through their Pastoral care, and through the Faithful entrusted to their care, some spiritual and material support to this distinguished enterprise, that is so much to the glory of God our Lord; and this our most Holy Father did.

In view of all the above, the Procurator of the Province of the Philippines, taking into account the intense desire of the Vicar of Christ not to lose this opportunity to propagate His Faith, and expand His glory, and to carry out as soon as possible the conversion of said Islands, by sending Missionaries there, specially since said Holy Father orders said Procurator, in a special letter addressed to him, not to let go of an enterprise of such importance, and to solicit it earnestly with Your Majesty, and with your faithful and zealous vassals, by granting within the same letter a plenary Indulgence at the hour of death for all the Missionaries who, moved by the zeal of God, might wish to dedicate themselves to the cultivation of this Vineyard.

Therefore, I beg and beseech Your Majesty to please order the despatch of your Royal decree in triplicate to the Governor of the Philippine Islands, so that, upon receipt thereof, and without any delay whatsoever, he make ready a big enough ship, aboard which the Missionaries of the Society of Jesus may go to preach the Holy Gospel in the above-mentioned Islands, and provide them with support every year, as long as said Missionaries persevere therein. And let the clauses of said Royal decree be so efficient, that they leave no room for maneuvering on the part of said Governor, the better to carry out promptly the Royal will of Your Majesty, and the saintly desires of the Vicar of Christ.

In addition, I beseech Your Majesty to please despatch a special decree to the Viceroy of Mexico, to make him contribute 2,000 pesos from the Royal treasury in that City every year, to be delivered to the Procurator that the Province of the Philippines has in that Kingdom of New Spain, in order for said Procurator to forward same to Manila, thus helping to secure the despatch of the ship, and Missionaries, to said Islands, in view of the fact that the Royal treasury in Manila does not usually have enough money to cover the ordinary expenses of the Philippine Islands, and for the supernumeraries who might join as volunteers.

I also beg and beseech Your Majesty to please direct your Royal decrees to the Archbishops of Mexico and Manila, recommending that they promote a project of such service to God and welfare of souls, in the manner and form used by His Holiness, so that they may, by themselves and through powerful persons in those Kingdoms, cooperate and contribute to it with spiritual and material support.

Furthermore, inasmuch as a sloop, or patache, departs from the port of Cavite every year, by order of Your Majesty, to take the subsidy to the Mariana Islands, it would be very easy for it, upon returning from the Marianas to the Philippines, to explore some of the above-mentioned Islands, by leaving the usual East-West route, and to deviate somewhat southward, in a way that has already been ordered to the Pilots by the Governor of the Philippines, and to [continue to] do so, even when not successful; therefore, I beg and beseech Your Majesty to please order with efficient words the said Governor to carry this out in the above-mentioned manner, the quicker for said Islands to be fully explored, and for Your Majesty to have the satisfaction of seeing therein the Kingdom of Christ, and the propagation of His holy Faith.

Documents 1705J

Follow-up actions on Fr. Serrano's memorial, in August and September 1705

Sources: Serrano, op. cit., chapters XI, XII and XIII; partial copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 4.

J1. Certification of the decree issued by His Majesty, given by the Secretariat

Original text in Spanish.

Don Juan Diaz de la Calle, y Madrigal, Cavallero del Orden de Santiago, Secretario del Rey nuestro Señor, y Oficial Mayor de la Secretaria del Consejo, y Junta de Guerra de Indias, de la Negociacion de las Provincias de Nueva España:

Certifico, que su Magestad (que Dios guarde) remitió al Consejo un Decreto de veinte y siete de Agosto de mil setecientos y cinco, con un Memorial de Andrés Serrano, de la Compañía de Jesus, Procurador General de la Provincia de Philipinas, y dos cartas de su Santidad, y del Rey Christianissimo (sobre el nuevo descubrimiento de las Islas nombrada Pais, ó Palaos, entre las Philipinas, y Marianas) cuyo tenores es el siguiente:

Translation.

Don Juan Díaz de la Calle, y Madrigal, Knight of the Order of St. James, Secretary of the King our Lord, and Senior Official of the Secretariat of the Council of the Indies, and its War Committee, for official matters involving the Provinces of New Spain:

I certify that His Majesty (whom may God save) remitted to the Council a Decree dated 27 August 1705, along with a Memorial from Andrés Serrano, of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General for the Province of the Philippines, and two letters, one from His Holiness, and the other from the Most Christian King (regarding the new discovery of the Islands named Pais, or Palaos, between the Philippines and the Marianas), whose tenor is as follows:

J2. Royal decree of 27 August 1705

Original text in Spanish.

Andrés Serrano de la Compañía, Procurador General de su Provincia de Philipinas, ha puesto en mis manos el memorial incluso, con noticia individual del nuevo descubrimiento de Islas nombradas Pais, ò Palaos, entre las Philipinas, y Marianas, à la parte Austral de estas, y muy vezinas à aquellas, en la forma, que se declara en el Mapa, que tambien va aqui.

Y al mismo tiempo ha presentado las dos cartas adjuntas de su Santidad, y del Rey Christianisimo, mi Señor y mi Abuelo, encargandome promueva este descubrimiento hasta lograr el principal fin de la conversion de aquellos Indios Gentiles. Remitolo todo al Consejo de Indias para que con atencion à las particulares circunstancias, que en esto han ocurrido, considere y discurra, con mayor aplicacion, las providencias mas breves, que se puedan dar à adelantar un fin tan grande, como el de la propagacion del Evangelio, à que me considero obligado, no menos que por la razon de Patron, y los encargos de su Beatitud y del Rey mi Abuelo, por la de retribuir en reconocimiento à Dios del beneficio de que en mi Reynado se me descubran nuevos é ignorados parages en que se dilate el Evangelio, la aplicacion de que se logre al beneficio de tantas almas y el mayor culto de su Nombre. Y en el interin que el Consejo (como se le encargo, y mando) me consulta, y propone lo que sobre esto se le ofrece, y parece, con la brevedad, y reflexion que conviene, y deseo, disponga que este Mapa se imprima.

En Madrid en 27 de Agosto de mil setecientos y cinco.

Al Marqués del Carpio.

Por mandado de S.M., Don Juan Diaz de la Calle, y Madrigal.

Translation.

Andrés Serrano of the Society, Procurator General of its Province of the Philippines, has placed before me the enclosed Memorial, with a detailed notice of the new discovery of the Islands named Pais, or Palaos, between the Philippines and Marianas, to the south of the latter and very close to them, in the form shown on the Map, that is also enclosed herewith.

And at the same time he has presented two letters, enclosed, from His Holiness and from the Most Christian King, my Lord and Grand-father, entrusting me with the promotion of this discovery until the purpose of the conversion of those Indian heathens is achieved. I remit all of same to the Council of the Indies, so that, in consideration of the particular circumstances that have occurred in connection with same, it may consider and deliberate, with great application, the quick issuance of provisions to achieve such a great purpose, as is the propagation of the Gospel, to which I consider myself obliged, not just on account of the Patronage, and the entreaties from His Holiness and from the King my Grand-father, but also because it is a way for me to show my thankfulness to God for the benefit, should new and previously-unknown territories be discovered during my Reign, where the Gospel can be preached, and finally for the benefit

that would ensue for so many souls, and the greater cult of His name. And in the meantime that the Council is providing me with counsel (as I do entrust, and order it to do with the greatest despatch, and care), I also desire that the printing of this Map be arranged.

In Madrid, on 27 August 1705.

To the Marquis of Carpio.

By order of His Majesty, Don Juan Díaz de la Calle, y Madrigal.

J3. Letter from the Papal Nuncio to the Marquis of Mancera, dated 5 September 1705

Original text in Spanish.

El fervor con que Nuestro Santissimo Padre desea la propagacion de nuestra Santa Fè en las mas remotas Regiones, y la aplicacion, con la qual solicita la predicacion Evangelica à todas las criaturas, bien lo avrà conocido en el Breve, que ha puesto en sus Reales manos el Padre Andrés Serrano de la Compañia de Jesus, en el qual va su Santidad excitando el generoso, y piadoso espiritu de su Magestad, para concurrir con su proteccion, y con su Real asistencia al descubrimiento de unas Islas, que se tienen en la cercania de las Philipinas, y fructificarlas à Dios con el riego del agua del Santo Bautismo, cuya noticia parece, que con especial preordinacion de la Divina providencia, debaxo de apariencias de acaso, se aya tenido en el glorioso reynado de su Magestad, para que en el mismo tiempo se propague indissolublemente con el Catolico dominio de su Magestad el Santo Evangelio. A lo que su Santidad exprime en su Breve no me queda què añadir, y por el deseo, que assiste à su Magestad por todo lo que es adelantamiento, y gloria de nuestra Religion, quanto yo dixera es sobrado; y assi lo que suplico à V. Exc. es poner à los pies de su Magestad mis reverentes instancias, para que su Magestad favorezca las del padre Serrano, que con Apostolicos deseos manifiesta à su Magestad los medios, para conseguir este fin de tanta gloria de su Magestad, que tanto desea nuestro Santissimo Padre, y que tanto conviene al servicio de ambas Magestades. Yo quedo rogando à la Divina, que permita descubrir nuevos Mundos, para que en el conocimiento del verdadero Dios, professando su pura Religion, presten debida obediencia al Rey en sus Dominios; quedando tambien à la de V. Exc. cuya vida guarde, etc.

Translation.

The fervor with which our Holy Father wishes to propagate our Holy Faith in the remotest Regions, and the application with which he solicits the preaching of the Gospel to all the creatures, would have been clearly evident in the Brief that Father Andrés Serrano of the Society of Jesus has placed in your Royal hands. In it His Holiness is exciting the generous and pious spirit of His Majesty to provide his protection and Royal support for the exploration of some Islands that lie in the vicinity of the Philippines,

and to bless them for God with the spraying of the water of Holy Baptism. It seems that the news of their existence was specially preordained by Divine providence, in the form of a fortuitous event, to occur during the reign of His Majesty, so that during the same time period the Holy Gospel can be propagated indissolubly along with the Catholic dominion of His Majesty. I have nothing to add to what His Holiness expressed in his Brief, except that I stand ready to assist His Majesty in every way I can to advance the cause and glory of our Religion; anything else I could add would be superfluous. So, I beg Your Excellency to place at the feet of His Majesty my reverend bequests, so that His Majesty may favor the requests of Father Serrano who, with apostolic desires, may suggest the means to achieve this purpose of so much glory to His Majesty, as such corresponds so well to the desires of our Holy Father, and befits the service of both their Majesties. I remain, praying the Divine Majesty to permit the discovery of new Worlds, so that, in the knowledge of the true God, and professing His pure Religion, they may give due obedience to the King in his dominions; I also remain at Your Excellency's service, whose life may God save, etc.

J4. What happened next in the Council of the Indies

Original text in Spanish.

*Aviendose presentado el Memorial al Rey nuestro Señor el día 22 de Agosto de este año de 1705 lo remitió su Magestad al Consejo, con el Breve de su Santidad, y Carta del Rey Christianissimo, y el mencionado Decreto; y aviendo precedido la diligencia de la traduccion del Breve, y Carta, y traído por el Secretario todos los autos al dicho Real Consejo, el día 16 de Septiembre siguiente parece, segun los despachos, averse resuelto, que se concediesse en todo, y por todo, como se pedia en el dicho Memorial, y se añadiese el costa de Soldados, parra que los Religiosos Jesuitas entrassen, y viviessen en dichas Islas con mas seguridad. Y aviendose hecho consulta à su Magestad sobre esta resolucion, con los poderosos motivos de ella, y subido à 23 de Septiembre, el día primero de Octubre baxò con el Decreto ordinario de **Como parece**, rubricado de su Magestad, y confirmando tan santa, y piadosa resolucion, y se provediò à los despachos, que son en la forma siguiente.*

Translation.

As a result of the presentation of the Memorial to the King our Lord on 22 August of this year 1705, His Majesty forwarded it to the Council, along with the Brief of His Holiness, and the letter of the Most Christian King, and the above-mentioned Decree, the translation of the Brief, and letter, were carried out posthaste and all the documents brought up by the Secretary to said Royal Council on the 16th of September following. It appears, according to the despatches, that it was decided that everything be granted in full, exactly as stated in said Memorial, with the addition of the costing for soldiers to escort the Jesuit religious when making their entry, and make their stay in said Islands safer. After His Majesty was thus consulted on this matter, along with the

powerful motives therein, the resolution was taken up on 23 September. On the 1st of October the ordinary Decree came down, with His Majesty's **Concur**, signed by his own hand, thus confirming such a holy and pious resolution, and the following despatches were prepared.¹

1 Ed. note: See next chapter, Documents 1705K

Documents 1705K

Royal decrees of 19 October 1705 regarding the religious conquest of the Carolines

Sources: AGI Fil. 332, libro 11, fol. 227v-229v, pp. 522-526; copies in RAH 9/2670 doc. n° 27; published as Chap. XIII of Fr. Serrano's Breve Noticia; copied, in part, in Colección Pastells, Fil. 4 and also in Fil. 14, pp. 164+

K1. Decree addressed to the Viceroy of New Spain

Note: The original is now found in AGN Californias [sic], vol. 26, fol. 216-218.

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Duque de Alburquerque, Primo, Gentilhombre de mi Camara, mi Virrey, Governador, y Capitan General de las Provincias de la Nueva España, y Presidente de la Audiencia de Mexico:

Andrés Serrano, de la Compañía de Jesus, Procurador General de la Provincia de Philipinas, me ha representado, que entre aquellas Islas, y las Marianas, à la parte Austral, ay un gran numero de Islas de Gentiles, que tienen por nombre Pais, ò Palaos, muy pobladas de gente de docil natural, y sin especie de idolatria; y que por lo que de sus habitadores se ha colegido, y experimentado, muy dispuestos para recibir la verdad Católica, y luzes del Santo Evangelio: suplicandome fuesse servido de mandar poner en execucion la conversion de estas Islas, dando orden para que luego, y sin dilacion alguna se prevenga Embarcacion, en que puedan passar los Missioneros de la Compañía à principiar obra tan del servicio de Dios, y que se les asista con todo lo necesario para su sustento, y resguardo; y que para el mas seguro logro de esta empresa se contribuya de estas Caxas con dos mil pesos en cada un año, que estos se entreguen al Procurador, que su Provincia tiene en esse Reyno, para que este los remita à Manila, en consideracion de que en aquellas Caxas no suele aver para los gastos precisos.

Visto en mi Consejo de las Indias, y consultadoseme sobre ello; atendiendo à las importantes consequencias espirituales, y temporales, que comprehende esta materia, demas de la obligacion en que me hallo de adelantar las conversiones de esos Dominios, y descubrimientos, he resuelto condescender à la representacion, y proposicion de Andrés Serrano, en todo lo que he juzgado conveniente para el logro de esta empresa; y assi os mando deis luego los ordenes necesarios, para que por el tiempo, que se ocuparen en ella los Missioneros de la Compañia, se les assista de mis Caxas Reales de essa Ciudad con los dos mil pesos en cada un año, y que se entreguen al Procurador, que la Provincia de Philipinas tiene en esse Reyno: estando advertido de que este pagamento se ha de hazer con la mayor precision, y puntualidad, y sin replica, ni dilacion alguna; y que vos aveis de velar sobre que el Procurador General perciba los dos mil pesos integros, y sin la mas minima deducion, ni minoracion, por ninguna causa, cuidando assimismo vos de que su conduccion hasta Philipinas se execute con quanta comodidad cupiere, y con el mismo privilegio que el caudal de mi Real hazienda, si importare, para que goze de esta conveniencia, y para que se convierta en una obra tan del agrado de Dios, y mio, y en que fio obrareis con la exactitud que me prometen vuestras obligaciones, y en el supuesto del servicio que me hará vuestra atencion, y zelo en una materia, que me debe tan especial cuidado, y afecto, que con carta de pago del que es, ò fuere Procurador de la Compañia, se recibiràn, y passaràn en quenta los referidos dos mil pesos todo el tiempo que se les assistiere con esta limosna, aviendo tomado razon de èl los Contadores de Quentas de mi Consejo de Indias, y los Oficiales Reales de essa Ciudad.

Fecha en Madrid à diez y nueve de Octubre de mil setecientos y cinco.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Translation.

The King

[To the] Duke of Albuquerque, Cousin, Gentleman of my Chamber, my Viceroy, Governor and Captain General of the Provinces of New Spain, and President of the Audiencia of Mexico.

Andrés Serrano, of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General of the Province of the Philippines, has made representations to me to the effect that, between those Islands and the Marianas, to the south of them, there is a large number of Islands full of heathens; these Islands are called Pais, or Palaos, and are well populated with people of a docile character, and without any semblance of idolatry; and, from the information that was collected about, and experienced with, their inhabitants, they are well disposed to receive the Catholic truth, and the light of the Holy Gospel; and so he begs me to be pleased to order that the conversion of these Islands be carried out, without any delay or excuses, by outfitting a ship to carry the Missionaries of his Society there, to begin the entreprize, of so much service to God, and by assisting them with necessities for their sustenance, and armed protection; and furthermore, to assure the success of this

enterprise, a contribution of 2,000 pesos from this Treasury be paid out every year to the Procurator whom that Province has in that Kingdom, in order for him to remit them to Manila, in view of the fact that that Treasury does not usually have the precise sums.

This having been seen in my Council of the Indies, and after their consultation, given the importance of the spiritual and temporal consequences that are implicated in this matter, in addition to the duty I have to advance the conversions of those Dominions, and explorations, I have decided to agree to the representation, and proposal made by Andrés Serrano, in everything that I have judged proper for the success of this enterprise, and so I order you to issue the necessary orders, so that, for the duration of the stay of the Missionaries of the Society, they be assisted with 2,000 pesos every year from my Royal treasury in that City, to be turned over to the Procurator whom the Province of the Philippines has in that Kingdom. You are also notified that this payment must be made with the greatest of precision, and timeliness, and without any excuses or delays whatsoever; and that you must be careful that the Procurator General collect the full 2,000 pesos, with not the least deduction or decrease, for any reason, and in addition, you are to make sure that its transport as far as the Philippines be carried out with the same comfort and privilege that befit the moneys of my own Royal property, if applicable, so that he may enjoy this advantage, and to make sure that it will benefit an enterprise of such great acceptance to God, and me. I trust that you will proceed with the exactitude that your duties promise me, and I count on the service that your attention and zeal will give me in this matter, which concerns me greatly, for you to provide the present and eventual Procurator of the Society with a letter of payment, to enable him to collect, and enter into accounts, the above-mentioned 2,000 pesos the whole time that I am to assist them with this alms. The royal accountants in my Council of the Indies, and the Royal officials of that City, are to take heed of same.

Made at Madrid on the 19th of October of 1705.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord, Don Manuel de Aperregui.

K2. Decree addressed to the Archbishop of Mexico

Note: There exists a copy of this decree in AGN Californias, vol. 26, fol. 27-27v; it is one of the copies made by Gaspar de Pinedo, the man who replaced Aperregui as Secretary to the Council in 1706.

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Al Arzobispo de Mexico encargandole coadyude y solicite por su parte el adelantamiento de la recuccion de las nuevas Islas de Pais o Palaos. Nota: En 12 de Noviembre de 1706 se dio duplicado y triplicado de este despacho refrendados del Señor Gaspar de Pinedo.

Mui Reverendo en Christo Padre Don Juan de Ortega Montañez, Arzobispo de la Iglesia Metropolitana de la Ciudad de Mexico, de mi Consejo:

Andrés Serrano de la Compañía de Jhs, Procurador general de la Provincia de Philipinas me ha representado, que entre aquellas Islas, y las Marianas a la parte Austral, ay gran numero de Islas de Gentiles, que tienen por nombre Pais, ò Palaos, muy pobladas de gente de docil natural, y sin expeçie que se aya conozido de idolatria, y mui dispuestos para recibir la verdad Catholica, y luzes del Santo Evangelio, suplicandome fuese servido de mandar poner en ejecucion la Reduccion de estas Islas, y conbersion de sus naturales.

Y habiendo condesçendido à su instancia, à consulta de mi Consejo de las Indias, dando las ordenes combenientes para que se logre fin tan santo y a que estoi obligado: He resuelto daros esta notiçia, afin de rogaros, y encargaros (como lo hago) coadyubeis por vuestra persona y con vuestro grande çelo y amor del serviçio de Dios, y mio, à adelantar, y promover con socorros espirituales, y temporales, obra tan del agrado de Dios, bien de las almas, y aumento de nuestra Santa Fè, soliçitando esto mismo con las personas poderosas de ese Arzobispado en la inteligencia firme, de que ninguna otra demostracion podra ser tan de mi gratitud, demas de corresponder à la obligacion en que estais constituido por vuestra Dignidad.

Fecha en Madrid à 19 de Octubre de 1705.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Translation.

The King.

To the Archbishop of Mexico entrusting him to collaborate with and solicit for his part the development of the reduction of the new Islands of Pais, or Palaos.—Note: On 12 November 1706, a duplicate and triplicate of this despatch were issued, under the signature of Don Gaspar de Pinedo.

Very Reverend Father in Christ, Don Juan de Ortega Montañez, Archbishop of the Metropolitan Church of the City of Mexico, Member of my Council:

Andrés Serrano of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General of the Province of the Philippines, has made representations to me, to the effect that, between those Islands and the Marianas, to the south of them, there is a large number of Islands full of heathens, and they are called Pais, or Palaos, very populated by people with a gentle nature, and apparently without any form of idol worship, and very well disposed to receive the Catholic truth, and light of the Holy Gospel, and he begged me to be pleased to order the effective reduction of these Islands, and the conversion of their natives.

And, after I had granted his request, and consulted with my Council of the Indies for the proper orders to achieve such a holy purpose, to which I am committed, I have decided to let you know this notice, in order to pray you, and entrust you (as I do now) to collaborate personally and with your great zeal and love of the service of God, and mine, to advance, and foster, with spiritual and material succor, an enterprise so acceptable to God, so much for the welfare of souls, and propagation of our Holy Faith,

by soliciting the same with powerful persons in that See, with the firm understanding that no other demonstration could be of greater satisfaction to me, besides the duty that comes with your lofty position.

Made at Madrid on the 19th of October 1705.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord, Don Manuel de Aperregui.

K3. Decree addressed to the Archbishop of Manila

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Al Arzobispo de Manila encargandole coadyube, y solicite por su parte el adelantamiento de la reduccion de las nuevas Islas de Pais o Palaos. [Nota:] Sobre lo mismo en 12 de Noviembre de 1706 se dieron duplicado y triplicado deste despacho y fueron refrendados del Señor Don Gaspar [de Pinedo].

Muy Reverendo en Christo Padre Arzobispo de la Iglesia Metropolitana de la Ciudad de Manila en Philipinas, de mi Consejo.

Andrés Serrano, de la Compañía de Jhs, Procurador general de la Provincia de Philipinas, me ha representado, que entre esas Islas, y las Marianas, à la parte Austral, ay gran numero de Islas de Gentiles, que tienen por nombre Pais, ó Palaos, mui pobladas de gente de dozil natural, y sin espeçie que se haya conozido de idolatria, y mui dispuestos para recevir la verdad Catholica, y luzes del Santo Evangelio, suplicandome fuese servido de mandar poner en ejecucion la reduccion de estas Islas, y combersion de sus naturales.

Y aviendo condescendido a su instancia, à consulta de mi Consejo de las Indias, dando las ordenes combenientes para que se logre fin tan santo, y a que estoy obligado, he resuelto daros esta noticia, à fin de rogaros, y encargaros (como lo hago) coadyubeis por vuestra persona y con vuestro zelo, y amor al servicio de Dios, y mio, à adelantar, y promover con socorros espirituales, y temporales obra tan del agrado de Dios, bien de las almas, y aumento de nuestra Santa Fè, solicitando esto mismo con las personas poderosas de ese Arzobispado, en la inteligencia de que nada puede ser tan de mi gratitud, como la que os deviere esta dependencia, demas de corresponder à la obligacion en que estais constituido por vuestra Dignidad.

Fecha en Madrid à 19 de octubre de 1705.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Translation.

The King.

To the Archbishop of Manila entrusting him to collaborate with and solicit for his part the development of the reduction of the new Islands of Pais, or Palaos.—Note: On

12 November 1706, a duplicate and triplicate of this despatch were issued, under the signature of Don Gaspar [de Pinedo].

Very Reverend Father in Christ, Archbishop of the Metropolitan Church of the City of Manila in the Philippines, Member of my Council:

Andrés Serrano of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General of the Province of the Philippines, has made representations to me, to the effect that, between those Islands and the Marianas, to the south of them, there is a large number of Islands full of heathens, and they are called Pais, or Palaos, very populated by people with a gentle nature, and apparently without any form of idol worship, and very well disposed to receive the Catholic truth, and light of the Holy Gospel, and he begged me to be pleased to order the effective reduction of these Islands, and the conversion of their natives.

And, after I had granted his request, and consulted with my Council of the Indies for the proper orders to achieve such a holy purpose, to which I am committed, I have decided to let you know this notice, in order to pray you, and entrust you (as I do now) to collaborate personally and with your great zeal and love of the service of God, and mine, to advance, and foster, with spiritual and material succor, an enterprise so acceptable to God, so much for the welfare of souls, and propagation of our Holy Faith, by soliciting the same with powerful persons in that See, with the firm understanding that no other demonstration could be of greater satisfaction to me, by doing you this favor as to me, besides the duty that comes with your lofty position.

Made at Madrid on the 19th of October 1705.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Manuel de Aperregui.

K4. Decree addressed to the Governor of the Philippines

Note on sources: Delgado, in his book "Historia general sacro-profana" has also reproduced the second part of this Decree in his Book 1, Chapter 24.

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

[A] *Maestre de Campo Don Domingo de Zabalburu, Cavallero del Orden de Santiago, mi Governador y Capitan General de las Yslas Philipinas y Presidente de la Audiencia de Manila, ó à la persona à cuyo cargo fuere su Gobierno:*

Andrés Serrano de la Compañia de Jesus, Procurador de la Provincia de esas Islas, me ha representado de que entre ellas y las Marianas ay gran numero de Yslas de Gentiles que tienen por nombre Pais, ó Palaos, muy pobladas de gente de docil natural y sin especie que se aya conocido de ydolatria ni mezcla de la secta Mahometana, y que por lo que de sus havitadores se a colegido y experimentado, muy dispuestos para recibir la verdad Catholica y luces del Santo Evangelio, suplicandome fuese servido de

mandar poner en execucion la conversion de estas Islas, dando orden para que luego y sin dilacion alguna se prevenga embarcacion en que los Misioneros de la Compañia de Jesus puedan ir à predicar el Santo Evangelio à sus havitadores y que sean proveidos de todo lo necesario, assi para el viaje como para manternerse en ellas, y se continue este socorro todos los años en el interin que perseveraren en ellas, para que mas brevemente se exploren estas Islas; y que respecto de que cada año sale del puerto de Cavite una Balandra, ó Patache, que lleva el situado à las Marianas, al qual le es muy facil de vuelta explorar algunas, dejando el rumbo ordinario del leste à oeste, y declinando algun tanto à la banda del sur, se ponga en execucion y se tenga el consuelo de ver en ellas dilatado el Reyno de Christo, y propagada su Santa Fè.

*Y visto en mi Consejo de las Indias, y consultadoseme sobre ello, atendiendo con todo el cuydado que pide la gravedad de esta materia, por las importantes consecuencias espirituales y temporales que comprehende, y teniendo à la vista la obligacion en que me hallo de adelantar las conversiones de esos Dominios y descubrimientos, hé resuelto condescender à la representacion y proposicion de Andrés Serrano en todo lo que comprehende para asegurar el logro de esta empresa: y asi os mando que sin la menor omision, dispongais se prevenga embarcacion en que los Misioneros de la Compañia de Jesús puedan ir à dar principio à ella, haciendo se les provea de todo lo necesario, asi para el viaje como para mantenerse en aquellas Islas y que esto sea todos los años mientras perseveraren en ellas, enviando con los Misioneros la escolta de soldados que pareciere competente para su seguridad, estando advertido que el Cavo de la escolta ha de consultar qualquier operacion con el Prelado de la Mission, y governarse por su direccion y estar sujeto à ella, por ser la forma mas acertada para que se consiga la entrada de los Religiosos, sin resistencia de los Yndios, y de que los soldados no se propasen y cometan algun desman con riesgo proximo de la misma idea que van à proteger y auxiliar, por lo que importa para el mayor augmento de nuestra Sagrada Religion y à introducir su santo culto en aquellas naciones tan ciegas y ignorantes de la luz del Evangelio, que atendiendo à asegurar mas el despacho de embarcacion y Misioneros, hé mandado al Virrey de Nueva España, por cedula aparte, que de las Caxas Reales de aquella Ciudad haga entregar presisamente **dos mill pesos cada año** al Procurador de la Compañia de Jesús que la Provincia tiene en aquel Reyno, para que este los remita à esa Ciudad, encargando al mismo tiempo à los Arzobispos de aquella y esa Metropolitana, coadyuben en encomendar y promover obra de tanto servicio de Dios y bien de las almas, para que por sí mismos, y por medio [or mano] de las personas poderosas cooperen y contribuyan à ella con socorros espirituales y temporales, pues sera de mi mayor gratitud, demas de corresponder al cumplimiento de la obligacion en que estan constituidos por su Dignidad.*

Y deseando conseguir con la mayor anticipacion noticias mas ciertas de lo que se fuere adelantando en esta expedicion, os mando assi mismo deis orden, para que el Patache que de Cavite sale todos los años con el situado à las Marianas, indefectiblemente de vuelta tome el rumbo de forma que se exploren estas Islas con toda la mayor atencion y distincion.

Y por ser mi Real animo y voluntad atender con todos los medios conducentes à la consecucion de una empresa tan del agrado de Dios, os advierto esteis muy desvelado en la mas puntual execucion de todo lo que os mando, de manera que por ningun caso dexede de ponerse en practica desde luego, y sin la menor retardacion, pues de lo contrario me darè de vos por deservido y se os hara muy especial y riguroso cargo en vuestra residencia con el singular Capitulo de ella, bien que espero, y fio de vuestra obligacion y zelo, os aplicareis al mas exacto cumplimiento de quanto os ordeno, y à serme en ello el servicio que podeis suponer, y inferir del sumo afecto y cuydado que me debe esta materia. Y del recivo de este despacho, de su cumplimiento, y de lo que se fuere obrando en esto, me dareis quenta con individualidad:

Fecho en Madrid à dies y nueve de Octubre de mil setecientos y cinco.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Miguel de Aperregui.

Translation.

The King.

[To] Master-of-camp Don Domingo de Zabalburu, Knight of the Order of St. James, my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of the Audiencia of Manila, or to the person or persons in whose charge their government may be:

Andrés Serrano, of the Society of Jesus, Procurator of the Province of the Philippines, has made representations to me to the effect that, between those Islands and the Marianas, to the south of them, there is a large number of Islands full of heathens; these Islands are called Pais, or Palaos, and are well populated with people of a docile character, and without any semblance of idolatry or mixture of the sect of Mahomet; and, from the information that was collected about, and experienced with, their inhabitants, they are well disposed to receive the Catholic truth, and the light of the Holy Gospel; and so he begs me to be pleased to order that the conversion of these Islands be carried out, without any delay or excuses, by outfitting a ship to carry the Missionaries of his Society there, to preach the Holy Gospel to their inhabitants, and by assisting them with necessities for their voyage, as well as their maintenance there, and for this support to continue every year as long as they persevere there, to make sure that these Islands will be explored soonest. Regarding the sloop, or patache, that departs the port of Cavite every year with the subsidy of the Marianas, for which it is very easy, upon the return voyage, to explore a few, by deviating southward from the regular east-west course, this ought to be carried out, in order to derive the consolation to see the Kingdom of Christ established there, and His holy Faith propagated.

This having been seen in my Council of the Indies, and after consulting with them about it, in view of the importance of the spiritual and temporal consequences that are implicated in this matter, in addition to the duty I have to advance the conversions of those Dominions, and explorations, I have decided to agree to the representation, and proposal made by Andrés Serrano, in everything that I have judged proper for the success of this enterprise, and so I order you to arrange, without the least omission, for the

outfitting of a ship to take the Missionaries of the Society of Jesus overthere and give a start to it, making sure they have everything necessary, not only for their voyage, but also to maintain themselves in those Islands, and that must take place every year as long as they remain there, by sending an escort of soldiers of a sufficient number to assure their security, and their Chief must be given the following warning: he is to consult with the Prelate of the Mission on any operation, and take guidance from him and be subordinate to him, on account of this being the surest way to achieve the entry of the Religious, without resistance on the part of the Indians, and to prevent any irregularities and abuses by the soldiers, thus placing the same in jeopardy; also they are going there to protect and assist, given that such is important for the greater expansion of our Sacred Religion and to introduce His holy cult in those nations so blind and ignorant of the light of the Gospel. The better to ensure a certain despatch of a ship and Missionaries, I have ordered the Viceroy of New Spain, in a separate decree, that he should pay out of the Royal treasury in that City the exact sum of **2,000 pesos every year** to the Procurator of the Society of Jesus that the Province has in that Kingdom, so that he in turn may remit same to that City, entrusting at the same time the Archbishops of the Metropolitan churches in Mexico and Manila to collaborate in recommending and promoting an enterprise that is of such a great service to God and the welfare of souls, not only personally, but also through powerful persons, to cooperate and contribute to it with spiritual and material resources, since I would be gratified by it, besides being of their resort and proper for the duty attached to their lofty positions.

And, as I wish to be informed as quickly and correctly as possible of the progress made in that expedition, I order you to also give an order for the patache that departs from Cavite every year with the subsidy for the Marianas, without fail, on its return voyage, to take the proper course to go on exploring these Islands with the greatest of application and attention to details.

And, since it is my Royal idea and will to take all the means that might lead to the achievement of an enterprise that is so pleasing to God, I warn you to be very particular in carrying most faithfully all that I order you, to make sure that in every case it is put into practice, as a matter of course, and without the least delay; indeed, otherwise, I would consider myself badly served by you. Also, your performance in this matter will be subject to close scrutiny in the audit of your term of office and will form a special chapter in it, although I trust in your duty and zeal, and expect that you will apply the most exact compliance of every order I give you, and that you will render me the significant service that you can infer from the extreme affection and care that this matter causes in me. And you are to acknowledge the receipt of this despatch, and inform me in detail of compliance with it, and whatever you will have done about it.

Made at Madrid on the 19th of October of 1705.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord, Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Documents 1705L

Royal decrees ordering the salvage of the cannon from the *Concepción* shipwreck of 1638

Source: AGI Fil. 332, libro 11, fol. 171-172v, pp. 409-412.

Note: The King did not yet know that most of the cannon, at least those that were lying at Sunharon, Tinian, had been recovered by Governor Vadillo's men in 1704 (see Doc. 1707B).

L1. Decree sent to the Governor of the Philippines, dated Madrid 12 August 1705

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Al Governador de Philipinas diziendole se espera la noticia de lo que resultare tocante al Buzeo de la Artilleria de un Galeon que se perdio el año de 38 en las Islas Marianas.

Maestro de campo Don Domingo de Zabalburu, Cavallero del orden de Santiago, &c.

En carta de 8 de Junio del año pasado de 1703 referis haviais despachado patache a las Islas Marianas con encargo asimismo al Governador de ellas solizitase el Buzeo de un Galeon que el año de 38 se perdio, viniendo a la N^a Esp^a y copia autentica de la zedula que en 3 de octubre de 80 se expidio sobre este punto por haveros hallado con noticia de poderse conseguir, respecto de estar ya la maior parte de ella en las Barras de las dos Islas de Zeypan, y Tinian, y que asi dareis noticia de lo que resultare.

Y visto en mi Junta de guerra de Indias ha parecido deziros se espera la noticia que ofreçeis de lo que resultare, y que al Virrey de la N^a Esp^a se le participa para que de fomento à esta diligencia.

De Madrid a 12 el Agosto de 1705.

Yo el Rey

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Señalado del Consejo.

Translation.

The King.

[To the] Governor of the Philippines, telling him that he is waiting for the news of the result regarding the salvage of the cannon from a galleon that was lost in the year 1638 in the Mariana Islands.

Master-of-camp Don Domingo de Zabalburu, Knight of the Order of St. James, etc.

In a letter dated 8 June of the past year of 1703, you mentioned that you had despatched a patache to the Mariana Islands with the specific assignment given to the Governor there to try and salvage the galleon that was lost in the year of 1638, while coming to New Spain, enclosing a certified copy of the decree that was issued on 3 October 1680 concerning this matter, since you had heard that it was possible to do it, given that most of the cannon were already on the sand bars of the two Islands of Zeypan and Tinian, and so, you were to give me news of the result.

This having been seen in my Council of war of the Indies, it has appeared desirable to tell you that the news of the result is being awaited, and that the Viceroy of New Spain is being advised so that he may promote this endeavor.

From Madrid, 12 August 1705.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Countersigned by the Council.

L2. Decree sent to the Viceroy, dated Madrid 12 August 1705

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Al Virrey de N^a Esp^a que fomente y solicite el Buzeo de la Artilleria de Bronze de un Galeon que se perdio el año de 38 en las Marianas.

Duque de Alburquerque Primo Gentilhombre de mi Camara mi Virrey Governador y Capitan general de las Provincias de la N^a España y Presidente de la Audiencia de Mexico.

El Maestro de Campo Don Domingo de Zabalburu, Governador de Philipinas ha puesto en mi noticia con carta de 8 de Junio de 1703 havia encargado al Governador de las Marianas el Buzeo de la Artilleria de bronze de un Galeon que el año de 38 se perdio en ellas viniendo a esa N^a Esp^a.

Y habiendose visto en mi Junta de guerra de Indias: he resuelto ordenaros que por vuestra parte fomenteis la diligencia del Buzeo de esta Artilleria, y me aviseis de lo que resultare.

De Madrid a 12 de Agosto de 1705.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Señalado del Consejo.

Translation.

The King.

[To the] Viceroy of New Spain, for him to promote and solicit the salvage of the brass cannon from a galleon that was lost in the Marianas in the year 1638.

Duke of Albuquerque, Cousin, Gentleman of my Privy Council, my Viceroy, Governor and Captain General of the Provinces of New Spain, and President of the Audiencia of Mexico.

Master-of-camp Domingo de Zabalburu, Governor of the Philippines, has informed me, in a letter dated 8 June 1703, that he has ordered the Governor of the Marianas to salvage the bronze cannon from the galleon that was lost in the year 1638 when coming to that New Spain.

This matter having been seen in my Council of War of the Indies, I have decided to order you to expedite the salvage of these cannon as much as you can, and advise me of the result.

From Madrid, 12 August 1705.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Countersigned by the Council.¹

¹ Ed. note: On 20 July 1706, the Viceroy answered, saying that he had in turn issued similar orders for this salvage project (ref. AGI Fil. 119 and Ultramar 561).

Document 1705M

Manifest for the Marianas, for 1705

Source: AGNAHH 332. Note: The value of the subsidy for 1705 was 33,185 pesos.

Pieces sent to the Marianas aboard the galleon Rosario

Original text in Spanish.

Testimonio de registro de las piezas a Marianas y Manila. Año de 1705.

Antonio Ximenez de Gusman escribano de S. Magd. certifico y doi testimonio como el dia veinte y siete de febrero pasado deste año el Sarxento Maior Don Pedro Juan Mirabo Maestro del Galeon de Philipinas resivio de el Capitan Don Francisco Peres Nauaz residentte en esta Ciudad y Puerto quarenta caxas de num^o uno a quarenta: dose piasas las dies cajones y dos barriles; mas trece piasas las sinco surrones[,] siete caxas y un ttercio; sinco tinajas que pertenecen a los Rdos. Padres Misioneros de la sagrada Compañía de Jhs de las Yslas Marianas que por todas son setenta piasas con la marca del marjen;

Asimismo resivio de dho Capitan Don Francisco Peres Nauaz seis caxas de num^o uno â seis: otros ocho dhos y un surron y tres tercios que son dies y ocho piessas pertenecientes a los Collexios de la Jubentud de dhas Yslas Marianas con la marca de el marjen que remitte el Rdo. Padre Francisco de Borxa de dha sagrada Compañía Procurador general de dhas Yslas; de que otorgo parttida de registro para su conduccion, y entrega y para que conste de pedimiento de dho Capittan[,] doy le presentte en la ciudad de los Reies Puertto de Acapulco a veinte y quatro dias del mez de Marzo de mill settecientos y sinco años siendo ttestigos Don Miguel de Sempertegui[,] Carlos de Roa y Miguel Fernandes de Saldaña presentes.

Y hago mi signo en testimonio de verdad:

Antonio Ximenez de Gusman, escribano Real.

Translation.**Certificate of the manifest of the pieces sent to the Marianas and Manila in 1705.**

I, Antonio Ximenez de Guzman, royal notary, do certify and vouch for the fact that, on 27 February of this year, Sergeant-Major Pedro Juan Mirabo, master of the Philippine galleon, received from Captain Francisco Perez Navas, a resident of this city and port, 40 boxes numbered 1 to 40: 12 pieces consisting of 10 ^S crates and 2 barrels; plus 13 pieces consisting of 5 pouches, 7 boxes, 1 half-load, and 5 jars belonging to the missionary Fathers of the sacred Society of Jesus in the Mariana Islands, which all in all are 70 pieces with the mark in margin;

In addition, he received from said Captain Francisco Perez Navas 6 boxes numbered 1 to 6; plus 8 more boxes, 1 pouch, and 3 half-loads, for a total of 18 pieces belonging to the Colleges for the youth of said Mariana Islands with the mark in margin, which are remitted by Rev. Father Francisco de Borja of said sacred Society, Procurator general of said Islands.

I issue this extract from the manifest to accompany said pieces and for whom it may concern, at the request of said Captain.

Made at the City of the Kings and Port of Acapulco on 24 March 1705, in the presence of the following witnesses: Don Miguel de Sempertegui, Carlos de Roa, and Miguel Fernandez de Saldaña.

And in faith whereof, I affix my signature:

Antonio Ximenez de Guzman, royal notary.

^S
MR.P.P.

^S
MR.C.C.

Documents 1705N

Jesuit missionaries—Travel expenses and foreign content

Source: AGI Fil. 94.

N1. Royal consultation, Madrid 21 February 1705

Original text in Spanish.

*Marques del Carpió
Don Manuel Garcia de Bustamente
Don Diego Hermoso
Don Manuel de Aguilera
Don Joseph Bolero
Don Ramon Portocarrero
Don Alonso Carnero
Don Manuel de Gamboa*

Señor

En el año de 1699 se le concedio licencia y permiso para que pasasen a las Misiones de Philipinas que estan a cargo de la Religion de la Compañia de Jhs sesenta sugetos entrando en este numero veinte y nueve que dejaron de ir de las concesiones antecedentes;

Y haora Juan Martinez de Repalda Procurador General de la dha Compañia de Jhs de las Provincias de Yndias ha representado que aunque desde el expresado año hasta el presente se han hecho eficaces diligencias no se havian podido juntar a quenta de este numero mas de treinta y dos sugetos de los quales hacia presentacion[,] Suplicando a V.M. se sirva de mandar que lo que importare el Viatico entretenimiento matalotage y pasage de ellos se pague en las Caxas de la Veracruz y no teniendo cavimiento en estas en las de la Ciudad de Mexico por no haver caudal en la Casa de la Contratacion de Sevilla para estos gastos;

Visto en el Consejo y considerado el copioso fruto que en la enseñanza y reduccion de aquellos naturales consiguen los Misioneros de este orden y haverse hecho con las demas Religiones que estan en aquellas Yslas y constar que en la Casa de Contratacion no ay de muchos años a esta parte caudal de lo destinado a este fin es de parecer podría V.M. servirse de conceder a estos Religiosos se les libre y pague en las Caxas de la Veracruz y no teniendo cavimiento en estas en las de la Ciudad de Mexico lo que estos gastos importaren por Certificacion de la Casa de la Contratacion en lo procedido del derecho de la Mesada Eclesiastica que es el efecto consignado a los gastos de una obra tan del servicio de Dios y de la obligacion de V.M. sobre que mandara V.M. lo que mas sea servido.

Madrid a 21 de Febrero de 1705.

Translation.

Marquis of Carpio
 Don Manuel García de Bustamente
 Don Diego Hermoso
 Don Manuel de Aguilera
 Don José Bolero
 Don Ramon Portocarrero
 Don Alonso Carnero
 Don Manuel de Bamboa

Sire:

In 1699 license and permission was granted for 60 subjects of the Society of Jesus to go to the Missions of the Philippines under the care of this order, including 29 who did not go on previous occasions.

And now, Juan Martinez de Repalda, Procurator General of said Society of Jesus for the Provinces of the Indies has petitioned that, although since the above-mentioned year until the present efficient efforts were made, it has not been possible to gather more than 32 subjects so far, whom he presented. He begs Y.M. to please order that the amounts corresponding to their travel expenses, food supplies and fares be paid out of the treasury funds available in Veracruz, and failing them, from funds available in Mexico City, since there are no funds for this purpose in the House of Trade in Seville.

This matter was seen in Council and, considering the copious fruit that the missionaries of this order get from preaching and reducing those natives, and the fact, as discovered with other orders that operate in those Islands, that the House of Trade has not had funds destined for this purpose for many years already, we are of the opinion that Y.M. should be pleased to grant to these Religious access to funds available at Veracruz, and if there should not be any there, access to funds in Mexico City that are reserved for ecclesiastical allowances, which are meant for a project that is of great benefit for the service of God and is the responsibility of Y.M., regarding which Y.M. will order what you see fit.

Madrid, 21 February 1705.

N2. Royal consultation, Madrid 28 September 1705

Original text in Spanish.

Don Manuel Garcia de Bustamente

Don Juan de Castro

Don Mattheo Ybañez

Don Pedro Gamarra

Marques de Rivas

Don Manuel de Gamboa

Don Sancho de Castro

Señor

Sobre Consulta del Consejo de veinte y uno de Febrero de este año fue V.M. servido mandar que de lo precedido del efecto de mesadas eclesiasticas, se pagase en las Cajas de la Vera Cruz, ó Mexico, lo que ymportase por Zertificazion de la Casa de la Contratacion de Sevilla, el veatico entretenimiento matalotaxe, y pasaxe, a Philipinas de treinta y dos suxetos de la Comp^a de Jhs, que Juan Martinez de Ripalda, Procurador de las Provincias de Yndias presento de quenta de sesenta que de el año de noventa y nueve estavan conzedidos para aquellas Misiones.

Ahora Andres Serrano, Procurador General de la Provincia de Philipinas a representado que despues aca se an xuntado tres mas de que a echo presentacion; Y Suplica à V.M. que para que puedan pasar en la misma ocasion que los treinta y dos antecedentes, se sirva V.M. mandar seles de el despacho de su aviamiento viatico, y entretenimiento, matalotaxe, y pasaxe hasta aquellas Yslas, como el precedente, y seles pague lo que ymportare en la misma conformidad.

El Consexo, en Vista de su Ynstancia, y de que es constante que en la Casa de la Contratacion no ay efectos de que pagar estos gastos; es de parecer tenga V.M. a vien se execute con estos tres suxetos lo mismo que con los treinta y dos antecedentes.

V.Magd mandara lo que mas fuere su Real Voluntad.

Madrid 28 de Septiembre de 1705.

Translation.

Don Manuel Garcia de Bustamente

Don Juan de Castro

Don Mateo Ibañez

Don Pedro Gamarra

Marquis of Rivas

Don Manuel de Gamboa

Don Sancho de Castro

Sire:

Concerning the Consultation of the Council dated 21 February last, Y.M. was pleased to order that out of the funds reserved for ecclesiastical allowances be paid by the treasury in Veracruz, or in Mexico, the amounts, as specified by the House of Trade in Seville, for the travel expenses, food supplies and fares as far as the Philippines of 32 subjects of the Society of Jesus, whom Juan Martinez de Ripalda, Procurator of the Provinces of the Indies, petitioned for, out of the 60 positions that had been granted to those missions in 1699.

Now Andrés Serrano, Procurator General for the Province of the Philippines, has petitioned for the addition of three more subjects who have been gathered here, whose names he presented. And he begs Y.M. to be pleased to order to let them pass at the same time as the 32 previous ones, and to have a despatch prepared for their outfitting, travel expenses, food supplies for land and sea, as well as their fares as far as those Islands, as for the previous band, and that they be paid the same way.

The Council, in view of this request, and the fact that it is known that the House of Trade does not have any funds to pay these expenses, is of the opinion that Y.M. should agree that these three subjects be treated the same way as the previous 32.

Your Majesty will order what is most appropriate to your Royal will.

Madrid, 28 September 1705.

N3. Royal consultation, Madrid 14 December 1706

Original text in Spanish.

Duque de Atrisco.

Don Alonso Carnero.

Don Manuel de la Cruz.

Señor.

Con Decreto de 17 de Octubre proximo pasado se sirvio V.M. remitir al Consejo un memorial de Andres Serrano de la Compañia de Jhs, Procurador General de las Provincias de Philipinas con una carta de Su Santidad en que recomienda las dependencias de este Procurador para que en su vista se consulte à V.M. lo que se ofreciere.

El contexto del Memorial se reduce à pedir se le dè paso para que pueda llevar à Philipinas 16 ó 18 Religiosos para las Misiones de ellas por cuenta de maior numero que le està conzedido y que pueda sacar la mayor parte de ellos de las Provinzias de Ytalia y Flandes, respecto de hallarse las de España muy exsaustas de poder contribuir con sujetos para el yntento y que considerando que con el gasto regular que se dà para el avio de Misiones, no ay lo suficiente, pues le tendra mas costa el sacarlos de distantes Reynos para conducirlos à Cadiz, y que la Real hazienda se alla falta de medios, Suplica se pasen ofizios con Su Santidad, para que de los caudales que causan en Roma las dispensas matrimoniales de España, se digne señalar alguna limosna para la conducta de estos Religiosos.

*El Consejo en vista de esta ynstancia y teniendo presente la ynopia que ay en España de Religiosos por la suspensa correspondencia en las Provinzias de Aragon, Cataluña, y Valenzia, y que antes de esta novedad por particular grazia de V.M. se a permitido à la Religion de la Compañia de Philipinas una tercera parte de Religiosos extranjeros vasallos de V.M. es de parecer que en esta ocasion puede V.M. servirse condezzende en que del numero de los 16 ó 18 Religiosos que pretende este Procurador puedan ser las dos terceras partes de estrangeros. Cautelando en que no concurra ninguno de nazon Alemana y Flamenca por la presente constituzion de las cosas, y que por esta razon ayan de ser vasallos de V.M. de los Dominios de Ytalia con extension à la tierra de Su Santidad y que se lleven à las Provinzias de Nueva España, donde se an de ynternar, y salir de ella otros tantos Españoles para Philipinas ocurriendo por este medio à obviar el gravo daño que se puede originar de yntroduzir estranjeros en aquellas Yslas; Y en lo que mira à su avio y matalotaje respectto de estar dada regla general para estos gastos no asiente el Consejo en que se altere la practica (no obstante merezer la mayor atencion esta Religion) ni puede proponer à V.M. exemplares que graven su Real hacienda como tampoco el que se pasen ofizios con Su Santidad, sobre el punto de limosna asi porque subministra V.M. lo que su paga à lo competente para estos avios como por lo que se deve abstraer V.M. de ynterponer su grandeza en negozio de tan poca entidad, y de que se puede seguir el ynconveniente que con este asumpto se yn-
tente por la Corte de Su Santidad alguna yntroduzion en las materias y dependenzias de Yndias.*

Madrid à 14 de Diziembre de 1706.

Translation.

Duke of Atrisco

Don Alonso Carnero

Don Manuel de la Cruz

Sire:

By a decree dated 17 October of last year, Y.M. was pleased to remit to the Council a memorial from Andrés Serrano of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General for the Provinces of the Philippines, along with a letter from His Holiness in which he refers to the good services of this Procurator to provide the matter for a consultation of Y.M.

The gist of this Memorial is a petition for the passage to the Philippines of 16 to 18 Religious for the missions there, from the larger number that has already been granted, and for most of them to come from the Provinces of Italy and Flanders, given that the provinces of Spain are very devoid of subjects for this purpose and that, considering the fact that the regular contribution toward the mission outfit is not sufficient for those who will come from distant kingdoms, in order to bring them to Cadiz, and that the Royal treasury is short of means: he begs that letters be written to His Holiness, so that funds in Rome be taken out of the matrimonial dispensations for Spain, and be allotted to the transport of these Religious.

The Council, in view of this request, and considering the present shortage of Religious in Spain, and the blockage of the correspondence with the Provinces of Aragon, Cataluña and Valencia, and that previously Y.M. has permitted the Order of the Society in the Philippines to enjoy the special favor of making up its mission bands with one-third foreigners, but vassals of Y.M., is of the opinion that on this occasion Y.M. may be pleased to grant that two-thirds of the 16 or 18 Religious mentioned by this Procuraor could be made up of foreigners. A warning should however be given: no foreigner of German or Flemish nationalities can be included, on account of the present state of affairs, and for this reason, they have to be vassals of Y.M. from the dominions of Italy, with an extension to the territories of His Holiness, and they are to be taken to the Provinces of New Spain, where they ought to remain to work, while as many Spaniards ought to transfer to the Philippines, to prevent the serious harm that could result if foreigners are introduced to those Islands. And, as far as their outfitting and food supplies, with reference to the general rule for such expenses, the Council believes that the practice should not be altered (in spite of the relative greater merit of this Order), nor can it propose to Y.M. exceptional expenses from your Royal treasury, and neither are we in favor of involving His Holiness about a point of alms, not only because Y.M. is responsible for paying sufficient sums for these outfittings, but also because Y.M. should not involve your greatness in matters of minor import, if only because this business might lead the Court of His Holiness to begin meddling in matters and dependencies of the Indies.

Madrid, 14 December 1706.

Document 1706A

Report by Fr. Bouwens on measures for the good government of the Marianas

Source: Original ms. no longer extant; published in Appendix N° 7 of the following book by Luís de Ibañez y García, governor of the Marianas, 1871-73, entitled: "Historia de las Islas Marianas" (Granada, Sabatel, 1886), pp. 188-195.

Notes: This document was found by Gov. Ibañez in the local government archives at Agaña. There is no record of the original report, made in Manila earlier, that warranted the present response. It was no doubt lost with the galleon San Francisco Xavier in 1705.

Report to the Governor of the Marianas, dated Agaña 20 April 1706

Original text in Spanish.

Testimonio del informe dado por el M. R. Padre Jesuita Gerardo Bowens, Vice-Provincial de la Mision de Marianas, para el buen régimen y Gobierno de dichas Islas.

En la ciudad de San Ignacio de Agaña en 23 dias del mes de Abril de 1,706 años.

Yo el Capitan Don Juan Joseph de Zaracibar, Secretario nombrado de la Governación y guerra de estas Islas Marianas, en cumplimiento del Auto de 20 del corriente del Señor Sargento mayor Don Antonio de Villamor [y] Vadillo, Gobernador y Theniente de Capitan General por su Magestad en Interín de estas dichas Islas, hize sacar y saqué un tanto autentico del escripto presentado por el Muy Reverendo Padre Gerardo Bowens de la Compañía de Jesus, Vice-Provincial de esta Mission Mariana y de su Proveimiento, cuyo tenor á la letra es como sigue.—

El Padre Gerardo Bowens de la Compañía de Jesus y Vice-Provincial de las Islas Marianas, para que esta haga feé donde y cuando combiniere, Digo: haber recibido favor de admitir Vsseñoría fuese servido de suspender su resolucion tomada yá de Executar quanto antes lo que en Virtud de cierto escripto Decreto [d]el Superior Gobierno de Manila, quedando yo con empeño para mejor Informe de consultar sobre lo contenido en dicho escripto á los Padres {á} que hay mas experimentados en esta tier-

ra y que tienen mejor Conocimiento de sus naturales que no quien de ellos hubiere Informado. Habiendo pues, tratado en la junta de Hacienda los Puntos mas substanciales, fué muy alabada la determinacion de que se cumpla[n] y executen las Reales leyes y Ordenanzas de su Magestad tocantes al alivio de los servicios personales, de estos Indios, paga y satisfaccion de los trabajos porque lo así Decretado, está tan puesto en razon y tan ajustado á la justicia y piedad Christiana, que sin contravenir gravísimamente á la conciencia, no puede dejarse de cumplirle, así quanto lícitamente, fuere practicable quiera Dios, que se lo suplicamos muy mucho, se hallen los medios para conseguir el efecto que tanto se desea, y ninguno mas que Vsseñoría.

Para ello parecia Conveniente al que Informó se nombrasen segun el estilo de Filipinas Gobernadorcillos como Juezes de Simenteras en ves de los Españoles que en cada partido el suyo dirigan; á estos Indios en el nombrarlos no hay dificultad, pero á Juicio Comun de los que conocen el natural de los Marianos y casi lo incorregible de su Costumbre en este particular (ignóralo el Informante) parece no tendrá jamás hechura lo que se Intenta; años há que algo de esto se comenzó á practicar señalados en cierto Partido dos de los absolutamente más principales, sin haber entre los demás, quien les Igualase en autoridad y mando; pero ellos aunque tan acreditados bien presto perdieron la esperanza de salir con lo que convenia al bien comun, y asi iba entablando para el alivio de todos; suplicaron pues los dos señalados al que esto gobernaba entonces nombrase de entre los Españoles quien le pareciese, porque el mandar suyo de ellos, ni era ni seria jamás de provecho, lo mismo Juzgan aún hoy día, no solo los Indios sino tambien los más de nosotros que los administramos, y ha tantos años por saber de cierto que les falta la Eficacia á los que hubieren de mandar y á los que hubieren de obedecer la sujecion devida. Efecto que lo es o [=viene] sin duda de su altivez y natural sobervia, sin que hasta aora se pudo Conseguir que ellos se entendiessen entre sí para encaminar los unos á los otros, consiguiéndolo Vseñoría será para estimárselo con agradecimiento, por que, y no sin sobrado fundamento, se presume que por Intervencion de los Españoles que los mandan se les acrecientan notable y excesivamente sus continuos trabajos.—

Por tanto, casso de no ser practicable en las Marianas lo que en Manila por no conocerse el genio de sus naturales se tiene por fázil de conseguir sea Vseñoría servido de dar providencia para que se atajen los excesos, que en mandarlos trabajar más de lo Justificadamente ordenado, hubiesen cometido los dichos Españoles que encaminan á la gente en adelante pudieren exceder con agravio y daño manifiesto de los assi mandados, cuyos afanes sin encarecimiento siempre han sido muchos por ser poco el genio que cada día va a menos y cassi continuo su trabajo parte por lo mucho que su {con}natural floxedad repugna al trabajar (lo qual siendo culpa suya, no favorece ley alguna) parte también por la frecuencia de los Uraçanes que no se pueden remediar sino mediante Dios con gravísimos daños assi en las fábricas suyas y nuestras por ser de materiales tan débiles no haciendo otros de más dura, como en sus sembrados tan cortos que apenas alcanza lo precisamente necessario para pasar la Vida; estos sus trabajos como son cassi ordinarios, dejan muy poca esperanza de podérselos poner el reme-

dio, que deseamos aquí todos, y muy en particular Vseñoría mas de lo quizás se pensava en Manila al tiempo de hacer tal informe al reduzir, pues á menos estos trabajos, quanto la nezesidad inexcusable que no admite Ley lo permitiere, seranles de conzuelo á los Miserables, y cuando menos de algun alivio, no pudiéndoseles dar por entero como se desea.—

*No se lo que me diga de la **moneda**, cuya falta de correr entre los Marianos, parezió al que informó en Manila haver sido Una de las Vayees [sic = rayzes] prinzipales que originaron aquí los males á que pretende se ponga remedio; pero el introducir la moneda no le será ni aun para que ellos, como subcede en otras partes, se alienten al trabajar mas, ó de mejor gana, ni para que lo que trabajaren se les pague mas ajustadamente; por estas y otras mas razones, ansí, y á otros, si no nos engañamos, nos parece que la introduccion de la moneda entre ellos les seria y será les sin duda de confusion, embarazo y daño antes que de comodidad y provecho. Licurgo Legislador entre los Lazedemonios tan afamado, prohibió á los Griegos por Ley expresa el tratar y contratar en moneda; sino que lo necessario para la Vida humana sin intervencion de Dinero se trocasse, dando Unos generos por otros, (Costumbre antigua de estos, y siempre la guardaron) en Virtud de aquella ley inviolable, dice Plutarco, en la vida de Licurgo, haberse guardado los Griegos y Gobernado felizmente, Quinientos años con la paz y prosperidad y que se perdieron dando en estimar al oro y plata. De los romanos, añade Salustio, que se conservaron sin guerras entre sí y con Uniformidad todo el tiempo que carecieron de moneda, y el Introducir la entre los Marianos que ni la han conocido jamás, ni estimado, se Juzga les será para su remedio: ¿de que males? no de la opresion en que al parecer de quien ha Informado vienen estos mas que Miserables, ni lo será tampoco de las Injustizias que padezen, segun las refiere no sin equivocacion ó cuando menos, y encarecimiento, no la moneda que Introduziere, sino lo Justificado de lo que se diere en paga (sean los generos que fueren) es el remedio de las Injustizias y la Moderacion del trabajo, siendo excesivo lo es de la opresion ó uno y otro pudiera haber aunque no se Introguzga dinero y este pudiera introducirse entre estos sin que se lo remedie ni el uno ni el otro mal que padezieren pues por mas moneda que corriere entre los Marianos, no por ezo tendrán menos trabajo y si este no se redujere a menos, la opresion que en ello conziztiere siempre que dará Igual, y assí para remediar mal tan exagerativamente grande, poco ó nada podrá servir la Moneda que se hubiere introduzido ni mas servirá para remediar las Injustizias que assí mismo se exageran con demassia como si nada se les hubiese pagado jamás[,] lo cual no alcanzamos aquí, como sino es por Ignorancia se pudo decir **Salva veritate** y sin desdorar al crédito de quienes con evidencia pueden probar donde y quando conviniere lo contrario, antes si, hay que temer si hubiere Codicia no se Introduzga la moneda para mas cebarla. Lo Justificado de las pagas, ya lo dixere, es el remedio de las Injustizias mas que ellas se hagan en tabaco, ropa, bolos, Carajayes y otros Instrumentos ó alhajas, que ó pidieron ellos ó les fueron más convenientes, útiles ó necesarios que no la moneda; porque respecto de ellos no tan[to] se ha de atender á la Calidad de lo que se les da en paga como á su misma conveniencia, utilidad ó necesidad que tuvieron de aquello y lo reziviesen en paga, guar-*

dando siempre que el valor del genero legitimamente tasado en que se les hubieren de Ajustar sus pagas sea tanto como Importa el Dinero si en el se les pagara. No me dilato mas para Mostrar otras muchas dificultades que de Introducir la moneda inevitablemente habian de seguir.—

Passo pues á lo de que no se aumenten plazas, por ser esta al parecer de quien dió el informe otro medio para aliviar á estos; pero que se entiende por el no aumentar plazas que no se añadan otras mas á las que ay oy dia efectivamente en este Real prezidio y que estas mismas que ay se reduzgan a menos, si lo primero si ellas hubieren ya llegado al número cumplido de ciento y treinta que son las que el año 1685, á instanzia del Maestro de Campo Don Antonio de Saravia havia concedido el Rey nuestro Señor no sale fuera de Varon [sic = razon] el pedir no se aumente el número determinado con añadir de nuevo otras mas plazas sin particular necesidad y siendo suficiente para mantenerlas el mismo situado sin acrescentar nuevos gastos al Real haber si por dicho no aumentar plazas se entendiere lo segundo, como que las ya concedidas por Zedula Real y habiéndola menester, se reduzgan a menos y por que razon; acaso hasta quedarse sesenta tan solamente, y no mas[,] y esto por que tantos y no mas paga su Magestad. Verdad es que quando su Magestad como consta por su Real Zedula á 29 de Septiembre de 1685, acrescentando á este prezidio noventa plazas mas fuera de las quarenta que tenia entonces, mandó al Señor Virrey de México remitiere todos los años lo que Importase el crecimiento de las noventa plazas en el auto con el de los quarenta obediencia su Señoria á lo primero; pero por las nezesidades y pocos frutos de la Real Caja, no pudiendo dar entero cumplimiento á lo segundo, avisó de ello á quien esto entonces gobernaba y assí mismo informando al Rey sobre el sueldo para los quarenta de que antes se componia el Prezidio, remitió cada año lo que Importaban otros veinte de los noventa que lo acrescentaban á lo assí dispuesto por el Señor Virrey, ninguno de quanto esto han gobernado replicó jamás ni tampoco lo ha improbado su Magestad, Insi nuando tácitamente haberse de prorratar essa cantidad entre todos que pudiesen ser mantenidos á essa quenta, siendo necesarios para prezidiar estas Islas y asegurar en ellas el Divino y su Real servicio[,] lo cual desde entonces, há mas de veinte años se ha assí executado.—

Bien dize el Informe haber al presente menos Indios y mas Cassados de los Españoles; pero mal de ay [=alli] se Infiere que el Prezidio se haya de reduzir á menos, porque los Indios, aunque hoy dia no es tanto como al prinzipio que se fundó la Mission bastantes son, y sobrados para poner en cuidado á los Españoles, haya aquí cassados en mantener, pues en las ciento y treinta plazas que por órden de su Magestad ha de tener este Prezidio Consiste la Conservacion de la feé en estas Islas, y el no sacudir sus naturales la devida obediencia que prometieron á Dios y al Rey depende de no acortar el prezidio, pues aun, aumentado con las noventa plazas tuvo que hacer ya tantas Veces mas de lo que en Manila se [h]a savido para que irremediabilmente no se perdiese la Mission Mariana.

No hay para que contar la tragedia del año de ochenta y quatro, pero sí para no olvidarse, que ni todo el Prezidio junto bastaria para detener la furia de los sublevados

que á no cegarles Dios el entendimiento, no hubieran dejado hombre á vida. Vean ahora los que de cerca y por larga experiencia no conocen al genio de los Marianos á que riesgo nos esponen con un Informe menos acertado, quitandonos Juntamente la Esperanza nunca mayor que ahora de poderse dilatar el Divino y Real servicio en otras islas tan sercanas á estas de Guahan, que para yr las á Reconocer no se aguarda mas que el Viento favorable que con bien lleve allá y con prosperidad nos vuelva á los que Vsseñoría Despachare para el Intento, resulto Christianamente de Introduzir entre aquellos que allí se hallaren la predicazion del Sancto Evangelio, aunque sea con empeño de su misma persona.—

Pero dejando aparte el Introduzir la feé en otras tierras, ella, ni en esta ya arraygada podrá conservarse lo que en dicha Real Cedula su Magestad tan seriamente encarga aun al mismo señor Gobernador de las Islas Filipinas, mandándole que Cuide mucho de asistir á estas, socorriéndolas con todo lo que en lo Venidero se le pidiere, para asegurar su conservacion y aumento de nuestra Santa feé Cathólica en ellas; pero esto ¿como se habrá de conseguir efectuando lo que pretende el informe? porque quitando las plazas que acrescentaron el Prezidio habrá que temer no intenten estos otra vez lo que entre sí tenían concluido el año de 702, y á no havérselo estorbado la Misericordia Infinita de Dios, les hubiera valido su alevosia que era al descuido de los que esquiaban los dos barcos, hacerlos pedazos y matando á los que se les opussiesen huir en sus embarcaciones, tirando cada qual para la madriguera, de donde poco há dejaron sacarse para su Doctrina y enseñanza que se les dió en la de Guahan; dicha fué haver hallado crédito quien, movido de mejor espíritu, dió el informe conociera por experiencia que tales sean los naturales de gente tan extravagante como las conosemos nosotros que tanto há lidiamos con ellos, deseando no se pierda lo que á costas de gastos y trabajos tan excesivos apenas se pudo conservar, tal parecer ó no hubiera dado ó mejor Conziderando la materia, bien presto lo revocara, pues ni aun el año passado Vivimos sin recelo. A Vseñoría como á Gobernador que lo es, se partizipó la notizia de lo que engendraba sospechas y su providenzia discurrió el medio para el atajo.—

*Insta el informe se entable el **tributo**, asseverando que de muy buena gana lo pagaron los Marianos por excusar á tanto mayor exceso en lo referido (es á saber) de lo que llaman **Aplui**, servicios personales, trabajos, &c, á todo lo qual dice ser compelidos y apremiados estos Miserables sin pagárseles cossa alguna; encarecimiento es este con demassia que necesita de probarse para que haga feé. Dos cosas merecen reparo en lo aquí del Tributo: La primera que los Varones (que las hembras eximidas están) lo hubieren de pagar antes de correrlos essa obligazion desde los dies y ocho años de su edad siendo assí que consta por Particular Zedula Real, su fecha en Madrid á 30 [de] Mayo de 1686 haberlos su Magestad relevado de pagársele hasta los veinte años cumplidos y á los Ancianos eximió llegados á los cinquenta; el pretender se los anticipe la obligacion fué Ignoranzia de este Real favor. La segunda cosa que merece reparo es el dizir que estos aquí de muy buena gana pagaron tributo. Pues ninguno paga de buena gana pudiendo presumir prudentemente que le está perdonado, como estos prudentemente presumir estarles perdonado el tributo á título de suma pobreza. Véase sobre esto la*

*nueva recopilacion [de leyes de Indias], tomo dos, libro seis, título cinco, Ley 21, donde por disposicion de su Magestad se declaran desobligados á pagarle tributo, por no quedarles (ó por decirlo mexor), por no tener aunque no pagan tributo con que pasar, dotar, ni alimentar á sus hijos, curarse en sus enfermedades (muriéndose de entre ellos no pocos por faltarles que llegar á la boca mas de lo que Alcanzaren de Limosnas) y suplir (palabras son de la dicha Ley) otras nezesidades comunes (añado yo) y Particular de vestir assí á sus mugeres y criaturas &c. Por tanto, no hallándose los Marianos con la posibilidad que para que le tributen insinua el REY tan Christianamente compasivo de la mucha pobreza que padecen estos más que otros ningunos en las Indias, Justa y Cómodamente no pueden tributar, y assí por dispossizion de la misma Ley Real que manda tributar otras naciones en las Indias, releva á esta, **semel pro semper** á título de Imposibilidad.—*

*En atencion á la Ley citado (creo) habrá sido que el superior Gobierno de Philipinas Decretó informarse Vseñoría de la posibilidad de esta gente, si se halla en estado de poderle á su Magestad pagar su tributo sin perjuizio de la feé y del aumento y alivio de la Mission; por experienzia tiene Vseñoría ya conocido ser sin Igual su pobreza y la sobre carga aunque inexcusable por necesidad mayor que en provincia ninguna de las Philipinas; el querer ahora añadirles la paga del tributo será consumirlos, acrezentando sus afanes con pretenzion de buscarles su alivio, y pues Vseñoría tanto se desvela para hallárselo en lo posible, me prometo que su Informe sobre este punto corresponderá á la Ley que tan piadosa y Cathólicamente lo dispuso á favor de gente que sin encarezimientto es pobrísima; mas de lo que yo como Vice-Protector Delegado de estos Miserables pudiera suplicarle, hará Vseñoría por su mucha Charidad para remediarles sus trabajos, sin que sea necesario el redimírselos ellos mismos con la cortedad que al Rey pudiera importar su tributo cuya Impozicion contra la que presume el Informe nunca podrá librarlos de trabajos (quales son aquí los más) inexcusables por ser necesarios segun lo ya referido para los que excusar se pudieren buscando, como Vseñoría lo hace con tantas Veras, podrán hallarse medios mas proporcionados **hic et nunc**, que no el de tributar los que justificadamente pueden darse por relevados. Por tanto, á Vseñoría pido y suplico sea servido de suspender por ahora la devida execucion hasta que mejor Informado el superior Gobierno pueda mandar lo que mas convenga al servizio de su Magestad y alivio de los para cuyo bien se suplica.—*

Gerardo Bouvens.—

***Auto.**—En la ciudad de San Ignacio de Agaña, en 21 dias del mes de Abril de 1706 años, ante el Señor Sargento mayor Don Antonio de Villamor y Vadillo, Gobernador y Theniente de Capitan General por su Magestad en Interin de estas Islas Marianas, se presentó este Escripto por el Muy Reverendo Padre Gerardo Bouvens de la Compañía de Jesús y Vice-Provincial de esta Mission Mariana: vistas por dicho señor.—Dixo que debía de mandar y mandó se suspenda por ahora la devida Execucion de la Orden del Superior Gobierno de Philipinas por los graves inconvenientes que de darle cumplimiento se pudieran seguir y para que mexor Informado como el suplicante ofrece, determine lo que mas convenga al servicio de ambas Magestades: Y el presente Secretario*

nombrado de esta Gobernacion y Guerra, saque [un] tanto auténtico de dicho Escrito y su proveimiento para remitir á dicho Superior Gobierno, cuyo original quedará en el Archivo de su cargo para que en todo tiempo conste, y por ante auto así lo proveyó, mandó y firmó dicho Señor de que doy feé.—

Antonio Villamor y Vadillo.—

ante mí Juan Joseph de Zaracibar, Secretario nombrado.—

Concuerta este traslado con el escrito y Auto original que para en el Archivo de esta Gobernacion y Guerra, el qual vá bien y fielmente sacado, corregido y concertado, siendo testigos el Ayudante Balthazar Tuscano, el Alferez José Noruega, y Juan José de la Cruz, presentes de que doy feé.—

Juan José de Zaracibar, Secretario nombrado.¹

Translation.

Testimony in the form of a report by the Most Reverend Jesuit Father, Gerardo Bouwens, Vice-Provincial of the Mission of the Marianas, for the good management and administration of said Islands.

In the city of San Ignacio of Agaña, on the 23rd of April 1706.

I, Captain Juan José de Zaracibar, by appointment Secretary for Administration and War of these Mariana Islands, in compliance with the Edict dated 20th of this month by His Lordship, Major Antonio de Villamor y Vadillo, interim Governor and Lieutenant of Captain General of said Islands on behalf of His Majesty, had an authenticated copy made of the writ presented by the Most Reverend Father Gerardo Bouwens of the Society of Jesus, Vice-Provincial of this Mariana Mission and its advocate, whose contents literally read as follows:—

I, Father Gerardo Bouwens of the Society of Jesus and Vice-Provincial of the Mariana Islands, make the following statement for official purposes, and Declare: that, having received a favor from Your Lordship, who was pleased to suspend the decision that you had already taken, to carry out as soon as possible, what you had been ordered to do by a certain writ, decreed by the Superior Government in Manila, until I, in the interest of your making a better report, was asked to consult about the contents of said writ with those of the Fathers who have the most experience in this country and have a better knowledge of its natives than any other author of a report about them. Well then, after a discussion of its main points took place in the meeting of the Treasury, there was much praise for the resolution that the Royal laws and ordinances of His Majesty concerning the relief of these Indians of personal services, and payment associated with their manual labor, should be complied with and carried out, because it is so decreed, and it is so reasonable and befitting Christian justice and piety, and to do otherwise would be to most seriously hurt one's conscience, and thus no-one else bet-

1 [Note by Ibañez y García:] Está copiado literalmente de los originales á que me remito y que existen en el Archivo del Gobierno Político y Militar de las Islas Marianas.

ter than Your Lordship must do as much as you practically can, God helping, to put it into practice by all the means at your disposal to obtain the effect that is so sought after.

For this it seemed proper to the Informant in question that *governadorcillos*, or Captains, be appointed as Judges of Plantations, after the fashion of the Philippines, instead of Spaniards, each one to be the head of his own district. The appointment of such Indians would not present a problem; however, in the common opinion of those who know the character of the Marianos, and the almost incorrigible aspect of their custom in this respect (something the Informant [obviously] ignores) and it seems that it will never be practicable to attempt it. Years ago, something like this was tried out, and two from among the best leaders of a certain district were selected, making sure that no-one else equalled them in authority and command; these men, however, in spite of such good credentials, very soon lost the hope of producing anything for the common welfare, and also for the relief of everyone. Therefore, the two men in question begged the then-Governor to appoint a person of his choice from among the Spaniards, because their own manner of commanding was not, and never would be, effective. The same opinion prevails, not only among the Indians, but also among ourselves who administer them, and it has been known for sure for many years that there is a lack of effectiveness in those placed in command and those who are to obey lack the proper submission. This is no doubt the result of their haughtiness and natural arrogance, to such an extent that it has been impossible so far to have them come to an understanding among themselves for choosing their own supervisors; consequently, Your Lordship will be grateful to remember this, should they ever complain of their labors being excessive and continuous, supposedly because Spaniards are supervising them.—

Therefore, the case being impracticable in the Marianas, something they do not know in Manila, because they do not know the habits of the natives, and they assume that Your Lordship can easily issue orders to prevent future abuses [supposedly] committed by said Spaniards who supervise them, in ordering them to work more than is legally ordered, such excess resulting in obvious harm being done to them, whose workload has always been great. This statement is not an exaggeration, considering that little by little the population is decreasing and their labors are almost continuous. This situation is due, partly to their natural inclination for laziness and their repugnance to work (since this is their fault, no law can help), partly to the frequency of the hurricanes (and that cannot be helped, unless God intervenes) resulting in very serious harm done to their handiwork [i.e. buildings] and ours, because they are made of such weak materials (they do not use more solid materials), as well as [harm done] to their plantations, which are not extensive, and hardly enough to sustain life. Since the quantity of their manual work is hardly sufficient, it leaves no room for the possible improvement that we here all wish for, and specially Your Lordship, who had hoped, more so than those in Manila at the time they prepared their report, that perhaps more could be done to reduce such labor, down to the level of inexcusable need and as much as the Law permits, in order to give consolation to these miserable ones, and some relief at least, but this cannot be done as completely as expected.—

I do not know what to say about the subject of **money**, the lack of currency among the Marianos being one of the main roots of many evils here, according to the author of the report made in Manila, one that must be remedied. However, the introduction of money would not benefit him, and will not even make them, as happens in other parts, work more, or more willingly, and certainly not result in a man who works more being paid accordingly. For these and other reasons, it seems to us, and to others, if we are not mistaken, that the introduction of money among them would no doubt create confusion, bother and harm, rather than comfort and profit. Lycurgus, the famous legislator among the Lacedemonese forbid the Greek in a specific law to deal and have trade in money;¹ rather what was necessary to maintain human life was to be obtained by barter of goods, without the intervention of money (which is an old custom among the people here, kept to this day). In line with that inviolable law, says Plutarch,² in his *Life of Lycurgus*, the Greeks have governed themselves successfully for 500 years with peace and prosperity, but they lost it all when they began to esteem gold and silver. Regarding the Romans, adds Salustius, they remained without any wars among themselves and with uniformity the whole time that they lacked money. To introduce money among the Marianos, who have never known nor esteemed it, is thought to be a remedy for them. For what disorders? Certainly not from the oppression that, it seems, the author of the report says is afflicting these more than miserable ones; and neither would it be useful to cure the injustices they suffer from, as he says, not without blunder, or at least not without a devaluation of sorts, not of the money itself to be introduced, but in fixing the amount to be given in payment (regardless of the goods involved). Would that be the remedy for injustices and a fair exchange for labor. Oppression can occur, whether money is involved or not, and money could be introduced among the Marianos, without relief to either evil they are said to suffer from, no matter how much money be freely available among them; it would not shield them from more work, and if it is not reduced, the oppression involved in it will continue to be just as severe. So, to remedy an evil that is so excessive, money would be of little or no use, and would not remedy any injustice; rather, it would then become possible to further increase the oppressive labor, as if nothing has ever been paid for it. However, this situation has not reached such a point here, thank God, and I am not saying this to disparage anyone; let anyone who believes otherwise prove his contention. To the contrary, it is to be feared that, if money were to be introduced, greed would find a way to concentrate it [into few hands]. The fixing of equitable rates for labor, as I have already said, is the remedy for injustices, even though it be paid for with tobacco, clothing, machetes, frying pans, and other

1 Ed. note: Lycurgus made laws for Laconia, that is, the republic of Sparta, in ancient Greece. For more information about Lycurgus and his laws, see Charles Rollin's *Ancient History*, vol. 1, book V, article VII, which says: "he cried down all gold and silver money, and ordained that no other should be current than that of iron, which he made so very heavy, and fixed at so low a rate, that a cart and two oxen were necessary to carry home a sum of ten minæ, and a whole chamber to keep it in."

2 Ed. note: Plutarchus was a Greek writer [ca. 50-ca. 125 B.C.].

tools, or valuables: all goods for which there is a demand, or that would be more useful or necessary to them than money, because, as far as they are concerned, it is not so important to pay attention to the quality of what is given to them in payment, as to the usefulness of the items themselves, or need they might have for them; it is much more important to make sure that the value of the goods that would serve to compensate them be legally fixed, and be worth as much as the money they would otherwise be given in exchange. I do not expand any more on this demonstration, except to say that the introduction of money would necessarily bring in many more difficulties.—

I will now discuss another suggestion made by the author of the report in question to relieve these people, that of not increasing the number of **positions**. However, let us understand that not to increase positions to mean not to add more to those already established nowadays in this Royal garrison and that such as there are be reduced in number, but first, it should at least be as high as the 130 positions that were established in 1685, and granted by the King our Lord, at the request of Master-of-camp Don Antonio de Saravia, and it is not unreasonable to ask not to increase the determined number, to add a few more positions, unless there be a particular need and enough money in the subsidy to maintain them, without asking the King for more funds, if, by saying not to increase positions, the second meaning is applied, that is, that the positions already granted by royal decree be reduced if need be, but by how many? Perhaps down to 60 positions only, and no more, and that would be because His Majesty pays for only that many, and no more. Indeed, when His Majesty, witness his Royal decree dated 29 September 1685,¹ increased this garrison by 90 positions, in addition to the 40 that it had then, he ordered His Lordship the Viceroy of Mexico to remit every year the amount corresponding to the increase by 90 positions, on top of the 40 previous ones; His Lordship obeyed the first part, but in view of the needs of the times and the lack of funds in the Royal treasury, he was unable to give complete satisfaction to the second part, and so advised the then-Governor here, as well as the King, about the salary question, saying that he could still cover the previous 40 positions, but only 20 out of the 90 new positions. This arrangement by His Lordship the Viceroy was never contested later on by any local Governor, nor was it ever disputed by His Majesty; the tacit result of this was that the sum in question was prorated among all the men supported by that account, and their number was necessary to garrison these Islands and make secure in them the Divine and his Royal service. In fact, this system has been in effect for the past 20 years.—

Now then, the report in question says correctly that at present there are fewer Indians and more of them are married with the Spanish, but it is wrong for it to presume that the garrison ought to be reduced for that reason, because the Indians, although nowadays their number is not as great as when the Mission was founded, are still rather numerous, and bold enough to keep the Spanish on their guard. Besides, there are married men [i.e. soldiers] to be maintained, and upon the 120 positions that His Majesty

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1685Y.

has established for this garrison depends the preservation of the faith in these Islands; to make sure that the natives will not shake off the due obedience to God and the King, the garrison should not be decreased. In fact, even when the establishment was increased by 90 positions, the work they had to perform was so much more than what was reported to Manila, and without it the Mariana Mission would have irremediably been lost.

There is no need to recall the tragedy of 1684, but perhaps we should not forget that, had God not blunted the understanding of the rebels, their fury would not have left one man alive. Now then, let us consider the opinion of those who have had a closer and longer experience with the character of the Marianos and see to what danger they expose us with such a mistaken report, one that would take away forever the hope, that was never greater, to propagate the Divine and Royal service to other islands so close to that of Guahan; only a favorable wind is needed to carry those Your Lordship will assign to go there and return safely, and for the result to be that of introducing Christianity among the people to be found overthere through the preaching of the Holy Gospel, though it be with the personal involvement of Your Lordship.—

However, leaving aside the introduction of the faith in other islands, this faith, already rooted here, would be placed in jeopardy; it is this faith that His Majesty so seriously ordered the same Governor of the Philippine Islands in said Royal decree to support in these Islands, by providing in future everything that he could, to ensure their preservation and an increase of the holy Catholic faith in them. However, how can this be done by carrying out the recommendations of said report? Because, by removing the [90] positions by which the garrison had been increased, there would be grounds to fear a recurrence of their conspiracy that occurred in 1702; had not the infinite mercy of God prevented it, their treachery would have succeeded, when they attacked those who were carelessly manning the two boats, cutting them to pieces and killing those who prevented them from fleeing aboard their canoes, each one to his own hiding place, from where they were only recently retrieved for their indoctrination in this Island of Guahan.¹ The author of that report, moved by a higher mind, was lucky when he gained credit for his ideas. If only he had known about the character or highly extravagant nature of these natives, as much as those of us here have always known, for having struggled with them for so long, and who wish not to lose what has been maintained at the cost of so many severe hardships, this man would not have written such an opinion, or else, after due consideration of the matter, he would have quickly retracted it; in fact, we have not even lived through this past year without some distrust. In your capacity as Governor, Your Lordship was informed as to the causes for these suspicions and acted quickly to prevent the potential damage.—

1 Ed. note: This incident of 1702 appears to have taken place in Saipan, and probably involved Chamorros from the Gani Islands.

The report in question also recommends the introduction of **tributes**, asserting that the Marianos would pay them willingly, in order to avoid the abuses mentioned in the report, that is, what they call *Aplui*,¹ personal services, communal labor, etc., all of which—the report says—these miserable ones are compelled to, and not paid anything for; this is an exaggeration, one that needs to be proven wrong, to be recognized as such. Two things have to be rectified in this matter of the tributes. The first one has to do with the males (since the females would be exempted); they would have to pay this obligation before they are subject to it, as of 18 years of age. Indeed, there is a special Royal decree, dated Madrid 30 May 1686, by which His Majesty exempts them from paying tribute until they reach 20 years of age, and the old men are also exempted when they reach 50.² Now, to pretend that such an obligation should be applied at an earlier age, is simply to ignore this Royal favor. The second thing that deserves correction is the statement that the people here would pay tribute willingly. In fact, no-one would pay willingly what he can safely assume that he has been exempted from, and the people here can safely assume that they are exempted from tribute on account of their extreme poverty. Indeed, with reference to the new Code [of laws for the Indies], Tome 2, Book 6, Title 5, Law 21, His Majesty has made a provision to exempt from tribute all those who cannot pay, or better said, all those who would not have enough, after paying tribute, to feed themselves and their children, to provide them with a dowry, to cure them in their sickness (such as when they die for lack of food, though they might have benefited from alms), and to provide (words used in said Law itself) for other common necessities (my words) and specially for clothing their wives and children also, etc. Therefore, since the Marianos do not have the possibility for being obliged to pay tribute, the most Christian and compassionate KING suggests that they, on account of their great poverty, more so that any other peoples in the Indies, can justly and properly be exempted from tribute, and so, by disposition of this Royal Law, which orders other nations in the Indies to pay tribute, he relieves this one, *semel pro semper*,³ on account of the impossibility for them to do so.—

In view of the above-mentioned Law, I presume that the superior Government of the Philippines by its decree wishes to be informed by Your Lordship as to the possible means of this population to pay tribute to His Majesty, without prejudice being done to the faith and the progress and relief of this Mission. Your Lordship now has sufficient experience of their unequal poverty and the inexcusable burden placed upon them, on account of their need which is greater here than in any province of the Philippines. To wish now to impose on them the payment of tribute would be to wear them down and increase their chores while pretending to offer them relief. Since Your Lordship is anxious to find a solution that is workable, I promise myself that your report about this

1 Ed. note: A Chamorro word, perhaps related to the Tagalog word “*apí*,” which means harassment, abuse, mistreatment, etc.

2 Ed. note: This had been one of the issues raised by Fr. Luis de Morales at Madrid (see Doc. 1685V).

3 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning “once and forever.”

point will correspond to the Law that in such a pious and Catholic way exempted this population, which without exaggeration is very poor indeed; furthermore, I, in my capacity as Vice-Protector delegate of these miserable ones, might beg Your Lordship to please remedy their hardships, out of charity, without the need for them to redeem themselves of this tribute, caused by shortages in the Royal treasury. Contrary to what the report says, such an imposition would never liberate them from communal labors (which are extreme, it is true) that they should be relieved from, as much as possible, as the report claims, and as Your Lordship tries to do so eagerly. It might be possible to find more appropriate means, here and now, but not by imposing a tribute, one that they can claim to be exempt from. Consequently, I beg and beseech Your Lordship to please suspend for now the execution of same until the superior Government has been informed and might order what is proper for the service of His Majesty and the relief of them on whose behalf it is requested.—

Gerardo Bouvens.—

Affidavit.—In the city of San Ignacio of Agaña, on the 21st day of April 1706, before Major Antonio de Villamor y Vadillo, interim Governor and Lieutenant of Captain General of these Mariana Islands on behalf of His Majesty was presented this writ written by the Most Reverend Father Gerardo Bouvens of the Society of Jesus and Vice-Provincial of this Mariana Mission; after said gentleman had read it, he Declared: that he had to order, and he did order, the suspension for now of the execution of the Order from the Superior Government of the Philippines, on account of the serious disadvantages that compliance would bring, and so that, once better information, such as the supplicant has provided, has been received, it might decide what is more appropriate for the service of both Majesties. And the present regular Secretary of this Administration and War [Department] is to make an authenticated copy of said writ and its advocacy, to remit same to said Superior Government, whose original copy is to remain in the Archives under his control, to become part of the permanent records, and by the present affidavit said gentleman so provided for, ordered and signed, of which I certify.—

Antonio Villamor y Vadillo.—

before me Juan José de Zaracibar, appointed Secretary.—

This is a true copy of the writ and original Affidavit that are filed in the Archives of this Administration and War [Department]; it has been faithfully transcribed, corrected and checked, being witnesses: Adjutant Balthasar Tuscano, Second Lieutenant José Noruega, and Juan José de la Cruz, here present, of which I certify.—

Juan José de Zaracibar, appointed Secretary.—¹

1 [Note added by Ibañez y García in the 1870s:] It was copied literally from the originals in question, that can be still found in the Archives of the Civil and Military Government of the Mariana Islands.

Document 1706B

Second letter from the Pope to the King of Spain, dated Rome 30 April 1706

Source: *ARSI Phil. 12, fol. 248-248v.*

Original text in Latin

*Charissimo in Christo Filio Nostro Philippo Hispaniarum Regi Catholico
Clemens PP. XI*

Charissime in Christo fili Noster Salutem &c.

Commendavimus anno elapso per nostras literas Majestati Tuæ Dilectum filium Religiosum Virum Andream Serranum è Societate Jesu, qui tum quidem ad Philippinas Insulas, unde non ita pridem in Europam transmiserat, reversurus, statuit Te prius adire, ut, quod pro fidei propagatione curandum susceperat, negotium expeditionis ad novas Insulas Oceani Sinici non multo ante Incolarum quorundam relatu cognitas, suis precibus apud Te promoveret. Omni proinde sollicitudine Te hortati sumus, ut pro perspecta animi tui magnitudine, ac Religione complecti velles tantum opus, quod ad multarum animarum lucrum manifeste pertinebat. Quam vero probe, ac liberaliter officia nostra per eum delata à Te excepta fuerint, idem Religiosus vir ad Comitia Generalia suæ Societatis istinc Romam subinde evocatus diferte Nobis testatus est; ait enim, Te navigia, ex com meatum, ac demum omnia, quibus ad ornandam hujusmodi profec-tionem opus erat Missionarijs eo navigaturis suppeditari statim mandasse; Quibus omnibus perpensis facere non possumus, quin per Illum ipsum istuc reducem gratulemur tibi, charissime fili noster, tam illustre propositum proferendi Christi nomen, ex fidem ad exterar, easdemque remotissimas Orbis Partes, et quin Tibi polliceamur tum sane omnimodam benevolentiam nostram, tum vero cœlestem benedictionem, atque mercedem, quæ nunquam deest his, qui pro divinæ gloriæ [fol. 248v] incremento, ex Evangelicæ veritatis delatatione vero zelo incenduntur. Quin imo cum ad tui ipsius commendationem referendam esse intelligamus pietatem, ac vigilantiam eorum, quorum opera in Regnorum Tuorum administratione uteris, par est, ut hac occasione inter

cæteros commemoremus, debitaque laude prosequamur dilectum filium Nobilem Virum Ducem de Atrisco Comitem de Motezzuma Præsidentem Consilij Indici, qui quemadmodum iuvandæ in Indijs Rei Christianæ magna sedulitate, ut audivimus, semper incumbit, ingiter curans alios, atque alios in dies Operarios in utramque Americam, et ad memoratas Philippinas mitti, ita hujus, quam modo diximus, novæ expeditionis ineundæ, accelerandæque diligens, suasor esse dicitur, si tamen Tibi propagationis Sanctæ Fidei ultro cupido opus est stimulis, quando tam alacriter Paternæ Nostræ Charitati, ac sollicitudini adhærere, ac prope occurrere voluisti, quo nomine confidimus Te effecturum pariter esse, ut quæ modo idem Religiosus vir Provinciæ suæ nomine istic expetere debet, Tua autoritate perficiantur, ita ut per Te auctus ijs gratijs, quæ alijs comunitatibus Indiarum concedi solent, tanquam re probe confecta, tantum iter, Deo propitio, quanto cius ingredi possit. Majestati interim Tuæ, quam sospitem diu esse cupimus, Apostolicam benedictionem, amantissime impertimur.

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum sub Annulo Piscatoris die XXX^a Aprilis MDCCVI. Pontificatus Nostri Anno Sexto.

Translation

To our beloved Son in Christ, Philip, Catholic King of the Spaniards. Pope Clement XI

Beloved son in Christ, greetings, etc.

Last year we recommended in a letter to Your Majesty a beloved religious son of ours, Andrés Serrano, of the Society of Jesus who was then on his way back to the Philippines, after a voyage to Europe. He had stated that he would visit You before his departure, given your concern for the propagation of the faith, to discuss the business of sending an expedition to new Islands in the Chinese Ocean, where a great population was reported, and to present his requests to You. So we too do exhort You very solicitously, on account of your magnanimous spirit and love of Religion, to please support such a great enterprise that obviously concerns the benefit of so many souls. Indeed, he brought the matter up with You with our blessing. Said Religious had presented this project to a General Council of his Society here in Rome, and they had referred him to Us, but he said that it was aboard your ships, properly outfitted, that the Missionaries had to make their voyage, and that an order from You was necessary to make sure they would be made ready at once. We could not take care of all of the pending matters by ourselves, that is why we told him to go back to You, and we congratulate You, dearest son, for favoring this project of carrying the name of Christ and the faith to foreigners in the remotest parts of the World, and why we promise You for now our greatest benevolence, and then a true blessing in Heaven, as well as favors, and may they never fail one who wishes to increase divine glory, and burns of a real zeal to propagate the truth of the Gospel. That is why we recommended this man in particular; rather, it was done on the understanding that we can count on the piety and eagerness of all those

whose labors in your Kingdoms have no equal, and we take this opportunity, among others, to offer due praise to a beloved and noble son of ours, the Duke of Atrisco, Count of Montezuma,¹ and President of the Council of the Indies who has assisted with great solicitude anything that has to do with the Indies of the Christian King; according to what we have heard, he took care to send over many Workers, besides the others whom he sent in the past to both Americas, and those who were sent to the above-mentioned Philippines, to which we are told a new expedition is being prepared, and it is said that he is very busy taking care to expedite it. Yet, these occupations done on your behalf for the propagation of the Holy Faith are very pleasant to Us, the more so when they are carried out as quickly as our paternal charity and solicitude desire. In your name, it will occur soon. We trust that You will do the same in future, so that said Religious who must depart to go back to his province overthere, with be able to travel under your authority, and do so at your expense, as is usually done for those going over to the Indies, so that, God helping, he may pursue and complete his voyage. Meanwhile, we wish Your Majesty the enjoyment of a long life, with our Apostolic blessing, which we grant You with much love.

Made at Rome, in St. Peter, under the ring of the Fisherman, on the 30th of April 1706, the fifth year of our Pontificate.

1 Ed. note: A reference, I think, to José Sarmiento Valladares, the former Viceroy of New Spain, from 1696 to 1701.

Document 1707A

The King does not want the Governor of the Marianas to be a trader

Sources: AGI Fil. 332, libro 11, fol. 259v-261, pp. 586-589; copy in Fil. 526.

Note: The source of the complaints against him is not stated, and I have found no written document that preceded this letter. It is possible that it was a verbal report by Fr. Serrano, as he was in Spain from 1705 to 1708. Alternately, this matter could have been one of the items covered by a paper on proposed reforms, cited in Doc. 1706A, a copy that might have been sent by way of India, as the originals aboard the galleon San Francisco Xavier were lost with that ship in 1705.

Letter to the Audiencia of Manila, dated Madrid 18 February 1707

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

A la Audiencia de Manila, ordenandola que ha de ejecutar para embarazar que el fuese Governador de las Marianas tenga tratos y comercios, vigilando cumpla con su obligazion en le manejo de su empleo, como se expresa.

Presidente y ohidores de mi Audiencia Real de la Ciudad de Manila en las Islas Philipinas.

Haviendose entendido en mi Consejo de las Indias que las personas que han servido y la que al presente exerce el Gobierno de las Islas Marianas, son omisos en el cumplimiento de su obligazion, pues no se emplean en la reduccion de los naturales ni tampoco en adelantar las conquistas en aquellas Islas, administrando mal el situado señalado à la manutencion del Presidio en grave daño de la gente de su guarnicion, y juntamente dando mal tratamiento à los naturales imponiendoles donativos sin orden para ello, y ultimamente comerciando con tienda abierta en que de su quenta se venden generos comestibles, y ropas. Y aunque semejantes excesos, y consentimientos merecian exemplar castigo que sirviese de escarmiento a tales desordenes, no obstante he querido con mi Real benignidad disimularlos por aora, y para la enmienda de ellos, he resuelto ordenaros, y mandaros (como lo hago) useis de vuestra facultad contra los

Gobernadores de las Islas Marianas en los casos expresados teniendo presentes los acontecimientos referidos para corregir los daños ya causados; y por lo que mira à comercio por parte de los mismos gobernadores es mi voluntad se obserben y guarden las Leyes que tratan de este punto con semejantes personas para cuyo cumplimiento dispondreis lo conveniente, y por que me halle enterado de todo lo que se obrare en obserbanzia de lo deliberado, me dareis quenta en todas ocasiones de lo que aconteziere cuidando con todo desvelo de atajar tan graves desaciertos en deservicio mio.

Fha en Madrid à 18 de febrero de 1707.

Yo el Rey

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Gaspar de Pinedo.

Señalado del Consejo.

Translation.

The King.

To the Audiencia of Manila, ordering it what to do to prevent the Governor of the Marianas from dealing and trading, and making sure that he complies with his duty while carrying out his job, as stated.

President and members of my Royal Audiencia in the City of Manila in the Philippine Islands.

It was learned in my Council of the Indies that the persons who have served, and the person who is now serving, as Governor of the Mariana Islands, are remiss in the compliance of their duty; indeed, they do not employ themselves in the reduction of the natives, do not either advance the conquests of those Islands, administer badly the subsidy earmarked for the upkeep of the garrison (causing prejudice to the men of the garrison), and in addition they badly treat the natives by imposing upon them [the obligation of making] donations without orders to that effect, and finally by openly trading with a store where foodstuffs and clothing are sold on their behalf. And although such abuses and derelictions of duty would deserve an exemplary punishment that might serve as a warning for such disorders, nevertheless I have thought it better to apply Royal benignity for now, but, in order to rectify the situation, I have decided to order you, and order you (as I do now) to use your authority against the Governors of the Mariana Islands in the above-mentioned cases, keeping in mind the examples stated above, to correct the harm already done. As far as trading on the part of the governors themselves is concerned, it is my will that the Laws regarding this point be observed and obeyed by such persons, and you are to take the appropriate steps to have them comply. In order for me to be fully informed of the measures taken and their aftermath, you are to report to me at every opportunity of what goes on, taking care in the meantime to carefully prevent such serious disorders that are contrary to my service.

Made at Madrid, on 18 February 1707.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord,
Don Gaspar de Pinedo.
Countersigned by the Council.¹

1 Ed. note: This order fell on deaf ears, because the worst abuses were yet to take place.

Documents 1707B

Salvage of the remaining bronze cannon from the *Concepción* shipwreck of 1638

B1. Letter from Governor Zabalburu to the King, dated Manila 8 June 1707

Sources: AGI Fil. 129-2-16 & -17; copy in AGI Ultramar 561, Cruzat letter #4.

Note: He reports that, at no cost to the royal treasury, he has had 17 bronze cannon salvaged out of the 20 that had been lost in the shipwreck of 1638. Enclosed is a certificate dated Manila 10 May 1707.

Original text in Spanish.

*Nº 1.—El Gobernador de Filipinas da cuenta à V.M. que sin costo de la Real Hacienda, ha hecho sacar de la Zarpana grande en las Islas Marianas, 17 de artilleria de bronce de las 20 piezas que se perdieron, el año de 38 en la Nao, **Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion**, y que tiene remitidas à dichas para su baluarte, diferentes piezezuelas que pidió su Gobernador, y algunos pedreros, de los cuales sirvió con cuatro à V.M. con certificacion numero 14.*

Señor

*Habiendo salido de estas Islas, la Nao, **Nuestra Señora de la Concepción** el año pasado de 1638, para el Puerto de Acapulco, de la Nueva España, por el Real Situado, y con el permiso de sus vecinos, el dia 20 de Septiembre de dicho año se perdió en la Zarpana grande, de las Islas Marianas, y con dicha Nao 20 Cañones de artilleria de bronce de 12, 14, y 18 libras de bala; y aunque por repetidas Reales Cédulas, estaba mandado à los Virreyes de Nueva España, y Gobernador[es] de estas Islas, que con todo desvelo, y aplicacion las sacasen y remitiesen à aquel reyno, ó à este Gobierno, nunca tubo efecto; hasta que yo, con esta noticia di orden y disposicion, por los años de 704 y 705, para que se buzeazen y redugesen à estas Islas, y con efecto se consiguió mi pretension sacando 17 de dichas piezas, sin costo de la Real hacienda de V.M. como consta, por la certificacion adjunta las cuales quedan, del cargo de los Juezes Oficiales reales: y aunque al Gobernador de las dichas Islas Marianas, le tenia dado orden para*

que de dichas piezas dexase en aquellas Islas, las que necesitase, las remitió todas, diciendo que no podían servir en aquel baluarte por grandes; para cuya defensa, pidió diferentes pedreros, y piezezuelas pequeñas de bronce, que le he remitido, incluyéndose en dichos Pedreros cuatro con que he servido à V.M. para este efecto, como consta así mismo de la certificación adjunta.

Dios guarde la Católica y Real Persona de V.M. muchos años como la Cristiandad ha menester.

Manila y Junio 8 de 1707.

Domingo de Zabalburu.

Certificación de diez y siete piezas de bronce que se han sacado de la Nao que se perdió en las Islas Marianas el año de 38:

Certificación numero 14.—

...

*Los Jueces Oficiales Reales de Hacienda [de estas Islas Filipinas, por el Rey Nuestro Señor,] en virtud de orden verbal del Señor Gobernador y Capitan general de ellas, Maestre de Campo D. Domingo de Zabalburu [y Echeverri,] Caballero del Orden de Santiago, que la Nao nombrada **Nuestra Señora de la Concepción** que se despachó de estas dichas Islas al Puerto de Acapulco, por el Real Situado de S.M., à cargo del General Don Francisco Hurtado de Corcuera, el año de mil seiscientos treinta y ocho, se perdió en veinte de Septiembre de el [dicho año], en la Zarpana grande de las Islas Marianas, que de veinte cañones de artillería de bronce que llevaba de doze, catorce y diez y ocho libras de Bala para su defensa, dicho Señor Gobernador, con la noticia de dicha perdida, dió orden, y disposición al Sargento Mayor D. Antonio de Villamor y Badillo su teniente en los cargos de Capitan General en aquellas Islas Marianas, para que pasase à su descubrimiento, y fondeo con la gente de los Pataches que despachó à dicha Islas, los años de setecientos y cuatro, y mil setecientos y cinco, con su anual situado, durante su imbernada en aquel Puerto, y que de ellas à remetido en servicio de S.M. el haberse sacado sin costo alguno de su Real hacienda, diez y siete cañones de bronce de los calibres referidos de los veinte que se perdieron en dicho Galeon por ser tan preciso, y necesarios para la defensa de estas Islas y de los Galeones de S.M.*

Cuatro que vinieron el año de setecientos y cuatro, y trece en el presente de setecientos y siete, que unos y otros quedan à nuestro cargo y para que conste damos la presente.

Manila y Mayo diez de mil y setecientos y siete años.

José Fernandez, escribano publico.

D. Juan Fermin de la Ortiga, Tesorero.

D. Francisco Gonzalez Zorrilla, factor y veedor.

D. José de Correa Villareal, Contador.

Translation.

Nº 1.—The Governor of the Philippines reports to Y.M. that, at no cost to the Royal treasury, he had managed to have 17 bronze cannon salvaged from Big Zarpana [i.e. Saipan] in the Mariana Islands, from those that were lost in 1638 with the galleon **Nuestra Señora de la Concepción**, and that he has sent to said Islands various small guns for its bulwark, at the request of the Governor, and a few mortars, four of which were useful to Y.M., enclosing Certificate nº 14.

Sire:

In the past year of 1638, there departed from these Islands the galleon **Nuestra Señora de la Concepción** for the port of Acapulco in New Spain to fetch the Royal subsidy, and carrying the permitted cargo of their residents. On 20 September of said year it was lost at Big Zarpana, in the Mariana Islands, and with said galleon were lost bronze cannon, some 12-pounder, some 14-pounder, and others 18-pounder. Although Royal decrees were repeatedly issued to the Viceroys of New Spain and the Governors of these Islands, to make every effort to salvage them and send them to that Kingdom, or to this Government, nothing positive ever resulted; until I, becoming aware of this fact, gave an order and made arrangements, in the years 1704 and 1705, to have them salvaged and brought to these Islands. In fact, my pretension was realized, as 17 of said pieces were recovered, at no cost to the Royal treasury of Y.M., as stated in the enclosed Certificate; said pieces are now at the disposal of the Royal officials. Although I had ordered the Governor of said Mariana Islands to keep as many of these pieces as he needed, he sent them all, saying that they were of no use in the bulwark overthere, on account of their [large] size, and he requested for its defence various mortars, and small bronze pieces, which I have sent to him, and among said mortars four of which were serviceable to Y.M., as stated in the enclosed certificate.

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

Manila, 8 June 1707.

Domingo de Zabalburu.

Certificate to attest that 17 bronze cannon were salvaged from the galleon that was lost in the Mariana Islands in 1638.

Certificate nº 14.—

...

We, the Royal officials of the Treasury [of these Philippine Islands, for the King our Lord] declare that, by virtue of a verbal order from His Lordship their Governor and Captain General, Master-of-camp Don Domingo de Zabalburu [y Echeverri], Knight of the Order of St. James, given that the galleon named **Nuestra Señora de la Concepción** that was despatched from these Islands to the port of Acapulco to get the Royal subsidy of H.M., under the command of General Don Francisco Hurtado de Corcuera, in the year of 1638, was lost on 20 September of said year in Big Zarpana in the Mariana Islands, and that out of 20 bronze cannon that it carried, some 12-pounder, some

14-pounder, and others 18-pounder, for its defence, said Governor, having been advised of said loss, gave a specific order to Sergeant-Major Don Antonio de Villamor y Vadillo, his Lieutenant in the post of Captain General in those Mariana Islands, to go on to salvage, and search for them[*]¹ with the men of the two pataches which he despatched to said Islands in the years 1704 and 1705, with their yearly subsidy, during the winter season in that port. He has in fact remitted from said Islands what he has retrieved for the service of H.M., at no cost to his Royal treasury, that is, 17 bronze cannon with the above-mentioned calibers, from the 20 that were lost with said galleon, on account of their being needed for the defence of these Islands and the galleons of H.M.

Four of those came in 1704, and 13 in the present year of 1707; all remain in our possession and in faith whereof we give the present.²

Manila, 10 May 1707.

José Fernandez, notary public.

Don Juan Fermin de la Ortiga, Treasurer.

Don Francisco Gonzalez Zorrilla, Factor and Inspector.

Don José de Correa Villareal, Accountant.

B2. Letter from Governor Zabalburu 8 June 1705 & 24 May 1708

Sources: AGI Fil. 129-2-41; copy in AGI Ultramar 561, Zabalburu letter #6.

Original text in Spanish.

El Gobernador de Filipinas repite la noticia que el año pasado de 705 daba à V.M. en el Galeon San Xavier de haber buuelto con felicidad el Patache que el año pasado de 704 despachó à las Islas Marianas con noticias del aumento de aquella Cristiandad, en testimonio num.º 14.—

Señor

En el Despacho antecedente di cuenta à V.M. de que en cumplimiento de cedula real anticuada, despaché un bajel à las Islas Marianas à conducir à los Religiosos misioneros, y à la Infanteria, lo que necesitaban de estas Islas para su conservacion, el cual habiendo conseguido el viage, y entregado el socorro, bolbió con felicidad, con noticias de que se continua aquella combersion con progresos en la predicacion de el Santo Evangelio y aprovechamiento espiritual de aquellos naturales.

Guarde Dios la Católica y Real Persona de V.M. muchos años como la Cristiandad ha de menester.

Manila y Junio 8 de 1705 años.

1 Ed. note: The original 1705 certificate (see below) was almost identical up to this point.

2 Ed. note: In spite of what they say, I think that the 4 cannon of 1704 were placed aboard the galleon San Francisco Xavier of 1705, and ended up with it on the coast of Oregon.

[P.S.] *Señor*

*Hasta aqui es copia de lo que escribí à V.M. en el despacho del año pasado de 1705 y por no haber llegado à la Nueva España el Galeon **San Francisco Xavier**, en que iba ni teniendose hasta ahora en estas Islas noticias de el, lo repito en la ocasion presente.*

Guarde Dios la Católica y Real Persona de V.M. como la Cristiandad ha menester.

Manila y Mayo 24 de 1708.

Domingo de Zabalburu

Translation.

The Governor of the Philippines repeats the news that he gave Y.M. the past year of 1705 aboard the galleon San [Francisco] Xavier, that the patache that he had despatched to the Mariana Islands the past year of 1704 returned successfully with news of the progress of that Christian community, enclosing record of proceedings n° 14.—

Sire:

In the previous despatch I reported to Y.M. that, in compliance with an old Royal decree, I despatched a vessel to the Mariana Islands to carry necessities to the Religious missionaries and the Infantry from these Islands for their preservation. It managed to reach the Islands, deliver the succor, and return successfully, bringing news that the work of conversion by preaching of the Holy Gospel is continuing, with spiritual benefit for those natives.

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

Manila, 8 June 1705.

[P.S.] Sire:

The above is a copy of what I wrote to Y.M. in the despatch of the past year 1705, and since the galleon **San Francisco Xavier** aboard which it was did not reach New Spain, and no news of her has yet been received in these Islands, I repeat it at this time.

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

Manila, 24 May 1708.

Domingo de Zabalburu.

B3. Another repeated letter, dated 8 June 1705, postdated 24 May 1708

Sources: AGI Fil. 129-2-42; copy in AGI Ultramar 561, Zabalburu letter #7.

Original text in Spanish.

El Gobernador de Filipinas: repite la noticia que el año pasado de 705 daba à V.M. de haberse sacado cuatro 4 piezas de artilleria, en las Islas Marianas, de la que llevaba un Galeon, que se perdió en ellas, mas ha de 67 años, y de haber dado desposicion, para la demas, que estaba en paraje señalado; con certificacion numero 15.

Señor

El año pasado de 704, di cuenta à V.M. de haber despachado un vagel à las Islas Marianas, con el socorro regular, prevenido por Cédula Real, llevando Gobernador para ellas, por cuya disposicion, he dado providencia, para que se saque alguna artilleria de un Galeon, que se perdió en aquella costa, mas ha de 67 años, que aun está parte en el agua, y parte en una ribera; en cuya execucion segun el tiempo remitió el referido Gobernador cuatro cañones gruesos, que quedan en el Puerto de Cavite, segun consta por certificacion adjunta, de los Juezes oficiales reales, y con el favor divino, espero traer la que resta.

Guarde Dios la Católica y Real Persona de V.M. muchos años, como la Cristianidad ha menester.

Manila y Junio 8 de 1705.

Señor

Hasta aqui es copia de lo que escribí a V.M. en el despacho del año pasado de 1705, y por no haber llegado a la Nueva España el Galeon San Francisco Xavier, en que iba, ni tenidose hasta ahora en estas Islas noticias de el, lo repito en la ocasion presente.

Guarde Dios la Católica y Real Persona de V.M. muchos años, como la Cristianidad ha menester.

Manila y Mayo 24 de 1708.

Domingo de Zabalburu.

Certificate of 1705.

[Same text as Certificate #14 above, up to [*]. The rest was as follows:]

*Y en obediencia de esta orden dicho Teniente de Gobernador solicitó el que se sacasen como con efecto se hallaron, **ocho cañones, y ocho anclas de fierro**, aunque maltratadas, en dicha Isla Zarpana y en otra nombrada Tinian, nueve de dichos Cañones, que hacen diez y siete, los cuales dicho Teniente de Gobernador y Capitan General, los deseó asegurados para remitirlos à estas Islas en los Pataches, que bolvieren de tornaviage à ellas, y la demas artilleria que llevaba dicho Galeon para su resguardo, no se pudo hallar ni descubrir, y en el tornaviage que hizo el Patache nombrado **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** del cargo del Almirante D. Antonio Fernandez de Roxas Cabo Superior, y piloto mayor de el, que se despacho de socorro à dichas Islas el año pasado de mil setecientos y tres, dicho teniente de Gobernador remitió cuatro con la noticia de quedar los trece restantes con las ocho anclas, para hacer lo mismo à la buelta de los Pataches, que de cuenta de S.M. se despacharen de estas Islas à las dichas Marianas.*

Y para que consta damos la presente en Manila y Abril catorce de mil setecientos y cinco años.

D. Juan Fermin de la Ortiga

D. Juan del Pazo

Don Juan Pozo y Bovadilla [sic]

D. Francisco Gonzales Zorrilla

Translation.

The Governor of the Philippines repeats the news that he gave to Y.M. in the past year of 1705, that **4 cannon** had been salvaged in the Mariana Islands, out of those carried by a galleon lost there more than 67 years ago, and about preparations being made to retrieve the others that were in a known location, enclosing Certificate n^o 15.

Sire:

In the past year of 1704, I reported to Y.M. of having despatched a ship to the Mariana Islands with the regular succor, as per a Royal decree, with their Governor on board,¹ whom I had ordered to salvage some cannon from a galleon that was lost in that coast over 67 years ago, and are still partly in the water, partly on a beach; in compliance thereof, weather permitting, the above-mentioned Governor remitted **4 large cannon** that remain in the port of Cavite, according to the enclosed certificate by the Royal officieals, and God helping, I hope to bring out the rest of the cannon.

God save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M. for many years, as Christendom needs.

Manila, 8 June 1705.

Sire:

The above is a copy of what I wrote to Y.M. in the despatch of the past year 1705, but since the galleon **San Francisco Xavier** aboard which it was did not reach New Spain, nor have we since received any news from her in these Islands, I repeat same at the present time.

God save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M. for many years, as Christendom needs.

Manila, 24 May 1708.

Domingo de Zabalburu.

Certificate of 1705.

[From a copy made in 1708. It was almost the same text as Certificate # 14 above, up to [*]. The rest was as follows:]

And in compliance with said order, said Lieutenant Governor managed to have **8 cannon, and 8 iron anchors**, though in bad condition, at said Zarpana Island, and at another Island named Tinian **9 more cannon**, making a total of 17 cannon which said Lieutenant Governor and Captain General wished to remit to these Islands aboard the pataches that will eventually make the return voyage, and the rest of the guns that were carried by said galleon for her defence cannot be found or sighted. In the return voyage made by the patache named **Nuestra Señora del Rosario**, under the command of Admiral Don Antonio Fernandez de Roxas, its senior officer and chief pilot, which had been despatched with the succor of said Islands this past year 1703 [rather 1704], said Lieutenant Governor remitted four, with the notice that the 13 guns that remained, along with the 8 anchors, were to be remitted the same way aboard other returning

1 Ed. note: Major Villamor y Vadillo.

pataches, that might be despatched on the account of H.M. from these Islands to said Marianas.

And, in witness whereof, we give the present, in Manila, 14 April 1708.

Don Juan Fermin de la Ortiga

Don Juan del Pazo

Don Juan Pozo y Bobadilla

Don Francisco Gonzalez Zorrilla

Editor's comments.

The above letters were reviewed in the Council of the Indies on 16 April 1711, but the matter was not given high priority, as an official response did not take place until 1714 (see Doc. 1714D).

To recapitulate, and explain, it is clear from the 1705 certificate that the 17 guns salvaged in 1704 by Governor Villamor's men were from two sites: 8 came from the 1601 wreck site of the **Santa Margarita** in Rota, and 9 came from Tinian. The latter, which were lying partly in the water and partly on the beach, were at Sunharon and they had been brought there in 1684 by then-Captain Quiroga and his two locally-made sail boats which the Tinian natives burned there; the Tinian guns, of course, came from the 1638 wreck site of the **Concepción** in Saipan. This report of the recovery of 17 cannon, however, led to the mistaken notion in the Council of the Indies, and elsewhere up to the present, that all 17 guns had come from the Concepción, and therefore only 3 remained to be salvaged, since this galleon was reported to have carried 20.

In fact, 11 bronze guns must have remained in Saipan by 1705, and an unknown number at Rota, perhaps as many as 12, if the Santa Margarita had also carried 20 (a fair assumption). As for the 17 guns mentioned in the certificate—the 4 that reached Manila before June 1705—there was sufficient time to have mounted them on the galleon **San Francisco Xavier** which disappeared in 1705; if so, they ended up in another shipwreck, one whose remains were discovered in modern times on a beach in the U.S. State of Oregon.

Document 1707C

The Council of the Indies did not like Portuguese ships in Spanish waters

Source: AGI Ultramar 561.

Original text in Spanish.

Consejo 12 de Marzo de 1711.

Con el testimonio que cita si ha llegado al Señor Fiscal.

El fiscal con vista de esta carta del Gobernador que fué de Filipinas y testimonio que la acompaña dice: Que segun consta por repetidas cédulas que vienen compulsadas en el Testimonio, está ordenado à los Gobernadores de Filipinas que indispensablemente en cada un año, ó ya en el mes de Abril, ó en el de Mayo despachen un bajel Patache à las Islas Marianas con su situado y socorro, para aquellas Misiones, y gente de aquel presidio.

En el año de [170]3 despachó este Gobernador Patache el cual antes de haberse desembarcado, ó tomado altura dio à la costa en los bajos de Tabaco de la provincia de Albay de las mismas Islas Filipinas en el dia 3 de Abril del mismo año con su gente, pero desarbolado y desbaratada la quilla.

En el año de [170]4 se despachó por este mismo Gobernador Patache à las mismas Islas, y como no habia baxel natural de ellas ni de S.M. mas que solo los vageles que conducen à la carrera de la Nueva España, y resguardo de las Filipinas, se hallaba un baxel de Portugueses de la Ciudad de Macan, de comercio en aquellas Islas, y de acuerdo y parecer de este Gobierno y Oficiales Reales, y fiscal se fletó à Portugueses para despachar à las Islas Marianas, y hizo el viage con felicidad.

En esta carta aunque sin esta distincion da este Gobernador noticia, y de aumentarse la Cristiandad de las Islas Marianas, y debe representar el fiscal que aunque del Testimonio no consta en que cantidad fué el socorro ni que fruto ó municiones llevó para aquel Presidio advirtiéndolo al Oficio de Gobernador, se ha hechado menos no diese noticia con esta individualidad, para saber con que socorros se hallan aquellas islas, se le debe estimar la noticia con consideracion de que haya sido competente el socorro.

Y asi mismo se debe advertir al Oficio de Gobernador, ha causado reparo el que estubiese vagel de comercio de Portugueses en aquellas Islas pues en ellas solo los de la China en sus Champanes, tienen permision y ninguna otra nacion de aquellas partes, ni de la Europa, y que asi se discurre que el Baxel Portugues ubiese llegado con algun temporal, ó con algunas municiones, ó pertrechos de guerra, que tal vez suelen faltar en aquellas Islas, y pedirse ó ya en la factoria de Batavia de Holandeses, ó en la de Portugueses de Macan, y que en esta inteligencia se queda esperando constante razon de la entrada del Baxel Portugues en Puertos de Filipinas, y de su comercio para aprobar ó desaprovar con perfecto conocimiento lo obrado, y este expediente, interin que se responda ó por lo que pudiere resultar de la residencia de este Gobernador se deberá tener presente por Secretaria: el Consejo resolverá.

Madrid y Abril 26 de 1711.

Translation.

The Council, 12 March 1711.

With the declaration that said that it has reached the Fiscal.

The Fiscal, in view of this letter from the then-Governor of the Philippines and the accompanying declaration, Declares: That, in accordance with repeated decrees that are summarized in the Declaration in question, the Governors of the Philippines have been repeatedly ordered to send every year, either during the month of April, or that of May, a ship/patache to the Mariana Islands with their subsidy and succor for those Missions, and the men of that garrison.

In the year of **1703** this Governor despatched a patache that, after having gotten out of the Embocadero, or reached some higher latitude, hit the coast on the shoals of Tabaco in the province of Albay in the same Philippine Islands, on 3 April of the same year [sic] with the crew [safe], but [the ship] dismasted and the keel destroyed.¹

In the year of **1704** the same Governor despatched a patache to the same Islands, and as there was no vessel based in them, nor belonging to Y.M., other than the ships assigned to the regular run to New Spain, and the security of the Philippines, there was found a vessel belonging to Portuguese from the City of Macao, then trading at those Islands, and with the agreement of this Government and the Royal officials, and fiscal, a charter was granted to the Portuguese vessel to go to the Mariana Islands, and the voyage did take place successfully.

In this letter, although this Governor does not give details about the progress of the Christian community in the Mariana Islands, the Fiscal must make the following comment: although the Declaration does not mention the amount of the subsidy, nor the products or munitions that it carried to that garrison, details of which one expected from a Governor—and his successor must be advised thereof—and were necessary to

1 Ed. note: See the report of the captain, Doc. 1703B. This shipwreck occurred on 2 March 1704, not in April 1703.

assess the situation of the succor in those Islands, still, one can assume that it was sufficient.

Also, the present Governor should be advised that some objection has been raised regarding the visit of a Portuguese trading vessel to those Islands; indeed, only those from China, with their champans, have this permission, and no other nation from any other parts, including Europe, can trade there. So, it can be argued that the Portuguese ship in question had arrived there as a result of some storm, or to bring some ammunitions or war equipment that sometimes are missing in those Islands; in the latter case, they are sought after, either at the trading post of the Dutch at Batavia, or at that of the Portuguese at Macao, in which case it would be normal to expect a detailed report of the visit of the Portuguese ship to Philippine ports, and of its commerce, in order to approve or disapprove same, with a perfect knowledge of what took place. The present file must be held pending in the Secretariat, until a full report is received in response, or as a result of the *residencia* [audit of the term of office] of this Governor. Let the Council decide.

Madrid, 26 April 1711.

Document 1707D

Letter from Fr. Astudillo to Fr. Xaramillo, dated Mexico 2 February 1707

Source: RAH 9/2670 doc. n° 33.

Extract from this letter

Original text in Latin and Spanish.

Mi Padre Antonio Xaramillo.

P.C.

*Laquivi contritus est, et nos liberati sumus. Y gracias a Dios, estamos de partida para Acapulco de donde el 11 de Marzo saldra con nosotros la Nao **N.S. del Rosario**, aviendose perdido el año antecedente la **S. Francisco Xavier**, sin que quedase alguno que pudiesse dar la notisia....*

El General es D[on] N. Ziriano, cuio rancho se ha echo todo cueste [= en este?] Hospicio, y nos ha costado vastante trabajo.

...

En Marianas se quedarán quatro Missioneros, arto he deseado ser lo uno dellos; pero no ha sido possible, por averse empeñado el Padre Borja en que yo llevo el cargo de la Mission. Vere si puedo hacer alguna trampa y quedarme. V.R. no se olvide de mirar por estos pobres, pues sabe las misserias que pasan; el Señor Virrey nos ha despachado, como deseabamos; pero deductos expensis, apenas les queda a los pobres Marianos 8 pesos por empleados en matalotage.—

...

Y no tengo mas en que causar a V.R. he le dado estas noticias porque si se alegrara, y quedo rogando a N.S. me le guarde muchos años como deseo, y he menester.

Mexico, y Febrero 2 de 1707.

Mui de V.R. en el Señor,

Joseph Astudillo

Translation.

My dear Father Antonio Xaramillo.

Peace of Christ!

*Laquivi contritus est, et nos liberati sumus.*¹ Thanks to God, we are leaving for Acapulco, from where we will depart aboard the galleon **N.S. del Rosario**, since that of last year, the **S. Francisco Xavier** has been lost without a trace...

The General [of our galleon] is Don. M. Ciriano, whose provisions have been collected at this Hospice, and which did cost us no small amount of work.

...

Four missionaries are to stay at the Marianas,² and I have so wished to be part of them, but it has not been possible, because Father Borja had already made the promise that I was to look after the Mission band. I'll see whether I can find some trick, in order to remain there. Y.R. will please not forget these poor people, as you very well know what miseries they go through. His Lordship the Viceroy had made despatches in our favor, as expected; however, once the expenses had been deducted, there hardly remained 8 pesos to be used for feeding the poor Marianos while at sea.—

...

And I have nothing else to say to Y.R. I have given these news, hoping that they will cheer you up. There remains for me to beg our Lord to save your life for many years, as I wish, and need.

Mexico, 2 February 1707.

Yours in the Lord,

Joseph Astudillo

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase, perhaps quoting Titius Livius in his History of Rome, and meaning: "Laquivi is repentant, and we have been freed."

2 Ed. note: There is no record of any of them doing so in 1707.

Document 1707E

Trade report from Mexico, by Captain Monséгур, a Frenchman in the Spanish Navy

Source: BNP Mss. Fr. 24,228.

Notes: His reference to the galleon San Francisco Xavier in 1707 [sic] is a puzzling comment as coming from a naval officer, since the San Francisco Xavier had disappeared in 1705. The galleon that arrived in early 1707 was the Rosario. Or else, the list is truly for the San Francisco Xavier, but at its arrival in 1702. Most probably, I speculate that this was a 1707 estimate of what had been lost in the San Francisco Xavier in 1705. Monséгур also reports in detail on trade goods imported into Mexico from Europe, specially clothes, spices, paper products, metal products, and medical drugs; in the case of clothes, some prices then current are given.

Extracts from this interesting document

Original text in French.

Nouveaux Memoires touchant le Mexique ou la Nouvelle Espagne. Recueillis sur les lieux avec une attention particuliere par Mr. de Monsegur Capitaine de Vaisseaux du Roy Catholique pendant les années 1707 et 1708. Et depuis corrigés et augmentés en 1713.

...

Chap. XLVIII.

Compte du produit de la cargaison du Galion appelé le St. Francois Xavier du port de 1000. Thonneaux venu de Manille a Acapulco au commencement du mois de Jenvier 1707 [sic]

On a souvan observe par les Chapitres 42 et 43 que le Mexique estoit remply de bien de sortes de marchandises de la Chine et des Indes Orientales que le commerce d'Espagne, de France en recevoient des dommages infinis et quel etoit tres important de reme-dier a ses desordres[.] or pour instruire jusqua quel exces les choses ont esté portées a cet egard, on a creu quel estoit a propos de donner un compte esact de la cargaison du dit Vaisseau qui arriva de Manille a Capulco, en 1707. et dans les Chapitres qui sui-

vent qui expliquent par detail la qualite des marchandises avec les prix quelles se ven-
doient la d. année.

—500. marquette de cire au moins pour len [sic = l'an?] de 10 jusqu'a 14 arrobes cha-
cune et de 12 l'une portant l'autre quy font 6000 arrobes de 25 piastres chacune quy se
vendoient a 25 piastres l'arrobe 150000 piastres.

—2000 caisses au moins de toutes sortes de soyries tant en estoffes oeuvrées qu'au-
tremment lesquelles se vendirent au moins l'une portant l'autre a 1000 piastres la caisse
..... 2000000

—2000 balots apellés Elefantés quy sont de toille de coton dans lesquels il y a seule-
ment 6, 8, 12, 14 et 16 pieces au lieu de 20 quilz contenoient ençienement sans soirie
mais a present on y met des soyes en bottes en masse de celle appellées quina et de Ben-
gale non beneficiées de brocards et des taffetas avec des bouquetans[,] des gazes et plu-
sieurs autres sortes de marchandises de toilleries de cotton[,] elles viennent a present
assez assortyes et se vendirent l'une portant l'autre au moins a 500 piastres
..... 1000000

—L'or que ces Vaisseaux portent en lingos chaque année s'estime valoit ... 25000

—600 charles¹ de canelle d'un quintal l'un portant l'autre quy se vendit a 11 pias-
tres la livre quy fait 1100 la charle et le quintal 660000

3 835 000

[page 343]

—20000 # de poivre a 14 p. la livre 35000

—400 # de clous de girofle a 14 piastres la livre 5600

—150 # de noix muscade a 2 piastres 300 p

—La porcelaine estimée peu plus ou moins 100000

—En cabinets de la Chine et du Japon en antailles merceries et autres curiosités des
Indes avec les emplettes ou pacotilles de particuliers[,] des Officiers et des mariniers quy
sont tres considerable estimées valoit au moins 104100

Total monte a 4000000

On voit par ce compte quy est tres fidele que la valeur d'un galion en 1707, montoit
a quatre millions de piastres au moins ce quy ne peut estre consideréz qu'avec etonne-
ment[,] cependant il ny a rien dexageréz ni qui ne soit tre[s] vray[,] ce quon peut dire
seulement est que les prix de cette année furent extraordinaires par raport aux ventes
precedentes par les raisons quon peut voir au Chap. 42. et 43. sur le Commerce du com-
mencement de 1708 mais il y a aussy a considerer que ce Galion nestoit que d'un port
ordinaire de ceux quy viennent de Manille et que le plus souvent ils sont d'un quart et
d'un tiers plus grands[,] ainsy on doit compter que la valeur des Vaisseaux de 1200 a

1 Ed. note: The word "charges" was later crossed out in favor of "charles." I think that charges (a translation of *cargas*) was correct in the first place.

1500 Thonneaux quand ils arrivent heureusement a Acapulco est toujours au moins de trois millions de piastres et plus souvent davantage selon que les prix de la foire sont bons.

...

Translation of the above.

Recent notices regarding Mexico, or New Spain, carefully collected on the spot by Mr. Monséur, Captain in His Catholic Majesty's Navy during the years 1707 and 1708. Since corrected and enlarged in 1713.

...

Chapter 48.

Account of the cargo aboard the galleon named **San Francisco Xavier**, of 1000-ton capacity, that came from Manila to Acapulco at the beginning of January 1707 [sic].

In Chapters 42 and 43, I have mentioned many times that Mexico was so full of all sorts of merchandise from China and the East Indies that trade from Spain and from France was receiving infinite damage from it and that it was important to remedy such disorders. So, in order to show how excessive the situation has become in this regard, I have thought it appropriate to give an exact account of the cargo of said vessel which arrived at Acapulco from Manila in 1707 and, in the following chapters, a detailed list of the goods with the corresponding prices they had in said year.

—500 loaves of wax per year at least, weighing at least 10 arrobas, some of 12 and even 14 arrobas, for a total of 6,000 arrobas, sold altogether at 25 pesos each 150,000 pesos.

—2,000 crates at least of all sorts of silk products, including some decorated, sold altogether for 1,000 pesos per crate 2,000,000

—2,000 bales named Elephant cloth, which is made of cotton canvas, and which consist of only 6, 8, 12, and 16 pieces, instead of the 20 pieces that they used to be made of, but not containing silk, but at present some raw silk products are mixed in, of the type called *quina*, and from Bengal not refined, some brocades and some taffetas with some "bouquetans," some gauzes and many other sorts of merchandise made of cotton canvas. They come in well assorted at present and were sold altogether for at least 500 pesos [per bale] 1,000,000

—The gold that such ships carry in ingots each year is estimated at 25,000

—600 loads of cinnamon of 1 quintal each, were sold altogether at 11 pesos per pound, i.e. 1,100 per load and per quintal 660,000

[sub-total so far:] 3,835,000

—20,000 pounds of pepper at 14 pesos per pound 35,000

—400 pounds of clove at 14 pesos per pound 5,600

—150 pounds of nutmeg at 2 pesos [per pound] 300

—Chinaware, estimated more or less at 1,000,000

—Chinese and Japanese inlaid cabinet-work, haberdashery, and other curious articles from the Indies, plus the personal effects of the individuals, officers, and seamen, which are very considerable, estimated to be worth at least 104,100

Total amounts to 4,000,000¹

One can see by this account, which is a very faithful one, that the value of a galleon in 1707 amounted to 4 million pesos at least, an amount that can only be viewed with astonishment; however, there is nothing exaggerated in it, or anything that can be doubted. What one can say about it is that the prices of this year were extraordinary ones, with respect to those of the preceding sales, for the reasons mentioned in Chapters 42 and 43 regarding the trade at the beginning of 1708. Besides, one must also take into consideration that this particular galleon was but of an ordinary tonnage, as the ships that usually come from Manila are one quarter and one third larger. So, one must figure that the value of the ships with from 1,200-ton to 1,500-ton capacity, when they make it to Acapulco, is always at least 3 million pesos, but more often greater, when the prices at the Acapulco fair are good.

...

Editor's notes.

In the following chapters, Monségur gives definitions for the various textiles or cloths carried by the Manila galleons. In general, such textiles were raw material that was finished in Mexican factories. For instance,

Silk and silk-based products, mostly from China:

- Seda mazo*: bulk silk;
- quina o selo*: to be made into taffeta;
- trama*;
- de Bengala*: [obviously from Bengal] similar to *trama*;
- de la floxa*: *fluche* or *flusse* in French, used for embroidery;
- seda chaguy*: rough white material to stuff coach seats, saddles, etc.;
- Ysquierdilla*: [meaning left-twisted] finer than the *chaguy*;

Stuffs:

- telas*: such as brocades, decorated with pasted gold flowers;
- brocatos*: brocades as above, but of inferior quality;
- various stuffs with neither gold nor silver, variously named “pitiflores, primaveras, filpas, damascos, pequines, capicholas, teletones, rasos [=satins], chaules, chorreados, guardapies, sayasayas [=simple taffetas, of 3 types], medias [=stockings, of course].”

Ribbons, or ribands, which the author says were imitations of similar Italian products from Genoa, Turin, and Naples.

1 Ed. note: There are discrepancies in the above tally.

Cotton and cotton-based products from the Philippines:

- Elefantes*: similar to serge from Rouen in France;
- metanes*: similar to bouquetans in France (to make cheap shirts);
- gazas*: muslins;
- mantas*: canvas cloth, not too different from elefantes;
- mantas moras*: tougher than elefantes, to make skirts, etc.;
- cocos*: similar to Bretagne [Brittany cloth] in France;
- sarasas*: pre-cut pieces of cocos cloth, with flowers painted on them, to make skirts;
- chitas*, or *manta languin*: precut, to make skirts;
- cambayas*: pre-cut skirts with flowers on cloth called “hollandillo.”¹

Other Philippine goods

Detail de ce qui vient dans la cargaison du propre crus des isles Philippines.

Oro.—*De l’or, il s’en trouve dans plusieurs de ces Isles et différentes personnes du commun et des propres insulaires s’attachent a le chercher et a le laver dans les rivieres[.] on assure qu’il ny a pas de pauvres gens qui ne puissent gagner leur vie a ne faire que ce metier qui ne laisse pas destre tre[s] fatigantes cauzel ce qui fait que plusieurs malheureux aiment mieux rester pauvres et faineans, celui quy vient de ces Isles vient en Lingots et d’une basse aloye et on gagne en le portant au Mexique 40 pour cent au moins et le plus souvent jusqua 50. il ny a pas d’année qu’il nen vienne au moins pour 20 mil piastres et communement pour 25, 30 et quelques fois pour 40 et 50 mil.*

Cera.—*De la cere [sic] en marquettes de dix jusqua 14 arrobes chacune il en vient chaque année jusquau moins 6000 arrobes quy font 1500 quintals[.] les vaisseau nen veulent prendre que pour leurs lest seulement aimant mieux le frest des marchandises de la Chine et des Indes Orientales a cause quelle leur vaut beaucoup plus[.] elle vaut a Manille 4. a 5. piastres l’arrobe[.] a Acapulco communement de 14 a 18. et les dernieres années passees jusqua 20, 25. et 30 piastres.*

...

Terlongas.—*Sont des toiles de cotton quy ont du raport au Bazin[.] il y en a de deux sortes[.] les meilleurs servent pour des camisolles et jupes surtout pour les moines et religieuses[.] elles sont de six barres [=yards] la d. elles coutent a Manille 12 a 16 p. quy font de 1-1/2 a 2 piastres [per yard] et au Mexique 5 a 6 piastres[.] les inferieures servent pour nappes et serviettes et valent a Manille 1 p. la piece et 3 et 4 au Mexique.*

...

Translation.

Details about the incoming cargo originating in the Philippine Islands proper.

Gold.—Gold is found in many of these islands and among various common peoples, and some islanders who dedicate themselves to look for it and pan for it in the ri-

1 Note: I suspect that this is similar to what is called “wax”, or “Dutch” in present-day Africa; in other words, imitations of Indonesian “batik.”

vers. I am told that there are no poor people who cannot make a living this way, if they wish, but it is rough and chancy work, so that many prefer to remain poor and unemployed. The gold that comes from these Islands comes in ingots, and contains many impurities, but by carrying it to Mexico, one earns a 40% profit at least, and more often as much as 50%. In a normal year, at least 20,000 pesos worth of gold comes in, but more often it is worth 25, 30 and even 40, or 50,000 pesos.

Wax.—Wax in loaves weighing from 10 to 14 arrobas each comes every year, in a quantity of 6,000 arrobas, i.e. 1,500 quintals, at least. However, the ships do not accept wax except for ballast, as they prefer a cargo of goods from China and the East Indies, on account of their higher value. Wax is worth from 4 to 5 pesos per arroba at Manila, but at Acapulco, it usually sells for up to 20, 25, and 30 pesos.

...

Terlongas.—They are made of cotton canvas that resembles bombazine. They are of two kinds. The best kind serves for inner shirts and for skirts, above all for monks and nuns. They are 6 yards in length and cost from 12 to 16 pesos in Manila, which is from 1-1/2 to 2 pesos per yard, but in Mexico they sell for 5 to 6 pesos. The inferior kind is used for tablecloths and napkins and sells for 1 peso a piece at Manila, but from 3 to 4 pesos in Mexico.

...

Editor's notes.

The standard-size packs for mule transport from Acapulco to Mexico were:

- a) boxes or small crates measured 1/4 yard in length x 1/3 yard in height x approx. 2/3 yard in width;¹ each box weighed from 7 to 9 arrobas of 25 pounds each;
- b) bundles measured 1-1/3 yards in length x 2/3 yard in height x 1/2 yard in width.²

The freight charges from Acapulco to Mexico, ca. 1707, for either boxes or bundles, were from 10 to 12 reals per arroba.

1 Note: Approximate size 22 x 30 x 40 cm; rather small boxes. Two of those made up the load of one pack mule, one to each size, for a total weight of as much as 200 Kg.

2 Note: They had more volume than the boxes because of lower density, for roughly an equal weight.



A patache of the early 18th century.

Document 1708A

Guns shipped to the Marianas aboard the patache Santo Domingo in 1705 and 1707

Note: The new patache Santo Domingo was as large as a small galleon, as it carried 24 guns.

A1. Letter from Governor Zabalburu, dated 24 June 1705, postdated 24 May 1708

Sources: AGI Fil. 129-2-39; copy in AGI Ultramar 561, Zabalburu letter #8 of 1708.

Original text in Spanish.

*El Gobernador de Filipinas: repite la noticia, que el año pasado de 705 daba à V.M. de haber fabricado un Patache, para conducir el situado à los Misioneros y Infanteria de las Islas Marianas, por haberse perdido el que habia para este efecto, y que salia aquel año, con 24 [sic] piezas de artilleria con orden de incorporarse à la buelta con el Galeon **San [Francisco] Xavier**, con testimonio numero 16.*

Señor

Habiendose perdido el vagel que estaba destinado para llevar el socorro à las Islas Marianas, de que he dado cuenta à V.M. fué preciso disponer la fabrica de otro equivalente, y la ejecute precediendo Junta de Hacienda, y daldrá este año [de 1705] con el socorro suficiente para que se mantenga aquella Infanteria y religiosos dos años deseando escusar de la real hacienda el gasto del que viene, en el despacho de este vagel, y por haber tenido noticia de algunos piratas, que se han reconocido en estos mares, que pueden esperar en las Marianas al Galeon que despacho este año à la Nueva España, reconociendo la dificultad de apresarle en estas costas por el cuidado con que vivo: he dispuesto que este vagel con la prevencion de 24 piezas de artilleria, y todo lo demas necesario, imberne en aquellas Islas, hasta Junio, que es el tiempo regular del paso de este Galeon, y venga en su conserva, con que se asegura mas de cualquiera pirata, ó enemigo el referido Galeon, sin perjuicio alguno de este vagel, por ser tiempo oportuno para su viage.

Guarde Dios la Católica y Real Persona de V.M. muchos años, como la Cristianidad ha menester.

Manila y Junio 27 de 1705.

Señor

*Hasta aqui es copia de lo que escribi à V.M. en el despacho del año pasado de 1705, y por no haber llegado à la Nueva España el Galeon **San Francisco Xavier**, en que iba, ni tenidose hasta ahora en estas Islas noticias de el, lo repito en la ocasion presente.*

Guarde Dios la Católica y Real Persona de V.M. muchos años.

Manila y Mayo 24 de 1708.

Domingo de Zabalburu.

Translation.

The Governor of the Philippines repeats the news that he gave in the past year of 1705, that he had built a patache¹ to carry the subsidy to the Missionaries and the Infantry of the Mariana Islands, on account of the loss of the one that was used for this purpose, and that it was departing that year, with 24 [sic] guns with the order to join the galleon **San [Francisco] Xavier** on her return voyage, enclosing Certificate n^o 16.

Sire:

After the loss of the vessel [i.e. Concepción, in 1704] that was earmarked to take the succor to the Mariana Islands, which I have reported to Y.M., it was necessary to arrange for the building of another similar ship, and it was done, following a review in a Meeting of the Treasury. It will depart this year [1705] with enough succor to maintain those Infantrymen and Religious there for two years, hoping that the expense of sending this vessel next year can be saved for the Royal treasury,² and also on account of some pirates that have been reported in these seas, and might lay in wait at the Marianas for the galleon that I am despatching this year; I have arranged for this vessel to carry 24 guns, and everything that is necessary to spend the winter at those Islands, until June [1706], which is the regular time for the visit of this galleon, and it is to return in her company, for the greater security of the galleon in case of any pirate, or enemy ship, without prejudice to this vessel, because it is [also] an ideal time for its voyage.

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

Manila, 27 June 1705.

1 Ed. note: The Santo Domingo de Guzman (see A2 below).

2 Ed. note: True, no patache was sent to the Marianas in 1706, as the Santo Domingo stayed there until June 1706 (see below).

A2. Certification that 13 guns were shipped from Manila to Guam in 1705 and 1707

Sources: AGI Fil. 129-2-43; also in AGI Ultramar 561.

Certificate dated Manila 7 June 1707

Original text in Spanish.

Certificacion de las Piezas y Pedreros, que se han remitido à las Islas Marianas para su resguardo.

*Los Juezes Oficiales Reales de la Real Hacienda de estas Islas Filipinas, por el Rey Nuestro Señor en virtud de orden verbal del Señor Maestre de Campo D. Domingo de Zabalburu, Caballero del orden de Santiago del Consejo de S.M. Presidente Gobernador y Capitan General de estas dichas Islas, certificamos que por los libros de S.M. de esta Real Contaduria de Hacienda, consta y parece haberse embarcado en el Patache **Santo Domingo de Guzman**, que este presente año se despacha del Puerto de Cavite à las Islas Marianas, **cuatro Pedreros** de bronce con sus espigones, y rabisas de fierro[,] de calibre de una libra de bala, con dos camaras cada uno de lo mismo, que pesaron veinte arrobas y once libras, los cuales hizo servicio à S.M. dicho Señor Gobernador, para entregar al Gobernador de dichas Islas para defensa de ellas.*

*Asi mismo se embarcaron en dicho Patache **dos Pedreros** de bronce de calibre de ocho onzas, con dos cámaras de lo mismo cada uno, que pesaron diez y nueve arrobas, y cinco libras. **Dos piezezuelas** de bronce de calibre de à tres libras, que pesó la una de ellas ocho arrobas, y quince libras, y la otra ocho arrobas y viente y dos libras, y **dos esmeriles** de bronce con espigones, y ravisas de fierro de calibre de à seis onzas de bala, que pesaron seis arrobas, y nueve libras todo de cuenta de S.M. para entregar al Gobernador de dichas Islas Marianas, para la defensa de ellas.*

*Y el año pasado de mil setecientos y cinco en el referido Patache que se remitió à dichas Islas à dicho Gobernador se remitieron **dos piezuelas** de bronce de calibre de à dos libras de bala, que pesaron treinta y tres arobas, y quince libras. Y **un cañon** de fierro de tres libras todo de cuenta de S.M. para defensa de aquellas Islas, por orden y disposicion de dicho Señor Gobernador.*

Y para que conste, damos la presente.

Manila y Junio siete de mil setecientos y siete años,

D. Juan Fermin de la Ortiga, Tesorero general.

D. Francisco Gonzalez Zorrilla, factor y veedor.

y D. José de Correa Villareal.

Translation.

Certificate for the pieces and mortars that have been sent to the Mariana Islands for their defence.

We, the Royal officials of the Royal treasury of these Philippine Islands, for the King our Lord, in view of a verbal order given by His Lordship, Master-of-camp Don Domingo de Zabalburu, Knight of the Order of St. James, of the Council of H.M., President, Governor and Captain General of said Philippine Islands, do certify that the books of H.M. in this Royal accounting office of the treasury, show that the following articles have been loaded on board the patache **Santo Domingo de Guzman** that is being made ready to go this year to the Mariana Islands: **4 bronze mortars** of 1-lb caliber, complete with muzzle covers and iron ram-rods, and two chambers for each, that weighed 20 arrobas and 11 pounds [i.e. 227 Kg]; **2 small bronze pieces** of 3-lb caliber, one of which weighed 8 arrobas and 15 lbs [i.e. 95 Kg], and the other 8 arrobas and 22 lbs [i.e. 98 Kg]; and **2 small bronze pieces of ordnance** complete with muzzle covers and iron ram-rods, of 16-oz caliber, that weighed 6 arrobas and 9 lbs [i.e. 70 Kg], all on the account of H.M. for delivery to the Governor of said Mariana Islands, for their defence.

And in the past year of 1705, aboard the above-mentioned patache, there were remitted to said Governor of said Islands: **2 small bronze pieces** of 2-lb caliber, that weighed 33 arrobas and 5 lbs [i.e. 368 Kg]; and **1 iron cannon** of 3-lb caliber, all on the account of H.M. for the defence of those Islands, by order of said Governor.

And in witness whereof, we give the present.

Manila, 7 June 1707.

Don Juan Fermin de la Ortiga, Treasurer General.

Don Francisco Gonzalez Zorrilla, Factor and Inspector.

and Don José de Correa Villareal.

Documents 1708B

Expeditions to the Caroline Islands —The voyage of 1708

Sources: AGI Fil. 215 (formerly 68-5-29); copies in Colección Pastells, Fil. 4. Secondary sources: Fr. Murillo Velarde, and Fr. Delgado who copied him.

Introductory note.

Fr. Clain, Provincial of the Society of Jesus, having presented the Royal Decree of 19 October 1705, the Governor ordered that the galliot **Rosario** be made ready at the port of Cavite, under the command of Captain Pedro Gonzalez de Pareja, and Luis Acosta as chief pilot. This galliot left the port on 1 March 1708. Aboard were two Jesuit priests (Fathers Antonio Arias and José de Bobadilla), one Jesuit brother, and 25 soldiers. The assigned chaplain, Fr. Francisco Cavia, was picked up en route (at Cancabató, i.e. Tacloban in Leyte). The galliot, having exited between Samar and Mindanao on 8 April, sailed eastward but found no islands and turned back to Cape San Agustin in Mindanao. It returned by way of Iloilo, where Fr. Cavia disembarked, and arrived back at Cavite on 17 June, without having discovered any of the Carolines. After this, the Governor arranged for a patache to go in search of said islands, with a more experienced navigator, but, he expressed the belief that the exploration should be done by the vessel that goes every year to the Mariana Islands.

B1. Letter from Governor Zabalburu to the King, postdated Manila 4 July 1709

Original text in Spanish.

[Endorsement:] *El Governador de Philipinas.—Repite la noticia que el año proximo pasado dio à V.M. de las diligencias que à hecho para el descubrimiento de las Islas de Pais, ó Palaos; y de como estava en espera del Vagel que segunda vez despacho à su investigacion con testimonio de Autos à n^o 5.*

Señor

A los 6 de Febrero de este presente año por el R.P. Pablo Clain Provincial de la Compañia de Jesus en estas Islas se me hizo presentacion de una Real Zedula, su fecha en Madrid à 19 de Octubre de 1705¹ en que V.M. se sirbe mandarme que sin la menor omision, disponga y prevenga embarcacion en que los Misioneros de dicha Compañia de Jesus puedan yr al descubrimiento y reduccion de las Islas de Pais ó Palaos; con lo demas que en dicha Real Zedula se prebiene. A cuya execucion con la puntualidad, que V.M. me ordena, aplique las providencias que permitio el tiempo en aquella ocasion haciendo se aprestaze una Galeota que de quenta de V.M. se hallava en el puerto de Cavite, y à cargo del Capitan Don Pedro Lopez [sic] de Pareja, proveyda de la gente, bastimentos, y demas conbeniente para esta empresa, la despache à primeros de Marzo y en ella dos Religiosos sacerdotes y un hermano de la Compañia de Jesus, que dicho su Provincial destino para esta Mision: dando instruccion al Cavo de esta embarcacion, de todo lo que devia de seguir en su viaje segun la que (en junta de Pilotos que hize combocar) parecio mas conbeniente.

Y habiendo desemocado por el estrecho de San Juanico el dia 8 de Abril bolvio à los 17 del corriente, à dicho Puerto de Cavite, sin descubrir las Islas de los Palaos, despues de haver navegado lo que consta del diario, que presento el Piloto, temeroso de que los vendavales que reinan en las costas de estas Yslas desde el mes de Julio, no le impidiese la buelta. Como todo consta del testimonio de autos, que acompaño quedando con la atencion debida para prozeguir en este descubrimiento embiando embarcaciones mas apropósito; y tiempo mas oportuno (qual es el mes de Henero) para poder penetrar à maior distancia, hasta la imbencion de estas Islas: à que coadjubara mucho el aver arribado poco dias ha a la Provincia de Leyte de esta Governacion ocho ó dies Indios de dichos Palaos, à quienes he mandado reduzir à esta Ziudad, para que juntos con algunos otros, que ay en la Provincia de Caraga, puedan servir de Interpretes y Exploradores de las Islas; que se solisitan: reservando, hasta su descubrimiento el dar orden de que el Pattache que anualmente se despacha à las Marianas, en camino de vuelta, su derrota à dichas Islas, por no exponerle à perderse entre los muchos bajos, Islotes, y arresifes, que se discurren en su distrito de que espero dar en el siguiente despacho à V.M. mas individual notticia, con el logro de esta empresa.

G.D.L.C.Y.R.P.D.V.M. [=Guarde Dios la Católica y Real Persona de V.M.] muchos años como la christiandad ha menester.

Manila y Junio 28 de 1708.

[Postscript:]

Señor.—

Hasta aqui es copia de la carta, que 28 de Junio del año proximo pasado escrivi à V.M. en orden al descubrimiento de las Islas Palaos.

Y habiendo repetido este presente año despacho à su investigacion en Vagel mas competente, en conformidad de lo resuelto por juntas generales de Pilotos, y hombres practicos en la navegacion y de Real Hacienda en que se resolvió saliese por fin de Marzo,

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1705K4.

atendidas las razones, que propuso el Cavo nombrado para esta faccion: hasta la fecha de esta no a buelto; y solo se tiene la noticia que en carta de 15 de Marzo me participe de no haver podido desembocar por el estrecho de San Bernardino à causa de bientos contrarios, y calmas, que lo retardavan la aposecucion de su viaje, como mas por extenso contara à V.M. por el testimonio de autos que remito.

G.D.L.C.I.R.P.D.V.M.¹ muchos años como la christiandad ha menester.

Manila y Jullio 4 de 1709.

Domingo de Zabalburu

Translation.

[Endorsement:] The Governor of the Philippines.—Repeats the news sent last year to Y.M. regarding the efforts that he made for the exploration of the Islands of Pais, or Palaos; and how he was awaiting the vessel that he despatched a second time on this search, with Record of Proceedings N^o 5 attached.

Sire:

On 6 February of this year, the Rev. Fr. Pablo Clain, Provincial of the Society of Jesus in these Islands showed me a Royal order, dated Madrid 19 October 1705, in which Y.M. has deigned to order me not to ignore any details of the preparation and despatch of a vessel in which the Missionaries of the Society of Jesus could go to the exploration and reduction of the Islands of Pais, or Palaos; and other orders mentioned in said Royal order. I have attended with punctuality to what Y.M. has ordered me, making the efforts that the times permitted on that occasion, by having a Galliot that was then found in the port of Cavite made ready at Y.M.'s expense, and in charge of Captain Pedro Lopez [sic]² de Pareja, supplied with men, supplies, and other things proper for this enterprise. I despatched it at the beginning of March and in it were two Religious, priests, and one brother of the Society of Jesus, who had been assigned to this Mission by they Provincial, giving a set of instructions to the Commander of the vessel regarding everything he had to accomplish, and the route he had to follow, which had been determined as the most adequate one by a meeting of pilots which I had convened.

Having exited by the Strait of San Juanico on 8 April, it came back on the 17th of this month at the said port of Cavite, without discovering the Islands of Palaos, after they had sailed the courses contained in the logbook that the Pilot handed over, fearing as he was that the monsoon winds that prevail along the coasts of these Islands as of the month of July would make his return impossible. The details are contained in the record of proceedings, attached. What remains to be done is to pursue this exploration, by sending more appropriate vessels, at a more opportune time (which is during January) in order to be able to penetrate by a greater distance, until the said Islands are found. Something that will help a lot is the arrival in distress a few days ago in the Prov-

1 Ed. note: *Guarde Dios la Católica y Real Persona de Vuestra Magestad.*

2 Ed. note: His family name is given as Gonzalez de Pareja in his Instruction (see B8 below).

ince of Leyte under this jurisdiction of 8-10 Indians from the said Palaos, whom I have ordered brought to this City, so that, along with some others who are in the Province of Caraga, they might serve as Interpreters and Guides of the Islands that are sought. In addition, until they are found, I have given orders for the Patache that is despatched yearly to the Marianas, to be rerouted to the said Islands on the return voyage [only] so as not to expose it to danger among the many shoals, rock islands, and reefs that are thought to exist in that area, and about which I hope to give more detailed news to Y.M. in my next despatch, about the success of this enterprise.

May God save the Catholic and Royal Person of Y.M. for many years to come, as Christendom needs.

Manila, 28 June 1708.

[Postscript:]

Sire:

Up to now this is but a copy of the letter of 28 June of last year which I wrote to Y.M. regarding an order to explore the Palaos Islands.

And, having again despatched a more suitable vessel to search for them this present year, in accordance with the recommendations made in general meetings of pilots and men knowledgeable in navigation and in financial matters, in which it was resolved to despatch it by the end of March, after a presentation made by the Commander named to lead this venture. Until this date, it has not returned, and the only news we have received is a letter dated 15 March in which it is said that they were unable to exit by the Strait of San Bernardino, on account of contrary winds, and calms, that retarded the pursuance of the voyage; more details are presented to Y.M. in the enclosed record of proceedings.

May God save the Catholic and Royal Person of Y.M. for many years, as Christendom needs.

Manila, 4 July 1709.

Domingo de Zabalburu.

B2. Petition by Fr. Garcia Salgado, on behalf of Fr. Clain, Provincial of the Jesuits

Note: Fr. Clain was Provincial from 1708 to 1710.

Original text in Spanish.

Señor

El Padre Garcia Salgado Procurador General de la Compañia de Jesus en estas Islas, en nombre del Padre Pablo Clayn su Provincial en ellas se presenta ante V. Señoria y dice:

Que en conformidad de la Real Cedula que vino à V. Señoria y de la que vino al dicho Padre Provincial se hizo por V. Señoria despacho para el descubrimiento de las yslas de Palaos en que fueron señalados para Misioneros de ellas los Padres Antonio

Arias; y Joseph de Bobadilla, y por Capellan el Padre Francisco Cavia para el viaje, y torna viaje sin haverse logrado el zelo de V. Señoría ni haverse echo el dicho descubrimiento de suerte que pudiese quedar dichos dos Padres como previne su Magestad que Dios guarde. Y porque parece que era el tiempo de intentar de nuevo el dicho descubrimiento que su Magestad manda:

A V. Señoría pide y suplica con todo rendimiento se sirva de dar la providencia que por mas conveniente tubiere para el efecto del cumplimiento de dichas Reales Cédulas señalando, y mandando aprestar embarcacion competente; y por lo que toca à los Padres estaran prompts para embarcarse los señalados por el dicho Padre Provincial.

Y que V. Señoría se sirva de mandar acumular este Memorial à los Autos que sobre este mismo precedieron. Es justicia que pido.

García Salgado.

Translation.

Sir:

I, Father García Salgado, Procurator General of the Society of Jesus in these Islands, on behalf of Father Pablo Clain, its Provincial, appear before Your Lordship and declare:

That, in accordance with the Royal decree addressed to Your Lordship and also to said Father Provincial, a despatch was made for the exploration of the Islands of the Palaos, to which were assigned as missionaries Fathers Antonio Arias and José de Bobadilla, and with Father Francisco Cavia as Chaplain of the ship which turned back without accomplishing the zeal of Your Lordship nor having carried out said exploration; therefore, said two Fathers were unable to stay, as planned by His Majesty (whom may God save). And, because it appears that it was time to try again said exploration ordered by His Majesty:

I beg and beseech Your Lordship with all humility to please issue the most appropriate order to comply with the above-said Royal decrees, by ordering that a suitable ship be made ready; and, as far as the Fathers are concerned, those selected by said Father Provincial will be ready to sail.

And may Your Lordship be pleased to order that this Memorial be added to the Record that is being compiled on this matter. I ask for justice.

García Salgado.¹

B3. Opinion of the Fiscal

Original text in Spanish.

El fiscal de su Magestad à la vista de que se le ha dado de los autos formados en virtud de real cedula de 19 de octubre de 1705 presentada por el Reverendo Padre Pablo

¹ The Fiscal was asked for his opinion on 13 October 1708.

Clain de la sagrada Compañia de Jesus y Provincial en estas Islas en razon de la reduccion de unas Islas que llaman Palaos:

*Dice que lo que por dichos autos se persive es referir su Magestad el ynforme que se le hizo en su real y supremo Consejo de las Yndias por el Reverendo Padre Andres Serrano de dicha Compañia y su procurador general, asentando que entre estas yslas y las de Marianas ay las que refiere de los Palaos muchas, y muy pobladas de gente sin se[c]ta ninguna y sin especie ni mescla de ydolatria y de natural muy docil. Y por lo que de sus habitadores se havian experimentado muy espuestos à recibir la fee pidiendo se diese orden para que los Misioneros de dicha Compañia predicasen el Santo evangelio siendo proveidos de todo lo nesario assi para el viage como para mantenerse en ellas que por el Real rescripto parece mandarse assi: en cuyo obedecimiento **V. Señoria despacho una Galeota con veinte y cinco hombres en que salieron quatro Religiosos. Por Diario que hizo el Piloto de tres meses, y 17 dias que parece haver navegado no consta haver dado con las dichas Islas habiendo seguido el rumbo que se le ha ordenado** y oy se intenta de nuevo salga embarcacion en busca de dichas yslas con gente y prevenciones. Lo qual en conformidad de la orden de su Magestad se deve executar, en aquella mejor forma que conviniere y V. Señoria en Junta General que para esso se deve convocar se discurriere y que ella se ventile si los dos mill pesos que se dan à la sagrada Compañia en las cajas de Mexico anualmente para este efecto y que se conducan à estas yslas como la Real Cedula lo enuncia si faltare se podia suplir de las cajas de esta Ciudad para sus gastos ó si se tendrá por vastante esta Cantidad con el modo y forma mas conveniente y con mas aorro de la real hazienda para que por aora se busquen estas yslas que llaman de los Palaos...*

...

À V. Señoria Suplica que en vista de esta representacion que hace el fiscal provea se forme la Junta en informe que lleva pedido executando en todo lo mas conveniente al servicio de Ambas Magestades por ser Justicia.

Manila y Noviembre siete de Mill setecientos y ocho años.

Licenciado Don Antonio de Casas y Alvarado.

Translation.

I, the Fiscal of His Majesty, in view of the records of proceedings that have been kept by virtue of the royal decree of 19 October 1705 presented by Reverend Father Pablo Clain of the sacred Society of Jesus and its Provincial in these Islands about the reduction of some Islands called Palaos, do declare:

That it is obvious from said records that a report was presented to His Majesty in his Royal and supreme Council of the Indies by Reverend Father Andrés Serrano of said Society and its Procurator General, which states that, between these Islands and the Marianas, there are many other Islands called Palaos, highly populated with men not connected with any [religious] sect or with any sort of idol worship, and very peaceful by nature. And, on account of having learned that their inhabitants are very inclined to receive the faith, the request was made for an order to send missionaries of said So-

ciety to preach the holy Gospel, and to provide them with everything necessary, not only for their voyage but also to maintain them there. A Royal rescript appears to agree fully. To comply with said order, **Your Lordship despatched a galliot with 25 men and 4 Religious, [but] the logbook kept by the Pilot over a period of 3 months and 17 days shows that the ship did not encounter said Islands, although he followed the course that he had been ordered to follow.** Now then, it is question to undertake another voyage of exploration of said Islands, with men and supplies. Such a project must be undertaken to comply with the order of His Majesty, and be done in the best way possible. That is why I urge Your Lordship to convene a General Meeting for this purpose. One point to be discussed therein should be what to do, in case the 2,000 pesos do not come—those that the sacred Society should be given from the Mexican Treasury every year for this purpose, and that are to be carried to these Islands as the Royal subsidy is; could they then be supplied from the funds of these Islands for their expenses, or would this sum be considered enough for the most appropriate method, and greater savings to the Royal treasury, so that the Islands of the Palaos be sought...

...
I beg Your Lordship, in view of the above representation made by me as Fiscal, to provide for the convening of the Committee, for the purpose he stated, to decide what is best for the service of both their Majesties, as justice demands.

Manila, 7 November 1708.

Licentiate Don Antonio de Casas y Alvarado.

B4. General Meeting of the Treasury Council, on 10 November 1708

Summary.

The members present were: Licentiate Antonio Pavon; Doctor Joseph de Torralba; Licentiate Agustin Miguel de Barrientos y Rivera, all three being also members of the Audiencia; Licentiate Antonio de Casas y Alvarado, royal fiscal; and Doctor Joseph Correa y Villa Real, royal accountant.

The absent members were: Juan Fermin de la Ortega, royal treasurer; and General Francisco Gonzalez Zorrilla, royal factor and auditor.

The case file accumulated thus far was read. Correa and Torralba voted for the despatch of another ship. Barrientos and Pavon voted for a Meeting of pilots to be held first, and for another meeting of the treasury to take place at a later date. The Governor agreed with the latter. Meanwhile, the Royal decree of 16 June 1704 was ordered brought forward.¹

¹ Ed. note: It had arrived at Manila only recently aboard the galleon Rosario of 1707 (see Doc. 1704D).

B5. Royal agreement of 19 September 1707

Original text in Spanish.

En la Ciudad de Manila en 3 dias del mes de Septiembre de mill setecientos y siete años; Los Señores Presidente y Oydores de la Audiencia y Chancilleria Real de estas yslas Philipinas estando en el Real Acuerdo que se celebra oy de la fecha y habiendo visto en el, la Real Cedula su fecha à 16 de Junio del año pasado de 1704 en que se manda hacer Informe sobre la reduccion de 84 Islas nuevamente disciiertas cerca de Samar y [I]babao; con lo que dijo el Señor Fiscal a la vista que se le dió dichos Señores.

Dixeron que mandavan y mandaron se les ruegue y encargue à los Muy Reverendos Padres Pablo Clayn Provincial, y Antonio Tuccio de la sagrada Compañia de Jesus, informen à esta Real Audiencia con el Mapa que tubieren de las Islas que se mencionan en dicha Real Cedula, y que el Señor Presidente Governador y Capitan General de estas yslas nombre los Pilotos y personas practicas que podran ynformar sobre dicha Real Cedula lo que en ella manda su Magestad para que haziendoseles saber dicho nombra- miento exprese cada uno su parecer y se Informe à su Magestad en su Real y supremo Consejo de las yndias, assi lo acordaron, mandaron y firmaron dichos Señores de que doy fee.

Zabalburu.

Licenciado Pavon.

Doctor Torralba.

Licenciado Varrientos.

Ante mi: Antonio de Yopez y Arze, escribano Receptor.

Translation.

In the City of Manila, on the 3rd of the month of September 1707, the Gentlemen President and Members of the Audiencia and Royal Chancellery of these Philippine Islands, have today come to a Royal Agreement,¹ and taken cognizance therein of the Royal decree of 16 June of the part year 1704 in which it is ordered that a report of inquiry be made regarding the reduction of 84 newly-discovered Islands near Samar and Ibabao. As a result thereof, upon recommendation of the Fiscal, said Gentlemen declared:

That they were ordering, and they did order, the Most Reverend Fathers Pablo Clain, Provincial, and Antonio Tuccio, of the sacred Society of Jesus, to inform this Royal Audiencia with whatever Map they may have of the Islands mentioned in said Royal decree, and that His Lordship the Governor and Captain General of these Islands name the Pilots and practical persons who could inform about what this Royal decree orders, in order for each one of them, following their nomination, to express his opinion and

1 Ed. note: According to custom, they each held the original decree in their hands, kissed it, and held it on top of their head, while saying some words of respect.

so inform His Majesty in his Royal and supreme Council of the Indies. Thus said Gentlemen agreed, ordered and signed, of which I testify.

Zabalburu.

Licentiate Pavon.

Doctor Torralba.

Licentiate Barrientos.

Before me, Antonio de Yopez y Arce, receiver of writs.¹

B6. Report by Fathers Clain and Tuccio, dated 21 January 1708

Note: This version is to be compared with the original report (Doc. 1697F2).

Original text in Spanish.

Muy Poderoso Señor:

Los Padres Pablo Clain Provincial de esta Provincia de la Compañía de Jesus de las Islas Philipinas y Antonino Tuccio de la misma Compañía en cumplimiento del Ruego y encargo que Vuestra Alteza fue servido despacharles, dicen:

*Que el año de 1697 por el mes de Febrero, visitando el dicho Padre Antonino Tuccio, como Provincial que entonces era de esta Provincia en compañía del dicho Padre Pablo Clain como su secretario las Doctrinas que su Religion tiene à su cargo en las Provincias de Visayas y entre ellas la Doctrina del Pueblo de Guivan Jurisdiccion de la Provincia de Leyte, hallaron en el dicho Pueblo 29 Palaos (nombre que el dicho Pueblo les avian puesto los naturales por el genero de Rayzes que segun decian era la comida usual y ordinaria en sus Islas) ó naturales de las yslas yncognitas que por el nombre de los dichos derrotados desde entonces comenzaron à llamarse, de los Palaos ó Pais, nombre que decian era de su Isla natural, los cuales avian aportado à la dicha Isla de Guivan el dia 28 de Diciembre del año 1696 en dos canoas ó embarcaciones pequeñas de la hechura que usa los naturales de las yslas Marianas despues de 72 dias (segun decian) de navegacion y havian salido de sus yslas en numero de 35 por falta de sustento y incomodidades de la mar murieron los cinco de ellos y otro en el dicho Pueblo de Guivan recien llegado poco despues de Bautisado y por medio de dos mugeres de su misma tierra desgarradas los años pasados y entonces ya casadas en el dicho Pueblo (que servian de Interpretes) declararon tener en sus yslas un principal ó superior à quien todos obedecen como à rrey y haver en cada Pueblo otro principal ynferior à quien ellos llaman **Tamol** qual decian ser uno de su numero que venia con ellos en compañía de su muger y ambos en el modo de portarse mostravan ser principales ó nobles entre ellos y de los 29 los 10 eran mugeres y 3 niñas y las demas grandes, y los 19 hombres, 3 muchachos, y otros juvenes, y otros de mas hedad. Las facciones eran como las de los natu-*

¹ Ed. note: Fr. Clain was notified by Yopez on 13 January 1708. He and Fr. Tuccio responded with the official report which follows.

rales de Visayas de estas yslas y el modo de vestirse en los hombres un paño ó genero de texido de hebras de un arbol al modo del que aqui llaman Medreñaque con que encubrian lo que la naturaleza por recato natural enseña recatar à los ojos agenos[.] otro pedaso de cosa tres baras ó algo mas de largo que abierto en la mediania metian por la caveza y dejavan caer por delante y por detras à modo de escapulario de Religiosos del mesmo genero ó à modo de un Capotillo amarrado por delante con los cavos ó esquinas y en las mugeres un genero de señido[r] que aqui llaman Tapi[z] que coge desde la sintura hasta las rodillas y otro pedaso de texido rebuelto sobre los brazos y [h]ombros[.]

La lengua que hablaban era totalmente distinta de las que se hablan en estas Yslas y aun de la que se habla en las yslas Marianas, pues no entendian palabra alguna de los muy corrientes en aquella lengua y solo el modo de pronunciarse parecia en algo al modo de hablar de los naturales de la Costa de Coromandel que aqui se llaman Lascare[s.] la muger principal llevaba Manillas en el brazo de Conchas de tortugas y collar à modo de abolorio largo[.] no de vidrio sino de otro genero[.] el modo con que decian haverse sustentado en la mar en tiempo de su navegacion era meter una nassa grande y el pescado que entraba comian y el agua que llovía la recogian en unas cortesas duras muy grandes y capases de un genero de fruta de palma de las yndias que aqui llaman coco y aquella venian[.]

El modo con que aportaron (segun decian) à estas yslas fué que habiendo forsejado muchos dias contra el viento leste y nordeste que los alejo de sus yslas y viendose imposibilitados para arribar à ellas dieron las popas à el viento en demanda de alguna tierra cercana donde hallar vastimento y rehacerse para con otro viento favorable volver à emprender despues el viage para sus yslas. Llegados à estas Philipinas à la contra costa del dicho Pueblo de Guivan y viendo en su playa uno de los naturales que les capeava[.] tiraron unas quantas vezes de buelta à la mar pero en balde porque el viento llamado Brisa (el dicho Leste, ó nordeste) los echava de esta tierra hasta que finalmente acercandose à la tierra y no asertando con la canal que havia entre los muchos arrecifes que les mostrava el dicho natural con las señas del capear este se hecho à nado para entrar en una de sus canoas ó embarcaciones para el fin de enseñarles la canal pero apenas llegó à la embarcacion quando todos los que venian en ella se hecharon al agua y fueron à nado à la segunda embarcacion pero siguiendolos el dicho natural y viendole dentro de la segunda embarcacion estuvieron quietos y entraron por la canal conforme los governava el dicho natural[.] con el mismo llegaron à tierra y habiendolos refosilado con alguna comida fueron llevados al dicho Pueblo de Guivan.

El arroz cossido (que es el pan general de estas yslas y de todo este oriente) le cogian con los dedos grano por grano y mirandolo un poco[.] de repente lo arrojavan entendiendo que eran gusanos y solo comian al principio la carne ó pulpa de la fruta del coco (arbol que arriva se dijo) y un genero de raiz muy grande llamado Palawan[.] sustento en general que decian ser de sus yslas y que nace con abundancia en la vecindad del dicho Pueblo de Guivan y el pescado no lo querian comer cossido sino asado aunque despues con facilidad se acostumbraron à comer (y con gusto) assi el arroz cossi-

do como la carne de Baca y animales cerduños y decian no haver en su tierra ni uno ni otro ganado y solo decian haver unos pajaros grandes que comen en sus combites como ni vino[.]

Parecieron ante los Padres Informantes y cantaron à su modo correspondiendo al son de su canto con los meneos de brazos y manos compassado todo y uniforme en todos ellos pero sentados y sin valerse de los pies y en fin en modo Barbaro admiraba[n]se mucho del modo de cantar, dansar, [h]arpas é instrumentos musicos de acá y de la policia de los naturales y ritos eclesiásticos, y tambien del color blanco de los europeos y dandoles à besar la mano los Padres se la pasaban por toda la cara como quien se unta con algun balsamo[.] quando llegaron ante los Padres Informantes se postraron todos en el suelo como reselosos de lo que avia de ser de ellos y solo se recobraron de su temor viendo el agasajo que hacia [el Padre] entonces Provincial à los niños[.]

Trayan consigo unas asuelas de un genero de concha muy grande y aqui se llama **Taclobo**, afiladas contra unas piedras y otra asuela de hierro pequeña del tamaño de una uña del dedo pulgar y quando vieron los ynstrumentos de carpinteria en la fabrica de una embarcacion algo maior al modo de Barco luengo[.] no se hartavan de mirarlos y habiendoles dado el ministro del dicho Pueblo à cada uno un pedaso de hierro lo rresivieron como si les huviera dado otro tanto oro porque quando durmian lo ponian debaxo de la caveza reselosos que no se la hurtara algunof[.] No tienen arma ni cuchillo ni otro genero de ynstrumento ofensivo y son al parecer muy pasificos pero no torpes sino despiertos y alegres de natural[.]

Decian no haver en su tierra cañas ni el genero que aqui se llama bejuco y sirve comunmente a los naturales para atarse lo que nesecitan y todas las ataduras que trayan eran unos cordeles hechos de las hebras de la cascara de la fruta del coco arriva mencionado. No son corpulentos como los naturales de las yslas Marianas sino buen dispuestos al modo de los naturales de estas yslas y trayan el cavello suelto, assi las mugeres como los hombres y recien llegados todos se pintaron de un color muy amarillo[.] el principal tenia muy labrado el cuerpo con varias rayas hechas de puntos negros y los otros hombres algo pero no tanto[.] las mugeres y niños nada[.] uno de estos decia haver aportado ya otra vez desgaritado à una de las Provincias de estas yslas llamada Caraga y haverse vuelto de ay à su tierra[.] solian entretenerse pescando en la mar con rara abilidad de bucear y nadar aun debajo del agua y se decia aver cogido un dia de aquellos que asistian en el dicho Pueblo de Guivan dos conchas y en ellas dos perlas mayores y haverlas arrojado al mar por no conocer su valor[.]

[En] el dicho Pueblo de Guivan estubieron algun tiempo assistidos y socorridos de los principales moradores de el, se los vistieron con vestidos usados en estas yslas[.] **Y pasados algunos meses secretamente emprendieron la buelta para sus yslas y segun lo que se conosió por un pedaso de palo que se hallo en la playa del mismo Pueblo con un temporal se perdieron en la mar y perecieron todos menos algunos que murieron en estas yslas no quedando al presente de ellos sino una niña que se crio en el dicho Pueblo en casa de un principal.—**

Emprendiose luego por nuestra Compañia à costa propia (sin embargo de su pobreza ayudada de una limosna de quinientos pesos que para ello dio de su caudal Vuestro Governador que entonces era de estas yslas Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora) el descubrimiento y combersion de aquellas yslas comprando para ello una embarcacion menor de las que aqui llaman fragatas ó piraguas y señalado para esta empresa à un sacerdote y à un hermano coadjutor que cuydase de lo temporal no dando lugar para embiar mas sugetos la penuria y suma falta que tenia dellos esta Provincia de la Compañia, pero el comun enemigo por justa permission de Dios embarasso este viage y empresa con un temporal muy bravo y extraordinaria arrojando contra unos Baguios la embarcacion con muerte de todos los que estavan en ellas salvandose tan solamente quatro personas que por un accidente se hallavan en tierra y por la dicha falta de sugetos y su pobreza no pudo la Compañia emprender segunda vez este descubrimiento.

*En quanto al numero de las dichas Islas no pueden los informantes dar noticia fixa[,] pero aunque al principio alguno ó algunos de los dichos naturales avian dicho que eran 32 (por ventura por no ser notisiosos de las demas) despues de haver salido los ynformantes del dicho Pueblo de Guivan parece que los dichos desgarrados dieron mas plena noticia del numero de sus yslas[,] pues segun aviso el ministro de dicho Pueblo, Padre Francisco Prado, de la misma Compañia de Jesus al uno de los ynformantes en carta que les escribió estando aun los dichos desgarrados en el dicho Pueblo[,] preguntados los dichos derrotados sobre el dicho numero de sus Islas y su situacion con unas piedrezuelas pequeñas formaron en la misma playa del dicho Pueblo un genero de Mapa ó pintura de ellas que el dicho Padre Ministro del dicho Pueblo mandó luego ymitar en papel, en la misma forma; que los dichos naturales de las dichas yslas lo avian formado con piedrezuelas cuya copia en todo semejante (salvo que se redujo à menor punto para no abultar esta relacion) acompaña este informe, y si el dicho Mapa corresponde à la verdad las dichas yslas han de ser en numero 87 y avirtieron los dichos naturales[,] lo primero que los que avian dibujado el dicho Mapa havian estado en todas esas yslas. Lo segundo que avian otras mas yslas pero por no haver estado en ellas no lo havian expresado. Lo tercero decian que la Isla que tenia la letra A, tenia 30 [días] de bogeo con viento favorable respecto de sus embarcaciones que son vien ligeras. Lo quarto que la Isla señalada con la letra B, es la que decian ser la propia suya. Lo quinto que la Isla de donde salieron quando se desgarraron queriendo volver à la suya es la señalada con la letra C, llamada por ellos **Amorsot** [i.e. Lamotrek]. Lo sexto que la Isla señalada con la letra D, que ellos llaman **Palu** [Falu] es la donde decian asistia su Rey ó principal mayor de todos. Lo septimo que los numeros que se ven en este Mapa entre una ysla y otra y los numeros que se ven en medio de cada ysla son de los dias que decian se gastaya en bogearlas.*

Esta es la noticia que los ynformantes puedan dar à Vuestra Alteza en lo tocante à dichas yslas[,] avido en parte de los mismos naturales de ellas por medio de los Moradores del dicho Pueblo que tratavan con ellos y parte por lo que los ynformantes vieron en ellos. Y en quanto à la verdad del dicho ynforme no le pueden dar mas certesa

que la que funda el haverlo oydo assi por relacion de los dichos naturales sobre cuya veracidad estruya(?) lo que los ynformantes refieren aqui para que Vuestra Alteza con su ynespecion(?) pueda dar al Rey nuestro Señor y su Real Consejo la noticia que mas legitima le pareciere.

Nuestro Señor guarde muchos años la Real C.P. de Vuestra Alteza como estas yslas nesecitan.

Manila y Henero veinte y uno de Mill setecientos y ocho.

Pablo Clayn, Provincial.

Antonino Tuccio.

Translation.

Almighty Sir:

Fathers Paul Clain, Provincial of this Province of the Society of Jesus in the Philippine Islands and Antonino Tuccio of the same Society, in compliance with the Request that Your Highness was pleased to despatch to them, declare:

That in the year of 1697, during the month of February, while said Father Antonino Tuccio, who was then Provincial of this Province, was visiting, in company with said Father Paul Clain acting as his secretary, the mission stations that his Order has under its care in the Provinces of the Visayas, and among them the mission station located in the Town of Guivan, jurisdiction of the Province of Leyte, they found in said Town 29 Palaos (the name given to them by the natives of said Town, on account of the type of Roots which they said was the ordinary food in their Islands) or natives of the unknown islands that said drifters began to call themselves, i.e. the Palaos, or Pais,¹ which is the name of their island of origin, as they said. Said people had made port at said Island [sic] of Guivan on the 28th of December of the year 1696 aboard two canoes or small craft with the same width as those used by the natives of the Mariana Islands, after 72 days of navigation (they said) and, after 35 of them had departed their islands, on account of the lack of food and the discomforts of the sea, five of them died, plus one other in said Town of Guivan, soon after their arrival, but after he had been baptized. By means of two women from their very own country, who had drifted years previously and were then already married in said Town (and who served as interpreters), they declared that they had in their islands one chief or superior to whom all obeyed as to a king, and one other chief or lord in each town whom they call **Tamol**. There was such a chief in their company; he was accompanied by his wife. Both of them, by the way they behaved, showed themselves to be chiefs or nobles among them. Out of the 29, 10 of them were women, that is, 3 were small girls, and the rest adults; among the 19 men, there were 3 boys, and the others were young men and other adults. Their features were the same as those of the natives of the Visayas of these Islands, and the clothing of the men consisted in a cloth or kind of woven material from the fibers of a tree of the type called Medreñaque here [i.e. loin-cloth], with which they covered what nature by natu-

1 Ed. note: The way Filipinos pronounce the word Fais.

ral bashfulness teaches us to hide from foreign eyes. Another piece of something three or more yards in length that, as it was opened in the middle, they put in over their head and let it fall in front and behind like the scapulary of the monks that is similar to it, or like a short cloak tied in front by the ends or corners. As for the women, a kind of girdle that is called Tapiz here [i.e. mat], that occupies the space from the waist to the knees and another piece of woven cloth wrapping the arms and shoulders.

The **language** they spoke was totally different from those spoken in these Islands, and even from that spoken in the Mariana Islands, since they did not understand one word from those of the most common ones in that [Chamorro] language,¹ and [based] only on their pronunciation one can say that it somewhat resembled the way of speaking of the natives of the coast of Coromandel [in India] who are called Lascars here. The chief's wife carried bracelets made of tortoise shells and a necklace [of something] like glass beads, big, not made of glass but of some other material. They way they said they survived while at sea during their passage was to put a large fish trap overboard. They ate all the fish that entered it. They collected rainwater in some hard and very big shells from a type of palm tree which grows in the Indies and is called coconut here, and so they managed.

The way they came to find a port in these islands (according to them), was that after having tried for many days to sail against easterly and northeasterly winds that pushed them away from their islands, and seeing the impossibility to make it to a port overthere, they put their poops to the wind in search of some nearby land where they could find some food and rest so that they could then with a favorable wind resume the voyage to their islands. Having arrived at these Philippines on the coast of the town of Guivan, and seeing one of the natives showing them how to lay to, they [nevertheless] returned many times to sea, but in vain, because the wind called *brisa* [i.e. tradewind] (the said easterly or northeasterly wind) threw them back toward the land until finally they approached the land but not finding the channel between the many reefs as indicated by the said native making signs to lay to, the latter threw himself in and swam to one of their canoes or boats in order to show them the channel, but as soon as he got to the boat, all of those who were aboard threw themselves into the water and swam to the second boat. However, the said native followed them and seeing him inside the second boat, they [finally] quieted down and entered the channel, in accordance with the instructions of said native. With him they reached the land and after having been strengthened with some food, they were brought to said town of Guivan.

Boiled **rice** (which is the general bread of these Islands and of the whole of the Orient), they picked up with their fingers grain by grain and, after looking at it a little, threw it away suddenly, thinking that they were worms, and they at first only ate the meat or pulp of the coconut (the tree mentioned earlier) and a type of very big roots

1 Ed. note: Fathers Clain and Tuccio never served in the Marianas. Therefore, their knowledge of basic words in the Chamorro language must have come from others who has served in the Marianas, then visiting or been transferred to Manila before 1707.

called *palawan* [i.e. taro], which they said are also known generally in their islands and that grow abundantly in the vicinity of said town of Guivan. As for the fish, they did not want to eat it baked but roasted, even though they easily became accustomed later to eat (and fondly) boiled rice as well as beef and pork. They said that either type of animals did not exist in their country, that there was no other type of cattle either, and that there were only some large birds [bats?] that they eat at their feasts; there was not even any wine.

They appeared before the Fathers, your informants, and they sang in their fashion accompanying their tune with wriggling motions of the arms and hands, with a uniform measure that one and all followed together, but seated, without using their feet. Finally, in their wild fashion, they admired much the manner of singing, dancing, the harps, the musical instruments used here, and the civilization of the natives, the church ceremonies, and also the white skin of the Europeans. When the Fathers would give them their hand to kiss, they would pass it all over their face like someone who anoint himself with some balm. When they [first] came into the presence of the Fathers, your informants, they all prostrated themselves to the ground as if fearful of what was to happen to them and they only recovered from their fright when they saw the friendly reception given by the Father [Tuccio], then Provincial, to the children.

They [had] brought along some adzes made from a type of very large shell that is called *taclobo* here [i.e. *Tridacna*] sharpened [by rubbing it] against some stones, and another small hatchet of iron, of the width of a thumbnail.¹ When they saw the carpentry tools [used] in the construction of a somewhat longer boat, similar to a long boat, they did not tire to look at them. When they were each given a piece of iron by the Minister of said Town, they inspected it as if they had been given as much gold, because when they slept they placed it under their head, fearing that someone might steal it. They did not have any knives or other sorts of offensive instruments.

They are, it seems, very peaceful, but not dull, rather lively and happy by nature. They said that they do not have canes in their country, not even the type called *bejuco* here [i.e. reed] that is commonly used by the natives to tie what they need to tie, and the only fasteners they had brought were some ropes made of the fibres of the shell of the above-mentioned coconut tree. They are not as corpulent as the natives of the Mariana Islands, but with a good disposition, like the natives of these Islands. They wore their hair loose, the women as well as the men. Soon after their arrival, they painted themselves a very bright yellow.² The chief had much of his body covered with tattoos consisting of various lines made of black dots. The other men also, but not so extensively; the women and the children had none. One of them said that he had previously been lost and had made a landfall at one of the provinces of these Islands called Caraga, and he had returned to his country from there.³ They used to amuse themselves

1 Ed. note: This is perhaps an indication of trade with the Marianas, but more likely evidence of the iron obtained on previous drift voyages to the Philippines (see below).

2 Ed. note: This was no doubt *taik*, or curcuma.

3 Ed. note: Caraga is the northeast coast of Mindanao.

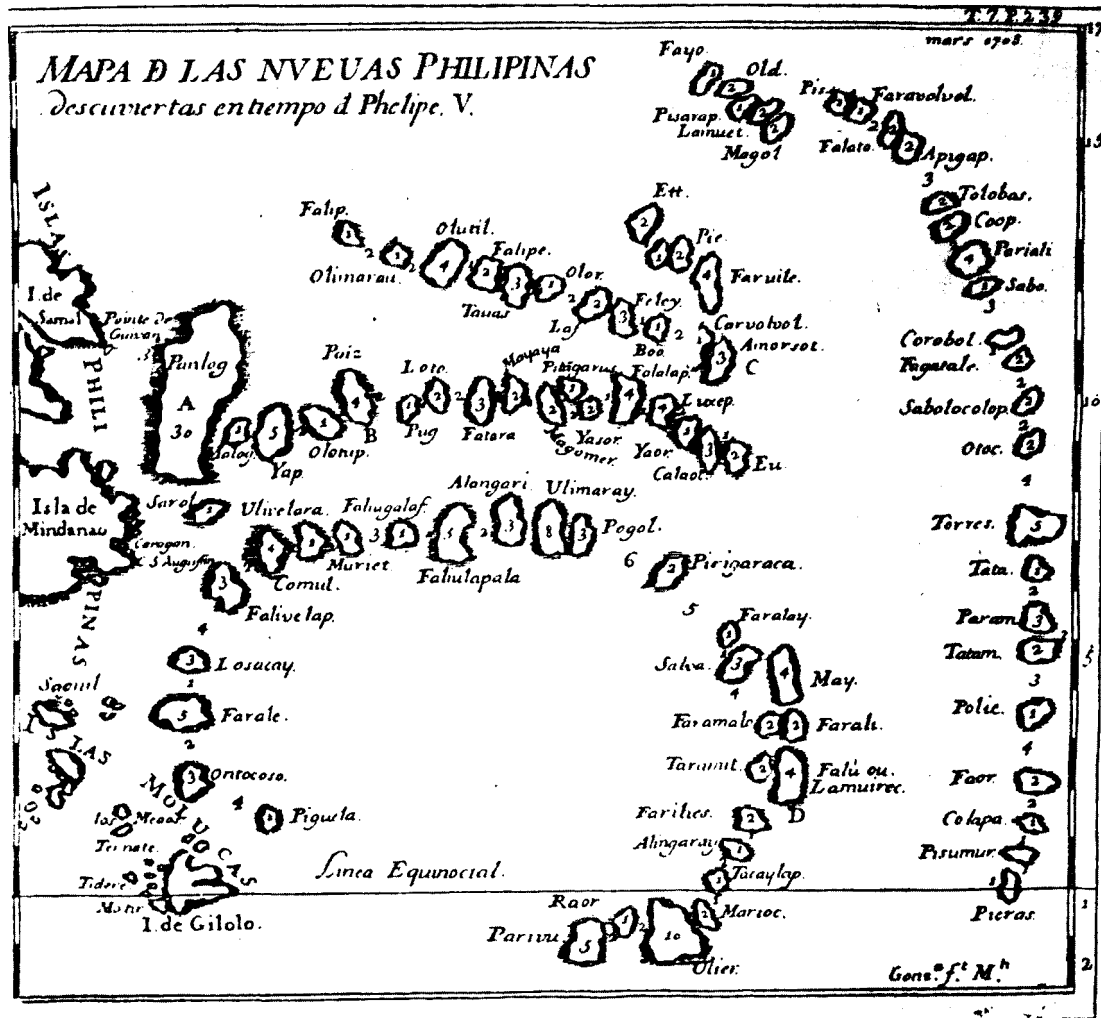
by fishing in the sea, with a rare ability for diving and swimming, even underwater. It is said that, one day, one of those who stayed in said town of Guivan had picked up two shells and in them [there were] two large pearls, but he had thrown them back into the sea, not knowing their value.

They lived for some time in said Town of Guivan, attended to and helped by the leading citizens. They were given clothes made in these Islands. **They remained there for some months, [but one day] they left secretly to return to their islands.** According to what was learned from a piece of pole that was found on the beach at the same town, they were lost at sea in a storm and all perished except for a few who died in these Islands. At present [i.e. 1708], there remains only one girl who was raised in the town by one of the leading citizens.—

Later on [i.e. in 1698] our Society undertook at its own expense (despite its poverty, assisted by a private gift of 500 pesos given for this venture by your predecessor as governor of these Islands, Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora) to go after the discovery and conversion of those islands. To this effect, they bought a small ship, of the type they call frigates or pataches here. One priest was selected for this purpose, and one coadjutor brother to look after material things, given the impossibility in which this Province of the Society found itself of sending any more subjects. However, the common enemy, by just permission from God, obstructed this voyage and enterprise with a very savage and extraordinary storm, throwing the ship into [the path] of some typhoons, with the death of all those on board, and the escape of only four persons who had remained accidentally ashore. For lack of subjects and due to its poverty, the Society was unable to undertake this [voyage of] discovery a second time.—

With regards to the number of said Islands, the informants cannot give exact information because at first one or many of said natives had told them that there were 32 islands (probably not being aware of the others). Later on, when the informants had left said town of Guivan, it appears that said drifters had given more information about the number of islands, according to a letter received from the Minister of said town, Father Francisco Prado, of the same Society of Jesus, written to one of the informants [Fr. Clain] at the time said drifters were still in said town. When said drifters were asked about the said number of their islands and their location, they made up a kind of chart or drawing of them with some pebbles on the beach at said town. Said Father, minister of said town, then had it re-drawn on paper in the same pattern that said natives of said islands had done with pebbles. A copy of it, similar in all respects (except that the scale has been reduced so as not to make this report too thick) is enclosed.¹

1 Ed. note: This map of the New Philippines bore a title in Spanish, of course (see Doc. 1697F).



Map of the New Philippines, as reproduced by Fr. Diego Davin. He copied it from Fr. Le Gobien's "Lettres édifiantes," whose documents he re-translated into Spanish in his "Cartas edificantes," published in Madrid, 1753-57. Both the original chart in Fr. Serrano's book, and its copy here, were engraved by Gonzalez in March 1705. (Reproduced from Francisco Vindel's Mapas de América, page 104).

If said map is accurate, there must be 87 islands in all. Said natives stated: firstly, that those who had drawn said map had visited all those islands; secondly, that there were many more islands, but they had not mentioned them because they had not been there; thirdly, they said that the island designated by the letter A [i.e. Panlog, or Palau] had a circumference requiring 30 days to circumnavigate with a favorable wind, taking

into account their very light craft;¹ fourthly, the island indicated by the letter B [i.e. Fais] is the one they said was their own; fifthly, the island that they departed from when they got lost, while trying to return home, is marked with the letter C, and is called by them **Amorsot** [i.e. Lamursek, or Lamotrek]; sixthly, that the island marked with the letter D, that they call **Falu**, is where the king or paramount chief of them all resides;² seventhly, that the numbers that appear on this chart between one island and another are the number of days they said it takes to cross from one island to the other, while the numbers shown in the center of each island are the days spent in circumnavigating them.

This is the notice that the informants are able to provide Your Highness regarding said Islands, obtained partly from their very own natives through the residents of said Town who dealt with them, and partly from what the informants themselves saw in them. And, as far as the truth of said report, they cannot certify it more than is possible with any hearsay evidence obtained from said natives whose truthfulness is exhausted(?) by what the informants refer to herewith, so that Your Highness, after review of it, may forward same to the King our Lord and to his royal Council who may then judge its validity for themselves.

May our Lord keep the royal Catholic person of Your Highness as these Islands need.

Manila, 21 January 1708.

Paul Clain, Provincial.

Antonino Tuccio.³

B7. Meeting of pilots, at Cavite, on 9 February 1708

Original text in Spanish.

En el puerto de Cavite en nueve días del mes de Febrero de Mill setecientos y ocho años su Señoría el Señor Maestro de Campo Don Domingo de Zabalburu y Echeverri Cavallero del Orden de Santiago del Consejo de su Magestad su Governador y Capitan General de estas yslas Philipinas y Presidente de la Audiencia y Chancilleria Real que ellas Reside: Convoco à Junta de Pilotos de la Carrera de ellas à que asistieron el General Don Miguel de Elorriaga, Almirante Don Antonio Fernandez de Roxas, y los Capitanes Carlos Joseph, Juan Rodriguez Ballique, Manuel Martinez Lobo, Juan Luis de Acosta, Pedro Lanquin, y Henrique Hernan;

Y estando assi Juntos y congregados, su Señoría de dicho Señor Presidente Governador y Capitan General me mandó à mi el presente escrivano leyese en dicha Junta la

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- 1 Ed. note: This was a misinterpretation. It is more likely that the natives said that it took them 30 days to get there, from Samar Island.
 - 2 Ed. note: This letter D corresponds also to Lamotrek (see chart, and Doc. 1697G).
 - 3 Ed. note: The following month, the Jesuits also reminded the Governor of the contents of the Royal decree of 19 October 1705 (Doc. 1705L4). It too was put on the record. The Governor also called a meeting of pilots to decide the best time of departure for such an expedition.

Real Cedula de su Magestad su fecha en Madrid à los dies y nueve de Octubre del año pasado de Mill setecientos y cinco presentada por el muy Reverendo Padre Pablo Clayn Provincial de la sagrada Compañia de Jesus de estas dichas yslas en orden à que su Señoria de dicho Señor Presidente Governador y Capitan General asista en la forma que expresa dicha Real Cedula à los Religiosos de dicha sagrada Compañia de Jesus que an de yr à la reduccion de las Nuevas yslas de Pays, ó Palaos y lo demas: Que oido y entendido por dichos Pilotos lo expresado en dicha Real Cedula y Decreto de su obediencia proveydo por su Señoria à los seis del corriente que à si mismo se me fue mandado leer en dicha Junta en la cual:

Haviendose conferido largamente sobre lo contenido en dichos Despachos fueron de Parecer y Voto que la derrota mas fixa para este descubrimiento es, desde el estrecho de San Juanico de estas dichas yslas y el tiempo para dicho descubrimiento y poder volver con seguridad para fin de Junio antes que entren los Vendabales, es desembocando por dicho estrecho por principios del mes de Abril en una de las mejores Galeotas con que se halla su Magestad en este Puerto.

Y que por lo que mira à la derrota que expresa la Real Cedula sobre las diligencias que manda haga el Patache de Marianas de buelta à estas dichas yslas, no combiene arriesgarlo entre tantas yslas y baxos como ay en aquel distrito saliendo del camino regular por el valor de su casco y resguardo de la gente, hasta ver lo que resulta de la diligencia de esta otra embarcacion que es lo que se considera por mas seguro para dicho descubrimiento.

Y visto por su Señoria dicho Señor Presidente Governador y Capitan General se conformó con dicho parecer y en su consecuencia: Dixo que devia mandar y mando se apreste dicha Galeota con todo lo necesario, segun y como expresa dicha Real Cedula para que salga yndefectiblemente de este dicho Puerto por principios del mes de Marzo que viene, para que pueda desembocar por dicho estrecho de San Juanico por el tiempo que se refiere, y que para ello, se den todas las ordenes necesarias por este Govierno, y que los Juezes oficiales Reales tomen razon de todos estos recaudos para que por su Tribunal se contribuya con las providencias que debieren segun esta resolucion y la que su Magestad manda y en conformidad de lo mandado por el Decreto de seis del corriente se haga saver al Muy Reverendo Padre Provincial de la Compañia de Jesus para que señale los Misioneros que huvieren de yr à esta Jornada. Firmolo su Señoria dicho Señor Presidente Governador y Capitan General con dichos Pilotos de que doy fee.

Domingo de Zabalburu

Miguel de Elorriaga

Carlos Joseph

Antonio Fernandez de Roxas

Juan Luis de Acosta

Juan Rodriguez Ballique

Pedro Lanquin

Manuel Martinez Lobo

*Enrique Hernan
Ante mi, Joseph de Arevalo.*

Translation.

At the port of Cavite on 9 February 1708, His Lordship Master-of-camp Don Domingo de Zabalburu y Echeverri, Knight of the Order of St. James, of His Majesty's Council and his Governor and Captain General of these Philippine Islands and President of the Audiencia and Royal Chancellery residing there: Convened the Pilots of the Philippine run to a Meeting, which was attended by General Don Miguel de Elorriaga, Admiral Don Antonio Fernandez de Roxas, and Captains Carlos José, Juan Rodriguez Ballique, Manuel Martinez Lobo, Juan Luis de Acosta, Pedro Lanquin, and Henrique Hernan.

While they were thus gathered together, His Lordship, said President Governor and Captain General ordered me, the present notary, to read in said Meeting the Royal decree of His Majesty dated Madrid 19 October of the past year 1705 that was presented by the most Reverend Father Pablo Clain, Provincial of the sacred Society of Jesus in these Islands, so that His Lordship, said President Governor and Capain General, may assist in the manner expressed in said Royal decree the Religious of said sacred Society of Jesus who must go to the reduction of the new Islands of Fais, or Palaos, and the rest. After said Pilots heard and understood what is expressed in said Royal decree and the decree provided by His Lordship in compliance thereof, dated 6th extant, which I was also ordered to read in said Meeting, there resulted:

Having discussed at some length regarding the contents of said despatches, they were of the Opinion and Vote that the surest course for this exploration is: to have one of the best galliots that His Majesty owns in this Port go out through the Strait of San Juanico of these Islands and the best timing, in order to be able to safely return before the onset of the monsoon at the end of June, was to have it leave the strait in question at the beginning of the month of April.

And, as far as the other idea expressed in the Royal decree, to the effect that efforts be made to order the Mariana patache to divert [southward] on its return voyage to these Islands, it is not proper to risk it among so many islands and shoals, as exist in that neighborhood, by leaving the regular route, on account of the value of its hull, and the security of the men, not until the result of said other vessel be known, as it is considered the most fitting and safest means for said exploration.

So, His Lordship, said President Governor and Captain General, agreed with said Opinion and consequently Declared: that he had to order, and he did order, that said Galliot be made ready with everything necessary, precisely in accordance with said Royal decree, in order to leave this Port without fail at the beginning of the next month of March, so that it may exit through the Strait of San Juanico at the stated time. To this effect, all the necessary orders are to be given by this Government, and the Royal official Judges are to take note of all these decisions and have their Tribunal collaborate with the necessary provisions in accordance with this resolution and His Majesty's

order; furthermore, in accordance with the Decree of the 6th extant, the Most Reverend Father Provincial of the Society of Jesus is to be informed, so that he may assign missionaries to go on this voyage. His Lordship, said President Governor and Captain General, affixed his signature, along with said Pilots, of which I testify.

Domingo de Zabalburu
 Miguel de Elorriaga
 Antonio Fernandez de Roxas
 Juan Luis de Acosta
 Juan Rodriguez Ballique
 Pedro Lanquin
 Manuel Martinez Lobo
 Enrique Hernan
 Before me, José de Arevalo.

B8. Instruction issued to the Captain of the Galliot Nuestra Señora del Rosario

Original text in Spanish.

*En atencion à la confianza que se tiene del Capitan Don Pedro Gonzalez de Pareja, teniente actual de Castellano del Castillo de este Puerto por sus servicios y esperiencias Su Señoria le nombra por Cavo de mar y guerra de la Galeota nombrada **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** que se està aprestando para el descubrimiento que manda su Magstad se haga de las yslas Palaos; Densele los despachos en la forma ordinaria, con Instruccion à parte de lo que deve executar en dicho Viage quedando testimonio de ellas y de su Recivo à continuacion de estos Recaudos.*

*Cavite y Febrero onze de mill setecientos y ochos.
 Rubricado de Su Señoria.—Arebalo.*

Instruccion que à de guardar el Cavo de la Galeota Nuestra Señora del Rosario que se esta aprestando para yr al descubrimiento de las yslas Palaos; Dada por el Maestro de Campo Don Domingo de Zabalburu Governador y Capitan General de estas yslas Philipinas.

1. Al hazerse cargo dicho Cavo de dicha embarcacion passe muestra de toda la gente de mar y guerra, que lleva, y antes de salir à la mar haga que se confiese y que en todo el discurso del Viage se ob[v]ien juramentos y ofenzas à Dios nuestro Señor.

2. Llevando en buena guardia y disciplina dicha embarcacion con toda su gente hagase à la vela en todo este mes y procure encaminar su derrota sin perder ora de tiempo à desembocar por el estrecho de San Juanico à mas tardar para fines de Marzo y encaminar el rumbo al descubrimiento de dichas yslas Palaos que consta[n] del Mapa que se la entiega, haziendo observacion de dichos rumbos y derrota y demarcacion y mapa de todas las yslas que descubriera[.] del genero de gente que tienen y de los Puer-

tos mas seguros que reconosiere para surgidero de embarcaciones y comunicacion con estas yslas como tambien de los fructos que llevan; y en atencion à que conviene llevar ynterpretes de la lengua de dichos naturales ya que se à tenido noticia que los ay en la Provincia de Caraga y dado orden à su Alcalde mayor por este Gobierno para que los remita yndefectiblemente al Pueblo de Palo ymediato à dicho estrecho para veinte y cinco de Marzo pasara à recibirlos.

3. A de procurar yr con toda advertencia y cautela reconociendo los baxos y puertos con la chalupa y que se lleguen siempre à tierra y con el cuydado y mesma advertencia de no ser ymbadidos ni en tierra, ni su embarcacion precautelando qualquiera traycion ó asechanza con andar siempre Juntos y en buena orden los que se desembarcaren en tierra para librase {los que se desembarcaren en tierra.)

4. Hallando ocazion congrua y competente de quedarse en aquella Mision los Padres Misioneros sea haziendo eleccion de buena ysla numerosa de gente que tenga buenas tierras y buen puerto y aguas dulces.

5. Y en caso de resolver dicha quedada dichos Padres y tenerse por combeniente que en su compañía queden algunos soldados para su defensa y escolta se determinara en Junta de todos los oficiales de dicha embarcacion y [si] presediere la mayor parte de votos de ellos y en que an de entrar à dicha Junta los dichos Padres Misioneros arreglandose en quanto fuere posible al Voto y parecer de su superior y procurando tomar sitio competente y eminente donde pueda formarse alguna palisada ó terraplen en que se puedan plantar las piasas de artilleria[,] pedreros y demas armas y municiones que lleva dicha embarcacion haziendo eleccion para Cavo de dichos soldados de la persona que paresiere mas conveniente mientras que con la noticia que se me tragere se dan por este Gobierno otras mas eficases providencias para el mayor adelantamiento de aquella Mision.

6. A de procurar retirarse por todo el mes de Junio y traer bien dispuesta Relacion de todo lo que acontesiere en dicho Viaje para que en caso de alcanzar el despacho del Galeon de este año se le pueda dar quenta de ello à su Magestad y tambien à de procurar obrar en todo lo demas que ocurriere segun sus experiencias lo premeten y los casos presentes lo pidieren.

Cavite y Febrero veinte de Mill setecientos y ocho años.

Domingo de Zabalburu

Por mandado de su Señoria, Joseph de Arebalo.

Translation.

In view of the trust placed in Captain Don Pedro Gonzalez de Pareja, presently Lieutenant-Warden of the Castle of this Port, on account of his services and experiences, His Lordship appoints him as Commander of seamen and soldiers of the Galliot named **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** that is being made ready for the voyage of discovery that His Majesty has ordered be made to the Palaos Islands. He is to be given the usual despatches, including a separate Instruction telling him what he is to accom-

plish in said voyage, a copy of which document, and acknowledgment thereof, are to be recorded at the end of the present enclosures.

Cavite, 11 Februaru 1708.

Originally signed by His Lordship.—Arevalo.

Instruction to be observed by the Commander of the Galliot Nuestra Señora del Rosario that is being made ready to go to the exploration of the Palaos Islands; given by Master-of-camp Don Domingo de Zabalburu, Governor and Captain General of these Philippine Islands.

1. Upon taking charge of said vessel said Commander is to pass muster of all the seamen and soldiers that it carries, and before departure he is to make sure that they go to confession and during the whole voyage they are to avoid swearing and other offences to God our Lord.

2. With said vessel kept in good order and all its men in good discipline, he is to make sail and endeavor to pursue his course during the whole of the next month, without the loss of one hour of time, in order to exit from the Strait of San Juanico at the latest at the end of March and pursue his course toward the discovery of said Palaos Islands that appear on the Map that he is provided with. He is to record said courses and route, and make a chart of and notes about all the islands that he might discover, the people he meets and the safest ports he might find suitable as anchorages for vessels, and commerce with these Islands, as well as the products they have. And, in view of the fact that it would be proper to have on hand some interpreters of the language of said natives, since news has been received of the existence of some of them in the Province of Caraga, an order has been given by this government to the Senior Mayor thereof, for him to send them without fail to the Town of Palo [sic]¹ that lies on said Strait before the 25th of March, he is to stop there to pick them up.

3. He is to apply all care and precaution when surveying shoals and ports with the launch, and the same care and warning apply whenever anyone goes ashore, being aware of possible attacks against either the boat, or the men who might step ashore; they are to stay and walk together, to avoid any treachery or trap.

4. If a suitable occasion be found for the establishment of that Mission, the missionary Fathers are to select a good island with a large population, good lands, a good port, and potable water.

5. Should said Fathers decide to stay there, and think it convenient to keep in their company a few soldiers for their defence and escort service, the details are to be resolved in a Council of all the officers of said vessel, based on a majority of the votes; said missionary Fathers are to be included in this Council [but] should reach a consensus with their Superior as much as possible. The idea is to select a suitable site, possibly on a rise, where some stockade or earthwork is to be built to install the artillery pieces, the mortars and other weapons and munitions that said vessel carries. The commander of

1 Ed. note: This town is located 10 km south of Tacloban.

said soldiers is to be selected from among the most suitable persons. After due notices are brought back to this Government, more appropriate provisions will be given to foster the progress of that Mission.

6. He has the whole of the month of June to make the return voyage and bring back a full written report of everything that occurred during said voyage, to enable a prompt report about it to His Majesty, in case he returns before the despatch of this year's galleon. Also he is to endeavor to do his best in every circumstance, in line with the hope we have of him, based on his experience, and the relative importance of the present mission assigned to him.

Cavite, 20 February 1708.

Domingo de Zabalburu.

By order of His Lordship, José de Arevalo.

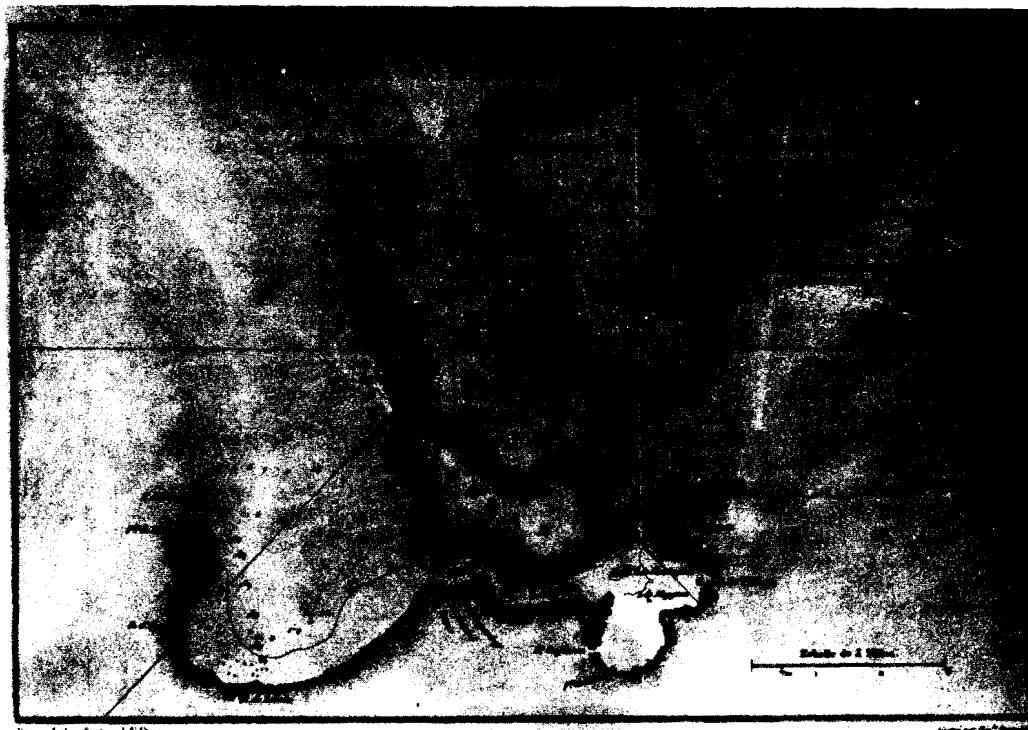


Chart of the port of Palapag and vicinity. *Located in the northeastern part of Samar Island, this port was often the refuge of ships coming in from the east. (From Jean B. Mallat's atlas of the Philippines, 1846).*

Document 1708C

Letter from Fr. Clain to the Governor of the Philippines, dated Catbalogan 17 November 1708

Sources: AGI Fil. 215 (formerly 68-5-29); copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 4; published in part by Krämer, editor of the report of the Hamburg South Sea Expedition of 1908-10, under Palau, II.B.3.1.

Notes: Catbalogan is a village on the west coast of Samar, the capital of a district. Although Moac & Co. drifted from Fais Island, they were originally from Lamotrek and Olimarao (see also the accounts of the 1709 and 1710 voyages).

Carolinian drifters of 1708

Original text in Spanish.

Muy Ilustre Señor[,] Señor Maestre de Campo Don Domingo de Zabalburu y Echevarri Governador y Capitan General de estas yslas y Presidente de la Real Audiencia y Chancilleria que en ellas reside.

Muy Ilustre Señor

Aviendo llegado à esta cavesera de Catbalogan el dia veinte y cinco de Octubre (à Dios gracias) con felicidad aunque algo maltratado de salud por el penoso Viaje la qual con el favor del Señor ya se emenda y queda muy à los ordenes de V. Señoria fue uno de mis primeros cuydados el dar cumplimiento al horden de V. Señoria de que se remitiesen à su presencia los Palaos desgaritados el año presente de mill setecientos y ocho que aportaron à la Cavezera Palapag y por falta de embarcacion que saliese de aqui para la Ziudad de Manila desde mi llegada à este Pueblo no se pudo executar hasta aora que esta para salir esta fragata del Rey nuestro Señor que lleva el Abaca de la Real Vandalá. Y mucho mas crecieron mis deseos de poner por obra lo que V. Señoria mandava, despues que por Carta del Padre Pedro de Silva su fecha en treinta de Octubre de este año en el Pueblo de Cavite el Viejo supe que à veinte y seis del mismo mes avia llegado à Manila de buelta del Japon el Barco con que fue alla el Señor Abad Don Juan Bautista Sidoti, y el no haverse executado antes el orden de V. Señoria dado al Alcalde maior de esta Jurisdiccion (como V^a Señoria fue servido decirme) fue lo uno por-

que dicho Alcalde maior hasta aora no recibio la dicha Carta Orden de V. Señoria que deve de averse perdido, y lo otro por venir estos pobres desgarrados tan medrosos (por su natural pusilanimitad) temiendo que se les quitaria la vida y serian degollados que fue menester todo el cariño de los PP. de esta Residencia y del Señor Alcalde maior Don Francisco Zabalburu y de los Vezinos españoles y naturales de esta poblacion para sosegarlos y quitarles ese miedo, por cuya causa no se atrevieron los PP. à embiarlos à Manila **temiendo que subsediese alguna desgracia de que alguno de ellos se ahorcase para lo qual, se dice son algo faciles los Palaos.** Aora ya parecen algo recobrados de sus miedos y no dudo que con los cariños de V. Señoria (de cuya Superioridad y alta Representazion y autoridad ya se les dió noticia aunque no pueden hazer concepto cabal de ella por no aver visto cosa semejante en sus Islas) y con la afabilidad de mi Señora Doña Francisca se les quitara **In totum** sus vanos temores y para maior seguridad embio con ellos al Padre Pedro de Estrada, ya perito en esta lengua Bisaya que es muy diferente de todas las de estas Islas sin que hasta aora aya podido yo encontrar una sola palabra que fuese Bisaya, ó Tagala. Y aunque parece que quedamos totalmente desanimados de hallar ynterprete en estas yslas como vera V. Señoria por la **Carta adjunta que sobre ello me escribe el Padre Prior de Landag cavezera de la Provincia de Caraga** en respuesta de una que le escrivi el año pasado quando estava para salir el Barco, parece que nuestro Señor dispuso que se desgarrasen aca estos para que poco à poco aprendiesen la lengua Bisaya y pudiessen servir en alguna manera de Interpretes particularmente el muchacho grandecillo llamado **Olit** que se esta criando aca en casa, y con los muchachos Visayuelos ba aprendiendo su lengua y por medio de este y del principal mismo se supieron las cosas siguientes:

[Report of white men drifting to Ulithi, circa 1704]

Que a una de sus yslas llamada Ulutup aora quatro años aportaron siete hombres blancos que segun los pinta parecen son españoles (pues lo[s] pintava vestidos de calzon estrecho y medias) que dice el principal que llegaron alla medio muertos por falta de agua, y los naturales los acogieron y con comida los volvieron sobre si y los resivieron con piedad y caridad, de manera que se quedaron en aquella Isla y los cinco de ellos se casaron en ella con hijas de la tierra, y los dos se quedaron solteros. De los siete dize que los tres trayan espada, y que el vestido que trayan eran unos Justacores aviertos por delante, como uno que se le mostro aqui. Quizas quiso Dios embiar por delante estos siete Españoles para que aprendiesen la lengua y despues sirbiesen de Interpretes[.]

[Map of the Carolines, 1708 version]

Las yslas de que dio razon (con unos caracolillos puestos en el suelo) son las que vera V. Señoria expresadas en este **Mapa** juntamente con sus nombres segun se le pudieron entender, porque tienen una pronunciacion obscura, que con dificultad se persiven las letras[.] particularmente la letra N que la pronuncian en un modo medio entre la N y la L que no se persive bien si es la una ó la otra y assi la Isla maior aunque las mas veces parecia que la llamavan **Pangol**, otras veces parecia que la llamavan **Pagol**, porque la

*N la pronunciavan tan obscura, que ó nada ó casi nada se perseveria[.] la Ysla que esta al norte de este Mapa llamada **Carau** dice que es de Caribes, de gente fiera y comedora de carne humana, y de hombres agigantados y que aqui otras muchas yslas mas al norte della. No assi las yslas que estan al sur de la de Pagul [sic], que dize ser de gente buena y pasifica[.]*

*El modo como se desgarró el y los suyos[.] Dice que fue habiendo ydo desde su ysla de **Fais** à la de **Ulutu** à sus tratillos, y queriendo volver à Fais un viento sueste muy fuerte (segun el rumbo que mostrava) los desgarró de manera que perdieron de vista todas sus Islas, y con lo que forsearon para volverlas à coger tardaron treinta días en llegar à la ysleta que esta ynfrente de la bocana del Rio de Palapag, llamado Minay.*

Las embarcaciones que se desgarraron juntas[.] dize que eran cuatro. La suya en quien venian Doze personas, los Diez varones y las dos mujeres, la una la mujer del mismo prinzipal blanca y de vastante gesto como la vera V. Señoria, y la otra esclava, casada con un esclavo del Principal el qual murió aqui en Catbalogan despues de mi llegada de repente en una noche sin saver nadie como fue, y solo se conocio quando amanecía muerto; y por consiguiente no se le pudo administrar el Sacramento del Bautismo. De los demas nueve varones uno murió en el viage, segun dizen de sed porque aunque traian cocos no todos traian agua por ser algunos viejos que no la tienen y consumidos los que la tenian solo les quedava los maduros, que no la tienen. De los ocho pues que quedavan, los quatro se huyeron de Palapag pues con el titulo de salir para yr à pescar se tiraron de buelta à sus yslas sin averse mas sabido de ellos, y asi quedavan solos Siete, de los onze que aportaron à Palapag à los cuales se añadió un niño que aqui en Catbalogan pario la principal y se llama Francisco Xavier. De suerte que los que ban à la presencia de V. Señoria por todo son siete[.] el principal con su muger y un sobrino suyo hombre hecho, y tres hijos del principal de diferentes hedades, y una muger esclava del principal[.] viuda del que aqui murió de repente que dizen era muy celoso y andava muchas vezes à pleitos con su muger y aun tal vez la aporreava por selos.

*En las otras tres embarcaciones que juntamente con las suyas fueron desgarradas dise que en la primera venian seis personas varones todos, y en la segunda cinco varones, y dos mugeres y un muchacho, y en la tercera tres varones y que todos murieron de hambre y sed, que el veia como à ynos los echavan à la mar. Dize mas que seis personas naturales de la ysla de **Eap** [=Yap] que se desgarraron los años pasados à estas Islas Philipinas, volbieron à la dicha su Isla de Eap y que en el viage de buelta de acá à la dicha Isla tardaron diez días, y que allà contaron que havian estado acá cinco meses y que avian aqui muchas Islas y mucha comida, mucho Arroz, Cocos, y Gabi y que vieron aqui Padres, y que quando llegaron acá los de acá les miraron las manos; y digeron que era buena gente.*

*Dixo mas que en sus Islas ni avian Perros, ni Bacas, ni Arroz, y que **las dos llamadas Palug y Cuyugan, eran de Montes y tierra alta**; pero las otras cercanas à esta de tierra baxa y sin rios y que el agua que veian era agua de Posos.*

[Testimony of the Carolinian boy named Olit]

Y su hijo ya grandesillo llamado Olit que esta aqui en casa con el Padre Rector y por eso mas adelantado en entender y hablar la lengua Bissaya, Dixo: que ni avia venados ni Gallinas, ni animales terrestres algunos. No supo dar razon este principal si avia otras mas yslas aunque Dixo que al Norte donde esta la Isla de los Caribes, avian muchas Islas. Puede ser que el y su gente no hayan llegado à saver de las demas. Y preguntado si avia algun principal grande superior à todos los principales solo Dixo que conforme era el numero de la gente que tenia cada principal debaxo de si, era la grandeza de cada principal, y que su Isla de Pais avia Diez principales y entre ellos los tres eran los mayores y el era uno de ellos y preguntado quanta gente tenia debaxo de si[,] Dixo que veinte. Preguntado si avia Armas en sus Islas, dijo que ningunas, y que los pleitos que se ofrecian amigablemente se componian y que aunque los de las Islas de los Caribes mataban gente, eran con palos aporreandolas las cavezas y no con armas de hierro.

Tampoco tenian instrumentos de hierro ni cuchillos sino solo unas asuelas de un genero de concha que aqui se le llaman Taclobos y son aquellas conchas grandes que en algunas Iglesias se suelen poner por piletas de agua bendita.

El principal y su muger parecen de buenas atenciones pues se portan delante de los Padres y españoles con reverencia y buenos terminos, y cuando les parece al principal que sus hijos no se portan delante de los Padres con bastante modestia luego les riñen en su lengua.

Esto es Señor lo que puedo informar à V. Señoria en lo tocante à estos Palaos de cuya combersion y descubrimiento de sus yslas me consta el zelo grande de V. Señoria y asi me parece ser escusado el suplicarselo à V. Señoria quando veo à V. Señoria no solo ynclinado sino ansioso de la execucion de esta tan cristiana impresa. Que no dudo se logrará de esta vez con la Alta providencia de V. Señoria cuya vida guarde Nuestro Señor muchos y felices años como deseo y se lo suplico.

Catbalogan y Nobiembre dies y siete de mill setecientos y ocho.

Muy Illustre Señor

Besa la mano de V. Señoria, su menor sierbo y Capellan,

Pablo Clain Provincial.

Translation.

Most Illustrious Sir, the Master-of-camp Don Domingo de Zabalburu y Echevarri, Governor and Captain General of these Islands and President of the Royal Audiencia and Chancellery established in them.

Most Illustrious Sir:

I made it safely to this district capital of Catbalogan on the 25th of October (thank God), although my health was somewhat affected by the arduous trip, but with the help of God it is now improving and one of my first care was to comply with the orders of Your Lordship regarding the forwarding [to Manila] of the Palaos who, this year 1708, drifted in at the district capital of Palapag; for lack of boats leaving from here for the

City of Manila, since my arrival at this town I have been unable to carry them out until now when this frigate belonging to the King our Lord is leaving with the *abacá* [i.e. sisal, or hemp] to pay royal taxes. My desire to obey Your Lordship increased even more when I received a letter from Father Pedro de Silva, dated 30 October last and sent from the town of Cavite the Old. That is how I learned that on the 26th of last month the ship that had taken Abbot Juan Bautista Sidoti to Japan had returned to Manila.¹ One reason why the order Your Lordship gave to the mayor of this jurisdiction (of which Your Lordship was pleased to advise me) was because he did not receive the letter containing said Order from Your Lordship, which must have been lost. Another reason is the fact that these poor drifters are so fearful (they are pusillanimous by nature); they fear that their life will be taken and they might have their throat cut, so much so that it took all the kindness of the Fathers of this Residency, of the Lord Mayor, Don Francisco Zabalburu, and of the Spanish and native residents of this settlement to calm them down and remove that fear of theirs. That is why the Fathers did not dare send them to Manila **for fear that some mishap might happen and some of them might hang themselves; it is said that Palaos are prone to do that.** Now that they appear to have somewhat gotten over their fears, I do not doubt that the kindness of Your Lordship (about whose superiority and high status they have already been told, although they cannot comprehend it, on account of their not having anything similar in their Islands) and the affability of my Lady Doña Francisca will completely remove their vain fears. For greater security, I am sending Father Pedro de Estrada with them. He is already proficient in the Visayan [sic] language which is very different from all those of these Islands, although I have been unable so far to detect one single word that might be Visayan, or Tagalog.² And although we remain discouraged of being able to find an interpreter in these Islands, as Your Lordship will see by **the attached letter received by me about this matter from the Father Prior of Tandag, capital of the Province of Caraga**³ in answer to one of mine that I wrote him last year when the ship was about to leave, it seems as if Our Lord arranged that these drifters landed here, so that little by little they might learn the Visayan language and might serve in some way as Interpreters, specially the big boy named **Olit** who is being raised in our house here, and is learning the local language from Visayan boys. From him and from his chief, the following things were learned:

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- 1 Ed. note: It had been previously decided to use the patache Santissima Trinidad and her captain, Elorriaga, for a voyage of exploration to the Carolines in 1709.
 - 2 Ed. note: It is clear, despite the error, that Fr. Estrada knew Visayan and was learning some Carolinian.
 - 3 Ed. note: Tandag is on the NE coast of Mindanao, at 9° lat. N.

[Report of white men drifting to Ulithi, circa 1704]

That it was at one of the Islands called Ulutup [i.e. Ulithi] four years ago that seven white men landed. According to his description they may have been Spanish (because he described them as being dressed with narrow breeches and stockings). They welcomed them with mercy and charity, so that they remained at that Island and five of them married local women, and two remained single. Out of the seven, he says that three of them carried a sword, and that the clothes they wore were some tight-fitting tunics open in front like one that was shown to him here.¹ Maybe God wanted to send ahead those seven Spaniards in order for them to learn the language and later could serve as interpreters.²

[Map of the Carolines, 1708 version]

The islands that he accounted for (by placing small shells upon the ground) are those that Your Lordship will see indicated on this **map** along with their names according to what could be understood because their pronunciation is unclear; for instance, letters cannot be easily perceived, specially the letter N that is pronounced by them halfway between N and L; it is not clear which is which. Thus, the larger island, even though most of the time it sounded like **Pangol**, some other times it sounded like **Pagol**, because they do not pronounce the N clearly, so that it is not heard or hardly heard.

The island shown on the north side of this map, called **Carau**,³ he says that it is an island of cannibals, wild people eating human flesh and of giants, and so in many more islands to the north of it. Not so the islands south of of Pagul [sic], which he says have good and peaceful people.⁴

He says that the way he and his people got lost was when they had gone from their island of **Fais** to that of **Ulutu** for some trading and on their way back to Fais, a very strong southeasterly wind (according to the direction that he was showing) made them lose their course so that they lost sight of all their islands and because they spent some time trying to gain sight of them, it took them 30 days to arrive at the islet that is in front of the mouth of the Palapag River, called Minay.—

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- 1 Ed. note: The unidentified European castaways could have been from many nations. If Spaniards, they may have been survivors from the galleon *Santo Cristo* (lost in 1693) or the galleon *San Francisco Xavier* (lost in 1705). Some English pirates could have tried to follow the path of Dampier, Funnell, etc. Finally, a French ship could have secretly preceded the successful 1708 voyage by Frondat. In fact, Captain Boisloré would later reveal that he led a 1703 expedition to China (see next volumes).
 - 2 Ed. note: However, neither Captain Padilla in 1712 nor Fr. Cantova who wrote from Ulithi in 1731, mentioned any white men, or mixed-blood children. Fr. Walter, who survived, would surely have mentioned their presence. The Ulithians probably killed those castaways, since they did not hesitate to kill Fr. Cantova in 1731.
 - 3 Ed. note: Might this be a reference to Koror? Or else, a misprint for Parau?
 - 4 Ed. note: Perhaps an indication that the islands south of Palau were, then as now, inhabited by people issued from the Central Carolines.

The canoes that got lost together were four in number. They were twelve in his canoe, ten men and two women, one being the wife of the chief, white [in complexion] and of good enough appearance as Your Lordship will see for yourself, and the other a slave, married to a slave of the chief who died here in Catbalogan after my arrival. It happened suddenly one night without anyone knowing how it happened. He was found dead in the morning and therefore it was not possible to administer the sacrament of baptism to him. Of the other nine men, one died during the voyage, of thirst they say, because even if they carried coconuts, not all of them had water [inside]; some old ones do not have any. They had eaten those with water and there remained only the ripe ones that do not have any. Of the eight remaining, four fled from Palapag under the cover of a so-called fishing trip; nothing more was heard from them. Only seven remained from those who had landed at Palapag, to whom one child was added here in Catbalogan when the wife of the chief gave birth; he is called Francisco Xavier. Those who are going to be presented to Your Lordship are therefore seven in all: the chief with his wife, a nephew of his who is a full-grown man, three sons of the chief of various ages and one woman, slave of the chief, widow of the one who died here suddenly. About the latter, they say that he was very jealous and was often fighting with his wife and even beat her once on account of jealousy.

In the other three canoes that were lost at the same time as his, there were six people in the first one, all men, and in the second one, five men, two women and a boy, and in the third one, three men who all died of hunger and thirst, and that he personally saw how they threw some of them into the sea. He says also that six natives of the Island of **Eap** [i.e. Yap], who had drifted some years ago to these Philippine Islands, returned to their island of Eap, and that in their passage from here to the said island they took ten days. There they [the Yapese] related how they had been here for five months, that there were many islands and much food, much rice, coconut and *gabi*,¹ that they met relatives here, and that when they arrived here the people here looked at their hands and said that they were good people.—

He said further that in his islands, there are not any dogs, cows, rice, and that **the two islands called Palug and Cuyugan were high islands with forests**² but the others nearby are lowlands without rivers, and what the people drink is water from wells.

1 Ed. note: A sort of yam.

2 Ed. note: An alternate translation would be: two islands with woodlands and highlands. Cuyugan, or, as Krämer transcribed it, Cayugan, is a new word for an island. Could it have been a specific reference to Babelthuap in the Palau Islands, or to a part of Yap? There is a town named Kayungur in Babelthuap (ref. Bryan's Place Names, Car. 44: D-1m). Or could it have been the Carolinian pronunciation for Chuuk?

[Testimony of the Carolinian boy Olit]

His son Olit, already fairly tall, who is living here in the house of the Father Rector and for this reason is more advanced in understanding and speaking the Visayan language said that there are not any deer nor hens, no land animals or any kind. The chief could not give an account of any other island, even though he said that toward the north where the island of the cannibals is located, there were many islands. It can be that he and his people have not come to learn about them. When asked if there was some paramount chief over all the chiefs, he only said that the power of each chief was according to the number of people under him, that in his island of Fais there were ten chiefs, three of them were head chiefs, and that he was one of the latter. When asked how many people he had under him, he said twenty. When asked if there were any weapons in his islands, he said there were none, that any dispute that did arise was amicably settled, and that in the island of the cannibals they killed people with sticks, hitting them on the head, but not with weapons made of iron.

Overthere they do not have any iron tools either, no knives, only some hatchets made of a kind of shells that are called *taclobo* [i.e. *Tridacna*] here; they are those large shells used in some churches to hold the holy water.

The chief and his wife seem to be well-mannered people. For instance, they behave with reverence and in good terms in the presence of the Fathers, and when it appeared to the chief that his children did not behave with enough modesty in front of the Fathers, he would later scold them in his language.

This is, Sir, the information that I can give Your Lordship concerning these Palaos, the islands which, I am told, Your Lordship's great zeal wants to convert and discover. Thus it seems as if I may be excused if I beg Your Lordship to please go ahead, when I see that Your Lordship is not only inclined but anxious to carry out such a Christian enterprise. I do not doubt that it will succeed this time with the high providence of Your Lordship, whose life may Our Lord save for many happy years, as I wish and beg Him.

Catbalogan, 17 November 1708.

Most Illustrious Sir,

Your minor servant and Chaplain, who kisses the hand of Your Lordship,
Pablo Clain, Provincial.

Document 1708D

Visit of two French Jesuits at Guam in 1708—Fathers Taillandier and Bonnet

Sources: Fr. Le Gobien's Lettres édifiantes, XIe recueil (Paris, 1715), pp. 92-179 (BNP #H15971); also in Anon., Lettres de quelques missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jésus, écrites de la Chine et des Indes Orientales (Paris, n.d.), pp. 133-134. Published, in German, as doc. n° 122 in Der Neue Welt-Bott.

Letter from Fr. Taillandier to Fr. Willard, dated Pondichéry 20 February 1711.

Original text in French.

Lettre du Pere Taillandier, Missionnaire de la Compagnie de Jesus, Au P. Willard de la mesme Compagnie.

A Pondichery ce 20 Février 1711.

Mon Reverend Pere,

La paix de Notre-Seigneur.

...

*Ce fut le 5 Septembre de l'année 1707, que je partis de Saint Malo avec le P. Bonnet sur le **Saint-Esprit**, Vaisseau de trente pieces de canon, & de cent quarante hommes d'équipage. Après environ un mois de navigation où il ne se passa rien d'extraordinaire, nous apperçusmes le Cap de Finistere en Galice, & le 8. d'Octobre nous mouillâmes dans la rade de Sainte-Croix de l'Isle de Teneriffe...*

...

*Le 13. [January 1708] nous apperçusmes deux Navires qui nous vinrent reconnoistre. C'estoit la **Diane** Frégate du Roy [de France] armé au Havre de Grace, de l'Escadre de M. du Casse, & la **Paix** armée au Port-Louis...*

Le 14. nostre petite Escadre fut augmentée d'un Vaisseau Espagnol qui estoit parti de Campeche pour la Vera Crus...

...

Le 19. nous rencontrasmes les deux Vaisseaux François dont la tempeste nous avoit séparé, & nous arrivâmes ensemble le mesme jour à la Vera Crus. C'est là que finit nostre premiere navigation de deux mille deux cens lieues.

...

[Le 9 février] nous arrivâmes sur le midi à la Ville de Mexico éloignée de 22. lieues de la Puebla, & de 80. de la Vera Crus.

...

La Ville de Mexico est bastie fort régulièrement. Elle est traversée de quelques canaux, lesquels se remplissent des eaux qui viennent du Lac: on en pourroit creuser dans toutes les rues. Elle est beaucoup plus grande que la Puebla. Quelques Espagnols y comptent deux cens mille ames; mais si l'on veut examiner les choses sans préjugé, on n'y en trouvera pas plus de soixante mille.

Il y a dix mille Blancs dans Mexico: le reste des Habitans est composé d'Indiens, de Noirs d'Afrique, de Mulâtres, de Mestis, & d'autres peuples qui descendent du mélange de ces diverses Nations entre elles, & avec les Européans: ce qui a formé des hommes de couleur si différente depuis le blanc jusqu'au noir, que parmi cent visages, à peine en trouve t-on deux qui soient de la mesme couleur.

Les maisons y sont belles, & les Eglises magnifiques. Il y a un grand nombre de Communautés Religieuses: on y voit rouler beaucoup plus de carrosses qu'en aucune Ville de France, si l'on en excepte Paris...

[The road from Mexico to Acapulco]

Le 11. Mars nous commençâmes un nouveau voyage pour nous rendre à la mer du Sud.

En prenant la route d'Acapulco on fait d'abord quatre lieues dans une plaine bien cultivée, après quoy on monte pendant une heure sur une montagne, que les Espagnols appellent la Subida del arenal, à cause des sables qu'on y trouve: on passe dans une forest de Pins qui dure cinq lieues; & on descend pendant trois lieues pour se rendre à Cornavacca petit Bourg situé dans un terroir fertile, & dont le climat est beaucoup plus ardent que celui des environs du Mexique.

Le pays qu'on rencontre après ce Bourg, est rempli de Villages d'Indiens, & coupé de rivieres & de ruisseaux qu'on passe à gué dans des temps de sécheresse. On ne trouve que de petites plaines, des collines, des vallons, jusqu'à la Subida del passarito [sic], qu'on descend par un fort mauvais chemin qui est de plus d'une lieue. Demi-lieue après on s'arreste à Pueblo nuevo, Village d'Indiens, situé sur les bords d'un lac qui a une lieue de longueur, & trois quarts de lieue de largeur. Ce Village est éloignée de 21. lieues de Cornavacca. Nous n'en partismes qu'à quatre heures du soir, pour éviter la grande chaleur, & après six lieues de marche, nous nous arrestâmes à un autre Village nommé Palula.

Le lendemain nous fîmes encore six lieues entre des collines chargées de ces arbrisseaux, que les Espagnols nomment organum, & que les François appellent cierges épineux. On diroit, à les voir de loin, que ce sont une infinité de flambeaux de cire verte.

Nous passâmes la rivière de las Balsas, de la même manière qu'on la passoit avant la conquête du Mexique: un carré de foibles roseaux d'environ 10. pieds, sous lequel on attache des calebasses, sert de bateau: on vous fait asseoir sur la selle d'une Mule, ou sur un balot qu'on place au milieu de cette machine, afin que le poids l'empêche de tourner. Un Indien tenant un des angles d'une main, & nageant de l'autre, vous conduit à l'autre bord de la rivière. C'est du nom de Balsas que les Espagnols donnent à cette espèce de radeau, que la rivière a pris son nom: ils devroient plutôt l'appeler la rivière des Mosquitoes; car on est comme environné d'une nuée de ces insectes, qui ne sont pas plus gros que nos plus petits moucheron, & dont les piqueures laissent des marques, qui durent souvent un mois entier. C'est pour éviter leur persécution qu'on prend le temps de la nuit, pour faire les neuf lieues de chemin qu'il y a jusqu'au Village de Sompango.

Tout ce pays est desert, on n'y trouve qu'une misérable cabanne qu'on a bastie sur le chemin pour la commodité des Voyageurs: mais comme elle estoit inhabitée, nous ne jugeâmes pas à propos d'y entrer, dans la crainte d'y estre mordus des serpens ou des scorpions: nous aimâmes mieux prendre nostre repos sur la terre, pendant les deux ou trois heures que nous avons à donner au sommeil. Les mauvaises Hostelleries où on loge dans tout le Mexique, nous avoient accoustumés à nous passer de lit, & de toutes les autres douceurs qu'on a dans les Voyages de France.

Deux lieues après Sompango, on passe dans un Bourg de 400. familles, dont plusieurs sont Espagnoles; il se nomme Cilpacingo. Ce Bourg est situé dans une plaine de deux lieues de longueur, assez fertile, & environnée de collines. Elle est terminée par un gros Village d'Indiens. A une lieue au de là on passe par un autre Village, après lequel on fait huit lieues sur des montagnes fort escarpées, & toutes semées de rochers. Il faut continuellement monter & descendre. Deux chevaux ne sauroient passer de front dans certains endroits, où le chemin est creusé entre deux rochers. Nous couchâmes dans un petit Village qu'on nomme los dos Caminos.

Le lendemain, qui estoit Dimanche, nous y dismes la sainte Messe: ces bons Indiens vinrent l'entendre; ils n'avoient pas eu ce bonheur depuis un mois, parce leur Curé demeuroit à douze lieues de leur Village, & avoit à visiter plusieurs Hameaux fort écartés. Pour nous remercier, ils nous apportèrent quelques oranges, & des guirlandes de fleurs. Depuis los dos Caminos jusqu'à Acapulco, on fait 21. lieues sans trouver aucun Village: on a basti de trois en trois lieues de méchantes cabanes qui servent d'Hostelleries.

A quatre lieues de los dos Caminos, nous passâmes la rivière de los Papagaios, c'est-à-dire, des Perroquets. C'est après celle de las Balsas, la plus considérable qu'il y ait depuis Mexico jusqu'à la mer. Nous montâmes ensuite pendant une heure & demie sur une montagne fort escarpée, à laquelle on a donné, comme à la rivière, le nom de Papagaios, apparemment à cause des gros Perroquets qu'on y voit. Ils font de la grosseur d'une poule, ils ont le haut de la teste jaune, tout le reste du corps est verd: ils apprennent facilement à parler.

Parmi les différentes sortes d'arbres qui croissent sur cette montagne, on y trouve celui dont on se sert en Europe pour les teintures, & qu'on appelle bois de Campeche: il ne croist pas fort haut, les feuilles en sont petites, & ressemblent assez à celles du trefle.

Le 10^e jour de nostre voyage, nous arrivâmes à Acapulco. Ce Bourg est à 87. lieues de Mexico, & à 16. degrez 45. minutes de latitude Nord, selon les observations des Pilotes. Les Marchands de Mexico y ont des maisons où ils mettent les marchandises qu'on apporte de Manile. Tandis que le Vaisseau des Philippines est dans le Port, on y voit quantité de Marchands: mais à peine est-il parti que chacun se retire. Les habitans mesme les plus riches, vont passer l'Esté plus avant dans les terres, pour éviter le mauvais air d'Acapulco, pendant les chaleurs qui y sont excessives.

Le Port est bon & sûr, mais le Chasteau n'est pas fort: il y a pourtant une belle artillerie de fonte. Les Vaisseaux des Philippines y arrivent d'ordinaire vers le mois de Decembre ou de Janvier, & ils en partent depuis le commencement de Mars jusqu'aux premiers jours d'Avril. S'ils partoient plus tard, ils ne trouveroient pas les brises assez fortes pour leurs pesans Galions; & au delà des Isles Mariannes, ils auroient infailliblement à essuyer des vents d'Ouest, qui commencent à la fin de Juin, & qui leur sont entièrement contraires. Il arrive souvent des tremblemens de terre à Acapulco: pendant le peu de séjour que nous y fîmes, nous en ressentissimes deux, mais ils ne furent pas violens.

Le 30. Mars nous mîmes à la voile. Le Vaisseau estoit de 260. hommes d'équipage de toutes les différentes Nations du monde. Le plus grand nombre des Matelots estoit des Philippines. Le Duc l'Albuquerque Viceroy du Mexique, avoit nommé le P. Bonnet pour Aumosnier du Vaisseau. La langue Espagnole nous servit à entendre les confessions, & à instruire tout l'équipage. Nous eûmes d'abord des vents foibles, & des calmes qui durèrent pendant douze jours; ils ne cessèrent, que quand nous fusmes à cent lieues de terre. On fait le Sud-Ouest jusqu'à ce que l'on soit par les 13. degrez de latitude Nord. Alors on a des brises très fortes jusqu'aux Isles Marianes.

Cette navigation est très douce: on n'a point à craindre de vents contraires; & le vent qui souffle estant toujours frais, tempere la chaleur. Mais autant que le voyage est facile depuis Acapulco jusqu'à Manile, autant le retour de Manile à Acapulco est-il dégoûtant & dangereux. Il faut s'élever jusqu'au delà de 30. degrez, & quelquefois jusqu'au 39. [35?] degrez, & quelquefois jusqu'au 39^e degré de latitude Nord, pour éviter les brises qui regnent toujours auprès des Tropiques.

Comme c'est dans l'hyver que se fait cette dernière navigation, on a de rudes tempestes à essuyer, sans pouvoir relascher dans la route. Le Navire qui nous porta aux Philippines, avoit demeuré sept mois dans cette traversée. L'Amiral fut obligé de relascher à l'entrée des Philippines, après avoir reçu un coup de mer qui mit tout le Navire sous l'eau. Une partie de ses vivres fut gastée, & sept hommes furent emportez dans la mer. Il y en eut deux qui furent rejettez dans le Vaisseau par un autre coup de mer. Nous vîmes chaque jour des oyseaux, ce qui ne nous estoit pas arrivé dans la traversée des Canaries jusqu'à Saint-Domingue, quoyqu'elle soit beaucoup plus courte.

*Le 13. Juin nous mouillâmes à l'Isle de **Guhan**, la principale des Isles Mariannes, après avoir fait en 75 jours 1175. lieues qu'on compte depuis Acapulco. Cette Isle s'étend du Sud-Ouest au Nord-Est, depuis 13. degrez 35. minutes. Le lendemain j'eus le bonheur de dire la Messe dans cette terre arrosée du sang de plusieurs de nos Peres qui ont baptisé tous ces Infideles. On les a rassemblez dans les trois Isles principales de **Guhan**, de **Sarpan**, & de **Saipan**.*

Je saluai Dom Joseph de Quiroga, Sergent Major des Isles, dont la vertu & le zele ont beaucoup contribué à l'entiere conversion de ces Idolâtres. Le mesme zele l'a porté à établir une bonne discipline parmi les Soldats: ils vivent en commun, la priere se fait regulierement soir & matin, & ils participent souvent aux Sacremens de la Penitence & de l'Eucharistie. Je trouvay parmi ces Soldats un François d'Oleron. Le Gouverneur nous envoya selon la coutume, des rafraichissemens. Je m'embarquay sur un Canot du pays pour aller à terre, & pour revenir à bord: je n'ay point vû de bastiment si leger, ni qui aille mieux au plus près du vent: je les ay vû pincer le vent à deux quarts de rhumbs; un vent arriere leur est moins favorable qu'un vent au plus près.

Nous appareillâmes le 14. & le 1. Juillet nous découvriâmes les Philippines, qui sont à 336. lieues des Isles Mariannes. Nous eûmes quelques grains assez violens, mais excepté une fois qu'on se laissa surprendre, on se tint toujours sur ses gardes, pour amener les voiles à propos. Le détroit entre les Isles Philippines jusqu'à Manile, a environ 100. lieues de longueur. La navigation y est difficile, soit à cause des courans rapides, soit parcequ'il y a très peu d'endroits où l'on puisse mouiller. On a au Nord la grande Isle de Luçon, où est la Ville de Manile; & au Sud, plusieurs Isles de differente grandeur.

Le 2. Juillet nous entrâmes dans le détroit. Bien qu'un vent frais nous fist faire une lieue & demie par heure, nous eûmes beaucoup de peine à nous soutenir contre la marée qui nous estoit contraire. Mais aussi-tost qu'elle nous fut devenue favorable, nous en profitâmes dans le calme mesme. On mit la chaloupe au devant du Navire, pour la faire gouverner: en cinq ou six heures nous fîmes huit lieues sans aucun vent. Mais cette manoeuvre pensa nous couster cher; car le courant nous ayant porté au milieu de plusieurs petites Isles, que les Espagnols appellent los Naranjos, à cause des Orangers dont elles sont couvertes; nostre vergue de civadiere toucha un rocher fort escarpé d'une de ces Isles: par bonheur il y avoit assez de fond pour ne pas échouer, & le courant nous ayant fait piroüetter, nous jetta au milieu de cette espece de Port, où nous mouillâmes pour attendre le vent qui nous tira enfin d'un si mauvais pas.

Nous employâmes 15. jours à passer ce détroit, appréhendant sans cesse d'avoir un vent d'Ouest, qui peut-estre nous eust obligé à débouquer. Le 17. Juillet nous arrivâmes à Cabite: c'est un Port qui se trouve dans la Baye de Manile, à trois lieues de cette Ville. Deux jours après s'éleva un vent d'Ouest qui dura 12. jours. Il y eut pendant 18. jours une pluye continuelle, qui ne cessoit que par intervalle, & pour peu de temps. Ces pluies recommencent ainsi à plusieurs reprises jusqu'au mois de Novembre, & quelquefois jusqu'en Decembre. Alors toutes les plaines sont inondées: on se promene en Canot dans des campagnes semées de ris, lesquelles de loin paroissent des prairies agréables. Ce sont ces pluies abondantes qui moderent la chaleur, & qui estant causées par

le vent d'Ouest, rendent le climat de Manile fort humide. L'acier le mieux poli, se couvre de rouille en une nuit.

...

Il y a dans les Philippines plus de sept mille Chinois qui y sont venus des Provinces de Canton & de Fokien: ils demeurent la plupart dans un fauxbourg de Manile, qu'on appelle le Parian. Les Espagnols sont environ quatre mille: il y a beaucoup plus de Mestis nez d'Européans, d'Indiens, & de Chinois.

...

Il y a dans Manile 14. Eglises très propres, dont plusieurs seroient admirées dans les premieres Villes de France.

...

Après avoir demeuré 7. mois dans ces Isles, qui sont le plus beau país, le mieux boisé, & le plus agréable à la vue que j'aye encore trouvé, nous nous embarquâmes sur un bastiment Espagnol qui alloit à Malaque, dans l'espérance d'y trouver quelque Vaisseau qui fist voile vers la coste de Coromandel.

Ce fut le 17. Febrier 1709. que nous appareillâmes à l'entrée de la Baye de Manile, & le Lundi 11. de Mars nous mouillâmes dans la rade de Malaque... Il ne nous falloit plus qu'un mois pour nous rendre à Pondichery...

...

Le 2. Février [1710] nous mouillâmes à la rade de Pontichery.

...

[Magnetic variation]

La déclinaison de l'aiguille aimanté qui est du costé du Nord-Ouest en France, diminue peu à peu jusqu'à ce qu'on se trouve entre les Isles Canaries & les premieres Isles de l'Amérique. Dans ce parage il n'y a point de déclinaison. Mais en avançant vers l'Amérique, l'aiguille décline vers le Nord-Est, & cette déclinaison augmente jusqu'à la Vera Crus, où elle est de 6. degrez.

A Acapulco sur la mer pacifique, elle n'est que de 3. degrez & 5 minutes Nord-Est: elle augmente jusqu'à ce qu'on se trouve auprès des bancs de S. Barthelémy qui sont à 17. degrez de longitude, avant que d'arriver aux Isles Marianes. Nous la trouvâmes en cet endroit de 14. degrez, elle a esté de 16. degrez 7. ou 8. années auparavant, quoyqu'en dise M. Dampierre [sic] dans son Voyage autour du Monde, où il assure qu'il n'y a point de déclinaison considérable depuis Acapulco jusqu'aux Philippines. Depuis ces bancs de Saint- Barthelemy, elle diminue considérablement en avançant vers les Philippines. Aux Isles Marianes elle estoit l'année 1708. de 8. degrez & 40. minutes. A l'Embocadero de San Bernardino qui est à 17. degrez & quelques minutes de longitude plus à l'Ouest que les Isles Marianes, la déclinaison n'est plus que de 2. degrez Nord-Est. A Manile qui est à 14. degrez 30. minutes de latitude Nord, & à 8. heures 4. minutes de différence du Méridien de Paris, je ne crois pas qu'elle soit considérable. Lorsqu'on va de Manile à Malaca, la déclinaison devient Nord-Ouest.

...

Je souhaite, mon Reverend Pere, que ce détail dans lequel je suis entré, vous soit agréable, & j'espere que vous voudrez bien vous souvenir dans vos saints Sacrifices de la personne du monde qui est avec le plus de reconnoissance & de respect,

Mon Reverend Pere,

Vostre très-humble & très-obéissant serviteur en N.S.

P. Tallandier, Missionnaire de la Compagnie de JESUS.

Translation.

Letter from Fr. Taillandier, missionary of the Society of Jesus, to Fr. Willard of the same Society.

At Pondichéry, on 20 February 1711.¹

My Reverend Father,

Peace of Christ!

...

It was on 5 September 1707 that I left St-Malo with Fr. Bonnet aboard the **Saint-Esprit**, a vessel carrying 30 guns and a crew of 140 men. After about one month into the voyage, during which nothing extraordinary happened, we sighted Cape Finisterre in Galicia, and on 8 October, we anchored in the harbor of Santa Cruz in the Island of Tenerife...

[Shortly before arriving at Veracruz]

On 13 [January 1708] we sighted two ships that came to reconnoiter us. They were the **Diane**, a royal frigate outfitted in Hâvre-de-Grâce, belonging to the Squadron of Mr. Ducasse, and the **Paix** outfitted in Port-Louis...

On the 14th, our little squadron was augmented by a Spanish ship that had left Campeche and was headed for Veracruz...

[but during a storm that followed, the other ships separated, except for another French ship, the **St-Jean-Baptiste**]

On the 19th, we were joined again by the two French ships that had separated from us during the storm, and we arrived together on the same day at Veracruz. It is here that ended our first voyage totalling 2,200 leagues.

..

[On 9 February] we arrived at about noon at Mexico City, distant 22 leagues from Puebla, and 80 from Veracruz.

...

Mexico City is built fairly regularly. It is crossed by a few canals that fill with water from the lake; more canals could be built in all of the streets. It is much larger in size than Puebla. Some Spaniards say that there are 200,000 inhabitants, but if one were to study the matter more closely without prejudice, he might find no more than 60,000.

¹ Ed. note: Pondichery is a former French enclave on the Coast of Coromandel, near present-day Madras, India.

There are 10,000 white men living in Mexico; the rest of the inhabitants is made up of Indians, negros from Africa, mulattos, mestizos and other peoples who are the descendants of a mixture of various nations among themselves, and with Europeans, something that has produced men with a color varying from white to black, so that out of 100 faces, one can hardly find two with the same color.

The houses are beautiful and the churches magnificent. There are a large number of Religious communities. One sees the movement of many more coaches than in any city in France, except for Paris.

[The road from Mexico to Acapulco]

On March 11th, we began a new voyage to go to the South Sea.

Taking the road to Acapulco, one first travels 4 leagues along a well-cultivated plain. After that, for one hour, one climbs a mountain called by the Spaniards *Subida del arenal* [i.e. Sandy Hill] because of the sands that are found there. Then one crosses a pine forest that lasts for 5 leagues and then comes down for 3 leagues to get to *Cuernavaca*, a small town situated in a fertile zone where the climate is much hotter than in the vicinity of Mexico.

The country that one meets with after this town is full of Indian villages and cut by rivers and streams that one fords during the dry season. One finds some small plains, hills, vales, as far as *Subida del pajarito* [i.e. Small Bird Hill] from where one climbs down by a very bad trail a little over one league in length. Half a league more and one gets to *Pueblo Nuevo* [i.e. New Village], an Indian village situated on the edge of a lake that is one league in length and three-quarters of a league in width. This village is distant 21 leagues from Cuernavaca. We departed from here at 4 p.m., to avoid the hot part of the day and, after travelling 6 leagues we stopped at another village named *Palula*. The next day we made another 6 leagues among hills full of these bushes that the Spaniards call *organum*, and that Frenchmen call "thorny candles." From afar, one could imagine seeing an infinite number of green-wax candelabras. We crossed Rio Balsas the same way that they used to do it before the Spanish Conquest, that is, atop a raft made up of weak reeds, the size of a square about 10 feet to the side, under which are tied some gourds, by way of a vessel. They ask you to sit on the saddle of a mule, or upon a bale that is placed in the middle of this contraption, so that the weight will prevent it from turning over. Then an Indian grabs one of the corners with one hand and, swimming with the other hand, takes you across to the other side of the river. It is from the word *balsas* used by the Spanish to describe this sort of raft that the river got its name. They should call it Mosquito River instead, because one is sort of surrounded by a cloud of these insects, that are no bigger than our smallest gnats, and whose bites leave marks that last for an entire month. It is to avoid their persecution that one travels during the night to cover the 9-league stretch to reach the village of *Sompango*.¹

1 Ed. note: Written Zumpango today.

This whole territory is a desert where one finds but a single hut that has been built for the comfort of travellers, but since it was empty, we did not think it proper to go inside, for fear of meeting with snakes or scorpions. We preferred to sleep upon the bare ground, during the two or three hours when we had to get some rest. The bad inns that one encounters throughout Mexico had accustomed us to forget about a bed, and the other comforts that one finds while travelling in France.

Two leagues beyond Sompango, one passes by a town with 400 families, many of them Spanish; its name is *Cilpacingo*.¹ This town is located in a plain 2 leagues in length, rather fertile and surrounded by hills, at the end of which is a big Indian village. One league further, one passes by another village, after which, for 8 leagues, the road cuts through very deep canyons, with rocky crags everywhere. One must continuously climb up and down. Two horses could not meet head on along certain stretches, where the trail is squeezed between two crags. We slept in a small village named *Los dos caminos* [i.e. The Two Roads].

The next day, which was a Sunday, we said mass there. These good Indians came to hear mass; they had not had this pleasure in one month, because their curate lives 12 leagues away from their village and has to visit many hamlets very distant from one another. To thank us, they brought a few oranges and some flower garlands. From Los Dos Caminos to Acapulco, one travels 21 leagues without encountering any village; every 3 leagues one finds bad huts that serve as inns.

Two leagues from Los Dos Caminos, we crossed the Rio de los Papagayos, that is Parrot River. It is, after Rio Balsas, the biggest river between Mexico City and the sea. We then climbed a steep mountain during one and a half hours; this mountain was also given the name of Papagayo, like the river, apparently on account of the big parrots seen there. They are as big as a hen, have a yellow head, and the rest of the body is green; they can easily learn to talk.

Among the various species of trees growing on this mountain, one finds one that is used in Europe for dyes, and is called Campeche wood; it does not grow very tall, its leaves are small and rather resemble those of a clover.

On the 10th day of our voyage, we arrived at **Acapulco**. This town is distant 87 leagues from Mexico City and situated in 16°45' latitude North, according to observations made by pilots. The merchants of Mexico own houses here, where they store the merchandise that is brought in from Manila. When the Philippine galleon is in port, one can see many such merchants, but as soon as it is gone they all withdraw. The inhabitants, even the richest, move inland during the summer, to escape the bad air of Acapulco and its excessive heat.

The port is a good and safe one, but the Fort is not a strong one, although it has beautiful cast-iron guns. The Philippine galleons usually arrive during December or January and they leave anytime between the beginning of March and the beginning of April. If they were to leave later, they would not find the breezes strong enough to move

1 Ed. note: Chipancingo today.

their heavy galleons and, beyond the Mariana Islands, they would necessarily meet with westerlies, that begin to blow at the end of June and are entirely contrary winds. Acapulco is often shaken by earthquakes; during our stay here, we felt two of them, but they were not violent.

We sailed on 30 March. The ship's crew was composed of men from all the various nations of the world. The majority of them were Filipinos. The Duke of Albuquerque, Viceroy of Mexico, had named Fr. Bonnet as ship chaplain. The Spanish language was used by us to hear confessions and to preach to the whole crew. We first had some weak winds and then some calm weather that lasted for 12 days; they ceased only when we reached 100 leagues from the land. One heads southwest until reaching 13° latitude North, then very strong breezes blow as far as the Mariana Islands.

This cruise is very easy; there is no fear of meeting contrary winds; the wind that does blow is always fresh, and moderates the temperature. However, as much as the voyage from Acapulco to Manila is easy, that from Manila to Acapulco is unpleasant and dangerous. One must seek beyond 30° and sometimes as far as 39° [rather 35?], and sometimes as far as 39° latitude North, to avoid the breezes that always blow near the tropics.

As it is during the winter that the latter voyage takes place, many rough storms are encountered, without the possibility of making a stopover along the way. The ship that brought us to the Philippines had spent 7 months in making this crossing. The Admiral had to turn back at the entrance to the Philippines, after he was hit by a large wave, one that swamped the whole ship. Part of the food supplies were thus spoiled and seven men were carried off by the wave. However, two of them were thrown back on board by another wave. Every day we saw birds, something that had not happened to us during the crossing from the Canary Islands to Santo Domingo, a much shorter distance.

On 13 June we anchored at the Island of **Guhan**, the main island of the Marianas, having sailed 75 days and covered 1,175 leagues, which is reckoned as the distance from Acapulco. This island bears southwest-northeast, beginning at 13°35'. The next day I had the pleasure of saying mass ashore, in a land that was irrigated with the blood of many of our Fathers who have baptized all of these heathens. They have been reduced to the three main islands, i.e. **Guhan, Sarpan & Saipan**.

I met Don José de Quiroga, the Sergeant-Major of the Islands, whose virtue and zeal have much contributed to the whole conversion of these idol-worshippers. The same zeal has pushed him to establish a good discipline among the soldiers; they live together, and pray together morning and evening, and they partake often of the sacraments of penance and of the Eucharist. I found among them a Frenchman from Oléron.¹ The Governor sent us some refreshments, according to custom. I boarded a local canoe to go ashore, and to return aboard. I have never seen so light a craft, nor one that can sail

1 Ed. note: An island on the west coast of France near La Rochelle. This Frenchman must have arrived aboard a Spanish ship, because he preceded the arrival of the ship St-Antoine, the first French ship to visit Guam, which arrived only one week later (see Doc. 1708I).

as close to the wind; I saw them sail but two points off the wind, although a wind from astern is less favorable to them than a near contrary wind.

We sailed off on the 14th, and on the 1st of July we sighted the Philippines, that lie at a distanc of 336 leagues from the Mariana Islands. We had some rather violent squalls along the way, but, except for once when we were taken by surprise, the crew was always alert and could take down the sails on time. The strait among the Philippine Islands as far as Manila is about 100 leagues in length. Navigation in it is difficult, either because of the strong currents or because there are few places where to anchor. On the north side, lies the large Island of Luzon, which contains the City of Manila, and on the south side there are many islands of various sizes.

On 2 July, we entered the strait. Although a fresh wind did push us at a rate of one and a half leagues per hour, we could hardly make way against the tide that ran contrary to us. However, as soon as the tide turned, we made headway even during calm weather. As a matter of fact, the ship's boat was placed before the ship, to guide it along; so, in 5 or 6 hours we had covered a distance of 8 leagues, without any wind. However, this maneuver almost cost us dearly, because the current brought us to the middle of many small islands which the Spanish call *Los Naranjos*, because there are orange trees growing on them. Our sprit-sail yard touched a steep cliff at one of these islands, but the current made us swing around and threw us into the middle of a sort of port, where we anchored, there to await the wind that took us out of such a bad fix.

It took us 15 days to cross this strait, and we always feared that we would meet with a westerly that might force us out of the Embocadero once more. On 17 July we arrived at Cavite; it is a port that is found within Manila Bay, at 3 leagues from this city. Two days later, a westerly wind arose that lasted for 12 days. It rained continuously for 18 days and the rain stopped only at brief intervals. Such rains return now and then during many months until November, and sometimes until December. All of the plains are then flooded, and to go visiting, one has to ride canoes across the countryside full of rice fields that look from afar like pleasant grass lands. However, such abundant rains moderate the climate of Manila, that is rendered very humid by the westerlies. The best polished steel can rust overnight.

There are over 7,000 Chinese in the Philippines who have come there from the Provinces of Canton and Fokien; most of them live in a suburb of Manila, that is called Parian. The Spaniards are about 4,000 in number; there are many more mestizos born from Europeans, Indians, and Chinese.

...

There are 14 very clean churches in Manila; many of them would be admired in the best cities of France.

...

After spending 7 months in these Islands, that constitute the most beautiful, best forested and most pleasant country that I have ever seen to date, we boarded a Spanish vessel that was going to Malacca, hoping to find there some vessel that would take us to the Coast of Coromandel.

(Facing page:) *Chart of the Strait of San Bernardino, showing the Naranjo Islands, "Ilots des Oranges."* (From Jean B. Mallat's *Les Philippines* (Paris, Bertrand, 1846).

It was on 17 February 1709 that we sailed from the entrance of Manila Bay and on Monday 11 March we anchored in the harbor of Malacca... However, it took us more than one month to reach the harbor of Pondichery... where we arrived on 2 February [1710].¹

...

[Magnetic variation]

The variation of the magnetic compass, which bears northwest in France, decreased little by little until one gets to halfway between the Canary Islands and the first islands of America. In that neighborhood, there is no variation, but the closer one gets to America, variation becomes northeast and increases until one reaches Veracruz, where it is 6° NE.

At Acapulco on the Pacific Coast, it is but 3°5' NE, then it increases again until nearing the St. Bartholomew Shoals, that are situated at 17° longitude before one gets to the Mariana Islands, where we found the variation to be 14°; they say that it was 16° some 7-8 years ago, although Captain Dampier, in his [New] Voyage Round the World, assures us that there is no appreciable magnetic variation between Acapulco and the Philippines. Beginning at St. Bartholomew Shoals, magnetic variation decreases rapidly as one gets closer to the Philippines. At the Mariana Islands, in 1708 it was 8°40'. At the Embocadero of San Bernardino, which is 17° and a few minutes of longitude further west than the Mariana Islands, the variation is only 2° NE. At Manila, which is at 14°30' latitude North and has a time difference of 8 hours and 4 minutes with the meridian of Paris, I think it is no longer appreciable. When one goes from Manila to Malacca, the variation becomes NW.

...

I wish, dear Reverend Father, that my detailed report will be welcome by you, and I hope that you will deign to remember in your holy sacrifices the one person in the world who has the most gratitude and respect for you.

My dear Reverend Father,

Your very humble and obedient servant in Christ.

Fr. Taillandier, Missionary of the Society of Jesus.

¹ Ed. note: They got into serious difficulty, too long to reproduce. At this place, Fr. Taillandier separated from Fr. Bonnet, and Fr. Faure, who had accompanied him since Manila.

Documents 1708E

Visit of more French Jesuits and arrival of six new missionaries in 1709

E1. Four more French Jesuits authorized to travel via Micronesia—Royal consultation dated Madrid 14 August 1708

Source: AGI Fil. 94.

Original text in Spanish.

Duque de Atrisco.

Don Alonso Carnero.

Don Alonso de Araciel.

Don Antonio de Omns [sic].

Don Joseph Avalte.

Don Luis Ramirez.

Don Manuel de la Cruz.

Don Manuel de Mieses.

Marques de Miana.

Don Joseph Pastor.

Don Nicolas Manrrique.

Señor.

Con Decreto de 1º de este mes se sirve V.M. remitir al Consejo un memorial de Joseph Lequesme, Phelipe Cacier, Carlos Braguier, y Gilverto Borde, Jesuitas Franzeses, para que sobre su contenido Consulte à V.M. lo que se ofreciere.

El Memorial se reduce à decir tienen licencia de su General, para pasar à las Misiones de la China, y que habiendo de hacer su viage por la via de Mexico, y Philipinas, por estar cerrados los otros Caminos con las Armadas Enemigas, Suplican à V.M. se sirva concederles licencia para su pasage separadamente para cada uno, por las contingencias que pueden ofrecerse en tan dilatado viage, que les precise à dividirse, mandan-

do se admitan sus personas, y lo demas que fuere necesario para su abio, en los primeros Navios que salgan de Cadiz para la Nueva Hespaña [sic] respecto de serles preciso hallarse en Mexico por el mes de Henero y que asimismo seles dè despacho, para que el Virrey de Nueva Hespaña y Governador de Philipinas les den el favor y auxilio que necesitaren afin de que en la primera embarcacion que se ofrezca para aquellos parajes, puedan pasar à predicar el santo Evangelio à que van destinados.

El Fiscal à quien se dió vista de la instancia de estos Religiosos ha hecho presente que para poder Consultar à V.M. sobre esta pretension, falta el fundamento de que con el memorial no se presentan las licencias de los Superiores regulares, ni se save qual de estos quatro Religiosos es el Superior para el Gobierno de esta Mision, en el viage, y que tampoco consta à qual de las Vicarias de las Misiones de la China que mantienen las principales Naciones de la Europa, ban destinados, ó si se dirigen a la libre asignacion del Delegado Apostolico, que asiste con todas las facultades necesarias de parte de Su Santidad à lo Comun y Universal, de todas las Vicarias de aquellas Comber-siones, que mantienen algunas naciones, y que siendo tan reparable la falta de estos despachos ó Patentes, se deve dar noticia de ello à V.M.

El Consejo aunque conoce que el Fiscal tiene justo motivo para el reparo que hace, hàviendo referido el Secretario Don Gaspar de Pinedo que el Confesor de V.M. asienta tienen estos Religiosos las licencias que necesitan de sus Superiores. Es de parecer que V.M. les puede conceder el permiso que solicitan para pasar à la China por la Nueva Hespaña sin detenerse en ella mas tiempo que el inescusable, encargandose al Virrey de aquel Reyno, y al Governador de Philipinas los auxiliien y faciliten el viage y comodidades, para que logren el fin de su destino.

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

Madrid à 14 de Agosto de 1708.

Translation.

Duke of Atrisco

Don Alonso Carnero

Don Antonio de Omns [sic]

Don José Avalte

Don Luis Ramirez

Don Manuel de la Cruz

Don Manuel de Mieses

Marquis of Miana

Don José Pastor

Don Nicolas Manrique

Sire:

By the decree of the 1st of this month, Y.M. was pleased to forward a memorial from Joseph Lequesme, Philippe Cazier, Charles Braguier, and Gilbert Borde, French Jesuits, so that Y.M. might be consulted regarding its contents.

The Memorial in question can be summarized as follows: they have permission from their General to go to the Missions in China, and since they have to make their voyage by way of Mexico and the Philippines, because the other routes are blocked by enemy fleets, they beg Y.M. to please grant each one of them permission to make their voyage individually, on account of the contingencies that might occur during such a long voyage and force them to separate, by ordering that their persons be admitted on board the first ships leaving Cadiz for New Spain, along with what is necessary for their outfitting, in view of the fact that they must reach Mexico by the month of January. In addition, they request that the papers for their despatch include letters to the Viceroy of New Spain and to the Governor of the Philippines, for them to do them favors and give them the assistance required to travel aboard the first vessel available in those neighborhoods in order to reach the destinations where they are to preach the holy Gospel.

The Fiscal, who has seen the request of these Religious, has made the comment that, in order to consult Y.M. properly on this matter, there is a need to present the regular permission from the Superiors and the mention of who is acting as Superior of this mission band; there is also lack of information as to which Vicariate in the China missions maintained by the main European nations they are headed, or if they are going to be freely assigned to their post by the Apostolic Delegate who resides there and holds full authority from His Holiness to oversee all of the Vicariates in those mission fields, maintained there by some nations; since the omission of such despatches or patents is very easy to rectify, Y.M. ought to be informed of same.

The Council, although it recognizes that the Fiscal has just reasons for having some objections, in view of the fact that the Secretary, Don Gaspar de Pinedo, has confirmation from the confessor of Y.M. that these Religious do have the necessary permission from their Superiors, is of the opinion that Y.M. may grant them the requested permission to go to China by way of New Spain without staying more time than inexcusable, entrusting the Viceroy of that Kingdom, and the Governor of the Philippines to help them and expedite their voyage and accommodations, so that they may indeed reach their destination.

Y.M. will order what is of your Royal pleasure.

Madrid, 14 August 1708.¹

1 Ed. note: The King gave his approval 4 days later.

E2. Letter from Fr. Pierre Faure to Fr. de la Boësse

Sources: The original French letter was published in various editions of Fr. Le Gobien's Lettres édifiantes; translated into English and published by Lockman in his Travels of the Jesuits (whose text is reproduced below); also translated into German and published in Fr. Stöcklein's Der Neue Welt-Bott, as doc. n° 127; cited in Streit VI, as n° 125.

At the Mouth of the Straits of Malacca, in the Bay of Bengal, from on Board the [French ship] Lys-Brillac, January 17, 1711.

Reverend Father,

I left France, with the Design of sailing to China, according to the Order of my Superiors; and you are not insensible how strongly desirous I was to labour in that Mission. But I now am fixed, in some Measure, in the East-Indies; I being engaged to labour at the Conversion of a new People who inhabit a considerable Number of Islands [i.e. the Nicobar Is.] in the Bay of Bengal, whither the Light of the Gospel has not yet been carried. You will be surprized at this Change, and perhaps may not be displeas'd to know the Occasion of this new Enterprize.

The 5th of November, 1708, I embarked with Father Cazalets, on Board the **Aurore**, one of his Majesty's Frigates, commanded by Mr. de la Rigaudière, a very worthy Gentleman, from whom we received numberless Favours. He had shewn the like Civility to several other Jesuit Missionaries whom he conveyed to India, for which we are greatly indebted to him. Our ship had been fitted out, to convey Orders from the Court of Spain to different parts of America. We first sailed to Cartagena, and afterwards to Veracruz, whence we continued our Journey, by Land, to Mexico, where we joined in Company with several other Missionaries, who were going to the Philippines.

We sailed the 30th of March, 1709, (being twenty-three Jesuits) and **the 11th of June discovered the Mariana Islands**, consecrated by the Blood of so many of our Martyrs, of whom the most illustrious was the Venerable Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores, Founder of this Mission. We continued no longer than was necessary for taking in some Refreshments; but **six of our Jesuits staid behind**; their Assistance being very much wanted for the Ease of the first Missionaries, most of whom were bow'd with Age; and incapable of discharging their ministerial Duties.¹

After leaving the Mariana Islands, we were within three hundred leagues of the Philippines. Being overtaken with Calms, towards the End of our Voyage, our Officers and Pilots resolv'd to make for the Port of Palapa, where they intended to stay till the Beginning of Harvest [sic].² For this Reason we were oblig'd to leave our Ship, and go on

1 Ed. note: I have been able to positively identify the names of only 3 priests and 2 brothers: Fathers Cruydolf, Ibarguen, Bloart, and Brothers Montero and García. The sixth missionary, if any, must therefore have been Fr. Aranguren, often confused with Fr. Ibarguen in the records.

2 Ed. note: Rather the Monsoon season. Lockman confused the Spanish word "monzon" with the French word "moisson".

Board small Vessels, in order that we might have an Opportunity of sailing very near the Shore, and pursuing our Voyage sheltered from the Wind.

These Vessels are called, at the Philippines, *Caracoas*. The *Caracoa* is a sort of small Galley with Oars and Sails, with two Wings on each side, made of thick Canes, to break the Waves, and bear up in the Ocean. A sad and most perilous Way of sailing this, where, for three Weeks, we were in greater Danger of losing our Lives, than during the wide-extended North and South Seas. Of the three *Caracoas*, on which our whole Company of Missionaries were a Board, the largest was wreck'd; and several Jesuits who were in her, must inevitably have perished, had not the [Filipino] Indians swam to their Rescue, and saved them.

Nor did the other two *Caracoas* on Board of which I was, escaped the Storm; so that, being no longer able to resist the Fury of the Blasts, or the Violence of the Waves, our Pilots sailed before the Wind, and made for a Port which we entered very fortunately.

We went by Land to Carita [rather Cavite], a small Town three Leagues from Manila; and had the Consolation of passing thro' several Parishes of this new Christian Settlement, which I think the most flourishing in all India [i.e. the Indies]. I often admired the Fervency of the Inhabitants, who were newly converted to the Faith; and the ready Obedience they pay to their Pastors. The Youth of both Sexes come constantly to Church two or three Times every Day, to learn the Principles of our Religion, and sing the Praises of God. The Heads of Families conduct themselves, in their Houses, pursuant to the Instructions of the Missionaries; whence it is that very few Contests are found among them; or, if any such happen to break out, they are always decided without coming to a Law-suit, and generally to the Satisfaction of both Parties. The Body of these Islanders form eight hundred Parishes, which are governed by different Missionaries, whose Labours are amply rewarded, by the great Examples of Virtue which their Converts exhibit.

[Abbot Sidoti taken to Japan by Captain Elorriaga in the patache Santissima Trinidad in 1708]¹

Nothing affected me more, in Manila, than the extraordinary Courage of **Abbot de Sidoti**, who arrived lately very happily in Japan, in order to preach the Gospel there. The Circumstances of this generous Action are of so edifying a Nature, that I cannot forbear acquainting you with them.

1 Ed. note: Although B&R 28:118 say that this voyage took place in 1709, this cannot be, as Captain Elorriaga was then busy in search of the Carolines (see Doc. 1709B among others).

Some Years since, that worthy Ecclesiastic left Rome, the Place of his Birth, to go to Manila, where he hoped to have an easier Opportunity of getting into the Empire of Japan. He lived two [rather three] years in the Philippine Islands, all which Time he spent in the perpetual Exercise of the several Virtues that form the truly apostolical Character.¹

...
 'Twas near Midnight, when he went into the Long-boat with the Captain [Elorriaga] and seven other Spaniards who desired to accompany him. He continued in Prayer during the whole Passage; and at last got to Land, tho' with some Difficulty, the Shore being very steep in that Place.

The Instant he was come out of the Long-boat, he fell prostrate to kiss the Earth, and thank'd Heaven for its Goodness, in enabling him to surmount the many Difficulties which opposed his Entrance into Japan. The Persons in his Company desired to go a little Way up the Country with him. Don Carlos de Bonio [probably Bozo y Bobadilla] (one of these) who was entrusted with Abbot Sidoti's little Trunk, had the Curiosity to examine the Contents of it. Upon opening it, the only Things he found were the Church-plate, a little Box for the holy Oils, a Breviary, a Book of the Imitation of Jesus Christ, two Japanese Grammars, with some other Books of Devotion; a Crucifix of Father Michael [rather Marcel] Mastrilly the Jesuit.²

But now, after walking together some Time, they were obliged to separate. 'Twas with great Difficulty Captain Elorriaga prevailed with Abbot Sidoti to accept, by way of Alms, of a few Pieces of Gold, in order to procure the Favour of the Japanese, if necessary. Whilst he was advancing up the Country, the Spaniards were returning towards the Shore, and getting into their Boat. They did not reach their Ship till about eight in the Morning; and at last, after running some Danger, occasioned by the Points of Rocks and many Banks of Sand, they arrived in Manila, the 18th of October [1708].

Captain Elorriaga set sail last Month [sic], with Father Sicardi, and another Jesuit Missionary, to discover the Islands Los Palaos, or new Philippines.³ Father Serrano, with several other Jesuits, are preparing to follow these two Missionaries, to

1 Ed. note: Abbot Giovanni Baptista Sidoti, or Sidotti, arrived at Manila in 1704 (in the retinue of Cardinal Tournon, whom Pope Clement XI had sent to China to investigate the so-called Chinese rites), and he stayed there more than three years (see B&R 50:139). His voyage to Japan took place in 1708 (see Doc. 1708C). What Fr. Faure says about him is therefore hearsay. B&R 28:119 report, quoting Japanese sources, that Sidoti was imprisoned at Yedo and died there of natural causes.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Marcelo Mastrilli who had been beheaded at Nagasaki in 1637 (see his bio-sketch, HM 4:121).

3 Ed. note: This author is confused. He refers to the year before last, and a departure of May 1709, since Elorriaga got back from Japan in October 1708. On the 18th of October 1709, he got back to Manila alright, but from his unsuccessful expedition to the Carolines. In any case, Elorriaga was at Manila in April 1710, and commanded the galleon that left the following July. Besides, there was no Fr. Sicardi; the author must have had Fr. Cortyl in mind, or it is simply a misprint for Cortyl.

labour, in concert with them, at the Conversion of a numerous People who inhabit those lately discovered Islands.

I flattered myself upon my Arrival at Manila, that I should soon get to China, a Country I had so long and so earnestly wished to visit; and from which we were distant but about two hundred and fifty Leagues. However, some Obstacles arising, I was determined to go by the Way of the East-Indies; and take the Opportunity of a Ship which was setting out for the Coast of Coromandel [in 1710]. I parted from Father Cazelets, who, on the other Hand, agreed with Father Nyel, to go on board the first Ship that should sail from Manila to China.

In taking this Resolution, I engaged myself to sail upwards of sixteen hundred Leagues more; but was comforted with the Hopes, that the Voyage would not last quite a Year. It indeed was ended much sooner, and in a different Manner from what I expected; for a little after my Arrival in India, I formed a new Engagement with the Superiors of that Country, for putting in execution a Design projected long before, I mean the going to preach Christ to the Heathen Inhabitants of Nicobar.

...

[rest omitted]

Documents 1708F

The mission band led by Fr. Andrés Serrano arrived in 1709

Sources: For F1 it is AGI Fil. 94; for F2 and F3, it is AGI ex-45-2-7/10; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 16, folios 104 et seq.

Note: The first group of missionaries granted to Fr. Serrano had gone ahead 2 years earlier, but none of that group stayed in the Marianas. From this second group, Fathers Dubéron and Cortyl did not stay at the Marianas, but later became martyrs in the Carolines.

F1. Royal consultation dated Madrid 30 January 1708

Original text in Spanish.

Consejo de Indias. A 30 de Henero de 1708

Con motivo de haver presentado el Procurador general de la Compañia de Jhs de las Provincias de Philipinas diferentes Religiosos para las Misiones de ellas, en que ay algunos Estrangeros, y Aragoneses; dize à V.Mgd. lo que se le ofreçe.

Don Gaspar de Pinedo.

Duque de Atrisco.

Don Antonio de Omns [sic].

Don Luis Ramirez.

Don Manuel de la Cruz.

Don Joseph de los Rios.

Don Manuel de Mieses.

Marques de Miana.

Don Joseph Pastor.

Señor.

Andres Serrano, de la Compañia de Jhs, Procurador general de las Provincias de Philipinas, ha representado que el año de 1699 sele conzedio para aquellas Yslas, una Mision de sesenta Religiosos, de los quales se embarcaron treinta y dos en la ultima flota, que paso a Nueva España, y que faltando para el cumplimiento de ellos, veinte y

ocho sujetos, se le dio permiso para que pudiese llevar consigo diez y ocho religiosos, siendo las dos tercias partes Estrangeros, Vasallos de V.M., del estado del Papa, y Naciones, que oy se hallan afectas a esta Corona; suplicando que respecto de tener ya juntos diez y nueve, de los que an de pasar à Philipinas (cuios nombres se expresan en la Relacion que ha presentado) sele dè aprovacion de ellos, y lizençia para embarcarse en los Navios, que se hallan en Cadiz proximos à hazer viage a la Nueva España.

Y habiendose visto en el Consejo, la Nomina de los Religiosos que se an presentado para esta mision, con la premeditada reflexion, y madura advertencia que requiere su contenido, por componerse no solo de sujetos naturales de las Provincias, y Reynos de Castilla, Navarra, Guipuzcoa, Vizcaya, Ytalia, y Franzia, sino que tanvien ay entre ellos, unos de Aragon, tres de Valençia y otros tres de los estados de Flandes, siendo el uno de Neoport; pues aunque el Consejo tiene presente que à Consulta suia de 14 de Diziembre de 1706, se sirvio V.M. tener a bien que las dos tercias partes de los Religiosos de la Compañia que pasen à Yndias, puedan ser Estrangeros, con calidad de que sean vasallos de V.M. del estado del Papa, y Naciones, que estan afectas a esta Corona; no obstante considerando los graves yncombenientes, que pueden resultar de que pasen à Yndias sujetos, de cuya fidelidad, celo, y amor al Real serviçio de V.M. no se tenga la entera satisfacion y confianza, que se nezesita en la constitucion presente de las cosas, y de quien por su naturaleza, se deva rezelar, las perniziosas ynfluencias, de difidencia, desunion, ó menos afecto, y deseando el Consejo con el maior anelo, solizitud, y cuidado, preservar aquellos Reynos de semejantes accidentes, y sujestiones, donde son mas faziles de yntraduzir, asi por la mucha variedad de genios, que se experimenta generalmente en los Yndios, como por su natural senzillez, y prezisa ygnorancia pasar à Yndias à ningun Valenziano, ni à otro alguno de los de la Corona de Aragon[;] pues aunque son Vasallos de V.M.[,] siempre se deve tener gran rezelo, por haver sido rebeldes, y conquistados.

El Duque de Atrisco, Don Antonio de Omns, y Don Luis Ramirez, son de parecer se conzeda la lizençia que se pide para el de Neoport, por haver sido conquistada esta Raza, con la fuerza de las Armas, sin que se sepa concurriesen a ello los naturales.

Don Manuel de la Cruz, va en todas las consideraciones, y refleja, que haçe el Consejo de lo mucho que se deve rezelar de todos los yndividuos de la Corona de Aragon; pero no paso a dar dictamen positivo, en quanto à que se permitan embarcar, o no, estos Religiosos, dejandolo a la soberana comprension de V.M., en quien reside el mas perfecto coconimiento para medirlo; Y este Ministro Don Manuel de Mieses, y el Marques de Miama, no se conforman en quanto à que se permita embarcar al de Neoport, por estar posehida esta Plaza de los Enemigos, reservando al supremo arbitrio de V.M. el dar regla sobre ello.

V.Mgd. mandarà lo que fuere mas de su Real agrado.

Madrid, à 30 de Henero de 1708.

[The King's reply]

La Plaza de Neoport se conserva en mi obediencia sin que los enemigos la hayan ocupado, ni hasta aora hayan osado atacarla en cuya inteligencia estará el Consejo para lo que en adelante pudiere ofrezerse; y assi por esta razon como por la de hallarme bien ynformado de que los tres Religiosos de Aragon, y Valenzia se han señalado en la fidelidad, y en mi servicio padeziendo muchos trabajos por no poder su amor disimularla vengo en que estos Religiosos, el de Neoport y los demas que contiene la Relazion presentada por el Procurador General pasen a Indias en la forma que este lo solizita.

Fho.

Translation.

The Council of the Indies, on 30 January 1708:

Given the presentation by the Procurator General of the Society of Jesus for the Provinces of the Philippines of various Religious for the missions there, among whom there are some foreigners, and Aragonese, declare the following to Y.M.

Don Gaspar de Pinedo.

Duke of Atrisco

Don Antonio de Omns [sic]

Don Luis Ramirez

Don Manuel de la Cruz

Don José de los Rios

Don Manuel de Mieses

Marquis of Miana

Don José Pastor

Sire:

Andrés Serrano, of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General of the Provinces of the Philippines, has declared that in 1699 he was granted for those Islands a mission band of 60 Religious, out of whom 32 have gone aboard the last fleet that went to New Spain, and as far as the 28 remaining subjects were concerned, he had received permission to bring along with him 18 of them, two-thirds of whom were foreigners, vassals of Y.M. from the Papal estates, and nationalities that are today friendly to this Crown, and he begs that, since he now has 19 who are ready to go to the Philippines (whose names he presented on a list), he be given approval for them, and permission to embark aboard the ships that are at Cadiz and about to make their voyage to New Spain.

There having been seen in the Council the list of the Religious presented for this mission band, with premeditated reflexion and mature caution required by its contents, on account of it consisting not only of natives of the Provinces and Kingdoms of Castile, Navarra, Guipuzcoa, Vizcaya, Italy, and France, but also there are to be found therein some from Aragon, three from Valencia and three others from the states of Flanders, one of whom being from Neoport; indeed, although the Council remembers

that, as a result of a consultation held on 14 December 1706 Y.M. was pleased to decide that two-thirds of the Religious of the Society who go to the Indies could be foreigners, with the proviso that they be vassals of Y.M. from the Papal states, and nationalities that are friendly to this Crown, nevertheless, considering the serious disadvantages that might result if some subjects whose faithfulness, zeal, and love of the Royal service of Y.M. be not completely satisfactory and trustworthy, as such is necessary under the present state of affairs, or whose pernicious influence, diffidence, disunity, or little affection we should be weary of, on account of their place of birth, given that the Council wishes, with even a greater eagerness, solicitude, and care to preserve those Kingdoms from similar incidents, and ideas, where they are easier to introduce, not only on account of the greater changeability in the minds of the Indians generally, but also because of their natural simplicity, and necessary ignorance, not to see any individual from Valencia or from the Kingdom of Aragon pass to the Indies; indeed, although they are vassals of Y.M., one must always be very worried, because they have been rebellious, and conquered.

The Duke of Atrisco, Don Antonio de Omns, and Don Luis Ramirez are of the opinion that the permission should be granted for the man from Neoport, because this nationality was conquered by force of arms, but there is no knowledge that the natives took part in any battle.

Don Manuel de la Cruz agrees fully with the opinion of the Council regarding the necessity of doubting all the individuals from the Kingdom of Aragon, but he refused to give a clear opinion himself, as to whether or not these Religious should be given permission to embark, trusting in the judgment of Y.M., who is better informed of the situation, to judge it better. And this Minister, Don Manuel de Mieses, as well as the Marquis of Miana, do not agree that the man from Neoport should embark, because said place is now in the hands of enemies, but they refer to the supreme judgment of Y.M. to dictate about this matter.

Your Majesty will order what will better suit your Royal pleasure.

Madrid, 30 January 1708.

[The King's reply]

The town of Neoport is still within my obedience and the enemies have not taken it, nor have they dared to attack it so far, and the Council should be aware of this, for any eventuality; and, not only for this reason, but also because I have been well informed about the three Religious from Aragon and Valencia being very faithful to my service; in fact, they have gone through many hardships because they have been unable to hide their love [for me]. Therefore, I decide that these Religious, as well as the man from Neoport, and the others who appeared on the list presented by the Procurator General go on to the Indies in the manner that he has requested.

Done.

F2. Another petition presented by Fr. Serrano

Original text in Spanish.

[Endorsement:] 1708.—*Mision de 21 religiosos de la Comp^a de Jhs que a espensas de la Real Hazienda van a las Philipinas por quenta de los 60 concedidos a el P. Andres Serrano.*

Andres Serrano de la Compañia de Jesus, Procurador General de la Provincia de Filipinas, paresco ante V.S. y digo:

Que como parece de la carta de aprobacion, que en debida forma presento, estan aprobados 21 religiosos (includo yo en este numero) por el Real y Supremo Consejo de las Indias; los 20 de ellos, que he podido congregar de los 28 que faltan a los 60, que el año pasado de 699 se concedieron para que pudiesen pasar a las Misiones que estan a cargo de mi Religion en la dicha Provincia de Filipinas. Y para que se puedan adelantar los despachos, que por V.S. se me han de dar para embarcarnos en uno de los navios, que con nombre de flota se estan aprestando para la Nueva España, y aunque en dicha carta se aprueban otros seis religiosos para Mexico, resto de otra Mision que no han llegado por lo riguroso de los tiempos. Por tanto:

Suplico a V.S. se sirva de mandar se haga la reseña tan solamente de dichos 21 sujetos, incluso yo en este numero, como va expresado, que en ello recibire merced, con justicia &a.

Jhs

Andres Serrano

Translation.

[Endorsement:] 1708.—Mission band of 21 religious of the Society of Jesus that is on the way to the Philippines at the expense of the Royal treasury, as part of the 60 positions granted to Fr. Andrés Serrano.

I, Andrés Serrano of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General of the Province of the Philippines, appear before Your Lordship and declare:

That, as shown in the letter of approval, which I submit in due form, 21 religious are approved (I include myself in this number) by the Royal and supreme Council of the Indies; 20 of those are part of the 28 that remain from the 60 positions that were granted in the past year of 1699, to go to the missions that are in the care of my Order in said Province of the Philippines. And in order to expedite the despatches, which must be given through Your Lordship for our embarkation aboard one of the ships that are being made ready to form a fleet for New Spain, and in spite of the fact that said letter approves six more religious bound for Mexico—the remainder of another mission band—they have not arrived on account of bad weather, therefore:

I beg Your Lordship to please order the inspection of just these 21 subjects, including myself, as appears on the enclosed list, as such would be considered a favor, and justice, etc.

Jhs

Andrés Serrano

F3. Physical inspection of the missionaries before boarding

Duty officer for the week, Mr. Antonio de Fuentes, Treasury officer.

There appeared before said official 21 religious of the Society of Jesus...

1. Fr. Andrés Serrano, priest and Superior of this Mission band, born in Murcia, Diocese of Cartagena, 53 [sic] years old, medium-built, white complexion, some grey hair.¹

...

7. Fr. Egidio Wibaut,² priest, born in Mons de Enau [and later Henao, i.e. Hénaut] in Flanders, Diocese of Cambrai, 33 years old, B.C. [sic],³ white complexion, blue eyes.

8. Fr. Jacob Duberon, priest, born in Charleroi in the Province of Mons, Diocese of Namur, 30 years old, tall, white complexion, scar on the forehead.

9. Fr. Gabriel Gruson, priest, born at Douai, in Gallo-Belgium, Diocese of Arras, 28 years old, tall, white complexion, blond hair.

10. Fr. Joseph Blaubunt [or Blauart = Bloart], priest, born in Lille, Diocese of Tournai, Province of Mons, 33 years old, tall, white complexion and blond.

11. Fr. Joseph Cortil, born in Namur, 29 years old, tall, white complexion, blond hair.

12. Fr. Pedro Cridolfo [i.e. Cruydolf], priest, born in Néoport, Diocese of Ypres, in Flanders, 30 years old, tall, white complexion, black hair.

...

20. Fr. Pedro de Aranguren,⁴ philosophy student, born in Bilbao, Diocese of Calahorra, 19 years old, average height, black hair.

21. Brother Luis Garcia, Coadjutor, born in Teruel, Diocese of Albarrasin, 29 years old, tall, white complexion, red [hair?] with some grey hair.

...

Seville, 29 February 1708.

1 Ed. note: Two years earlier, he had been described as being "44 years old, small and red."

2 Ed. note: Later called Viban in Spanish.

3 Ed. note: Some coded description, perhaps "Buen Cuerpo" meaning "well-built." This Jesuit had some later correspondence with Fr. Cruydolf below, a future missionary in the Marianas.

4 Ed. note: Not same as Ibarguen.

Some additional notes from the file.

These 21 religious were given boarding passes on 24 March 1708 for the ship named *Nuestra Señora de Regla*, *Señor San Joseph y San Francisco Xavier*, one of the fleet, under Admiral General Don Andres de Pez. Six more (French) Jesuits were added to the group at the last minute.

All Belgians had travelled to Spain together, because they arrived together at Seville on 22 December 1707; they were: Wibault, Dubéron, Gruson, Blauvunt [sic], Cortil, and Cruydolf. There is no trace of Brother Nicolas Montero, who arrived at the Marianas the same year as those above; therefore, he may have originated in Mexico, or the Philippines.

Another interesting fact, that explains some later correspondence, was that the above Jesuits were travelling together with a small band of 6 French Jesuits bound for China: Fathers **Pierre Faure**,¹ Charles Braguier, Joseph Lequesme, **Philippe Cazier**,² Brother Gilbert Borde, and Fr. Cazalets.

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1708E.

2 Ed. note: See his letters, as Doc. 1720D & 1721E.

Document 1708G

Manifest for the Marianas, for 1708

Source: AGN AHH 332.

Pieces shipped to Marianas aboard the galleon Encarnación

Original text in Spanish.

Testimonio de registro de las piezas y reales que pasaron a Marianas y Philipinas el presente año de 1708 en el Galeon Nuestra Señora de la Encarnacion. Yslas Philipinas y Marianas.

Anttonio Ximenez de Gusman escribano de S. Magd. que despacho los negocios en que esta entendiendo el Sor. Don Juan Joseph de Veitia Linage Cav^o de el Orden de Santt^o[.] zertifico y doi verdadero testimonio como Don Manuel de Zurrita Maestre de la Almiranta de Philipinas entre otras otorgo partida de registro a los veinte y tres de marzo proximo pasado en que confeso aver rezevido del Cap. Don Joseph [sic] Peres Nauas rezidente de la Ciudad de Mexico encomendero y rezidente en este puerto los generos y reales pertenecientes a las Misiones de la sagrada Comp^a de Jhs de las Yslas Philipinas [y] Yslas Marianas que son en la manera siguiente:

treinta y ocho caxones marcados con la marca en marjen: dos tercios de cacao Guatemala[.] uno de Caracas y quatro barriles de vino[.] un fardo las quales quarenta y seis piezas mencionadas ban dirixidas p^a la Mision de los Religiosos de la sagrada Comp^a de Jhs de dhas Yslas Marianas;

Y de la segunda marca veintte y cinco piasas en esta manera veintte y un caxones, dos fardos[.] un tercio de cacao Caracas[.] un barril de vino que ban consignadas al Collegio de la Jubentud de dhas Islas Marianas;

Y de la tercera marca quatro cajones [y] dos tercios de cacao Guatemala consignados p^a el Collegio de la Comp^a de Jhs de la Ciudad de Manila;

Yten nueve mill quatrocientos nobenta y quatro pesos en esta manera[:.] los cinco mil doscientos sesenta y un pesos y dos reales consignados al Padre Procurador general que es o fuere de la Prov^a de Philipinas que son pertenecientes a las Misiones de Palaos;

y los quatro mil doscientos y treinta y dos pesos cinco tomines y medio [que es] en cumplimiento consignados al Padre Marcelo Valdivieso Procurador de el collegio de San Ygn° de la Ciudad de Manila como de dho Registro consta y parece a quien me refiero y p^a que conste de pedimiento de dho Capitan y mandatto de su Merced, doy el presente en la Ciudad de los Reies Puerto de Acapulco a dos dias del mes de Abril de mil setecientos y ocho siendo testigos Juan Ortis[,] Pedro del Rio y Miguel Fernandez de Saldaña presentes.

*Y hago mi signo en testimonio de verdad:
Antonio Ximenez de Gusman, escribano real.*

Translation.

Certified extract from the manifest of the pieces and cash sent to the Marianas and Philippines this year of 1708 aboard the galleon Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación.

Philippine and Mariana Islands.

I, Antonio Ximenez de Guzman, royal notary who despatched the business involving His Grace, Don Juan José de Veitia Linage, Knight of the Order of St. James, do certify and vouch for the fact that Don Manuel de Zurita, master of the Philippine *almiranta* has, among other things, signed an extract from the manifest on 23 March last in which he admitted having received from Captain José Perez Navas, resident of the City of Mexico, land-owner and resident of this port, the goods and cash belonging to the missions of the sacred Society of Jesus of the Philippine and Mariana Islands, which are as follows:

—38 crates bearing the mark in margin: 2 half-loads of cacao from Guatemala, 1 from Caracas, 4 barrels of wine, and 1 bundle, totalling 46 pieces destined for the mission of the Religious of the sacred Society of Jesus in said Mariana Islands;

—And with the second mark, 25 pieces as follows: 21 crates, 2 bundles, 1 half-load of cacao from Caracas, 1 barrel of wine, all destined to the College of the youth in said Mariana Islands;

—And with the third mark, 4 crates, 2 half-loads of cacao from Guatemala, destined for the College of the Society in the City of Manila;

—In addition, 9,494 pesos as follows: 5,261 pesos and 2 reales consigned to whomever may be Father Procurator of the Province of the Philippines, which belong to the Missions of the Palaos; and the remaining 4,232 pesos 5 tomins and ... consigned to Father Marcelo Valdivieso, Procurator of the College of San Ignacio in the City of Manila, as shown in said manifest to which I refer, and for whom it may concern, at the request of said Captain and by order of His Grace, I give the present at the City of the Kings and port of Acapulco on 2 April 1708, in the presence of the following witnesses: Juan Ortiz, Pedro del Rio, and Miguel Fernandez de Saldaña.

And in faith whereof, I affix my signature:
Antonio Ximenez de Guzman, royal notary.

Documents 1709A

Expeditions to the Caroline Islands —The voyage of 1709

Sources: AGI Fil. 215 (formerly 68-5-29); copies in Colección Pastells, Fil. 4.

A1. Meeting of pilots and other persons, 12 November 1708

Summary.

On 12 November, former Governors of the Marianas were invited to attend a general meeting with some officers of the Manila-Acapulco run. Among those present were those who were or had been Generals of the Run: General Miguel Martínez; Juan de Echeverría; Theodoro de San Lucas; Miguel de Villanueva y Salazar; Joseph Madrazo; and the following Pilots: General Miguel Elorriaga; General Fermín de Salaberría; Captain Pantaleón Fernández Cassados; Captain Manuel Lobo; Captain Juan Luis de Acosta; Captain Henríque Hernán. From among the former Governors of the Marianas were: Major Francisco Medrano y Asiayn, as well as the already-mentioned General Madrazo.

The Royal decree of 19 October 1705 was read. A new petition by Fr. García Salgado, the new Procurator General of the Jesuits in Manila, was also read; it said that a new vessel should be made ready and the exploration continued. On 10 November, the Committee of the Treasury had already held a meeting to consider that request.

After some discussion, most of those present were of the opinion that between the Philippines and the Marianas there are indeed some islands. Of special interest, there was mention made of a boat from the Marianas having drifted to Caraga in Mindanao in 1700, and having seen many islands along the way and spoken to their natives.¹

¹ Ed. note: That was the boat piloted by the German soldier, Juan Martín (see Doc. 1711C5). As far as the ships of the Run are concerned, they are not able to go on such voyages of exploration as it would be too risky.

General Theodoro de San Lucas introduced hearsay information as follows: in Malacca he had been told by the Dutch that some of their own people had sailed through Micronesian waters on their return trip from Japan and had seen the said islands, that they had taken in some refreshments there...

Major Medrano “added that while he was Governor of those islands, upon the occasion of the flagship **Santa Rosa** having seen, in 1686, in the SSW direction from those islands a large island, he had, during his term, made some efforts to discover it in that general direction, but that he was not successful.”

General Elorriaga stated that he had “seen some rutters, and charts where such islands were described, specially one made by General Bernardo de Endaya in 1686, whom he had heard say that, while coming from New Spain with said galleon **Santa Rosa** and hitting a shoal which is about 9 leagues to the south of the Island of Guahan, the capital of said Marianas, he had encountered [further] to the south, at a distance of from 10 to 12 leagues, **a large and hilly island.**”¹

A2. Meeting of the Treasury, 13 November 1708

Summary.

The next day, the Committee of the Treasury was re-convened to consider the opinions of the above authorities in naval and government matters. Correa, Torralva repeated their vote given on 10 November, saying that another vessel should be sent once more. Barrientos agreed, but said that a budget for it should be determined first. Pavon agreed with Barrientos. So, the Governor also agreed, and decided that the Patache **Santissima Trinidad, Nuestra Señora de los Dolores y San Francisco Xavier** that had just arrived from Japan, where it had taken the Abbot Juan Bautista Sidote, be made ready at his own expense, until a proper vessel was built to sustain this operation, in accordance with the royal decree.

Another decision made was to re-convene the pilots, and to make sure that Captain Juan Luis de Acosta, who had been the chief pilot of the previous exploration vessel, be in attendance.

A3. Meeting of the Pilots, 15 November 1708

Summary.

The pilots were told that a new voyage of exploration to the Carolines had been decided. Acosta was asked to tell about his previous experience, specially his opinion as to the most appropriate time of departure.

¹ Ed. note: The distance was so under-estimated that it was no wonder that boats sent from Guam never re-discovered what was in fact the Island of Yap (see also Doc. 1687O).

The opinion of Acosta was as follows: "the most opportune time to make the voyage in question is to go out from said port of Cavite in the middle of January, and to go out by San Bernardino, not by San Juanico as was determined in the last meeting of the Pilots, and that such was the way to make the voyage and exploration successful, because the prevailing winds are then northeasterlies and it is possible to sail as far as the meridian of the Marianas, and do whatever is desired should be done, according to his experience in the previous voyage, in which, not having gone out with this kind of anticipation, he could not accomplish the discovery of said islands, and was forced to fall back."

Captains Fernandez, Lobo, and Hernan agreed with Acosta. Captain Fernandez added that it would nevertheless be better to leave Cavite at the beginning of January.

The opinion of Elorriaga was as follows: "In the previous meeting held at Cavite last February, he had expressed his opinion based on a discussion held before voting, and that it had then been admitted that from Caraga, on a clear day, one could see some land toward the east and that such land was judged to belong to one of said islands, and that he too had heard may coastal pilots, who had been to Caraga and were worthy of consideration, assert the same. But now that he had seen the Logbook of said Captain Juan Luis de Acosta who had gone on said exploration, having gone 5 degrees and 56 minutes east of the meridian of Caraga and Point of Guivan, without seeing any land of the Palaos, he was of the opinion that there could not possibly be any land within that distance, since it would have been seen, according to said Logbook, as well as the foreign charts that said General has in his power, he infers that the said Palaos must be not too far away from the meridian that is half-way between the Marianas and that of Caraga and Guivan Point. Their latitude must be between 6 and 11 degrees more or less, with the exception of the Islands called Garbanzos which are in a latitude of almost 13 [sic] degrees, at a distance of about 60 leagues from the main island of the Marianas."¹

The decisions made was that the yearly vessel that goes to the Marianas should leave Guam in March, and after skirting the Santa Rosa shoal, head S and SW in order to discover the Island of 1686, and as far as a latitude of 6-7 degrees, before heading N and NW as far as a latitude of 10-11 degrees, at a point which is on the above-mentioned half-way meridian, before heading for any point on the coasts between San Bernardino and San Juanico, according to the winds.

The Governor agreed, and, in view of the high regard he had for General Elorriaga's opinion and experience, he was placing him in charge of the expedition.

1 Ed. note: 60 leagues is at least 1° less than Guam, i.e. 12°, but Ulithi lies in fact closer to 10° N. This wrong piece of information, as well as the belief that Carolina, or Yap, lied close to Guam, was to cause one unsuccessful voyage, captained by Elorriaga himself.

A4. Memorial of General Elorriaga, undated (but end November 1708)

Original text in Spanish.

Señor

El General Don Miguel de Elorriaga Vezino de esta Ziudad ante V. Señoria parece y Dice:

Que V. Señoria se sirvio de nombrarle para el descubrimiento de los Palaos en cumplimiento de lo que su Magestad tiene mandado por sus Reales Cedula disponiendo que salga à principios del mes de Henero; Y porque aunque se halla enfermo esta en animo de emplearse con todas sus fuerzas en deservicio [sic] de su Magestad y en obediencia de los hordenes de V. Señoria como es de su obligacion y solo se halla con el ympedimento de su propio dictamen que tiene manifestado en Voto que dio para la Junta à que fue citado y se celebrosobre el tiempo mas oportuno en que se deva salir à dicho descubrimiento porque segun las Razones que entonces expreso y da aqui por insertas y repetidas segun sus cortas experiencias no discurre ser tiempo apropiado el que ay desde Henero hasta fines de Marzo, por ser de vientos contrarios y muy recios que entonces corren fuera del embocadero segun tiene experimentado; y porque aunque tambien esta en animo de sacrificar no solo su dictamen, sino su persona con la obediencia ciega que deve executar los hordenes de su Magestad y de V. Señoria; no obstante desea para su mayor acierto que sobre las razones expresadas en dicho su Voto, se sirva V. Señoria de mandar que se convoque nueva junta, y que haziendose en ella reflexo de dichas Razones y otras que espesara siendo necesario se determine lo mas combeniente à la prompta y mas facil consecucion de dicho descubrimiento en cuya conformidad: A V. Señoria suplica rendidamente se sirva de hazerle esta gracia, y merced segun y como la pide por ser tan propia de la notoria piedad y grandeza de V. Señoria.

Miguel Elorriaga.

Translation.

Sir:

I, General Don Miguel de Elorriaga, resident of this City, appear before Your Lordship and declare:

That Your Lordship was pleased to appoint me for the exploration of the Palaos in compliance with what His Majesty has ordered in his Royal decrees, and arranging for me to depart at the beginning of the month of January; and, although I am at present sick, I am ready to employ myself with all the forces at my disposal in the disservice [rather service] of His Majesty and to obey the orders of Your Lordship, as is my duty, nevertheless I find myself restricted by my own expert opinion, which I have already stated in the Meeting to which I had been convened, and which was held, regarding the most opportune time to leave on said exploration; indeed, the reasons that I expressed

then, and which I repeat here in the enclosed paper, indicate, according to my short experience, that a departure between January and the end of March would not be a suitable time, on account of the winds being contrary and very strong beyond the Embocadero during that period, according to my experience. Also, although I am ready to sacrifice not only my expert opinion but also my life to blindly obey the orders given by His Majesty and Your Lordship, nevertheless I wish, to ensure the success of the venture, to reiterate the reasons expressed in the above-mentioned paper, and therefore beg Your Lordship to please order the convocation of a new Meeting where such opinions could be discussed, and others to be brought forward, since it is necessary to determine the most convenient time for the quick and easy execution of said exploration. Hence: I most humbly beg Your Lordship to please do me this favor, as requested, given that Your Lordship's mercy and highness are well known.

Miguel Elorriaga.

A5. Meeting of Pilots, 15 December 1708

Summary.

The detailed arguments of General Elorriaga were heard. He was suggesting that the proper time to leave was the end of March, of 1709, notwithstanding all the opinions expressed in the previous meetings of pilots over the past year. A new decision was made to that effect. As for the Mariana patache, its proper time to leave Guam was to be decided at a meeting of the Treasury Committee.¹

A6. Instruction issued to General Elorriaga, on 22 February 1709

Original text in Spanish.

*Instruccion que à de guardar el General Don Miguel de Elorriaga, cavo superior del Patache nombrado la Santissima Trinidad que se esta aprestando en el Puerto para el descubrimiento de las yslas Palaos, dada por el Maestro de Campo Don Domingo de Zabalburu, y Cavallero del horden de Santiago Governador y Capitan General de estas yslas Philipinas y Presidente de la Audien-
cia y Chancilleria Real que ellas Reside.*

1. Al entregarse y hazerse cargo de dicha embarcacion pasará muestra de la gente de mar y guerra que lleva y hará que antes de salir à la mar se confiesen y que en todo el discurso del Viaje se escusen juramentos y ofensas à Dios nuestro Señor.

¹ This committee met on 22 December 1708 and it was decided that no change should be made to the previous agreement regarding the Mariana Patache. At about this time, there was received in Manila a letter from Fr. Clain (see Doc. 1708C).

2. *Llevando dicho General en buena guardia y disciplina militar dicha embarcacion y gente hagase à la vela en todo el mes de Marzo como esta determinado y procure encaminar su derrota sin perder ora de tiempo à dicho descubrimiento de dichas yslas Palaos que constan del Mapa y Rumbo que se le entriega haziendo observacion de la [der]rota, rumbos[,] demarcacion, y Mapa de todas las yslas que descubrieren, del genero de gente que tienen y de los puertos mas seguros que reconocieren para surgidero de embarcaciones y comunicacion con estas yslas como tambien de los frutos que llevan.*

3. *A de procurar yr con toda advertencia y cautela reconociendo los bajos y puertos con la chalupa y que se lleguen siempre a tierra y con el cuydado y mesma advertencia de no ser ymbadidos [ni] en tierra ni en su embarcacion precautelando qualquiera traycion ó asechanza con andar siempre juntos y en buena orden para librarse los que se desembarcaren en tierra.*

4. *Hallando ocasion congrua y competente de quedarse en aquella mision los Padres Misioneros como se espera en Dios y de las buenas noticias que nos han dado los de aquella nacion que ultimamente an arrivado à estas yslas y se hayan en esta Ziudad para yr en su conservazion haziendo eleccion de buena Isla numerosa de gente que tenga buenas tierras para sembrar y buen puerto y aguas dulces.*

5. *Y en caso de dicho descubrimiento y de resolver dicha quedada dichos Padres Misioneros y tenerse por conveniente que en su compañia queden algunos soldados para su defensa, escolta[,] pasificazion y reduccion de aquellas yslas y naturales al gremio de nuestra sancta Madre Iglesia y de la Real corona de su Magestad se determinará en Junta de todos los Oficiales de dicha embarcacion y si presediere la maior parte de Votos de ellos y en que han de entrar à dicha Junta los dichos Padres Misioneros, y el Capitan Don Francisco de Padilla que ba nombrado por cavo de dicha escolta y por paseficador de dichas yslas y sus naturales arreglandose en quanto fuere posible al parecer del superior de dichos misioneros y procurando tomar sitio competente y eminente donde pueda formarse alguna Palizada ó terraplen en que se puedan plantar las piasas de Artilleria[,] Pedreros, y demas armas y municiones que lleva dicha embarcacion mientras que con la noticia que se me tragere se dan por este Gobierno otras mas eficases y combenientes providencias para el maior adelantamiento de aquella mision.*

9. *Y à de procurar retirarse con tiempo y [traer] vien dispuesta Relazion de todo lo que acontesiere en dicho Viage para poder dar quenta de ello à su Magestad en el despacho de este presente año y tambien à de procurar dicho General obrar en todo lo demas que ocurriere segun lo premeten sus obligaciones y esperiencias y los cassos presentes lo pidieren.*

Manila y Febrero veinte y dos de mill setecientos y nueve años.

Domingo de Zabalburu.

Por mandado de su Señoria,

Joseph de Arevalo.

Translation.

Instruction to be observed by General Don Miguel de Elorriaga, Chief of-ficer of the Patache named Santissima Trinidad that is being made ready in the Port to go to the exploration of the Palaos Islands, given by Master-of-camp Don Domingo de Zabalburu, Knight of the Order of St. James, and Governor and Captain General of these Philippine Islands and President of the Audiencia and Royal Chancellery residing there.

1. Upon taking delivery and charge of said vessel, he will pass muster of the seamen and soldiers on board and before departure he is to make sure that they go to confession and during the whole voyage they are to avoid swearing and offences to God our Lord.

2. With said vessel kept in good order and all its men in good military discipline, said General is to make sail during the whole of this month of March, as was determined, and endeavor to pursue his course, without the loss of one hour of time, to said exploration of said Palaos Islands that appear on the Map and rutter that he is provided with. He is to record his observations, such as the route, courses, position and maps of all the islands that he might discover, the people he meets and the safest ports he might find suitable as anchorages for vessels, and commerce with these Islands, as well as the products they have.

3. He is to apply all care and precaution when surveying shoals and ports with the launch, and the same care and warning apply whenever anyone goes ashore, being aware of possible attacks against either the boat, or the men who might step ashore; they are to stay and walk together, to avoid any treachery or trap.

4. If a suitable occasion be found for the establishment of that Mission by the missionary Fathers, as it is hoped from God, and from the good news that have been brought to us by people of that nationality who have drifted in to these Islands recently and are presently in this City ready to go to their preservation, a good island should be selected, one with a large population, good lands, a good port, and potable water.

5. Should said Fathers decide to stay there, and think it convenient to keep in their company a few soldiers for their defence and escort service, the pacification and reduction of those Islands and their natives to the fold of our holy Mother the Church and under the Royal Crown of His Majesty, the details are to be resolved in a Council of all the officers of said vessel, and based on a majority of the votes; said missionary Fathers and Captain Don Francisco de Padilla, who goes as officer in charge of said escort and as peace-maker of said Islands and their natives, are to be included in this Council; all are to come to a consensus, agreeing as much as possible with the opinion of the Superior of said missionaries. The idea is to select a suitable site, possibly on a rise, where some stockade or earthwork is to be built to install the artillery pieces, the mortars and the other weapons and munitions that said vessel carries. After due notices are brought back to this Government, more appropriate provisions will be given to foster the progress of that Mission.

9. He is to endeavor to return in good time, and bring back a full written report about said voyage, to enable a report to be sent to His Majesty with this year's despatch, and also, said General is to endeavor to do his best in every circumstance, in line with the hope we have of him, based on his sense of duty and the experience he has, and the relative importance of the present mission assigned to him.

Manila, 22 February 1709.

Domingo de Zabalburu.

By order of His Lordship,

José de Arevalo.

A7. Instruction issued to Captain Padilla, on 16 March 1709

Original text in Spanish.

Instruccion que ha de guardar el Capitan Don Francisco de Padilla (en caso de descubrirse las yslas Palaos y quedar en ellas los Padres Misioneros) de cuya escolta ba nombrado Cavo y pacificador de dichas yslas y sus naturales; Dada por el Maestre de Campo Don Domingo de Zabalburu, Cavallero del horden de Santiago del Consejo de su Magestad Governador y Capitan General de estas yslas Philipinas y Presidente de la Audiencia y Chancilleria Real que en ellas reside.

1. *Determinado que sea que los Padres Misioneros de la Compañia de Jhs queden en aquellas Islas (en caso de descubrirse) y hecha eleccion de la que pareciere mas proposito numerosa de gente y que tenga buenas tierras para sembrar[,] puertos francos[,] entradas y salidas libres, y aguas dulces procurará tomar sitio competente y eminente donde pueda formarse alguna palisada ó terraplen en que se puedan plantar las piezas de Artilleria Pedreros y demas Armas y municiones que combinere dejar en ellas para el resguardo y maior seguridad de dichos Padres Misioneros y gente que quedare de su escolta.*

2. *Procurará que los soldados que à este fin lleva, vivan christianamente y con buen exemplo para que los naturales que se redujeren à su ymitacion rezivan mejor Nuestra Sancta fee y christianas costumbres evitando en ellos los Juramentos blasfemias y todo genero de ofensas de Dios que castigara con la cordura que el caso pidiere.*

3. *No permitirá que dichos soldados anden dispersos y vagando de unas partes, à otras por lo que puede resultar de perjuicio en alguna ynopinada ymbasion, precautelando las trayciones y asechanzas que pueden ofreserse con andar siempre juntos y en buena horden en el numero que combinere.*

4. *Asistirá à los Padres Misioneros con su gente para todo lo que se le ofresiere, concurriendo à su conferencia en todas las ocasiones que combinieren resolver, ó determinar alguna cosa para el mejor progresso y adelantamiento de la Reduccion de aquellos*

naturales procurando (en quanto le fuere posible) ajustarse al dictamen y parecer del Padre superior de dicha mision.

5. En la primera ocasion que se ofresca remitirá à este Gobierno relacion de todo lo que ubiere acaecido desde su entrada en aquellas yslas con noticia individual de las que se ubieren reducido y de la gente que las havitan, sus costumbres[,] ritos y ceremonias y si abrazan ó no con fasilidad nuestra sagrada Religion[,] la fertilidad y abundancia de cada una, y los frutos y especies que producen con lo demas que le paresiere combeniente como que tiene la cosa presente para que con su noticia se pueda dar quenta à su Magestad del estado y progresos de dicha Reduccion y las providencias que combengan.

Manila y Marzo dies y seis de mill setecientos y nueve años.

Domingo de Zabalburu.

Por mandado de su Señoria, Joseph de Arevalo.

Translation.

Instruction to be observed by Captain Don Francisco de Padilla (in case the Palaos Islands are discovered and the missionary Fathers choose to remain there) who goes as officer in charge of the escort and peace-maker of said Islands and their natives; given by Master-of-camp Don Domingo de Zabalburu, Knight of the Order of St. James, member of the Council of His Majesty, Governor and Captain General of these Philippine Islands and President of the Audiencia and Royal Chancellery that reside there.

1. Once it has been determined that the missionary Fathers of the Society of Jesus will stay in those Islands (in case of their discovery) and the most suitable island has been selected, on account of it being well populated, and having good arable lands, true ports with clear approaches, and drinkable water, he is to endeavor to take over a suitable site on a rise, where he might build some kind of stockade or earthwork to install the artillery pieces, the mortars and the other weapons and munitions that can appropriately be left there for the defence and greater security of said missionary Fathers and the men of their escort who are to remain behind.

2. He will endeavor to have his soldiers live in a Christian manner and give a good example to the natives who are to be reduced for them to imitate and thus receive better our holy faith and Christian customs, by having them avoid the utterance of blasphemies and all sorts of [other] offences to God; he is to punish such offences with the severity that each case might demand.

3. He is not to allow said soldiers to walk around dispersed and wandering everywhere, on account of what might result in prejudice in case of any unexpected attack, by expecting treacheries and traps that might occur and preventing them by making them walk together always and in good order, in a suitable number.

4. He will assist the missionary Fathers with his men in everything that might turn up, and conferring with them on any occasion that might be required to resolve or determine some thing for the better progress and advancement of the Reduction of those na-

tives, endeavoring (as much as possible) to adjust his own opinion to that of the Father Superior of said Mission.

5. At the first opportunity that might occur he is to remit to this Government an account of everything that might have happened since his entry in those Islands, with very detailed notices of the islands reduced and their particular inhabitants, their customs, rites and ceremonies, whether or not they embrace our sacred religion easily, their fertility, the availability and diversity of their products and spices, and everything else that might be included, keeping in mind that his report will be used to inform His Majesty of the status and conditions of said Reduction and to make appropriate provisions.

Manila, 16 March 1709.

Domingo de Zabalburu.

By order of His Lordship, José de Arevalo.

A8. Moac, first Carolinian honorary Colonel

Original text in Spanish.

Testimonio del Decreto en que se le haze merced à Moac Cathecumeno de la plaza de Maestro de Campo de los naturales de la Islas de Palaos.

Por quanto se haya en esta Ziudad Moac Cathecumeno natural y principal segun Dize, y demuestra de la Isla de Pays en las yslas de Palaos, que ultimamente vino desgaritado à estas Philipinas con su familia de muger é hijos[,] un sobrino y esclavos, à donde se esta proximamente para salir al descubrimiento de dichas Islas de Palaos en conformidad de orden de su Magestad; Y combiene que se embarquen con los Misioneros y demas gente que va à dicho descubrimiento atendiendo à la Real Voluntad de que se favoresca à los susodichos y à ser los primeros ynterpretes, y guias que han de tener dichos Misioneros; Y à los buenos efectos que se podran seguir del buen tratamiento que estos han experimentado y experimentaren para la reduccion de los Infieles de aquellas yslas à nuestra santa fee, y à obediencia de su Magestad que Dios guarde su Señoria haze merced al dicho principal Moac Cathecumeno, de la plaza de Maestro de Campo de los naturales de dicha nacion é Islas que se combirtieren al gremio de nuestra santa Madre Iglesia y reduxeren, y agragaren à la Real Corona con socorro y sueldo de un soldado de infanteria española, relevandole de media anata de todos derechos de sus titulos, por el fin à que se dirige esta merced.

Y el escrivano de Gobierno acumularà testimonio de este Decreto à los autos à que corresponde para que su Magestad sea informado de lo que contiene.

Manila y Marzo de mill setezientos y nueve.

Rubricado de su Señoria.

Arevalo.

Es copia del decreto original de donde se sacó en virtud de lo por el mandado y queda en el oficio de esta Governacion de mi cargo à que se remito y es fecha en esta Ziudad de Manila en dos Dias del mes de Marzo de mill setecientos y nueve años.

Hago mi signo.

Es testimonio de Verdad.
Joseph de Arevalo.

Translation.

Affidavit to record the Decree by which Moac, catechumen, is granted the favor of the rank of Master-of-camp of the natives of the Islands of the Palaos.

Given the presence in this City of Moac, catechumen, and a native chief, as he says and demonstrates, from the Island of Fais in the Islands of the Palaos, who recently drifted to these Philippines with his family, i.e. his wife and sons, one nephew and some slaves, and considering that a voyage of exploration of said Islands of the Palaos is about to take place in accordance with the order of His Majesty; and given the desirability of their joining the Missionaries and other men going to said exploration, in view of the Royal will that the above-mentioned be favored and become the first interpreters and guides that said missionaries should have; and hoping that the good treatment that these people have experienced and will experience for the reduction of the heathens of those islands to our holy faith, and in obedience to His Majesty (whom may God save), His Lordship is pleased to grant said Chief Moac, catechumen, the rank of Master-of-camp of the natives of said nationality and Islands that might be converted to the fold of our holy Mother the Church and be reduced, and adjoined to the Royal Crown, with the salary corresponding to a soldier in the Spanish infantry, but exempt to pay the deductions that come with the regular promotions, for the purpose intended by this favor.

And the Government's secretary is to include an affidavit of this Decree in the corresponding record of proceedings, so that His Majesty be informed of its contents.

Manila, [2] March 1709.

Original signed by His Lordship.

Arevalo.

It is a copy, made by virtue of the order contained therein, of the original decree which remains in the office of this Department of Administration in my care, to which it was directed, and is dated 2 March 1709.

In faith whereof, I affix my signature,

José de Arevalo.

A9. Letter from General Elorriaga, dated aboard ship 15 May 1709

Original text in Spanish.

[A] *Señor Maestre de Campo Don Domingo Zabalburu Governador Capitan General de estas yslas y Presidente de la Real Audiencia de Manila.*

Señor

Ofreceme poner en la consideracion de V. Señoria que hallandome atrasadisimo por las continuadas brisas, y algunas calmas que he experimentado desde que sali de Cavite pues à cinco dias que me hallo en esta ysla de Capul sin haverme permitido el viento de desembocar por San Bernardino y considerando que por lo adelantado del tiempo seria factible no pudiese dar el devido cumplimiento à las hordenes de V. Señoria como es de mi obligacion y con especial à lo de bolver à tiempo de poder dar quenta à nuestro Rey y Señor (que Dios guarde) V. Señoria de la resulta de esta empresa este a en cuya atencion y por juzgar el descubrimiento de las yslas de los Palaos del servicio de ambas Magestades y del agrado y obsequio de V. Señoria habiendo combocado à junta de los RR. PP. Misioneros y oficiales de este Patache he determinado llevar en mi compania una fregata que me alcanco cerca de Ticao suficiente y capaz para este Viage y descubrimiento la qual puede (mediante Dios) volver con la mejor brevedad posible para que V. Señoria pueda tener la noticia con antisipasion lo que seria dificil de conseguir no valiendome de este medio que se à juzgado combeniente y porque no tenga menoscavo ninguno el Real erario [dado que] é dispuesto hacer à mi costa todos los gastos y menoscavos de dicha fregata lo que deseo sea del servicio y aprobacion de V. Señoria à cuya obediencia estoy siempre con la veneracion que devo y ruego à nuestro Señor que à V. Señoria guarde los muchos años que puede con toda felicidad.

Abordo del Patache Santissima Trinidad y Mayo quinze de mill setecientos y nueve años.

Señor

*Besa la mano de V. Señoria, su menor soldado,
Miguel de Elorriaga.*

Translation.

[To] His Lordship, Master-of-camp Don Domingo [de] Zabalburu, Governor [and] Captain General of these Islands and President of the Royal Audiencia of Manila.

Sir:

I take this opportunity to inform Your Lordship of my great tardiness caused by continuous tradewinds, and some calms that I have experienced since I left Cavite. Indeed, I have been at this Island of Capul for five days, waiting for the right wind to exit through the Strait of San Bernardino. Considering that, on account of the lateness, it might not be possible to give due compliance to the orders of Your Lordship, as is my duty, and specially that regarding a timely return to enable Your Lordship to report to our King and Lord (whom may God save) about the result of this enterprise, for this reason and also judging that the discovery of the Islands of the Palaos is of service to both Majesties and agreeable to Your Lordship, it was decided in a meeting with the Reverend missionary Fathers and the officers of this patache to take in my company a frigate that overtook me near Ticao Island, one that is big enough and suitable for this voyage and exploration work;¹ it will be able to return swiftly enough with the news, something

1 Ed. note: This was the frigate named Estrella.

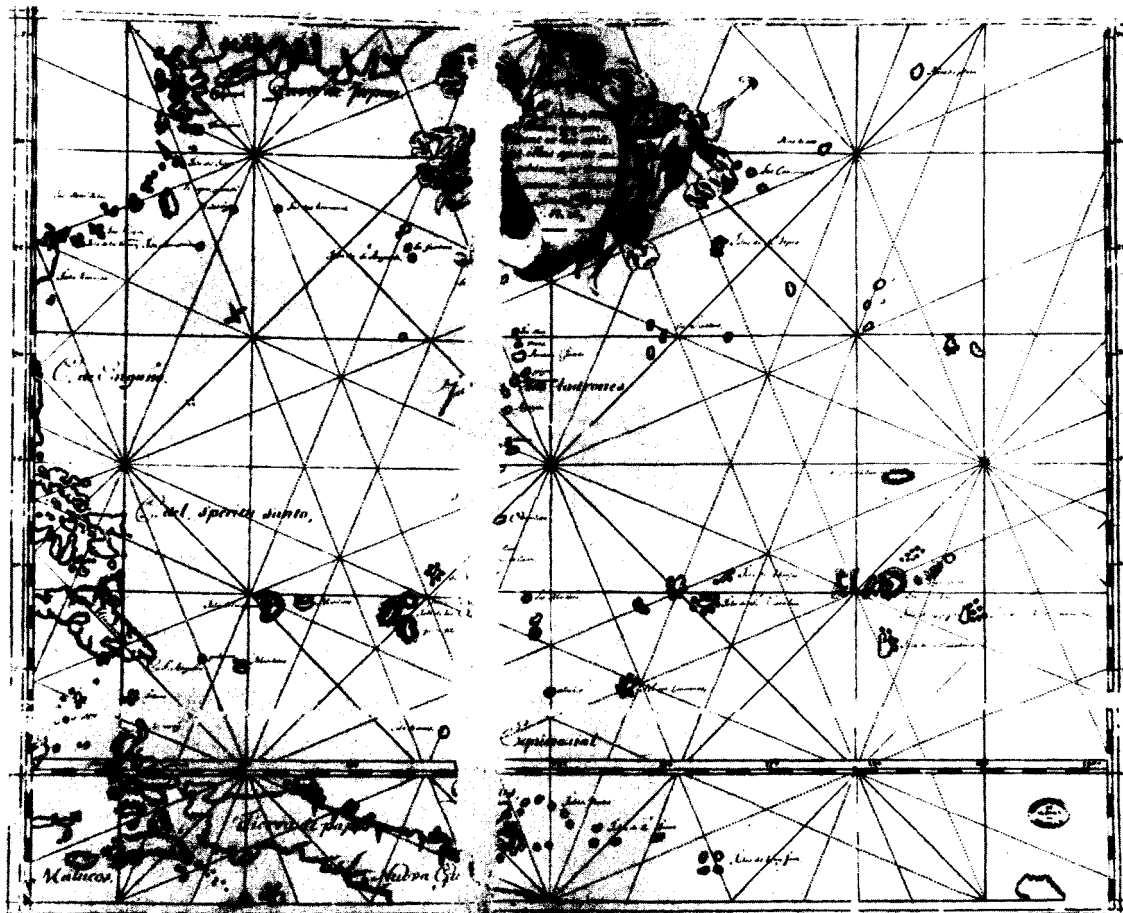
that would be very difficult for me to do, without this additional means that I have judged appropriate, and because it will have no adverse effect on the royal treasury, since I have decided to cover all the expenses of said frigate, something I wish to do for the service and approval of Your Lordship, in whose obedience I always remain, with the veneration that I must have, and I beg Our Lord to save Your Lordship for as many years as He wishes with complete happiness.

Aboard the Patache Santísima Trinidad, 15 May 1709.

Sir,

Your Lordship's humble servant who kisses your hand,

Miguel de Elorriaga.



Map of the western Pacific, by Pilot Acosta, 1709. *It was accompanying a letter from Governor Ursua, dated Manila 18 June 1710 (From AGI Fil. 215 & MP Fil. 14, as restored).*

Documents 1709B

The voyage of the patache *Santísima Trinidad* in 1709

B1. The logbook of the voyage, by Chief Pilot Juan Luis de Acosta

Sources: AGI Fil. 215; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 4.

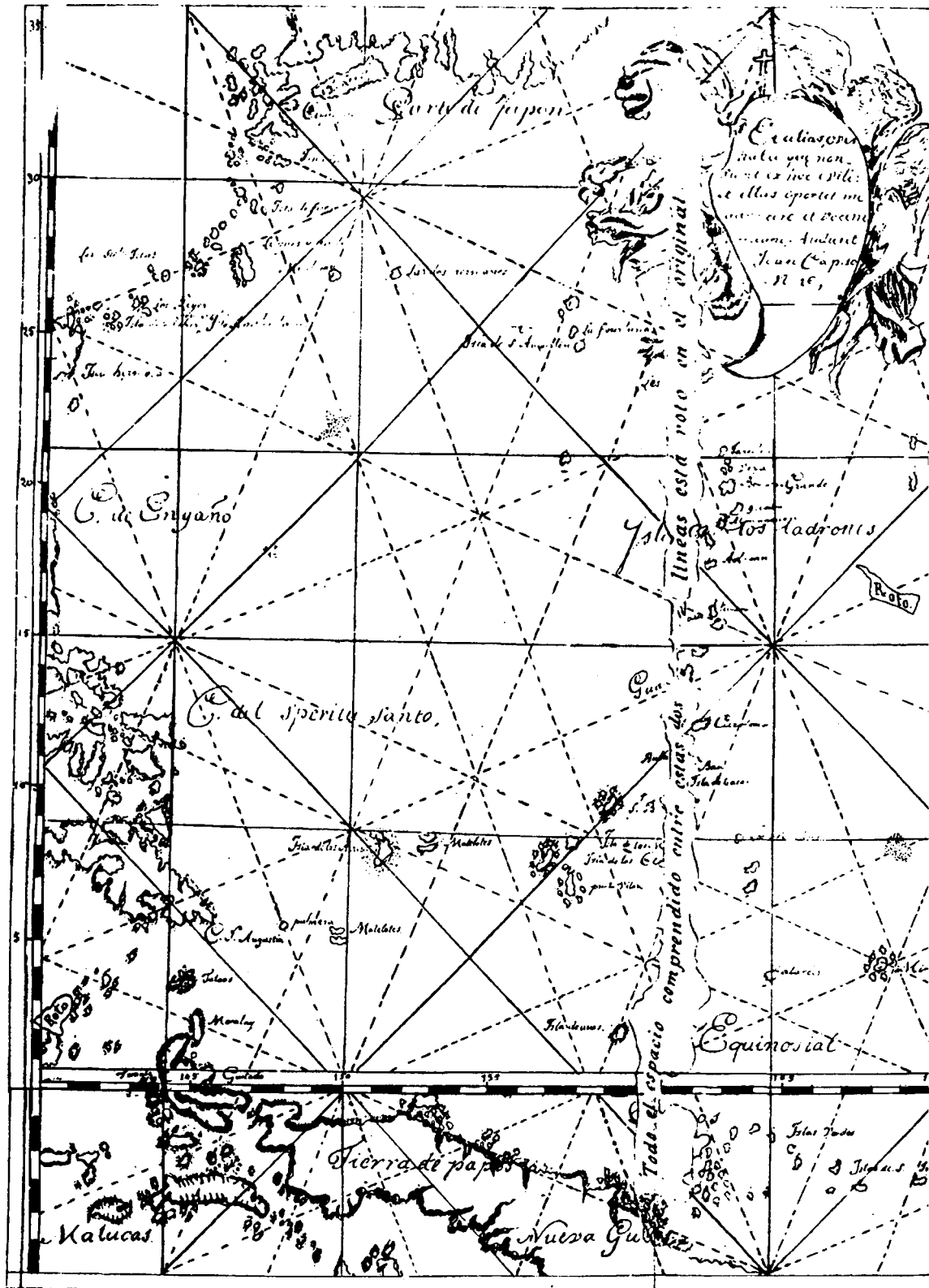
Note: For a record of proceedings that took place on board during the voyage, see Doc. 1710FA.

Extracts from the logbook.

In the name of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, three distinct persons and just one God, I begin this log, by order of His Lordship the Governor of these Philippine Islands, Don Domingo de Zabalburu y Echeverri, Knight of the Order of St. James, member of the Privy Council and President of the Audiencia and Royal Chancellery that reside there.—

I begin this task in my capacity as Chief Pilot of the patache named **Santísima Trinidad, Nuestra Señora de los Dolores y San Francisco Xavier**, whom I take as my patron saints and advocates in order to get a successful voyage from them. With such a hope, on 2 April at about 4 in the afternoon, I came out of the port of Cavite, the wind being ESE, and came to an anchor in 12 fathoms half a league from the cove of the Island of Mariveles.

(Facing and overleaf pages:) **Chart of the western Pacific Ocean, redrawn by Chief Pilot Juan Luis de Acosta after his voyage of 1709.** This voyage was unsuccessful. The copy of this chart, shown in the next two pages, is reproduced from Father Pablo Pastells' 1900 edition of Father Francisco Colín's book entitled: "Labor evangélica...", the history of the Jesuit missions in the Philippines. The inscription at the top reads, in Latin: "*Et alias oves habeo, quæ non sunt ex hoc ovili: et illas oportet me adducere, et vocem meam audient.*" (Joan, Cap. 10 n. 16), which means: "I have other sheep which do not belong to this flock; I must bring them in too; they will listen to my voice." (John 10:16).



Wednesday 3 [May]: I departed with a northerly somewhat fresh at about 6 in the morning, bound for the mouth of San Bernardino Strait, but on account of contrary winds and currents, and calms, lasting some 18 hours in every single day, we were delayed until 22 May when, with favorable currents and a NE wind, we went up the Strait of San Bernardino, only to find seas running contrary, and therefore I anchored in 25 fathoms outside of Biri, the said point of Biri bearing ESE—WSW, being 4 degrees SW, rather E—W with San Bernardino 4 degrees to the NW [sic] where I remained at anchor for the rest of the day and the whole night.—

23: As of this day, Thursday, on account of calms, we made use of the tides, coming to an anchor when they were contrary, until we finally anchored in the mouth of the larger channel leading to Palapag at about 4 in the afternoon, where I remained the whole night.

...

1 June: I took my departure from Cape Espiritu Santo which is located at 12° 30' lat. N., beginning to calculate the longitude of the Palao Islands from it.

2 June: On this day General Miguel de Elorriaga asked me for my opinion, to which I answered that, given my experience with the previous voyage for the same purpose, my opinion was that we should sail between 10° and 11°, and 11°30' to follow up on what was done last year.

...

[Estimated positions at noon of most dates, longitudes estimated E of Cape Espiritu Santo]

4 June: 12° 27' obs. lat. N. & 1° 22' E.

5 June: 12° 17' obs. lat. N. & 1° 33' E.

6 June: 12° 12' obs. lat. N. & 2° 22' E.

8 June: almost 11° est. lat.

9 June: 10° 30' est. lat. N. & 5° 30' E.

10 June: 10° 11' obs. lat. N.¹

11 June: 10° 22' est. lat. N.

12 June: 10° 30' obs. lat. N. & 7° 12' E.

13 June: 10° 18' est. lat. N.

—At 7 a.m., I saw many sea birds, among them a sparrow hawk.

14 June: 10° 28' obs. lat. N. & 8° 16' E.

15 June: 10° 35' est. lat. N.

17 June: 10° 29' est. lat. N. & 9° 28' E.

18 June: 11° 4' obs. lat. N. & 9° 37' E.

19 June: 11° 7' obs. lat. N. & 10° 9' E.

20 June: 11° 12' obs. lat. N. & 10° 28' E.

21 June: 11° obs. lat. N. & 10° 44' E.

1 Ed. note: His zigzagging through bad seas already threw him off, and he did not even estimate his longitude, except in miles equivalent.

22 June: 10° 36' obs. lat. N. & 10° 51' E.
 23 June: 10° 49' obs. lat. N. & 10° 58' E.
 24 June: 10° 25' obs. lat. N. & 11° 8' E.
 26 June: 10° 40' est. lat. N. & 13° 44' E.

—Today our General and chief officer, and Lieutenant of Governor General, convened a council meeting in order to seek the Chick-Pea Islands, on account of some errors we have detected in the charts. As a result of said meeting, we are to follow the route suggested by some more detailed news we have of said Islands.

28 June: 11° 51' obs. lat. N. & 12° 20' E.
 29 June: 12° 16' obs. lat. N.
 30 June: 12° 44' obs. lat. N.
 1 July: 12° 48' obs. lat. N. & 12° 50' E.

2 July: No sun. Today, in a council..., it was decided to send home to Manila a frigate that had been our consort...

3 July: 12° 27' obs. lat. N. & 16° E.
 4 July: 13° 12' obs. lat. N. & 15° 48' E.
 7 July: 13° 8' obs. lat. N. approx.
 8 July: 13° 31' obs. lat. N.
 9 July: 13° 6' obs. lat. N.
 10 July: 13° obs. lat. N.
 11 July: 12° 46' obs. lat. N.
 12 July: 12° 10' obs. lat. N.
 13 July: 12° 24' obs. lat. N. & 17° 17' E.
 15 July: 13° 31' obs. lat. N. & 16° 32' E.
 16 July: 13° 41' obs. lat. N.
 17 July: 13° 30' obs. lat. N. & 17° 10' E.
 18 July: 13° 4' obs. lat. N. & 17° 30' E.
 19 July: 12° 30' obs. lat. N. & 17° 40' E.

21 July: No sun. In a council held on account of the lack of food supply, we all agreed to head for the Island of Yguan...

22 July: 13° 5' obs. lat. N.
 23 July: 12° 54' obs. lat. N. & 21° 33' E.
 24 July: 13° 21' obs. lat. N. & 22° 38' E.
 25 July: No sun & 23° 26' E.
 26 July: 13° 39' est. lat. N. & 24° 19' E.

27 July: End of the run eastward, i.e. turnaround point.

—In a council held, regarding our **being much beyond the longitude of the Mariana Islands** and somewhat short of supplies... it was decided to turn around, in search of the Mariana Islands, to refresh, and then pursue our voyage.¹

28 July: 13° 30' obs. lat. N.

¹ Ed. note: There are no signs of land recorded, such as birds, etc.

29 July: 13° 51' obs. lat. N. & 1° 7' W of turnaround point.

30 July: 14° 25' est. lat. N.

31 July: 14° 51' est. lat. N.

1 August: 15° 15' est. lat. N.

2 August: 15° 34' est. lat. N.

3 August: 15° 20' obs. lat. N. & 3° 55' W.

4 August: 14° 57' obs. lat. N. & 3° 36' W.

5 August: 14° 30' est. lat. N.

6 August: 13° 53' obs. lat. N. & 2° 52' W.

8 August: 13° 33' obs. lat. N. & 3° 45' W.

9 August: 14° 2' obs. lat. N. & 4° 2' W.

10 August: 14° 27' est. lat. N.

11 August: 14° 46' obs. lat. N. & 4° 36' W.

—At sunset, I measured the [magnetic] variation [of the compass] to be 9°2' [presumably an easterly variation].

12 August: 15° obs. lat. N. & 4° 45' W.

13 August: 14° 42' obs. lat. N. & 4° 51' W.

14 August: 14° 3' obs. lat. N. & 6° W.

15 August: 13° 44' obs. lat. N.

—At sunser, I measured the variation at 8°21'.

16 August: 13° 22' est. lat. N.

17 August: 13° 21' obs. lat. N. & 8° 26' W.

18 August: 13° 13' obs. lat. N. & 9° 29' W.

—Today the General convened a council to resolve our new course, since... it appears that we did **not** pass to the east of the Meridian of Iguan, and it appears that the currents must have been very violent and taking us westward...

19 August: 13° 14' obs. lat. N. & 10° 3' W.

—In longitude, we are 16° 4' **East** of Cape Espiritu Santo, and when the General said that we should steer S 1/4 SW, I answered that, since we were at the same latitude as the Island of Iguan, we should keep on steering [due west] for one more daily run, or two, then follow the proposed heading, and I refer to the record of proceedings for details.¹

20 August: 12° 57' obs. lat. N. & 10° 25' W.

—At sunset, I measured the variation at almost 5°.

21 August: 12° 59' obs. lat. N. & 10° 41' W.

22 August: 12° 39' obs. lat. N. & 10° 58' W.

—At sunset, I measured 4°34' and this was a good reading.

24 August: 11° 20' est. lat. N.

25 August: 10° 30' est. lat. N.

26 August: 9° 51' est. lat. N.

¹ Ed. note: See Doc. 1710FA.

27 August: 9° 22' est. lat. N.

28 August: 8° 44' est. lat. N. & 8° 14' W.

29 August: 8° 11' est. lat. N.

—In a council meeting, in which the General asked me what route we should take, I answered that New Guinea looked fine to me, that otherwise we have been had for sure. At about 2 p.m., the General told me to head wherever the wind took us.¹

1 September: 9° 52' obs. lat. N. & 10° 4' W.

2 September: 10° est. lat. N.

3 September: 11° 4' est. lat. N.

4 September: 11° 29' est. lat. N.

5 September: 11° 29' est. lat. N.

6 September: 12° obs. lat. N. & 11° 15' W.

7 September: 12° 22' obs. lat. N.

8 September: 12° 31' obs. lat. N. & 13° 18' W.

9 September: 12° 46' obs. lat. N. & 14° 3' W.

10 September: 12° 37' obs. lat. N.

11 September: 12° 42' obs. lat. N. & 15° 26' W.

12 September: 12° 47' obs. lat. N. & 15° 38' W.

—At about 11 a.m., I perceived the peak of Cape Espiritu Santo bearing WSW distant about 10 leagues.²

13 September: 13° obs. lat. N. & 16° 5' W.

14 September: At sunset, the Cape bore SW 4-5 leagues. I saw the volcano of Albay...

15 September: ... I anchored in the Port of Calomotan where I spent the rest of the day and the whole night.

16 September, Monday: At sunrise, at anchor in said Port of Calomotan. Took in a little ballast, water and wood that were necessary to continue to the Port of Cavite.

17 September, Tuesday: After sunrise, I departed said Port of Calomotan, the wind blowing from shore and the tide being favorable...

18 September: ... one league west of the Island of Tabones...

19 September: ... anchored near the tip of Bulasan...

20 September: ... tacked into Biri near Point Vali and anchored... little by little crept toward the Island of Puerco and Capul... where I anchored at about 2 a.m. before the town in 34 fathoms, bottom of rubble.

21 September: ... I went downwind toward the Naranjo [Islands].

22 September: Tacked all day...

23 September: Idem.

1 Ed. note: In other words, a random search was now OK, but the pilot wisely headed for the Cape of his departure.

2 Ed. note: So, his reckoning of longitudes eastward was about 10° more than on the westward, or return, journey. No doubt he ascribed this difference to the strength of the current running westward. We can speculate that he changed his method, albeit unconsciously, to get this result.

24 September: ... found myself downwind of that part of Naranjo which is SW of the Island of Miongol... and it seemed to me proper to come to a port of the Island of Capul where I anchored...

26 September, Thursday: ... at about 2 p.m., left said port and by nightfall, I was beyond the Naranjos...

28 September: ... at sunrise, I was about 1 league downwind of [the Island of] Ticao...

29 September: ... at sunrise, I was abeam of the Port of San Jacinto... at sunset, I was abeam of Point Diablo...

1 October: ... abeam of the center of Zibuyan... by sunset, I was about 2 leagues from the Island of Marinduque...

2 October: ... between Baton and Marinduque...

3 October: ... closer to Pola than to Marinduque...

4 October: ... a storm hit me close to Luban...

5 October: ... abeam of Point Santiago... By the middle of the night, I was between [the Island of] Fortun and the Bay of Lian.

6 October: ... At noon, I anchored near Point Limbones, that which is nearer [the Island of] Frayle... By the middle of the night, I came to an anchor in the small channel of Mariveles, on the side before the town in 30 fathoms.

7 October: ... Completed three tacks without advancing none, so I came back to anchor in 25 fathoms...

8 October: ... remained at anchor in the small channel...

9 October: ... could made no headway and anchored at about half of league from Mariveles at about 5 p.m...

10 October: ... came to anchor half-way between Manila and Cavite...

11 October, Friday: Daylight saw me with a fair NNE wind that took me to the Port of Cavite where I anchored, thank God, at about 9 o'clock, thanks be to God.

End of this logbook, which I kept during a voyage in search of the Palao Islands in the present year of 1709.

Juan Luis de Acosta.

(Facing page:) **Saint Francis Xavier, the patron saint of Jesuit exploration voyages to spread the faith.** The message printed on the banner reads, in Latin: *"Me insulæ et naves maris in principio, ut adducam filios tuos de longe."* (Isa. 60.9) which means: "The islands and the ocean-going ships have awaited a signal from me, when I will bring thy sons home from afar." (Isaias 60:9). (From Pastells' edition of Colín, engraved by Marcos Orozco, 1900).



B2. The narrative of Fr. Felipe Mexía, chaplain

Sources: 1) Fr. Murillo Velarde's *Historia de Filipinas* (1st ed., 1716); 2) copied by Fr. Delgado in his "Historia general sacro-profana...", Book 1, Chapter 24 (see Bibliography); 3) Fr. Concepción's *Hist. gen. de Phil.*, tome IX, pp. 166-171.

Notes: These are primary sources, as the author is quoted verbatim. However, the real author is not identified, but internal evidence points to Fr. Mexía. The first would-be missionaries of the Caroline Mission were: Fr. José de Bobadilla, Superior, Fr. Pedro de Estrada, and Br. Francisco Aguarón.

Original text in Spanish.

...
*Salimos de Manila, llevando en nuestra compañía los palaos, á 1º de mayo de 1709. En el tablazo de Marinduque padecimos un peligroso **baguio** en el cual perdimos al hermano Aguarón, enviado en un champancillo por refresco al pueblo de Boac; pero á los dos días habiendo entrado casualmente en Romblón, hallamos al dicho hermano que, lleno el champán de agua y sostenido en unos tercios de cañas, que habían embarcado por orden del general á los costados de la embarcación, fué arrojado de los mares y corrientes al mismo puerto, sin lesión del champán. De aquí proseguimos el viaje y encontrando una galeota de dicho general, que iba á provincias [en comercio], fué mandada ir en nuestra compañía y convoy hasta Palaos, á costa de dicho general. Llegamos á Palapag á 1º de Junio, y hecha leña y agua nos enmaramos en demanda de Palaos, hasta lograrlos [rather bajando hasta diez grados]; pero fueron tan terribles los tiempos y se puso tan oscuro el cielo, que aunque pasáramos por junto á las islas no pudieramos verlas. Padecimos ocho temporales, y entre ellos cuatro **baguios** tan recios que, dijo el general, cualquiera de ellos era bastante para maltratar un galeon que fuese á Acapulco; con el primero de estos hizo tanta agua la galeota que fué necesario se volviese. Estando á la capa con uno de estos temporales y descansando la gente, rodó una almohada con los balances hasta debajo de la bitácora; una chispa la incendió y el viento levantó tal llama que dentro de la cámara lamían las llamas más de una vara del techo. Considérese el susto y turbación; pero, el grande corazón del general, con mucho sosiego, tomando su frazada la tendió sobre el fuego y pisando[la] á toda priesa, logró apagarlo á costa de algunas quemaduras en las piernas. Cerca ya de San Ignacio [sic] nos entró una vendavalada tan recia, que corrimos veinte y siete días á palo seco; un día de estos por equivocación del piloto al mandar, se nos atravesó el patache y estuvimos debajo del agua que llegaba en el combés á la cintura, por causa de los mares que de continuo se encapellaban, por espacio de dos credos, hasta que el general mismo abrazando el pinzote, él solo cerró el timón que no habían podido antes ocho personas, y surgió el navío poniéndose á la vía.*

La falta de escora [esmero?] al bastimento de la gente, hizo que se pudriese y echase al agua antes de desembocar. La falta de fidelidad en el mayordomo del general desperdició nuestros bastimentos, y el poco reparo en escoger las tinajas de agua, que no se rezumasen, fué causa de que á un tiempo padeciésemos una hambre general y una sed rabiosa, con el desconsuelo de hallarnos cerca de tierra, según señas evidentes; pero sin

saber á donde demoraba, por la oscuridad de los tiempos. Según la cuenta del piloto nos hallábamos á trecientas leguas, propasados de Marianas; y habiéndose podrido los cables por los continuos golpes sobre el combés que todo estaba escalimado, y habiendo perdido dos anclas, estando sin bastimento y sin agua, ya parecía temeridad proseguir el viaje que se hacía inútil por el tiempo cerrado y nada á propósito para descubrir nuevas tierras, y así determinó el general coger á Marianas, con que abastecemos de nuevo y salir á mejor tiempo al descubrimiento. Fué ésta inspiración de Dios; porque en realidad estábamos tan cerca de Marianas que oíamos claramente los truenos de una turbonada, que estaba sobre la isla; y si aquella noche proseguimos, nos hacemos pedazos contra las piedras. El yerro estuvo en la ampolleta del piloto, que debiendo tener un minuto, tenía casi dos, con que daba casi la mitad más de leguas de las que andábamos; esto se vió patente cuando el general llegó á sospechar y cotejó la ampolleta.

Volvimos, pues, en busca de Marianas, dejándolas por popa, arando el mar con el vendaval por la proa, tomando bordos de trece á quince grados, y de quince á ocho, padeciendo lo que pareciera increíble.

*La antevíspera de San Ignacio, rezando el rosario, muerta la gente de hambre y sed, (porque no había otra cosa que arroz con cáscara sin poderlo pillar, ni agua con que cocerlo, por causa de ser tales los mares que se nos encapellaban, que era imposible abrir la escotilla sin riesgo de anegarnos), pedían todos al santo, bien de corazón, el remedio, cuando una ola de mar extraordinaria se encapelló en el combés, estando en nuestra plegaria y dejó un pescado al parecer **bonito**, de extraordinaria grandeza. Salió la mar por los imbornales y nos dejó el pescado en seco, con el cual tuvimos abundantemente para dar de comer á toda la gente, la víspera [y día] de San Ignacio.*

Calmó después el vendaval y quedó una calma muerta más peligrosa para nosotros que los temporales; pues [porque] se imposibilitaba el remedio á la sed que padecíamos; porque á cada veinticuatro horas nos daban un cortadillo de agua, menos de medio cuartillo, y ésta mezclada con la cuarta parte de agua salada. El poco tasajo que se repartía se cocía con agua, mitad salada y mitad dulce; y no obstante esto, llegamos á tal estado, que no había ya sino tres tinajas [de agua] para más de setenta personas, en medio del golfo y en una calma muerta que nos aumentaba increíblemente la sed. Determinamos, pues, varias rogativas, y entre ellas la de hacer una novena á San Francisco Javier. ¡Cosa prodigiosa! Al segundo ó tercero día de la novena, á primera noche, observó el general una gran oscuridad [or oscurana] por el Noroeste. Puso el oído sobre el bordo, y como tan experimentado, conoció que tenía agua, y mandó aferrar velas y dejar aboyado el patache sin más guardia que la del timonel; y que toda la gente se previniese para recoger agua en unas sábanas de elefante que de antemano había repartido. Subiéronse tinajas con celeridad, y estando todo dispuesto llegó la turbonada con tanta agua que en poco tiempo se metieron en la bodega ochenta tinajas y quedaron en el combés para cada cuatro una tinaja, con que saciase la sed á su gusto.

No fué esta sola la misericordia del santo, sino que en el tiempo de la novena, no sé qué día, nos entró un viento gale[r]no con la mar en leche, con que proseguimos nuestro viaje, habiéndose cumplido puntualmente la distancia que hay de Marianas al cabo

del Espíritu Santo. Lo descubrimos por el mes de Setiembre, según me acuerdo, sin haber encontrado un mogote en todo el viaje, y no hay duda que, según el rumbo que llevamos, pasamos por medio de los Garbanzos á la ida como á la vuelta. Aquellas señas de tierra como mariposas y pajaritos de monte que se venían á bordo, y varios zacates de playa, que cogimos frescos, eran de los Garbanzos, que no descubrimos por la cerazón, tal, que á un tiro de piedra del navío no se podía ver cosa alguna.

*El padre Pedro de Estrada se quedó en Palapag; el patache prosiguió á Manila. El general, por orden que tenía, se embarcó en un champancillo, dejando orden al navío, en Calomotan, para que saliese dentro de veinticuatro horas para Manila como lo ejecutaron. **Perdióse entonces el Rosario chico en los bajos de Naranjos, y llegó el grande con felicidad á Manila.***

Fué de admirar la providencia de Dios en este viaje; porque con los trabajos dichos, y en un patache sin entrepuentes, donde la gente dormía al saco [rather raso], casi siempre sobre agua, ninguno enfermó ni dejó de trabajar. Los padres Bobadilla y Estrada, por haberse desde el primer temporal inutilizado sus catres, no se desnudaron para descansar en más de cuatro meses, ni durmieron sino en el suelo desnudo ó escorado entre dos petacas y medio sentados. El ordinario catre del padre Estrada era un gallinero ó una frasquera á todos vientos, y no obstante, no padecieron ni un dolor de cabeza. Prueba que los trabajos no matan, sino el poco ánimo con que se llevan.

Translation.

...
 We left Manila, taking along the Palaos, on 1 May [rather April] 1709. In the stretch off Marinduque Island we suffered a dangerous typhoon, during which we lost Brother Aguarón, who had been sent aboard a small champan to the town of Boac for refreshment. However, two days later, having casually stopped at Romblón, we found said Brother who, once the champan had filled with water, was kept afloat by a few bundles of bamboo, which had been tied to the sides of his vessel, by order of the General; it was carried by the sea and currents to the same port, without any damage to the champan. From here we pursued our voyage and, upon meeting with a galliot of said General, that was going to the provinces [to trade], it was ordered to go in our company as consort as far as the Palaos, at the cost of said General. We arrived at Palapag on 1 June and, after taking on wood and water, we made for the high seas bound for the Palaos, until reaching them [rather 10°], but the weather remained so terrible, with covered skies, that we would not have been able to see any islands, even if we had passed close to them. In all we suffered through 8 storms, and 4 of them were typhoons so severe that the General said that any one of them would have been enough to batter a galleon making the run to Acapulco. During the first storm, the galliot leaked so much that it had to turn back. In the midst of one of these storms, when the men were resting and the ship rolling, a pillow rolled under the binnacle; one spark set it on fire and the wind encouraged the flames to such an extent that within the cabin the flames were licking at the ceiling by more than a yard. Just imagine the surprise and the commotion; how-

ever, our big courageous General, with great calm, grabbed a blanket, placed it on top of the fire and, by stepping on it quickly, quenched the fire at the cost of a few burns to his legs. As the feast of St. Ignatius [sic]¹ was approaching, we were hit by such a stiff monsoon wind that we ran for 21 days with bare masts. On one of those days, by error of the pilot in giving orders, the patache was swamped and the water rose up to our waist while we were on deck, because the seas were continuously piling up for the space of two creeds, until the General himself got hold of the whip-staff and moved the rudder which 8 men had been unable to move earlier; then the ship straightened up and headed the right way.

The lack of care with the men's food supplies resulted in its getting rotten and being thrown overboard before we left the Embocadero. The lack of faithfulness on the part of the General's steward resulted in the loss of our food supplies, and the little care in choosing the jars to hold water, that they would not lose their water, was the cause of the situation that followed: at one time we all suffered from a general hunger and a rabid thirst, added to the disconsolateness of finding ourselves near land, according to obvious signs, but without knowing which way it lied, on account of the cloudiness of the sky. According to the pilot, we found ourselves 300 leagues beyond the Marianas. The cables had become rotten because of the continuous swamping of the deck, all the seams were worked out, and we had lost two anchors; without food or water, it already seemed foolish to pursue our voyage, which was turning out useless because of skies being overcast and not too appropriate for the discovery of new lands. So, the General decided to seek the Marianas, in order to resupply ourselves and resume the exploration work when the weather improved. This idea was an inspiration from God; indeed, we were really so close to the Marianas that we could clearly hear the thunder claps from one thunderstorm raging over the island; and if we had continued forward that night, we would have crashed upon the rocks. The error was due to the hour-glass used by the pilot; when it should have indicated one minute, it showed almost two. Therefore, he had been estimating almost twice as many leagues in the daily runs; this, however, did not become obvious until the General began to suspect the hour-glass, and calibrated it.

So, we did turn back in search of the Marianas, but [effectively] left them behind us, plowing the seas with our bow into the monsoon wind, but tacking from 13° to 15°, and from 15° down to 8°, all this time suffering something incredible.

On the day preceding the eve of St. Ignatius [i.e. 29 July], we were reciting the Rosary, the men dead with hunger and thirst (because there was nothing but husked rice and no possibility of husking it, and no water to cook it, on account of the seas running so high that they would swamp the deck, that it was impossible to open the hatch without the risk of foundering); everyone was very sincerely begging the saint for a remedy, when an extraordinary wave rolled over the deck while we were in the middle

1 Ed. note: This must be an error in transcription, perhaps for the feast of San Antonio, on 13 June, because the feast of St. Ignatius came more than one month later (see below).

of our pleas, and it left behind a fish, like a bonito, of a huge size. The sea went out through the scuppers and left us this fish on deck; that was enough food for everyone to eat on the eve [and feast-day] of St. Ignatius.

The monsoon then abated and left behind a dead calm, more dangerous for us than the storms, because there was no remedy to quench our thirst; every 24 hours we were then given one cup of water, less than half a pint, and a quarter of it was salt water. The small amount of jerked beef that was being distributed was being cooked with water, half salt water and half fresh. That notwithstanding, we came to such a state that there remained only three jars of water for over 60 persons, in the midst of the ocean, and a dead calm that increased our thirst beyond belief. We decided then to make various prayers, and among them a novena to St. Francis Xavier. A miraculous thing happened. On the second or third day of the novena, just before sunset, the General spotted great dark clouds in the northwest. He bent over the rail to listen, and as the experienced person that he is, recognized that it carried rain; he ordered the sails furled, and to just let the patache float, with only one man at the helm, and everyone else preparing himself to collect water with coarse cotton sheets that had been distributed beforehand. Jars were quickly brought up on deck, and everything was ready when the squall hit, with so much rain water than within a short time 80 jars were filled and stowed in the hold; from then on, one jar was left on deck for every four persons to satiate their thirst whenever they wanted.

This was not the only favor done by the saint; during the novena (I do not recall on what day) there arose a northeasterly wind that made the sea choppy, and that enabled us to pursue our voyage, and quickly close the distance between the Marianas and Cape Espiritu Santo. We sighted it during the month of September, if my memory serves me well,¹ without our having sighted a single rock islet in the whole of our voyage, although there was no doubt, according to the course we followed, that we passed through the Chick-pea Islands² both on the first half and the return parts of the voyage. Such signs of [the vicinity of] land, as are butterflies and small land birds that came aboard, and various beach plants that were fresh when we picked them up, were from the Chick-pea Islands, which we did not sight because of the overcast, so dark that we could not have seen anything, though it be within a stone's throw.

Father Pedro de Estrada remained at Palapag. The patache proceeded to Manila. The General, in accordance with his instruction, took a *banca* back to Manila, leaving the ship at Calomotan, so that it would leave 24 hours later, as they, in fact, did. Then,

1 Ed. note: It was on 12 September exactly (see B1 above).

2 Ed. note: The familiar name given to the Ulithi group.

the small Rosario was lost on the shoals of Naranjos, but the big one made it happily to Manila.¹

The providence of God was obviously wonderful in this voyage, because with said hardships, and with a patache with only one deck, the people slept on deck, almost always above water. Yet, nobody became sick, nor had to stop working. Fathers Bobadilla and Estrada, since they had given up using their portable bunks as of the first storm, never removed their clothes to sleep in over four months; they slept on the deck, naked or propped up between two [leather-covered] trunks and half seated. The usual bunk of Fr. Estrada was a chicken coop or a crate² open to all winds, and nevertheless, they did not suffer from any illness, not even a headache—a proof that hardships do not kill, but discouragement does.

1 Ed. note: There were so many ships named Rosario at that time (see appendices). The big Rosario must have been the galleon, which must be the name of the galleon that brought Governor Ursua to Manila in 1709. The small Rosario could not have been the patache Rosario of Macau that was chartered in 1704; therefore, it must have been the galliot Rosario that tried to reach the Carolines in 1708, that is reported lost here. The big Rosario, Capt. Carlos José, was the one then returning from the Marianas.

2 Ed. note: Literally, a glass-bottle frame.

Document 1709C

Letter from Fr. Cebreros to Fr. Serrano, dated Manila 9 November 1709

Sources: AGI Fil. 215; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 4.

Notes: This report is a sort of complement to the story already compiled at the time by Fr. Miedes, a companion of Fr. Cebreros (see Doc. 1664D). Father Cebreros was born in Acapulco, Mexico, on 30 May 1626 and died in Luzon on 15 August 1713 (see B&R 42:122-123).

Fr. Cebreros adds to the confusion between Palau and the Talaud Islands, with rumors of shipwrecked Spaniards, etc.

Note: Much of the confusion originated, I think, from the fact that the word Pulau in Moluccan means Island. It may also have been the origin of the word Palau.

Original text in Spanish.

Copia de Carta que el Padre Geronimo de Cebreros de la Compañia de Jhs, Misionero antiguo de la Ysla de Siao (quien aun vive) escrivio al Padre Andres Serrano de la misma Compañia en nueve de Noviembre de Mill setecientos y nueve.

Mui Padre Andres Serrano.

Pax Christi.

Las noticias que puedo dar á Vuestra Reverencia, conducente al intento que se pretende de las Yslas de Palaos son en suma: Estando yo en la Ysla de Siao tube noticia de unas Yslas que llaman Palaos [sic = Talaud] sitas en quatro grados y distantes de Siao como quarenta leguas y son cinco cuyos nombres son Caguirrua de cinco leguas de box, Caracalan de veinte y Caracata mucho menor; y las dos mas pequeñas habitadas todas de gente. Teniendo pues yo muy oportuna ocasion á mi deseo fui á ellas el año de mill seiscientos setenta [sic] y quatro, tomé puerto y asiento en la primera llamada Caguirrua, que consagré á la Immaculada Concepcion de Nuestra Señora y hallando en ella buena mies y los naturales afectos, pude muy bien catequizarlos en nuestra

*Sancta Ley, y en tres años bautize como á mill y ochocientas personas; estando pues en esta Ysla de Caguirrua aportó á ella una embarcacion con quatro personas desgarradas de las Yslas de los Palaos (que los Celebes los llaman Lalugas) hombres corpulentos, amulados, pintados y de buena[s] facciones, á los quales cautivaron los Talaos; yo y los Siaos los rescatamos y los llevamos á Siao, donde entendiendo ya la lengua que nos podian entender, le hizimos hazer demostracion de sus tierras como y de la manera que el Padre Francisco de Miedes refiere en su carta, cuyo original tiene V.R., y de lo que dice en ella soy testigo de vista y oidas conforme los que dichos Palaos nos dijeron, assi juntos como cada uno de por sí, por ver si confrontavan en los dichos, de todo lo qual esto es del número de las Yslas, de sus grandezas, distancia de unas á otras, costumbres y usos, **de todo hizo el Padre Miedes un mapa** que remitió con su carta al padre Provincial Xavier Riquelme, y yo tambien escribí á su Reverencia.*

*Y entre otras cosas que me refirieron los dichos Palaos fue, que **en una de aquellas Yslas avia varado una Nao grande sin gente, y en ella hallaron huesos de muertos y una pieza de artilleria; iten, que en otra Ysla estaba un Padre alto con antojos que bautizaba, y en su compañía, un Castilla gordo:** seria el General de la Nao **Victoria** (en que embarco el Padre Provincial Francisco de Roa y su Secretario Joseph Pimentel y un hermano) á llevar el socorro anual de las fuerzas de Terrenate el qual socorro avia de tomar en Ilo-Ilo, que no pudo coger la dicha Nao por algún gran temporal que la derrotó al parecer á la Ysla de Palaos; muertos de hambre; esta parece ser la Nao que dizen varo en sus tierras.*

[Notice of Palmas, or Miangas, Island, E. of Sarangani]

Fuera de esto supe de los Siaos que antiguamente yendo á Terrenate se desgarró una embarcacion suya con vendabal fuerte asia el este y en cinco dias que corrieron [por] fortuna toparon con una Ysla que se dividia en tres en tiempo de mares grandes. Alli se fortificaron, y algunos de ellos entrando tierra adentro toparon con gente que los hisieron volver á pedradas, más que de passo; dieron aviso á sus compañeros que salieron armados con campilanes y corazas en busca de los agresores de que mataron muchos; abonazando el tiempo salieron de alli buscando rumbo para Terrenate en que gastaron algunos meses, descubriendo otras muchas Yslas; y forzados de la necesidad llegaron á algunas; unas lo recibian de guerra y otras de amistad; en una{s} de ellas les salio á recibir con dones de comidillas solas mujeres pero disparando un Siao un arma, huyeron todas espantadas.

[Notice of New Guinea, not Carolines]

Otra embarcacion se desgarró de Maluco á estas Yslas, y llegó á una de gente tan barbara que no conocía fuego ni asian cassas sino que en sotanos, ó del sacate formaban cuevas donde acogerse; cargaron sus embarcaciones de muchos de estos barbaros; y como les fuese faltando el bastimento, los iban echando al agua, y á otros, en una Ysla pelada de tierra colorada, y solo dos reservaron; pero el Señor los castigó por su inhumanidad pues les embió un temporal tan recio que los llevo á la Ysla de Macasar,

(Facing page:) **The Molucca Passage with the neighboring Islands of Talaud, Miangas, and Palau to the northeast.** *Father Cebreros travelled from the Island of Siao, north of Celebes, eastward to the Talaud Islands in the 1660s. On his return to Siao, he then drifted as far as Palau, he says. Drift voyages in this area of the world were frequent occurrences*

y en la barra de Cauripan perecieron todos, y solo un muchacho, de aquellos barbaros se escapó, que por varios accidentes vino á dar en nuestras manos; el qual fue remitido á Manila donde bautizado, se fue presto al cielo. Pondere V.R. lo que Dios resuelve por un predestinado y assi Dios dispondra el efecto de topar con los Palaos, donde Dios tendra nuestros predestinados, y para que se vea si estan muy lejos estas Yslas, añado lo que me refirieron los Talaos [not Palaos], donde yo estube, cuya Ysla está en quatro grados como ya dije arriba, que una embarcacion de seis personas se desgaritó de su Ysla con un fuerte vendaval, y corriendo asia el leste descubrieron en tres dias una grande Ysla á que no se atrevieron llegar, por no ser caupativos. Yten, me dijeron que antiguamente tubieron trato con una Ysla y que por una malebolencia no volvieron mas á la amistad ni correspondencia. Todo esto indica que las tales Yslas de Palaos no estan muy lejos.

[Adrift to Palau?]

Y lo cuando me volvi de Talaos á Siao me desgarité por las corrientes; y grandes calmas que tuve, y en tres dias descubri una tierra grande hazia el nordeste quarta al leste, á que no nos atrevimos á acercar; y asi congeturo que desde las Yslas de los Talaos á las de Palaos abrá unas como setenta leguas.

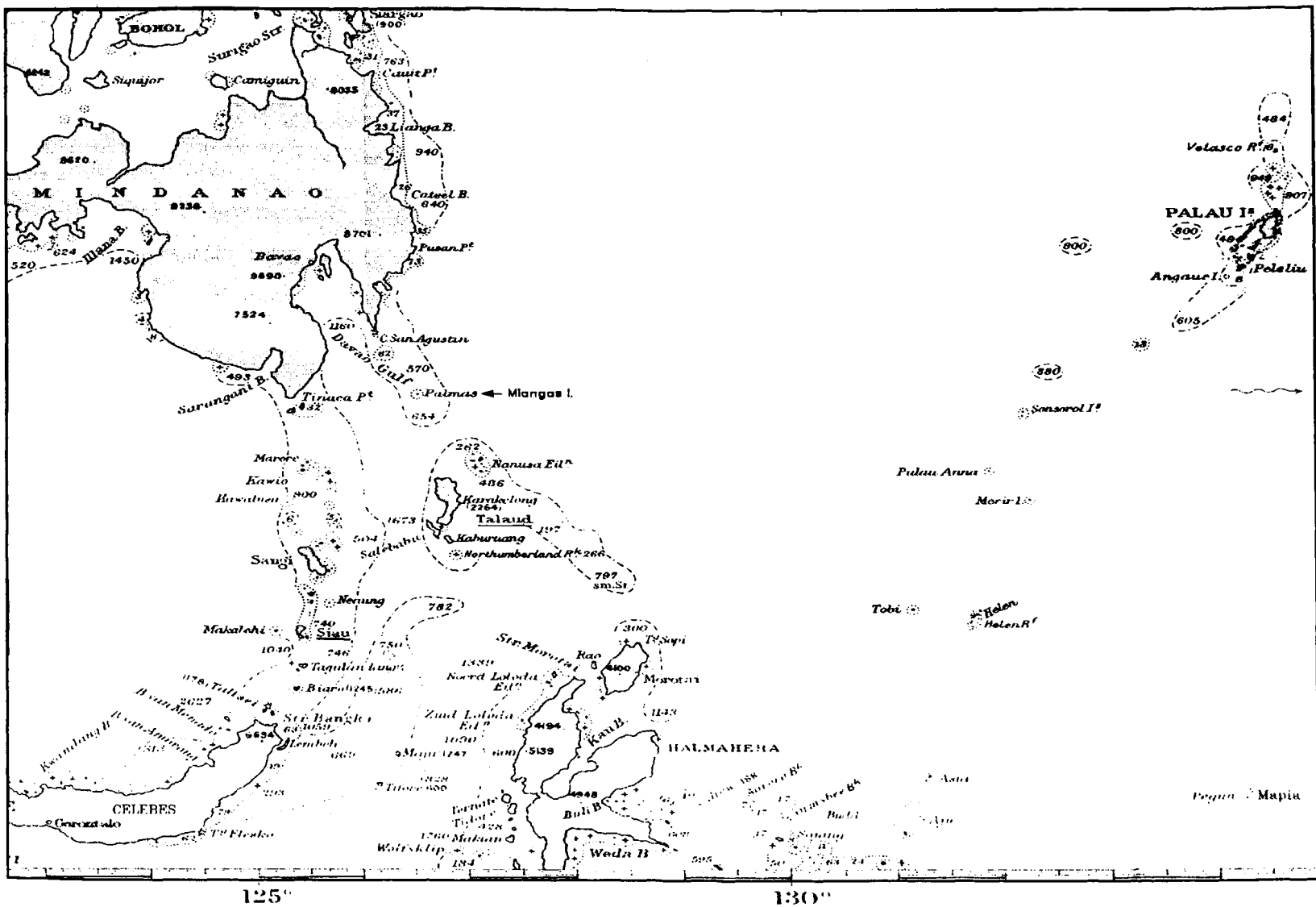
Esta faccion no dudo la ha tenido Dios guardaba para este noble Gobierno, que Dios prospere, en sus dias, hallando las nuevas Philipinas; y para Vuestra Reverencia y los suyos que le han de acompañar con la bendizion de nuestro Sancto Pontifice Clemente; y deseo de todas las Cortes Romanas y regias que lo encomiendan tanto para gloria de Dios y su Sancta Iglesia; los Sanctos Principes Archangeles y Custodios de aquellas Yslas, quien y cooperen á tan glorioso viage y V.R. le alcanzen de nuestro Señor copiosos auxilios de su gracia para tan Sancto ejemplo. Amen.

*Este es mi sentir **salvo meliori**, entretanto V.R. ruegue á Dios por los que deseamos acompañarle, etc^a*

De este Collegio de San Ignacio y Noviembre nueve de mill setecientos nueve.

Muy siervo de V.R.

Geronimo de Cebrero[s].



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Translation.

Copy of a letter that Father Gerónimo de Cebreros of the Society of Jesus, former missionary in the Island of Siao (who is still alive) wrote to Father Andrés Serrano of the same Society on 9 November 1709.

My dear Father Andrés Serrano.

Peace of Christ!

The notices that I can give to Your Reverence, in relation with the project of the Islands of the Palaos are in summary as follows: when I was at the Island of Siao I got notice of some Islands that are called Palaos [rather Talaud] which are situated in 4 degrees and distant about 40 leagues from Siao. There are five of them: Caguirrua [i.e. Kabaruang] which is 5 leagues in circumference; Caracalan [i.e. Karakelong], 20; and Caracata [i.e. Salebabu], much less; the last two are much smaller, and they are all inhabited. I was then very lucky to find an opportunity that suited me to go there in the year 1674 [rather 1664]. I landed at the first one, Caguirrua, and made it my base. I dedicated it to Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception. Finding there a good harvest and interested natives, I was able to indoctrinate them very well to our Holy Law, and in the three years that I spent there I baptized about 1,800 persons. At the time that I was at this Island of Caguirrua, a canoe bearing 4 persons from the Islands of the Palaos drifted there (such people are called Lalugas by the Celebes people). They are corpulent people, dark-skinned, tattooed, and with good features. The Talaos people made them prisoners. I and the Siao people ransomed them and took them to Siao Island, where, once they understood the [local] language and could understand us, we had them make a description of their islands, in the manner described by Father Francisco de Miedes in his letter, whose original Your Reverence has, and I was an eyewitness of the events described therein. I myself heard what said Palaos told us, not only when they were together but also individually, to test them and see if what they had said was correct, about the number of the Islands, their sizes, distance between them, customs and usages. **Father Miedes made a chart of it all** which he remitted with his letter to the Father Provincial Xavier Riquelme, and I also wrote to His Reverence.

And among other things that said Palaos had told me, one thing was that **in one of those Islands a large ship had run aground, without people on board but in it they found some human bones and one cannon; in addition, in another island there was one Father with eyeglasses who was baptizing, and in his company he had one fat Spaniard.** The latter would have been the General of the ship **Victoria** (aboard which embarked Father Provincial Francisco de Roa and his Secretary José Pimentel and one Brother) to take the yearly succor to the forces at Ternate; said succor they were to take on board in Ilo-ilo, but said ship was unable to touch there because of some storm that, it appears, carried it off to the Island[s] of the Palaos; it would be the one that ran aground in their islands.¹

1 Ed. note: Confused story. If everyone was dead aboard the ghost ship, did some of them escape beforehand aboard the ship's boat? See also Doc. 1668K3.

[Notice of Palmas, or Miangas, Island, E. of Sarangani]

Besides this, I learned from the Siao people that a long time ago one of their canoes going to Ternate was carried off eastward by a strong monsoon wind and after five days they had the luck of touching at one Island which became three islands at high tides. There they fortified themselves, and a few of them, having gone inland, met with people who made them retreat by throwing stones, but not just in passing; they advised their companions who came armed with cutlasses and wearing armor, and they went after the aggressors and they killed many of them. When the weather became fine, they left that place and headed for Ternate, but it took them a few months to get there. Along the way they sighted many other islands. Necessity made them land at some of them; some people received them with war, and others with friendship. At one of them only women came out to welcome them with a few small things to eat, but a Siao man fired a firearm by mistake, and they all fled out of fear.

[Notice of New Guinea, not Carolines]

Another canoe drifted from the Moluccas to these Islands, and ended up at a place with people so barbarous that they did not know about fire, and they did not built [regular] houses except underground, or made huts out of reed for a place to sleep. They carried off in their canoes many of these barbarians.¹ On the way back, when food ran out, they threw some [barbarians] overboard, and left others on a bare island with colored earth, and only two were spared. However, God punished them for their inhumanity; indeed, He sent them a storm so strong that it took them to the Island of Macassar, where they all perished on the bar of Cauripan, except for one boy, from those barbarians, who escaped and, through various adventures came into our hands. He was sent to Manila where he soon went to Heaven, after he was baptized. Let Y.R. ponder what God did for one predestined man, and what He will do to arrange the discovery of the Palaos Islands, where He would have many more predestined men among the Palaos people. And, in order for you to see whether said Islands are very far away, I add what I was told by the Talaos [not Palaos], where I was, whose island is in 4 degrees as I said before, to the effect that one of their canoes with 6 persons on board was carried off eastward by a strong monsoon wind to a large island which they reached in 3 days, but they did not dare land there, because they did not want to be made prisoners. Furthermore, they told me that a long time ago they had [regular] contact with an island, and on account of a bad incident they gave up their friendship and trade with them. All of this indicates that the Islands of the Palaos in question are not far away.

[Adrift to Palau?]

When I returned from the Talaos Islands to Siao, I myself was carried off by the currents, and the great calms that I experienced, and in 3 days sighted a great island to the

¹ Ed. note: Supposedly, to sell them as slaves in the Moluccas.

NE 1/4 E, and we dared to approach it. Thus, I guess that some of the Islands of the Palaos are about 70 leagues from the Islands of the Talaos.

I have no doubt that God has reserved this exploit for this noble Government and will in time give success to the exploration of the New Philippines, and for Your Reverence and those who are to accompany you with the blessing of our holy Pontiff, Clement, and with the good wishes of all the Roman courts and organizations that support it for the glory of God and His holy Church. May the holy Princes, the Archangels, and the Guardian Angels of those Islands guide you all and cooperate with such a glorious voyage and may Y.R. receive a great amount of support from God's grace for such a holy enterprise. Amen.

This is my humble opinion, and there may be better ones. Meanwhile, Y.R. should pray God for those of us who wish to accompany you, etc.

From this College of San Ignacio [in Manila], 9 November 1709.

Y.R.'s humble servant,
Gerónimo de Cebreros.

Appendix A

Voyages of the Manila galleons, 1699-1741 period

Sources: BM Add. Mss. 19293; copy in LC Mss. Division.

Notes: This appendix is based on the above reference which was created at Manila, in 1742. The only way that Alexander Dalrymple could have had access to this Spanish document is only if it was seized during the occupation of Manila in 1762 by the English. This is further proven by the fact that it lies in the British Library to this day. I have seen no copy of it in Spanish archives. This document was obviously meant for the guidance of galleon commanders, who did not have time to do their own analysis of the logbooks. The information was in fact taken from the case files of the "Residencias," or Boards of Inquiry, of the Generals of the galleons, following their return to Manila. I have double-checked the information with Dahlgren's previous synthesis published in his book: "Were the Hawaiian Islands..."

1. Summary table of some galleon voyages —Eastward crossing of the North Pacific, 1699-1740.

Legend: Year = Year of departure from the Philippines (usually from Cavite).

A = Duration of the voyage from the Philippines to Acapulco, in days.

B = Time taken from Strait of San Bernardino to "Signs" off California.

[B = C + D].

C = Time taken from the Strait of San Bernardino to the longitude of Rica de Plata Island.

D = Time taken from Rica de Plata Island to the "Signs".

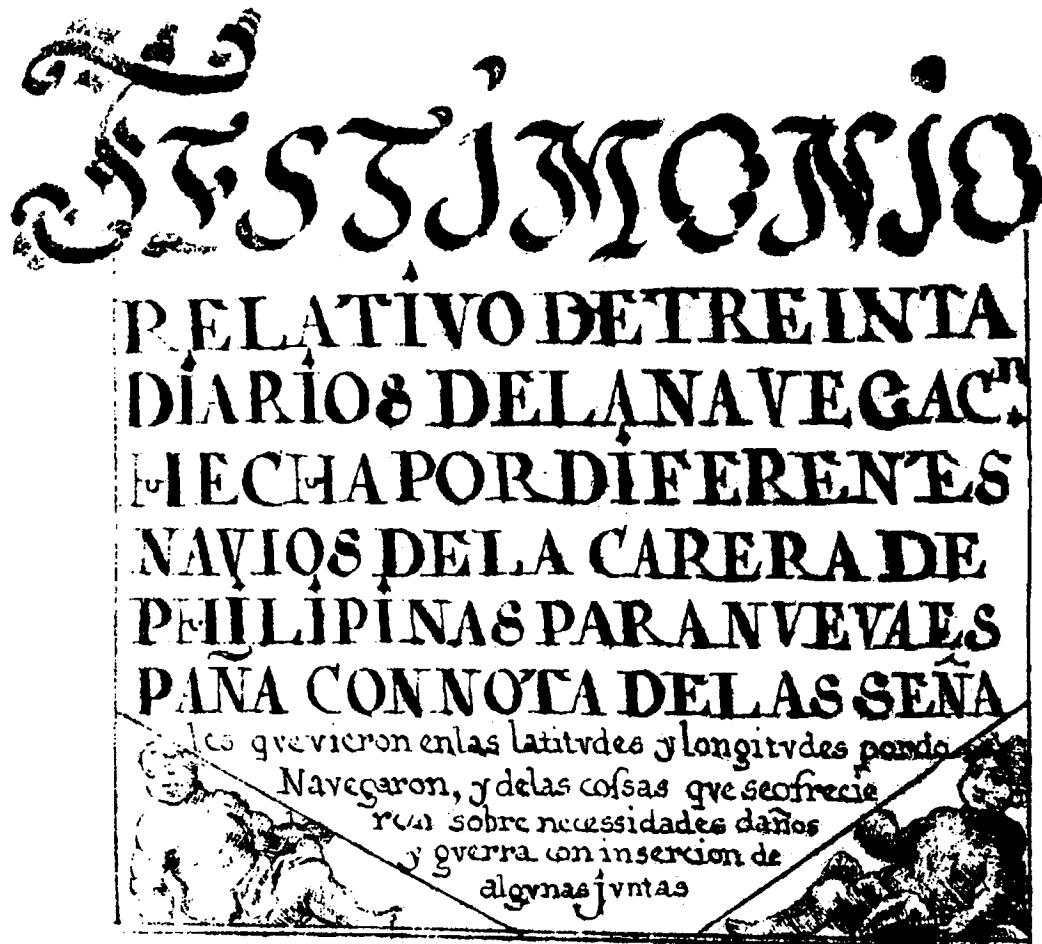
E = Latitude at which the "Signs" appeared.

F = Time taken from the "Signs" to Cape San Lucas.

G = Time taken from Cape San Lucas to Acapulco.

I = Number of persons known to have died along the way.

— = Data not available.



Information extracted from 30 logbooks and their inquiries. Title page of BM Add. Mss. 19293. This document was seized by British troops during their occupation of Manila in 1762. Dalrymple has also made some notes in English from this document.

Year	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	I	Ship name
1699	—	—	—	—	35° 30'	16	23	19	San F. X.
1700	163	90	53	37	36° 36'	17	27	03	Rosario
1701	187	136	90	46	33° 31'	09	14	16	San F. X.
1702	181	135	88	47	37° 33'	20	17	07	Rosario
1703	204	125	62	63	34° 34'	16	21	—	Rosario (patache)
1706	167	105	73	32	37° —	18	16	—	Rosario
1707	205	131	71	60	35° 09'	28	19	07	Encarnación
1709	—	105	62	43	36° 55'	24	20	04	Begoña
1710	—	94	54	40	36° 09'	17	10	—	Rosario
1711	—	110	58	52	36° —	27	16	—	Begoña
1714	164	88	48	40	34° 09'	14	20	—	Santo Cristo
1717	210	104	64	40	36° 16'	16	22	—	Begoña
1722	178	113	53	60	36° 49'	13	25	11	Sacra Familia
1725	150	98	63	35	35° 08'	12	13	—	Dolores
1726	158	98	63	35	37° 20'	30	11	04	Dolores
1727	170	121	64	57	35° 58'	15	22	04	Sacra Familia
1728	202	116	67	49	32° 50'	21	22	14	Guía
1729	192	131	79	52	35° 56'	16	22	—	Sacra Familia
1730	204	131	82	49	34° 16'	18	20	09	Guía
1731A	186	98	48	50	36° 48'	22	22	—	Covadonga
1731B	192	105	47	58	36° 45'	22	21	—	San Cristobal
1732	226	161	98	63	36° 10'	19	25	24	Guía
1733A	206	123	69	54	39° 48'	33	20	06	Covadonga
1733B	210	147	89	58	36° 09'	16	17	09	Pilar
1734	194	109	45	64	36° 43'	27	26	—	San Cristobal
1735	209	140	90	50	35° 12'	22	10	06	Guía
1736	170	108	64	44	36° 09'	22	22	—	Pilar
1737	187	131	65	66	37° 58'	17	12	—	Guía
1738	204	130	79	51	35° —	18	13	—	Pilar
1740	188	112	54	58	35° 01'	34	22	—	Covadonga
Average:	188	117	67	50	36°	20	19	9-10	

Notes:

1. From the above averages, we can deduce that the average time taken for a ship to reach the San Bernardino Strait was 32 days.

2. The latitude at which the "Signs" were noticed (avg. 36°) is likely to have been lower than the previously-reached maximum latitude, usually as much as 40° North.

3. There is a lack of data on the number of deaths during the passage. The average of 9 to 10 persons is likely higher than normal, as the data was likely not recorded when it was low. For this reason also, the 1732 crossing can be considered disastrous, the possible result of an epidemic on board.

2. Notes extracted from the source document.

1699 eastbound. Galleon San Francisco Xavier.

General: Miguel Martinez.

Chief pilot and logkeeper: Miguel de Elorriaga.

Arrived Acapulco 15 January 1700.

Returned to Manila in 1700.

1700 eastbound. Galleon Nuestra Señora del Rosario.

General: Domingo Ruiz de Tagle.

Chief pilot: Fermín de Salavarría.

Departed Cavite 26 June 1700.

Saw the Island of Farrallon de Pajaros (Uracas), Marianas, on 11 August 1700.

Arrived Acapulco 5 December 1700.

Departed Acapulco 27 March 1701.

Sighted Boronga (Samar) on 29 June, but did not manage to cast anchor in Palapag until 12 July.

1701 eastbound. Galleon San Francisco Xavier.

General: Bernardo de Endaya.

Chief pilot: Miguel de Elorriaga.

Departed Cavite 5 July 1701.

Sighted volcano of San Agustín (Iwo Jima) on 18 September 1701.

Arrived Acapulco 8 January 1702.

Departed Acapulco 31 March 1702.

Reached Marianas on 15 June 1702.

Anchored at Palapag on 9 July.

1702 eastbound. Galleon Nuestra Señora del Rosario.

General: Francisco de Arcocha.

Chief pilot: Antonio Fernandez de Rojas.

Departed Bagatao 15 July 1702.

Sighted the volcano of San Agustín (Iwo Jima) on 11 September 1702.

Saw the islet of Fortuna (Kita Iwo) about 2-3 leagues away, on 12 September.¹

¹ Fortuna is a consistent misprint (made by the analyst) for Farfana, I think. This island was later renamed Sulphur by the English Captains Gore and King in 1779.

Discovered a new island, part of the Bonin Islands and called it Rosario Island (probably Hahashima, in the Ogasawara Group).

Arrived Acapulco 12 January 1703.

Departed Acapulco on 25 March 1703.

New general: José Ciriano, or rather José Martínez Ciriano.

Arrived in sight of Samar on 28 June, entered the Strait on 30 June (see Doc. 1703C), at Sorsogon 5 July 1703, and did not reach Cavite until 24 October 1703.

1703 eastbound. Patache N. S. del Rosario.¹

General: Theodoro de San Lucas.

Chief pilot: Diego Iscrot.

Departed Cavite 25 June 1703.²

Sighted the volcano of San Agustín at 24°18'N on 17 September.³

On 30 September, at position 31°51'N & 182°37'E [sic], saw many birds.⁴

Arrived Acapulco 15 January 1704.

Departed Acapulco 17 March 1704.

“And on the 1st day of June, Island of Yguan.”

Passed Cape Espiritu Santo on 16 June 1704.

Arrived Cavite 7 July 1704.

1704 eastbound. Galleon N.S. del Rosario.

Note: This voyage is not tabulated in the summary table, above.

General & chief pilot: Fermín de Salavarría.

Departure date not given.

This ship fought with 2 pirate ships off the port of Navidad in New Spain. The pirate took a Peruvian ship that had come to escort this galleon.⁵

Returned to the Philippines in 1705, but no details given, except that the Board of Inquiry was held on 15 July.

Note: The 1705 eastbound crossing by the galleon San Francisco Xavier is not mentioned. This galleon disappeared forever.

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- 1 Note that, given its departure date, this had to be another ship, also called Rosario. In fact, it was not a galleon, as Dahlgren says, but a patache.
 - 2 Dahlgren says 25 July in error. This ship took almost 7 months to reach Acapulco; besides, it could hardly have cleared the Embocadero, or mouth of San Bernardino Strait, 2 weeks later, when the average time required was one month.
 - 3 This is indeed the correct latitude for Iwo Jima, the southern Volcano (Kazan) Island.
 - 4 Given the latitude and the relatively short time period after passing the Volcano Islands, this position is somewhat northeast of the Bonin Islands. The longitude must be with reference to Tenerife, says Dahlgren, since the pilot reckoned Cape Santo Espiritu at 153°2'E longitude. Furthermore, the pilot placed the longitude of Rica de Plata Island at about 190°E.
 - 5 This was Captain Dampier with the ships St. George and Dragon.

1706 eastbound. Galleon N.S. del Rosario.

General: José Martínez Ciriano.

Chief pilot: Antonio Fernández de Rojas.

Departed Cavite 6 July 1706.

Sighted volcano of San Agustín, 24°12'N, on 7 September.

Sighted islet of Fortuna on 8 September.

Sighted San Alejandro Island on 8 September.¹

In vicinity of many islands (the Bonins) on 19 & 20 September.

Arrived Acapulco 20 December 1706.

“They heard the news that the galleon San Xavier had not arrived.”

Departed Acapulco 8 March 1707.

“And on the 16th of May they sighted the Marianas.” There were probably three French Jesuits on board on their way to China: Fr. Nyel, Fr. de Brasle, and Fr. Hebrard, says Dahlgren.

Passed Embocadero on 24 June, but did not arrive back at Cavite until 3 October 1707.

1707 eastbound. Patache Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación.

General: Fermín de Salavarría.

Chief pilot: Pantaleón Fernández Casado.

Departed Cavite 12 July 1707.

Arrived Acapulco 2 February 1708.

Departed Acapulco 30 March 1708.

“And on 12 June sighted the land of the Island of Yguan.”

Arrived Cavite (date not given).²

1709 eastbound. Galleon Nuestra Señora de Begonia.

General: Fernando de Angulo.

Pilot: Enrique Hernán.

Left San Bernardino Strait on 30 August 1709.

Sighted the Island of San Juan, at 26°53' N, on 28 September.³

Met 2 English pirates (from Woodes Rogers' band) on 4 January 1710. A battle followed, with 8 dead and 28 wounded.

1 Fortuna and San Alejandro are thought to be the same island, Kita Iwo.

2 However, Dahlgren, quoting from Fr. Taillandier, one of two French Jesuits on board, says the date of arrival at Cavite was 17 July 1708. Correct, see page 615.

3 This is also the latitude of Hahashima. A number of other Bonin Islands were seen the next day.

On 23rd, the sloop from the patache (**Encarnación**) arrived with her captain, Mathias Veitos(?), saying that the English had taken her off Cape San Lucas.¹

The Begoña then put in at Navidad, and made it to Acapulco 26 January 1710.

Departed Acapulco 21 March 1710.²

“On 12 June sighted Island of Saipan.”³

Sighted Cape Espiritu Santo on 30 June, and arrived at Sorsogon on 28 July 1710.

1710 eastbound. Galleon N.S. del Rosario (#2).⁴

General: Miguel de Elorriaga.

Chief pilot: Francisco de Salazar.

Departed Bagatao on 30 July 1710.

On 13 September, sighted the big volcano at 23°25'N.⁵

On 13 December, “abeam of the calvary” (i.e. Acapulco).

Departed Acapulco 25 March 1711 with a new general, Juan Luis de Acosta.⁶

Arrived Embocadero 22 June, and Cavite 9 July 1711.

1711 eastbound. Galleon N.S. de Begoña.

General: Juan Ignacio Vertiz.

Chief pilot: Admiral José Martínez (Ciriano).

Departed Ticao on 9 August 1711.⁷

Arrived Acapulco 19 January 1712.

Departed Acapulco 31 March 1712.

“On 9 June sighted the Island of Rota.”

Embocadero, 9 July. Logbook ends on 14 July, when “they were bound for Sobongcobong.”⁸

1714 eastbound. Galleon Santo Cristo.

General: Francisco de Olavide.

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- 1 The Encarnación had been under the command of General Jean Pechberty, a Frenchman. The ship was renamed Bachelor by Woodes Rogers and he took it via Guam later on.
 - 2 Dahlgren has transcribed 31 March.
 - 3 Dahlgren has erroneously transcribed this date as 2 June. The Begoña did not go via Guam, to avoid Woodes Rogers, who was indeed lying in wait for her there.
 - 4 The earlier galleon Rosario was shipwrecked in 1708.
 - 5 This latitude is too high for Asunción, and a little low for Iwo Jima. Dahlgren has transcribed it as 20°25'N, the latitude of Asunción.
 - 6 Notwithstanding what is said here, General Elorriaga seems to have retained his post on the return voyage (see Doc. 1711F). Before reaching the Marianas, he assembled a launch and sent a Filipino seaman, named Binasa, to discover the Carolines. He re-discovered Ngulu.
 - 7 Dahlgren has transcribed this 19 August.
 - 8 Ed. note: This is a bay at the southern tip of Tayabas Province.

Chief pilot: Pedro Vinales, who died on the passage.

Pilot's mate & logkeeper: Alberto de Arrieta.

Departed Cavite 23 July 1714.

[The Bonins, or Osagawara Group:]

"And on the 28th [September] by 25°37'N & 18°30' longitude [East of Cape Espiritu Santo], he says he sighted the Island named **La Desconocida** which is before the island chain of the Marianas.¹ And on the 30th he sighted an island stretched north-south.² And on the 1st of October, he observed 26°52' & 19°25' longitude. And on the 2nd, he observed 27°30' and he says that he sighted another island, big and uneven in the northeast, which appeared to be the Island of **Malabrigo**.³ And on the 3rd, he observed 28°19' & noted 19°40'; and he says that on this day he passed the longitude of the Mariana Islands."

Arrived Acapulco 3 January 1715.

Departed Acapulco 1 April 1715.

"And on 13 June he anchored at the Marianas."

Arrived at Embocadero 1 July, and Cavite 13 August 1715.

1717 eastbound. Galleon N.S. de Begoña.

General: Francisco de Echeveste.

Chief pilot: Henrique Hernán.

Departed Cavite 1 July 1717.

Via Bonin Islands on 10-12 October.

Arrived Acapulco 26 January 1718.

Departed Acapulco 31 March 1718.

"And on 16 June he anchored at the Island [sic] of Umata."

Arrived Embocadero 5 July, and Cavite 27 July 1718.

1722 eastbound. Galleon Sacra Familia.

General: Juan Pablo de Orduña.

Chief pilot: José Martínez de Vargas.

Logkeeper: Manuel de los Santos.

Departed Cavite 30 June 1722.

[Via Northern Marianas:]

1 Probably Kita Iwo Jima, under yet another name on some Spanish chart.

2 Probably Hahashima.

3 This would be Chichishima.

“On the 17th of August by 20°50' of latitude, he says that he sighted the Farallon [i.e. Uracas] that lies north of the three islets [i.e. Maug] that are next to the Big Volcano [i.e. Asunción].”

On 5 September, passed Las Columnas, which were placed at 31°20'N & 33°40'E.¹
Arrived Acapulco 25 December 1722.

Departed Acapulco 10 March 1723.

“And on 10 May the Island of Rota was sighted.”

Arrived Cavite 22 June 1723.

1725 eastbound. Patache Nuestra Señora de los Dolores.

General: Juan Domingo de Nebra.

Chief pilot: Manuel Perez (Montoya).

Logkeeper: Luis Díaz, third pilot.

Departed Cavite 2 July 1725.

Sighted the volcano (Iwo Jima) at 24°8'N & 18°E (of San Bernardino).²

Arrived Acapulco 29 November 1725.

Returned in 1726, but no details given.

1726 eastbound. Patache N.S. de los Dolores.

General: Antonio Gonzalez de Quijano.

Chief pilot: Manuel Perez Montoya.

Departed Cavite 2 September [sic] 1726.³

On 30 October, sighted the volcano (Iwo Jima) when at 23°25'N & 18°5' E. Volcano's position estimated at 23°50'N.

Arrived Acapulco 7 February 1727.

Departed Acapulco 5 April 1727.

“And on 11 June he arrived at the Island of Yguan.”

Arrived Embocadero 3 July, and Cavite 17 July 1727.

1727 eastbound. Galeon Sacra Familia.

General: Pedro Gonzalez del Ribero y Quijano.

Chief pilot: Henrique Hernán.

2nd pilot: Gerónimo Montero.

3rd pilot & logkeeper: Sebastian de Salazar.

1 This corresponds to Lot's Wife, or Sohu Gan, whose true position is closer to 30°N & 140° E of Greenwich. The dead reckoning of this pilot was off, as he placed them too far east, where nothing exists. Most pilots made that kind of mistake in longitude, after they passed the N-S chain of islands north of the Marianas. They tended to make their log conform to the chart, rather than vice versa.

2 Dahlgren is in error when he equates it with Asunción, at 20°8'N.

3 After the Santo Cristo de Burgos had left Cavite at the beginning of July, she was shipwrecked at Ticao, and burned deliberately.

Departed Cavite 7 July 1727.

Passed the "Volcan grande" [i.e. Asunción] on 3 September.¹

Arrived Acapulco 24 December 1727.

Departed Acapulco 30 March 1728.

"And on 13 June he anchored at the Island of Yguan."

Arrived Embocadero 14 July, and Cavite 16 August 1728.

1728 eastbound. Galeon Nuestra Señora de Guía.

General: Antonio Fernandez de Rojas.

Chief pilot: Antonio Gil.

Departed Cavite 10 July 1728.

Sighted Volcan Grande [Asunción] on 29 September at 24°3'N² & 18°49'E.

Arrived Acapulco 28 January 1729.

Departed Acapulco 31 March 1729.

"And on 13 June he anchored at the Marianas."

Arrived Embocadero 10 July. Logbook stops when in sight of Marinduque on 23 July 1729.

1729 eastbound. Galeon Sacra Familia.

General: Juan Antonio Cortes de Arredondo.

Chief pilot: Gerónimo Montero.

Departed Cavite 11 July 1729.

Passed by **La Desconocida** Island [i.e. probably Hahashima in this case], situated at 26°N & 20°5'E, on 16 September 1729.

Passed by "Volcan Grande", 24°55'N & 20°32'E [hence Iwo Jima] & **Isla de Patos**.³

Arrived Acapulco 19 January 1730.

Departed Acapulco 21 March 1730.

"And on 20 June he sighted the Island of Sarpana [=Rota]. And on the 26th, he notes: *"Yesterday afternoon at about 2 p.m. there came a canoe with a few jars of water and it was decided in a council meeting convened by the General to throw out all the people from the island and a few convicts because we found ourselves with little water supply and it was impossible to anchor on account of the weather being so vigorous."* And on 19 September he made port in Baco."⁴

1730 eastbound. Galeon N.S. de Guía.

General: Francisco Antonio de Abarca y Valdes.

1 His last observation had given 20°19'N & 19°49'E of San Bernardino.

2 Dahlgren has transcribed 19°23'N.

3 This "Duck Island" is a puzzle. Could be Kita Iwo, or one of the Bonin Group. It appears that he was driven back by a storm.

4 Baco is on the north side of Mindoro. This ship was to become lost "inside the Embocadero" on 10 November 1730.

Chief pilot: Henrique Hernán.

Logkeeper: Felix Perez (or Ponce?). He returned as chief pilot.

Departed Cavite 31 July 1730, but still at Mariveles on 8 August.

Arrived Acapulco 20 February 1731.

Departed Acapulco 5 April 1731.

“And on 11 July he anchored at Umata.”

Arrived Embocadero 24 August, and Cavite 19 September 1731.

1731 eastbound. Patache N.S. de Covadonga (flagship).

General: Antonio Gonzalez de Quijano.

Chief pilot: Gerónimo Montero.

Both ships departed Cavite 18 July 1731.

Arrived Acapulco 20 January 1732.

Both departed Acapulco 31 March 1732.

Passed Marianas on 10 June.

Arrived Embocadero 2 July, and Cavite 11 July.

In company with patache San Cristobal (almiranta).

Admiral: Juan Manuel de la Vareda (or Barreda?).

Chief pilot: José Gonzalez Bueno.¹

Logkeeper: Sebastian de Salazar, pilot's mate.

She lost sight of the flagship on 12 October 1731, at 35°12'N.

Arrived Acapulco 26 January 1732.

“And on 6 June they came upon the Island of Yguan.” (ahead of flagship, but they decided not to wait for her).

Arrived Embocadero 30 June, and Cavite 7 July 1732.

1732 eastbound. Galleon N.S. de Guía.

General: Francisco Sanchez de Tagle.

Chief pilot: Felix Ponce.

2nd pilot & logkeeper: Pedro Lanor de Tancías (or Fancías), who returned as chief pilot.²

Departed Cavite 11 July 1732.

Logkeeper mentioned that **Las Columnas** were islets whose estimated position was given as 28°30'N & 32°30' E [sic].³

Arrived Acapulco 18 February 1733.

Departed Acapulco 7 April 1733.

“And on 15 June they sighted the Island of Yguan.”

Arrived Embocadero 1 July, and Cavite 14 July 1733.

1 This is the same man as the so-called Admiral José Gonzalez Cabrera Bueno, who wrote a treatise on navigation. See document under 1734 for his drawing of a 3-mast frigate. See also below.

2 Dahlgren transcribed this name Lavor de Tancios.

3 These correspond to Lot's Wife, or Sohu Gan, placed them too far east, as mentioned previously.

1733 eastbound. Patache N.S. de Covadonga (flagship).

General: José Antonio Bermudez.

Chief pilot: José Gonzalez Bueno, who returned in command of the Pilar.

Both ships departed Cavite 26 July 1733.

Arrived Acapulco 17 February 1734.

Both ships departed Acapulco 9 April 1734.

In company with galleon Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Zaragoza (almiranta).

Admiral & chief pilot: Gerónimo Montero, who returned as General (i.e. on board the Covadonga).

2nd pilot: Ignacio Perez de Arce.

Arrived Acapulco 21 February 1734.

Both ships arrived Embocadero 17 July.¹

Covadonga arrived Cavite 26 July, Pilar 25 July.

1734 eastbound. Patache San Cristobal.

General: Galatheo de Sumalde.

Chief pilot: Antonio de Echave.

Third mate: Esteban de Yrviarren (Irisarri?).

Departed Cavite 6 July 1734.

Arrived Acapulco 16 January 1735.

Departed Acapulco 29 March 1735.

“And on 8 June he was in sight of the Island of Cocos.”

On 29 June, he ran aground on the Calantas Shoals, got free then ran aground again the next day.

1735 eastbound. Galleon N.S. de Guía.

General: Juan Domingo de Nebra.

Chief pilot: Gerónimo Montero.

Departed Cavite 30 July 1735.

Sighted Volcan Grande (**Asunción**) on 10 October: “And on 10 October, at day-break he sighted Volcan Grande and he says that he veered NW and then N1/4NW to go in search of the wide passage, that at noon he was about 8 leagues distant from the Volcano, and that his position was then estimated at 19°55’N & 19°10’E [of San Bernardino], that in the afternoon the weather cleared toward the SE and he sighted **Ag-rigan** to the SE[,] the Volcano halfway between E1/4NE and E1/2, and **Uracas** to the NNW. And on the 11th, he says that at about 10 a.m., he sighted the **Farallon** [i.e. the rock, same as Uracas] in 21°12’ & 19°20’ longitude, and he says that he took a new departure from said rock.”²

Arrived Acapulco 24 February 1736.

1 Which means that they left Guam at about 2 July.

2 Uracas’ true position is 20°32’N & 144°54’E of Greenwich.

Departed Acapulco 16 April 1736.

“And on 5 July he sighted the Island of Yguan.”

Sighted Cape Espiritu Santo on 19 July.

Arrived at the port of Casuragan(?)¹ only on 30 August 1736, from where they departed only on 19 February 1737 and arrived at Cavite on 4 March 1737.

1736 eastbound. Patache N.S. de Covadonga (flagship).

General: Juan Francisco de Irisarri.

Chief pilot: name not given.

In company with patache N.S. del Pilar (almiranta).

Admiral: name not given.

Chief pilot & logkeeper: José Zacharias Villareal, who returned as chief pilot of the flagship.

Both departed Cavite 31 July 1736.

Ships separated on 4 October, when in 29°42'N.

Pilar arrived Acapulco 17 January 1737; the date of arrival of the Covadonga is not given.

Covadonga departed Acapulco 2 April 1737 (and probably the Pilar also).

“And on 24 June he anchored in Umata and he says that he found the Almiranta (Pilar) already there.”

Both sighted Samar 11 July, and both made the port of Cabaragan(?) [probably Cahayagan] on 14 July, from where they departed on the 18th to anchor at Viri on the 19th. Went on to Calomotan [in Palapag area also].

Both finally arrived back at Cavite on 29 January 1738.

1737 eastbound. Galleon N.S. de Guía.

General: Pedro Domingo Gonzalez del Ribero.

Chief pilot & logkeeper: Antonio de Echave.

Departed Cavite 25 July 1737.

Went through Northern Marianas without seeing any of the islands.

Arrived Acapulco 9 February 1738.

Departed Acapulco 5 April 1738.

“And on 16 June he says that they came into sight of an island to the south distant 6 to 7 leagues and that all night they stayed between one island and another [i.e. Rota and Guam], and that he was coasting the island [i.e. Guam] very close to shore without sighting any shoal and that at about noon they were before the City of Agaña.”

Arrived Embocadero 15 July, and Cavite 30 July 1738.

1738 eastbound. Patache Pilar.

General: Francisco Antonio Sendín.

1 This is most probably Cahayagan in Palapag area.

Chief pilot: Gerónimo Montero.

Departed Cavite 3 August 1738.

“And on 12 October in 20°6’N lat. & 19°40’ long. E [of San Bernardino] he says that at 5 a.m. he sighted Volcan Grande [Asunción] and the Uracas Islands, that at noon he was 8 leagues distant from the Volcano and 9 leagues from Uracas.”¹

Arrived Acapulco 23 February 1739.

Departed Acapulco 12 April 1739.

“And on 18 June he sighted the Island of the Governor [i.e. Guam].”

Crossed the bar of Cahayagan on 3 August 1739.

[Subsidy of the Marianas for 1739:]

“And according to a Certificate issued by the Royal Officials of these [Philippine] Islands in which they enclose the manifest that was delivered to the Master by the Royal Officials in Acapulco, and begins on folio 47, are found the following entries:”

“In the city of the Kings, Port of Acapulco, on the 7th of April of 1737, while in the lodge reserved for the despatch the gentlemen Warden and Royal Officials before me the Notary public, Captain and Master Don Nuño Nuñez de Villavivencio, on behalf of Captain Don Ignacio Michelena, acting as agent for the Governor of the Mariana Islands, registered the subsidy of said Islands in the following form and manner:

“Firstly, 5 half-loads of cloth, 12 crates of soap, 100 crates of mortars [i.e. corn-grinding stones], 2 half-loads of perolas [sic = pans?], 2 crates of hats, 8 half-loads of miniestras [sic = dry peas to make soups?], 1 crate of cheese, 100 crates of biscuit, 1 crate of ventosas [cupping glasses], marked with the sign in margin.

“In addition said Captain and Master on behalf of said Captain registered the sum of 17,807 pesos 5 tomins and 6 grains and said sum was taken on board by virtue of the Decree issued y His Excellency the Viceroy of this Kingdom dated Mexico 14 March of this year and said Master acknowledged receipt of said sum and he accepted the obligation of taking them on board said patache and to deliver them at said port of the Marianas to the Governor of those Islands, and he signed. All said goods were received by said Master from Don Pedro de Yrigaren, agent of Don Ignacio Michelena, and he signed, being witnesses Don Felix Rumbo, Julian de Volado, and Don Thomas de Guadiana, in my presence, of which I vouch.—

“Nuño Nuñez de Villavivencio.”

etc.”

1739 eastbound. Galleon N.S. de Guía.

General: Bernardo (Jorge) de Illumve.

Chief pilot: Manuel Rodriguez.

2nd pilot: Gabriel de Salamanca.

3rd pilot: Faustino Francisco Matienzo.

¹ What he calls the Uracas Islands were probably the 3 islets of Maug.

Departure date from Cavite not given.

Arrived in sight of Acapulco on 11 March 1740.

Departed Acapulco at about 2 May.

On 4 July 1740, they must have been nearing Guam, because a meeting was held to decide whether the guns should be taken out of the holds. On 11 August, they held another meeting to decide whether they should make port at Palapa (in Samar).

1740 eastbound. Patache N.S. de Covadonga.

General, chief pilot and logkeeper: Gerónimo Montero.

2nd pilot: Francisco Xavier Estorbo.

Departed Cavite 23 July 1740.

Sighted the Volcano [Asunción] on 10 September at 20°11'N & 19°30'E.

Arrived Acapulco 27 January 1741.

Departed Acapulco 1 April 1741.

No mention of Marianas in main logbook, but Estorbo's log says that they arrived back at Cavite on 2 August 1741. They did not stop at the Marianas, for fear of English pirates. Besides, on 3 June 1741, they still had 730 jars of water left, enough to go straight to the Philippines...

Last comments.

The BM source document ends with 1741. However, Dahlgren adds the following bits of information.

An unnamed ship left the Philippines in 1741, and reached Acapulco on 9 January 1742, according to the English Captain George Anson, who got this information from the Spanish after he captured the patache Covadonga in 1743. The unnamed ship did not return to the Philippines until early in 1743. As for the Covadonga, she had left Cavite, under the command of General Gerónimo Montero, in 1742, and departed Acapulco on 15 April 1743. She met with HMS Centurion, Captain Anson, near the Embocadero on 30 June 1743. After about 2 hours of fighting, 67 killed and 84 wounded, General Montero gave up. The English suffered only 3 dead and 17 wounded. The Covadonga was taken to Macao, and there sold for 6,000 pesos.

APPENDIX B -- BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MICRONESIA. Part 11.

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APPENDIX C -- SHIPS THROUGH MICRONESIA, 1698-1717

YEAR & MTH OF VISIT	NAME OF SHIP	NAME OF CAPTAIN	SHIP NATIONALITY	CHRONICLERS *Primary source.	COMMENTS
1698	San Francisco Xavier	B. de Endaya	Spanish	Cruzat, Robles.	AGI Fil. 332, libro 10, pp. 434+
1699	N. S. del Rosario	?	Spanish	Audiencia.	B&R 43:89; 44:303.
1699	Santa Rosa	Carlos José	Spanish	Cruzat, Morales.	Patache from Manila, turned back.
1700	5 (unnamed galliot)	Juan Martín (Flamenco)	Spanish	*Martín, *Bustillo, Tuccio. Doc. 1711C5.	Drifted from Guam to Phil., via Ulithi
1700	5 San Francisco Xavier	M. Martínez	Spanish	*Bustillo, *Sarmiento, Dahlgren.	BM Add. mss. 19293.
1700 & 01	N. S. de la Concepción (patache)	?	Spanish	Cruzat.	
1700-01	N. S. del Rosario	D. Ruiz/T. de San Lucas	Spanish	*Bustillo, Dahlgren.	Doc. 1701G. BM Add.mss.19293. Gov. Zabalburu aboa
1702	6 San Francisco Xavier	M. Elorriaga	Spanish	Zabalburu, Robles, Dahlgren.	AGN AHH 332 BM Add. mss. 19293. AGI Fil. 214.
1703	6 N. S. del Rosario	J. Martínez Ciriano	Spanish	Robles, Sarmiento.Arcocha was prev.Capt.	RAH Leg 4, nº 24. AGN AHH 332.
1703 & 04	N. S. de la Concepción (patache)	Juan Rodríguez Ballique	Spanish	*Rodríguez. AGI Ultramar 561, Cruzat #3.	Wrecked Tabaco Shoals, Albay, March 1
1704	N. S. del Rosario (patache)	A. Fernandez de Roxas	Portuguese	Zabalburu.	Chartered voyage to Guam.
1704	6 N. S. del Rosario	T. de San Lucas	Spanish	Viceroy. Full name: N.S. del Rosario y San Vicente Ferrer.	BM Add. mss. 19293.
1705	N. S. del Rosario	F. de Salavarría	Spanish	Viceroy, Dahlgren.	BM Add. mss. 19293. AGI Fil. 119.
1705	San Francisco Xavier	S. Zabalburu	Spanish	Concepción, Díaz.	Eastbound. B&R 44:142. Lost. Shipwrecked in Oreg
1705	Santo Domingo de Guzman	?	Spanish	Zabalburu.	AGI Ultramar 561.
1705	4 Dragon	W. Funnell	English	*Funnell.	Sighted Yap & the Mapia Is. See 1537.
1705	4 St. George	W. Dampier	English	*Dampier, Funnell.	
1707	Santo Domingo de Guzman	?	Spanish	Zabalburu	AGI Ultramar 561.
1707	5 N. S. del Rosario	J. Martínez Ciriano	Spanish	*Astudillo, Concepción, Le Gobien.	B&R 44:144, 239.
1708	N.S. del Rosario (galliot)	P. Gonzalez de Pareja	Spanish	Concepción, Velarde. Doc. 1708B8.	Unsuccessful search for the Carolines
1708	6 N. S. de Begoña	?	Spanish	*Frondat, Concepción.	Possible error for Encarnación.
1708	6 N. S. de la Encarnación	F. de Salavarría	Spanish	*Tallandier, Dahlgren. Alias Desengaño.	BM Add mss. 19293. Captured 1709.
1708	6 St-Antoine-de-Padoue	N. de Frondat	French	*Frondat, *Giovo, *Moirie, Dahlgren.	

APPENDIX C -- SHIPS THROUGH MICRONESIA, 1698-1717

YEAR & MTH OF VISIT	NAME OF SHIP	NAME OF CAPTAIN	SHIP NATIONALITY	CHRONICLERS *Primary source.	COMMENTS
1709	N. S. del Rosario	José Madarfa	Spanish	*Faure.	Shipwrecked Leyte. Gov. Ursúa, Count of Lizarraga, aboard
1709	Santa Rosa	Juan Ignacio Vertis	Spanish	Audiencia.	AGI Fil. 105. Same as above?
1709	Santísima Trinidad	M. Elorriaga	Spanish	*Elorriaga, *Acosta, *Cortyl, Concepción.	Unsuccessful search for the Carolines
1709	9 Rosario (patache)	Carlos José	Spanish	*Pimentel.	Brought Pimentel to Guam.
1710	a 3 Duke	Woodes Rogers	English	*Rogers, *Cooke.	Pirate ships. Discovered Tobi.
1710	b 3 Duchess	S. Courtney	"	" "	" "
1710	c 3 Marquis	E. Cooke	"	" "	" "
1710	d 3 Batchelor	T. Dover	"	" "	Alias Encarnación, taken as a prize.
1710	e 4 (unnamed boat)	?	Spanish	*Pimentel. Guam-based boat, took rescued	prisoners from pirate ships to Manila
1710	f 6 N. S. de Begoña	Fernando de Angulo	Spanish	AGN AHH 1733.	Via Saipan. BM Add mss. 19293.
1710	g 11 Santísima Trinidad	F. de Padilla	Spanish	*Somera, *Baudin, Serrano, Lizárraga.	Visited Sonsorol. Sank October 1711.
1711	01 Solide	Raguienne de Mareuil	French	*Moncourant.	Condemned in Brazil 1716.
1711	05 N. S. del Rosario	M. Elorriaga	Spanish	Lizárraga.	BM Add mss. 19293. Elorriaga, not Aco
1711	06 N. S. del Rosario, her launch	V. Binasa	Spanish	*Binasa.	Re-discovered Ngulu.
1711	07 Santo Domingo de Guzman	Aguirre and/or Martinez	Spanish	*Egui, *Pimentel.	AGI Ultr. 561. Returned 1712 via Ulit
1711	a 5 Découverte	M. Dubocage	French	*Dubocage.	Discovered Clipperton Island. See 172
1711	b 5 Princesse	M. Martin de Chassiron	French	*Prudhomme.	" " " " "
1712	Grand-Dauphin	Dufresne des Saudrais	French	Dahlgren. First French circumnavigation.	Possibly via the Marianas. See 1716.
1712	2 Santo Domingo de Guzman	B. de Egui y Zabalaga	Spanish	*Egui, *Mexía, Lizárraga, Concepción.	Via Ulithi. See also 1527.
1712	6 N. S. de Begoña	J. I. Vertiz	Spanish	Dahlgren.	Via Rota. BM Add mss. 19293.
1713	6 Santo Cristo de Burgos	B. de Aysoain y Ursua	Spanish	*Carriedo, *Bourges.	AGN AHH 332. Doc. 1713C. Doc. 1721D.
1713	a 2 Grande-Reine-d'Espagne	J. Brunet	French	*Brunet, Dahlgren.	Via Guam and Manila.
1713	b 2 Saint-Louis	H. Bouynot	"	" " " "	" " "

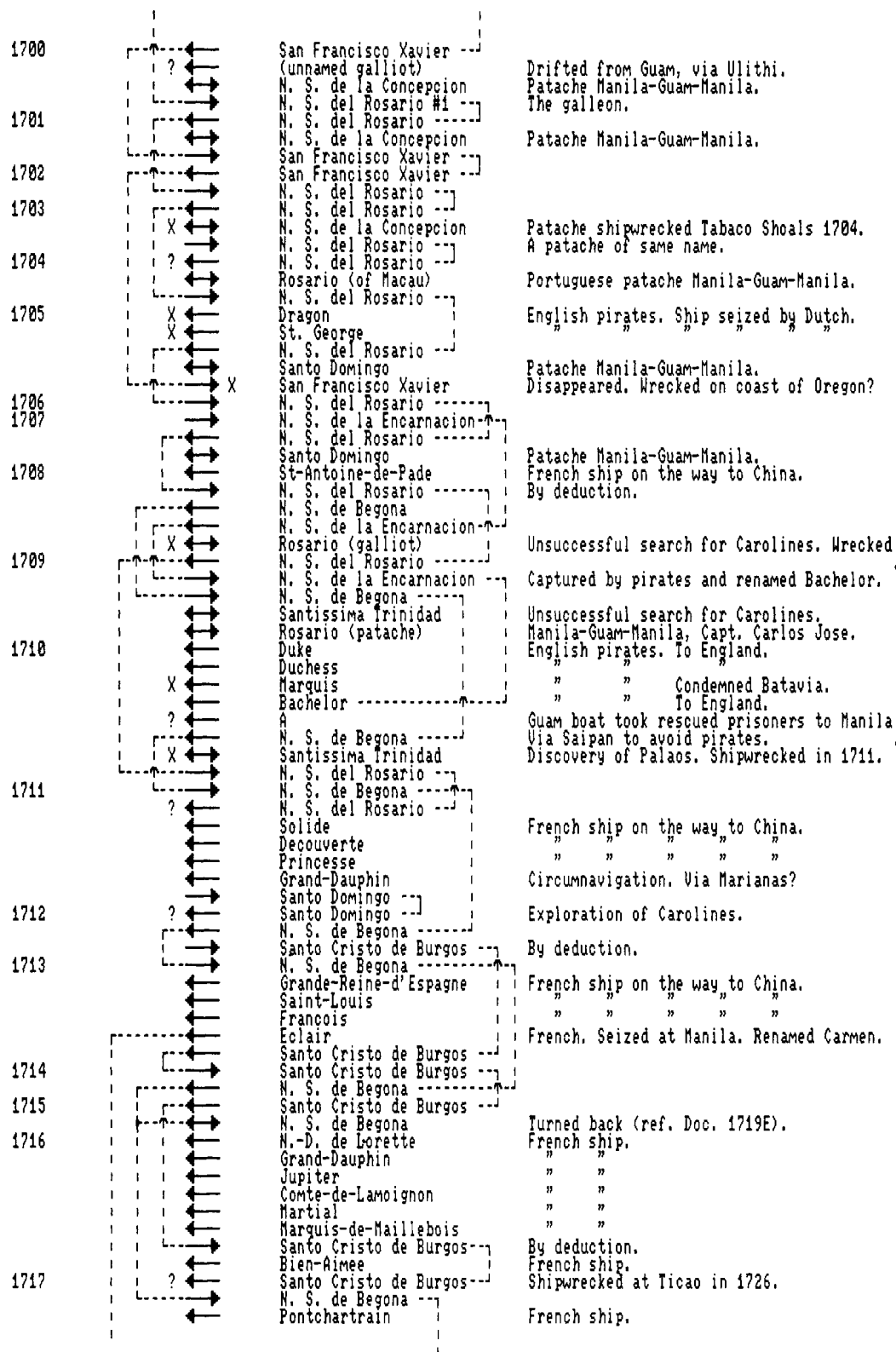
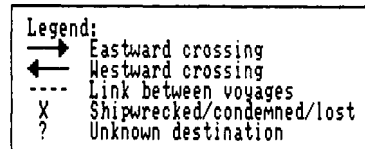
APPENDIX C -- SHIPS THROUGH MICRONESIA, 1698-1717

EAR & MTH F VISIT	NAME OF SHIP	NAME OF CAPTAIN	SHIP NATIONALITY	CHRONICLERS *Primary source.	COMMENTS
713 c 2	François	Lecocq	"	" " "	" " "
713 d 5	Eclair	J. Boisloré	French	*Labbe, *Bourges.	Seized in Philippines. Capt. jailed, 1714. Renamed Carmen, 1719.
714	(unnamed ship)	Merlotte	(Various)	Defoe.	Fictitious (quoted for the record).
714	N. S. de Begoña	E. Higuíño [Iñiguez?]	Spanish	Concepción.	AGN AHH 1733, fol. 151. B&R 53:328.
715 6	Santo Cristo de Burgos	F. de Olavide	Spanish	Dahlgren.	B&R 44:251-2; 41:219-20; 46:38.
716 a 1	N.-D.-de-Lorette	G.-R. Delaage	French	Dubocage, Dahlgren.	Possibly via Marianas.
716 b 3	Grand-Dauphin	Dufresne des Saudrais	French	Dahlgren.	Possibly via Marianas. See 1712.
716 c 6	Jupiter	M. Béven	French	*Béven, *Le Gentil de la Barbinais,	*Brossi, Dahlgren.
716 d 6	Comte-de-Lamoignon	De la Fond	"	" " " " " "	"
716 e 6	Martial	Collet de la Villepoulet	"	" " " " " "	"
716 f 6	Marquis-de-Maillebois	De la Perche	"	" " " " " "	"
716 g 6	Bien-Aimée	Hardouin des Courtils	"	" " " " " "	Disappeared after leaving Guam.
717	Santo Cristo de Burgos	F. de Angulo	Spanish	*Bustamante, Concepción.	AGN AHH 332. Gov. Bustamante aboard. Nebra was Master.
1717 10	Pontchartrain	L. Roche	French	Dahlgren.	

VOLUME 10 APPENDIX D

FLOW DIAGRAM OF SHIPS ACROSS THE PACIFIC, 1700-1717

by Rodrigue Lévesque



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