

The Philippine Islands, 1493-1803; / explorations by early navigators, descriptions of the islands and their peoples, their history and records of the Catholic missions, as related in contemporaneous books and manuscripts, showing the political, economic, commercial and religious conditions of those islands from their earliest relations with European nations to the beginning of the nineteenth century

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PHILIPPINE
ISLANDS

BLAIR
and
ROBERTSON

XVII
1609-1616

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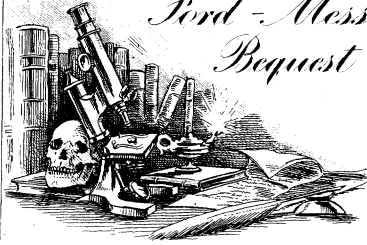
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THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

1493-1898

The PHILIPPINE ISLANDS 1493-1898

Explorations by Early Navigators, Descriptions of the Islands and their Peoples, their History and Records of the Catholic Missions, as related in contemporaneous Books and Manuscripts, showing the Political, Economic, Commercial and Religious Conditions of those Islands from their earliest relations with European Nations to the close of the Nineteenth Century

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINALS

Edited and annotated by EMMA HELEN BLAIR and
JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON, with historical introduction and additional notes by EDWARD GAYLORD BOURNE. With maps, portraits and other illustrations

Volume XVII—1609-1616



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PREFACE

The present volume covers the seven years from 1609 to 1616, the leading subjects in the documents therein being commerce and navigation, missions, and ecclesiastical affairs. The commercial and navigation laws covering a quarter of a century previous to this period give incidentally much curious information on social and economic conditions in the islands. The outflow of silver from Nueva España to China via Manila still causes alarm; but it is evident that the suppression of the trade between Acapulco and Manila is not an infallible remedy for this difficulty. As it is, the islands are suffering from the injuries to their trade that the Dutch have inflicted, and from the ruinous expenses caused by their wars with these persistent enemies. No less do the Indians suffer from the exactions levied upon them for the public works and defense; but the home government attempts to lessen these burdens, and protect the natives from oppression. The missions of the Jesuits are reported as making rapid progress; and statistics of the work conducted by them and by the other religious orders give a view of the general missionary field. The Dominicans begin their college of Santo Tomás at Manila; and their officials urge upon the king the suppression of the Audiencia. The re-

lations between the various orders appear to be not strictly harmonious. The power of the Spaniards in the Orient, and the future of the Philippine colony, are seriously menaced by the increasing gains of the Dutch in the Moluccas.

Various laws regarding the navigation and commerce of the Philippines are presented, in chronological order, dated 1583-1609. The sale of merchandise by *pancada* is to be retained, and regulations are made therefor. Trade between the American colonies with China or Filipinas is prohibited; and the citizens of Filipinas are granted a monopoly of the trade to Nueva España. But this is limited to a specified amount and only two ships may be sent annually. The goods thus sent to Nueva España must be consumed there. Copies of the merchandise registers of these vessels must be sent to the Council of the Indias. Persons who have been exiled to Filipinas must be compelled to reside there. No slaves may be taken thence to Nueva España, except a small and specified number allowed as servants of royal officials. The number of officers and men allowed to each ship is limited and specified. The soldiers sent must be effective and suitably equipped. The ships must not be stripped of their defenses by Filipinas officials. Pilots must undergo examination for this voyage. Information regarding the money and goods carried on these vessels must be exchanged by the officials at Manila and Acapulco. Ships must not be overladen. No person may go from Nueva España to the islands unless he give bonds for becoming a permanent resident of them, or is sent thither as a soldier. Officials of the trading vessels may not engage in trade in any form. The fares

paid by passengers thereon shall be regulated, and so adjusted that they shall pay their share toward the expenses of carrying on this commerce. Due inspection of merchandise shall be made at Acapulco and in Mexico. No Chinese goods may be traded or conveyed, in any way, between Nueva España and Peru. The dues collected at Acapulco on Filipinas merchandise shall be spent for the needs of the islands. The amount of money which may be carried back from Mexico is strictly limited to five hundred thousand pesos; and in this amount must be included, to avoid frauds, all amounts of legacies, and gifts for benevolent works, sent to Filipinas. No wrought silver may be carried thither, except under close restrictions. The governor of Filipinas and the viceroy of Nueva España shall exchange reports of the business carried on by these ships. A trustworthy person must be appointed at Manila to regulate the migration of Chinese and other foreigners to the islands. Directions are given for the placing of cargoes, marine stores, etc., on the ships; and their rigging must be obtained at Manila instead of Acapulco. The ships and their crews must be suitably armed for defense; and the men may not carry any baggage save what they actually need for the voyage. No slave women shall be allowed on the ships, nor any married woman who is not obliged to make the voyage. The citizens of the islands may trade with Japan; but the Japanese shall not be allowed to go to the Filipinas.

In *Annua litteræ* for 1610 is a report of the Jesuit missions in the Philippines. Beginning with some tabulated statistics, there are presented separate accounts of the college at Manila and the various mis-

sion stations. Two lay brethren in that college have died, whose lives and virtues are briefly reviewed. Religious zeal is growing among the people of Manila. The Jesuit church has been greatly adorned and improved, and their Indian disciples have erected in a new church several handsome statues. One of the Jesuit fathers devoted himself to the care of the heretics captured in the battle with the Dutch, and secured recantations from twenty of these. The new governor, Juan de Silva, has given to the Jesuits not only favor but substantial aid. In Antipolo and Taitai are many zealous and devout converts, of whom various incidents are related. The church at Antipolo has been often burned, but again rebuilt. Several miraculous cures are related. At Zebu the Jesuits have done much to cultivate religion among the Spanish residents, and to promote the peace and welfare of the community. In Bohol many conversions have taken place, and the headmen have become most helpful to the missionaries. Even some of the priests of the heathen are zealous converts to the true faith. The Indian converts are displaying true faith and charity, and support a hospital. No longer consulting their idols, they now invoke the Virgin Mary, an act which brings them great success in hunting. At Dulac much success has been obtained—sometimes impeded, however, by the plots of the Evil One. Palapag has suffered from scarcity of food, but the Jesuits have from their own stores cared for the poor. A new church has been erected there, and many conversions are reported. The expedition to the Molucca Islands was accompanied by the Jesuits; there are many Christians there, who are oppressed by the Dutch heretics.

Many of the reports in this document mention miraculous cures, and deliverances from danger; and state that in many cases the Indian converts practice scourging as a token of devotion.

A law dated May 26, 1609, regulates the services of the Indians. When possible, the men needed for public works shall be hired from among the Chinese and Japanese; and the Filipino natives shall be expected to work voluntarily. If these measures shall not provide sufficient laborers, the natives may be forced to work, but only under certain conditions. Such work must be of absolute necessity; no one shall be forced when there are enough voluntary laborers; the conscription must be made as considerate and equitable as possible; the governor shall assign their hours of labor, and their wages shall be paid fairly and promptly. Such requisitions shall be made at seasons when they do not interfere with the agricultural labors of the natives. The vessels shall be provided with shelter for the rowers against rain and storm. Any ill-treatment received by the Indians shall be vigorously punished, especially when the offender is a royal official.

The Augustinian Recollects write to the king (June 30, 1610) asking to be released from the restrictions imposed upon them by the visitor of that order, claiming that otherwise their work will be ruined. They also ask for royal bounty in its aid. The Dominicans at Manila, on the same day, memorialize the home government for the suppression of the Audiencia in the islands. They claim that the royal decrees are not obeyed as they should be. The royal fiscal is accused of illegal traffic, and the opportunities and means of profit are given to relatives

or friends of the auditors. The Dominicans suggest that the archbishop and the religious orders be authorized to serve as a check on the governors, the only real use of the Audiencia. They ask the king to increase the income of the archbishop, and take occasion to commend the honor and integrity of the royal officials at Manila. Their letter is accompanied by a list of the reasons why the Audiencia should be suppressed in the islands. The number of lawsuits is much greater since the reestablishment of that court, and the prisons are crowded; while many persons are neglected and languish in prison for many years. Justice is not done in the Indian lawsuits, the Spanish procedure being entirely unsuitable for these cases; and the innocent suffer the penalties, while the guilty escape. Dignities and offices are given to the unworthy and incompetent, and to relatives of the auditors. Criminals connected with the auditors go unpunished. The auditors engage openly in trade, by which they have gained enormous wealth. The royal intention that they should advise the king regarding the governor's conduct is frustrated, since they are in such relations with the governor that they will not oppose him.

The Jesuit Gregorio Lopez relates (July 1, 1610) events in the islands for the past year. Rumors of an invasion by the Dutch cause Silva to fortify Cavite, hitherto unprotected. Several disasters befall the Spaniards — among them the treacherous murder of a large number of Spaniards by their Chinese and Japanese rowers; and the Chinese need to be pacified. During the latter part of 1609 and the early months of 1610 the Dutch squadron commanded by Francis de Wittert remains near Manila, capturing

the Chinese and other vessels that trade with Luzon. Meanwhile, the Spaniards collect military supplies and make all other preparations for defense. On April 24 the Spanish squadron encounters that of the Dutch at Playa Honda, outside Manila Bay; after a hot contest in which Wittert is killed, the Dutch flagship surrenders, as does their almiranta; another ship is destroyed by fire, and the rest take to flight. Many ceremonies, both religious and secular, signalize the rejoicings in Manila over the victory of the Spaniards, as well as their mourning for the slain. Then the spoils of the conquered are distributed, amounting to nearly four hundred thousand pesos. Many of the Dutch heretic captives are reconciled to the Church through the ministrations of a Jesuit priest. Lopez relates various incidents connected with this war, and gives a vivid account of the perils and hardships of the ocean voyages, especially in relating the shipwreck on the Japan coast of the galleon "San Francisco." A boat carrying supplies to the Jesuit mission at Maluco is captured by the Dutch, and with it Father Masonio; but he escapes their hands, after many dangers. His companion, Father Gabriel de la Cruz, dies after a long sickness; and Antonio Pereira, sent to take his place, dies on the voyage. The Dutch pay a heavy ransom for their captive commander van Caerden.

Governor Silva advises the king (September 5, 1610) of affairs in the islands, especially of those in the Moluccas. The Dutch have regained everything there except the fort at Ternate; they have also secured a foothold in Japan, and are striving to do the same in China. If they obtain control of the trade from those countries, the Spanish colonies in

India and the Philippines will be ruined. Accordingly, Silva is preparing to go, in conjunction with the Portuguese troops from India, against the Dutch, to recover the Moluccas. He will also take the captive Ternatan king back to his own country, as he promises to become a vassal of Spain and to refuse intercourse with the Dutch. Silva has, however, but little money for this expedition, for the royal treasury is heavily in debt. The king writes to Silva (December 7, 1610) ordering him to investigate the complaint of the Indians of Quiapo against the Jesuits.

The establishment of the college of Santo Tomás at Manila is begun in 1611 by the Dominicans, its foundation being a bequest left for this purpose by the late Archbishop Benavides, and certain other legacies. The articles of establishment and the endowment are presented, showing the funds, location, management, and character of the institution. It is provided, among other things, that if any ecclesiastical or secular power should claim jurisdiction over the conduct or property of the college, all the possessions of the college shall become the absolute property of the Dominican order and province.

The bishop of Nueva Cáceres asks the king (July 20, 1611) for aid for the hospital there. In the same year, the king writes several letters to Silva. He orders the governor (November 12) to restrain, but with prudence, the arrogance of the religious; to check evasions of the laws regarding commerce, and to make certain regulations regarding the Mexican trade; to continue the prohibition of Japanese from residing in the islands; and to cease the military training hitherto given to the natives. On Novem-

ber 20 he sends an order to Silva to set at liberty van Caerden and other Dutchmen held captive in Manila, provided they shall not have given any cause for being recaptured. On December 19 he commands Silva to keep a squadron of ships on guard near the Luzón coast, to prevent the Dutch from plundering the vessels that go to the islands for trade. Letters from the king to the Dominican provincial at Manila (December 31) warn him to correct the lawless and disobedient proceedings of certain of his friars; to maintain amicable relations with the governor; and not to allow his friars to go to Japan without the governor's permission (commands of like import with this last being sent also to the provincials of the other orders).

Interesting statistics of the houses and missions of the various religious orders in the islands are furnished (*ca.* 1612), at the royal command, by their superiors. The Augustinians enumerate fifty-six houses with one hundred and fifty-five priests and thirteen lay brethren. The Jesuits maintain two colleges (Manila and Cebú), six residences and two missions; in these are forty-five priests, twenty-eight lay brethren, eight novices, and eleven scholastics – in all ninety-two religious. Each “residence” is a center of missionary activity for all the Indian villages around it, in some of which are churches, and to others visits are paid more or less frequently by the fathers who live at the residence. The Franciscans have forty-eight houses in their missions to the Indians, and four in the Spanish towns; they also maintain six hospitals. They have one hundred and one priests and thirty-eight lay brethren, besides twenty-one religious in Japan. The Dominicans

have eighteen houses, and one hospital, with sixty-two friars; besides these, they have three houses in Japan, with nine religious. The field occupied by the Augustinians is in Western Luzón, Panay, and Cebú; and the villages in which they minister number 58,800 tributes – which, at three persons to each tribute, means a population of 176,400 souls. The Jesuits conduct missions in Luzón, Panay, Leyte, Samar, Bohol, and adjacent islands; they have sixty-eight churches, besides those in Manila and Cebú, and are in charge of about 50,000 souls. The Franciscans have missions in Luzón, with 80,000 souls; also some in Maluco and Japan. The Dominicans also work in Luzón, ministering to somewhat more than 16,000 souls.

The viceroy of Peru writes to Felipe III (April 12, 1612) in regard to the Philippine-Mexican trade, giving his report and opinion, at the king's command, regarding the request of the Sevilla merchants that the Philippine trade be taken from Mexico and transferred to Spain and Portugal. This letter is an interesting exposition of the theories regarding colonial administration then held by certain Spanish statesmen – and, more or less, of the policy then pursued by the Spanish government: for Montesclaros had already been a viceroy of Spanish colonies in America for nine years, at the time of this report, and was highly regarded by his home government. He describes the progress of commerce since the colonization of the New World began, and shows that the markets of the latter are overstocked with European merchandise, and thus the profits of the trade are greatly decreased. The viceroy carefully analyzes the proposal to transfer

the Philippine trade to Spain, and shows its probable results. The Manila merchandise is almost entirely silk; this could be replaced in Mexico with the cotton fabrics made by the Indians in that country, and the silk industry might be introduced into Mexico and made a success there. Nevertheless, the Philippines would be injured by the suppression of their Mexican trade, and there would not even be a corresponding benefit to Spain. He has not much confidence in the disinterestedness of the Sevilla merchants, and refutes some of their arguments. The Spanish goods sent to Manila via Acapulco are mainly articles of luxury, and in small quantity; and the cloth stuffs of Spain are not desired in Japan or Luzón. He disapproves any course which would bring the Chinese silks into Spain, for thus the silk industry of that country would be ruined; moreover, the Chinese goods are poor and have little durability. Montesclaros emphatically denies that the stoppage of Philippine trade will materially affect the outflow of silver from Nueva España, or benefit Spain; and advises the king not to favor the Seville merchants or the Portuguese of India to the neglect of his Castilian subjects. He compares the advantages of the two routes between Manila and Spain, and considers that by the Pacific Ocean the better. The viceroy discusses the matter of sending reinforcements to the Philippines, and suggests that it might be advantageous to send troops to Acapulco via the Isthmus of Panama. He points out various dangers from the proposed suppression of the Philippine-Mexican trade.

The bishop of Nueva Segovia writes (August 15, 1613), apparently to some high official at the Span-

ish court, asking that aid may be furnished to the recently founded college of Santo Tomás. Soria complains of the Jesuits and the governor, who are opposing the Dominicans. More priests of that order (to which the writer belongs) are needed in the islands. Soria makes various accusations against the Augustinians and their leading officials, and recommends Aduarte and his mission to his correspondent's favor.

Felipe III writes to Silva (December 2, 1613), directing him to send to Mexico all the quicksilver that he can procure in China. The king approves Silva's acts in regard to Chinese immigration, and investigation of corrupt officials. He asks for further information as to Japanese trade, the treatment of the Indians by the religious, etc. One of the royal councils makes recommendations to the king—by communications dated respectively June 28, 1613, and July 1, 1616—that for the aged archbishop of Manila shall be appointed a coadjutor, who shall receive one-third of the former's stipend, with certain fees. An abstract of a letter from the Jesuit Ledesma to Felipe III (August 20, 1616) presents a gloomy view of the condition of the islands. Their trade has greatly decreased; the expeditions against the Dutch have nearly ruined the citizens; the Indians are exhausted by the burdens and taxes levied upon them; and the islands are in constant peril and are frequently harassed by their numerous enemies. The king is asked to send aid for the colony without delay.

A prominent Jesuit in Manila, Juan de Ribera, writes (probably in 1616) an account of an expedition sent from India in 1615 for the aid of the Philip-

piners. The Dutch are obtaining so firm a foothold in the Orient that the Spanish commerce is not only much decreased, but is in constant danger from the attacks of the "Dutch pirates." Silva despatches Ribera to India, to ask from the viceroy aid for the Philippines; he sends with the envoy four galleons, which, after a voyage of many delays and hardships, reach Malacca. There they encounter a large Malay fleet, which they defeat, with great loss on both sides. A few weeks later a Dutch fleet arrives at Malacca, intending to unite with these very Malays; a fierce battle ensues, in which the Portuguese galleons are destroyed. In February, 1616, Silva arrives at Malacca with his fleet; but soon afterward he is attacked by a fever which causes his death (April 19). To this is added another version of Ribera's letter, and a letter by Valerio de Ledesma — both obtained from Colin's *Labor evangelica*. These cover the same ground as the preceding letter, but contain some matter not found therein, including an account of the battle at Playa Honda.

A biographical and chronological list of all the Spanish governors of the Philippines, from 1565 to 1898, is here presented. It is prepared by a careful collation, sifting, and verification of data obtained from the best authorities extant; and will be found useful for reference by general readers, as well as by students of history. This is followed by a law of 1664, providing for the government of the islands ad interim; and an extract from the *Historia* of the Jesuit Delgado (1751), "Some things worth knowing about the governors of the Filipinas Islands." He says: "In no kingdom or province of the Spanish crown do the viceroys or governors enjoy greater

privileges, superiority, and grandeur than in Filipinas." Delgado moralizes on the qualifications necessary for such a post, illustrating his remarks by historical examples. He outlines the intercourse and relations of the Philippines with the peoples about them, and the conquests made by the Spanish colonial governors. Next is given a chapter from the *Estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1842* of Sinibaldo de Mas – a Spanish diplomat who visited the islands – on "the administration of government and the captaincy-general" therein. He, too, describes the great authority and privilege of the governor of the Philippines; and outlines the plan of the general, provincial, and local governments. The mestizos, when numerous in any community, have their own separate government. As the cabezas de barangay and some members of their families are exempted from paying tributes, they form a privileged class which is a burden on the taxpayers – a serious defect in the system of government. A special arrangement is made for the Chinese residing in Manila, and they are enrolled and classified for the payment of taxes. Finally, a chapter on "the political and administrative organization of Filipinas" is presented, from Montero y Vidal's *Archipiélago filipino* (1886). He devotes special attention to the subject of local government in the native towns; and explains why the Filipino natives are so anxious to obtain the post of gobernadorcillo. The writer describes the mode of dress and the customs in vogue among these local dignitaries, as well as their methods of administration. There are certain other petty officials, whose functions are described; and he ends by stating the powers and functions of the provincial

rulers and those of the governor and captain-general of the islands, and sharply criticising "the vicious, anomalous, and unsuitable organization of the provinces of Filipinas."

THE EDITORS

July, 1904.

DOCUMENTS OF 1609

Laws regarding navigation and commerce. Felipe II and Felipe III; 1583-1609.

Jesuit missions, 1608-09. (From *Annua litteræ*; Dilingæ, 1610.)

Decree regulating services of Filipinos. Felipe III; May 26.

SOURCES: Two of these documents are taken from *Recopilación de leyes* – the first from lib. ix, tit. xlv; the third, from lib. vi., tit. xii (ley xl). The second is obtained from *Annua litteræ* (Dilingæ, 1610), pp. 507-532.

TRANSLATIONS: The first and third of these documents are translated by James A. Robertson; the second, by Henry B. Lathrop, of the University of Wisconsin.

LAWS REGARDING NAVIGATION AND COMMERCE

[The following laws are translated from *Recopilación de leyes*, lib. ix, tit. xxxv, "Concerning the navigation and commerce of the Filipinas Islands, China, Nueva España, and Perú."¹ The various laws of the *Recopilación* are not arranged chronologically, but they are here thus given – retaining, however, the number of each law. Those laws given in the present installment range in date between 1583 and 1609, those beyond the latter date being reserved for a future volume. Some of the laws, as shown by various dates, were promulgated more than once, either in the original form, or possibly amended. When there is more than one date, the chronological order follows the earliest of these.]

LAW LVIII

The appraisements and registers that shall be made of the merchandise shipped in the vessels des-

¹ The earliest compilation of laws regarding the Spanish colonies of Nueva España was made, by royal command, by Vasco de Puga (an auditor of the Audiencia of Mexico), and printed in 1563. Francisco de Toledo, viceroy of Peru from 1569 to 1581, prepared a code of ordinances for that country (see Markham's *Hist. Peru*, pp. 149, 156-159, 538). In 1570, Felipe II ordered that a revised compilation of the laws and ordinances for the gov-

patched from Filipinas to Nueva España and other places, shall be made solely by the officials of our royal exchequer. The distribution [of cargo] that shall be made in the vessels of the said islands, and of the merchandise shipped on our account, and the appointment and examination of the pilots, masters, and other officials, shall be made in the presence of the aforesaid persons; and the laws ordained by this titulo shall be observed. [Felipe II – San Lorenzo, June 14, 1583.]

LAW XXXV

It having been committed to, and charged upon, the governor and captain-general of the Filipinas that he should endeavor to introduce, in the exchange and barter for the merchandise of China, trade in other products of those islands, in order to avoid, when possible, the withdrawal of the great sums of reals which are taken to foreign kingdoms, the governor executed it in the form and manner that he considered most fitting; and a method called *pancada*² was introduced, which has been observed and executed until now. It is our will that that method be observed and kept, without any change, until we order otherwise. [Felipe II – Añover, August 9, 1589; Toledo, January 25, 1596.]

LAW LXVI

We order that a duty be collected on the first and ernment of all the Indias be made. After many efforts and delays, this was accomplished in 1628, but the work was not printed until 1681. It is the fifth edition (*i.e.*, reprint) of this compilation from which we obtain the laws presented in this document; it was printed in Madrid in 1841.

² See VOL. VIII, p. 253.

subsequent sales of all the merchandise shipped from Filipinas to Acapulco, and the pesos per tonelada on freight according to custom; for this sum and much more is needed to pay the troops, and equip the vessels that engage in commerce. In this there shall be no innovation. [Felipe II – Añover, August 9, 1589.]

LAW V

We ordain and order that there shall be no permission to trade or traffic between Perú, Tierra-Firme, Guatemala, or any other parts of the Indias, and China or the Filipinas Islands, even though it be by license of the viceroys, audiencias, governors, or magistrates, under penalty of confiscation of the merchandise that shall be shipped. The masters and pilots shall also incur the confiscation of all their property and ten years in the galleys. [Felipe II – San Lorenzo, December 18, and February 6, 1591.]

LAW I

Inasmuch as it is advisable to avoid trade between the West Indias and China, and regulate that of Filipinas, as it has increased considerably, thus causing the decrease of that of these kingdoms: therefore, we prohibit, forbid, and order, that no person of the natives or residents of Nueva España, or any other part of the Indias trade or be allowed to trade in the Filipinas Islands. Should anyone do so, he shall lose the merchandise with which he shall trade, and it shall be applied, one-third each, to our royal exchequer, the denouncer, and the judge who shall sentence him. In order to show favor to the citizens

and inhabitants [of Filipinas] and that that trade may be preserved to sufficient extent, we consider it best that they alone may trade with Nueva España, in the manner ordained by the other laws, with this provision, that they convey their goods, or send them with persons who shall come from the said islands. They cannot send them by way of commission or in any other form to those who actually reside in Nueva España, in order to avoid the frauds of consigning them to other persons – unless it be because of the death of those who should come with the goods from the said islands; for in such case it can be done. And we also order that the inhabitants of Filipinas cannot consign their merchandise to generals, commanders, captains, officials, soldiers, or sailors of the vessels of that commerce, or of any other vessels, even though these be inhabitants of the said islands as well as the persons above mentioned.³ [Felipe II – Madrid, January 11, 1593. Felipe IV – Madrid, February 10, 1635.]

LAW VI

It is our will that the trade and commerce of the Filipinas Islands with Nueva España be carried on for the present as ordained. Under no consideration shall the amount of merchandise shipped annually from those islands to Nueva España exceed two

³ “The present state of affairs in that which relates to this titulo is that set forth by the decree of March 10, 1785, establishing the Company of Filipinas. In regard to this law and those following in this titulo, the reader should remember that a royal order of July 20, 1793, permitted the Company of Filipinas to trade directly between those islands and the ports of South America in one or two voyages, to the amount of five hundred thousand pesos apiece, on condition of paying the foreign duty and the 9½ per

hundred and fifty thousand eight-real pieces, nor the return of principal and profits in money, the five hundred thousand pesos which are permitted – under no pretext, cause, or argument that can be advanced, which is not expressed by a law of this titulo; and the traders shall necessarily be citizens of the Filipinas, as is also ordained. [Felipe II – Madrid, January 11, 1593. Felipe III – December 31, 1604; Madrid, May 4, 1619; Lisboa, September 14, 1619.]

LAW XV

From Nueva España to Filipinas only two vessels can sail annually, up to three hundred toneladas' burden. In them shall be carried the reënforcements of men and supplies, and they shall bear a permit. For this purpose there shall be three ships, one of which shall remain in readiness at the port of Acapulco, while the other two make the voyage. For the security of the voyage, those who go on account of our royal treasury shall endeavor to see that the cost be drawn from the freights. From Nueva España not more than two hundred and fifty thousand pesos de tipusque shall be taken in the vessels during any one year. Whatever above that amount is taken shall be confiscated and applied in three equal parts to the exchequer, the judge, and the denouncer. We order the governor of Filipinas to inspect the ships when they reach port, and excent on the silver taken back. This permit, which was limited during the war with France, was, by a new royal order of September 24, 1796, made general for all succeeding wars, if carried on with maritime powers." The above note is translated from the *Recopilación*, where it follows law 1. Space permitting, the decree of March 10, 1785, mentioned above, will be given in this series.

cute the penalty. [Felipe II – Madrid, January 11, 1593. Felipe III – Valladolid, December 31, 1604.]

LAW XXXIV

We order and command that no person trade or traffic in the kingdoms or in any part of China, and that no goods be shipped from that kingdom to the Filipinas Islands on the account of the merchants of those islands. The Chinese themselves shall convey their goods at their own account and risk, and sell them there by wholesale. The governor and captain-general with the council of the city of Manila shall annually appoint two or three persons, whom they shall deem best fitted, to appraise the value and worth of the merchandise, and shall take the goods at wholesale from the Chinese, to whom they shall pay the price. Then they shall distribute it among all the citizens and natives of those islands, in accordance with their capital, so that they may all share in the interest and profit that arises from this traffic and trade. The persons thus appointed shall keep a book, in which they shall enter the amount of money invested each time, the price at which each class of merchandise is valued, among what persons the merchandise is divided, and the amount that falls to the share of each. The governor shall take particular pains to ascertain and discover how the said deputies make use of their commission. He shall not allow them to be rechosen the following year. He shall send annually a report, signed by them, of all the aforesaid to our council, and another to the viceroy of Nueva España. [Felipe II – Madrid, January 11, 1593.]

LAW XLIV

The apportionment of the permitted amount of two hundred and fifty thousand pesos, conceded to the inhabitants of the Filipinas Islands, must be made among them, and the whole amount must be registered. Endeavor shall be made to have less than one third part return in gold; and the governor shall prevent and take precautions against any fraud or deceit, and shall take what measures he deems expedient. This also we charge upon the viceroy of Nueva España in whatever pertains to him. [Felipe II – Madrid, January 11, 1593.]

LAW LXVIII

We declare and order that the Chinese merchandise and articles which have been and shall be shipped from Filipinas to Nueva España, can and shall be consumed there only, or shipped to these kingdoms after paying the duties. They cannot be taken to Perú, Tierra-Firme, or any other part of the Indias, under penalty of confiscation of all those found and apprehended in the possession of any person whatever, and shall be applied to our exchequer, the judge, and the denouncer.⁴ [Felipe II – Ma-

⁴“This law and all those treating of the prohibition of commerce between Perú and Méjico, Tierra-Firme, etc., were completely superseded by a royal decree dated El Pardo, January 20, 1774. That decree was ordered to be kept and observed by the superior government of Lima, August 1, of the same year; and separate copies were ordered to be drawn, so that all might know that his Majesty had repealed and revoked the general prohibition of reciprocal commerce by the South Sea between the four kingdoms of Perú, Nueva España, Nueva Reino de Granada, and Guatemala.” We transfer this note from law ix, of this título of the *Recopilación*, an editorial note to law lxviii referring to law ix.

drid, January 11, 1593; Felipe IV – Madrid, February 10, 1635.]

LAW LXXI

We order and command, that under no consideration in any manner can any ship go from the provinces of Perú, Tierra-Firme, Guatemala, Nueva España, or any other part of our Western Indias, to China to trade or traffic, or for any other purpose; nor can any ship go to the Filipinas Islands, except from Nueva España, in accordance with the laws of this título: under penalty of the confiscation of the ship; and its value, money, merchandise, and other things of its cargo shall be sent to these kingdoms in accordance with law 67⁵ of this título, and thus it shall be executed. We prohibit and forbid any merchandise being taken from Nueva España to the provinces of Perú and Tierra-Firme, that shall have been taken there from Filipinas, even if the duties should be paid according to the rules and ordinances; for it is our purpose and will that no goods shipped from China and the Filipinas Islands be consumed in the said provinces of Perú and Tierra-Firme. Whatever shall be found in the possession of any person, we order to be confiscated, applied, and regulated, as contained in this law. [Felipe II – Madrid, January 11, 1593, and July 5, 1595. Felipe III – Valladolid, December 31, 1604.]

LAW LXIV

It is advisable for our service to have constant

⁵ Such a citation as this shows the hand of the editors or compilers of the *Recopilación*. Law lxvii bears as its earlier date March 3, 1617, and refers to the sending of contraband Chinese goods to the House of Trade of the Indias in Sevilla.

reports on what passes in the trade and commerce between the Filipinas and Nueva España, in order to ascertain and discover whether it continues to increase, and what kinds of merchandise are traded, their prices, and in what money or material. Accordingly we order the viceroys of Nueva España to send to our royal Council of the Indias in each trading fleet, a copy of the registers that the ships brought from those islands, and also of those of the ships sent thither; and all shall be made with great distinctness and clearness. [Felipe II – Madrid, January 17, 1593; and Toledo, June 9, 1596.]

LAW XXVIII

The viceroys, presidents, and auditors, and all other officers of justice shall make efforts to find all those who shall have been sent to Filipinas to reside during the time of their obligation, who have remained in Nueva España and other parts of their jurisdiction, and shall force them with all rigor to go to reside in those islands, proceeding against their persons and properties and executing the penalties that they shall have incurred. The fiscals of our Audiencia in Manila shall plead what is advisable in regard to the aforesaid. [Felipe II – Madrid, February 20, 1596.]

LAW LIV

We order that the governors of Filipinas shall not allow slaves to be sent to Nueva España as a business transaction or for any other reason – except that, when the governor goes there, his successor may give him permission to take as many as six slaves with

him; to each of the auditors who shall make the voyage, four; and to other respected persons, merchants with capital, and officials of our royal treasury who go and do not return, two. We order the viceroy, alcalde-mayor and officials of Acapulco, to see to the fulfilment and execution of this law, and to confiscate the slaves in excess of this number. [Felipe II – Madrid, April 10, 1597.]

LAW XL

We order that there be but one commander and one lieutenant (who shall be admiral) for the two ships from Filipinas to Nueva España; that each ship shall take no more than one military captain, besides the ship master and as many as fifty effective and useful soldiers in each ship with pay, and the sailors necessary to make the voyage properly each way – who shall be efficient and examined – and one pilot and assistant to each ship; for both ships one purser [*veedor*] and accountant. All appointments to the said posts shall be made by the governor and captain-general alone, without the intervention of the archbishop, or of any other person, notwithstanding what shall have been provided to the contrary. We order that choice be made from among the most respected and influential inhabitants of those islands, and of those most suitable for the said offices and the duties that the appointees must exercise. If they shall not be such, the matter shall be made an article in the governor's residencia. [Felipe III – Barcelona, June 15, 1599; Valladolid, December 31, 1604; San Lorenzo, April 22, 1608; Madrid, May 23, 1620.]

LAW XXVII

We charge and order the viceroys of Nueva España that the troops that they send to Filipinas be useful, and that they go armed; and that the men go to the governor of the islands to ask for the pay that the captains take from their soldiers. In regard to this the governor shall take legal action and punish those whom it touches. [Felipe III – Denia, August 16, 1599.]

LAW XXIII

The governors of Filipinas are wont to take the artillery and arms from the ships that sail from Nueva España. Inasmuch as the vessels return unarmed and without the necessary defense, we order the said governors not to take, or allow to be taken, from the said ships the artillery, arms, supplies, or war-materials that those ships carry for their defense on the return voyage, for it is not advisable to risk what is so important. [Felipe III – Valladolid, July 15, 1601.]

LAW XXXIX

Since there are skilled and examined pilots for the Filipinas line, those who are not such shall not be admitted in our ships and other craft. [Felipe III – Valencia, December 31, 1603.]

LAW XVI

The utmost diligence shall be taken in the port of Acapulco to ascertain and discover the reals, silver, and other things taken to the Filipinas, and our officials of the said port shall take account of it all. They shall advise the governor and royal officials

of the islands of it, sending them the registers, and notifying them of what is advisable. The royal officials of Filipinas shall do the same with those of Acapulco. [Felipe III – Valladolid, December 31, 1604.]

LAW XVII

Inasmuch as the ships of the Filipinas line have been overladen, many have been wrecked and their crews and cargoes lost; and, inasmuch as it is advisable to provide beforehand the remedy, therefore we order that great care be taken so that the toneladas [assigned] be those that the ships can carry, in accordance with their capacity. The things conveniently necessary for the crew, and the necessary food, with a reserve in case the voyage be prolonged, shall be left in them. Especial care is to be taken that the ships do not sail overladen, or embarrassed, because of the danger of being wrecked in any misfortune. They shall make the voyage each way as lightly laden as is necessary for the chance of storms and enemies. Felipe III – Valladolid, December 31, 1604.]

LAW XXI

Illegal acts have been committed in taking more artillerymen and sailors than were necessary, and some of them useless, in the trading ships from Filipinas to Nueva España. We order that this be avoided and remedied. For each piece of artillery, only one artilleryman, and no more, shall be taken and superfluous pay shall not be given. [Felipe III – Valladolid, December 31, 1604.]

LAW XXIX

Inasmuch as the majority of those going annually from Nueva España to Filipinas do not stop there, but return immediately, after investing their money: therefore, we order the viceroy of Nueva España to permit no one to go to Filipinas, unless he give bonds that he will become a citizen and live there for more than eight years, or unless he be sent as a soldier to the governor.⁶ On those who violate this, and their bondsmen, shall be executed the penalties that they incur, without pardon. [Felipe III – Valladolid, December 31, 1604.]

LAW XLII

We order and command that the generals, captains, agents, and officials of the Filipinas ships give bonds, to what sum the governor and captain-general shall deem best, for the greater security of what shall be in their charge. They shall give their residencia of each voyage before the auditors of our royal Audiencia of Manila and shall render satisfaction in the aforesaid. [Felipe III – Valladolid, December 31, 1604; Madrid, May 23, 1620. Carlos II (in this *Recopilación*) – 1681, the date of first edition of *Recopilación de leyes*.]

LAW XLVIII

We prohibit and forbid, under any circumstance, commanders, admirals, and officials of the commerce between Filipinas and Nueva España from trading

⁶ The governors of the Filipinas grant permission to those who go to those islands under condemnation of crime to return. Inasmuch as on that account many convicts hide away from the judges who exiled them, we order the governors, under no circumstances, to permit them to return to Nueva España or to go to

or trafficking, seizing, or lading anything, in any quantity in the ships during the voyage under their command, under their own name or another's. Neither shall toneladas be apportioned to them as to the other citizens, nor can they take or buy them from others, under penalty of perpetual deprivation of the said posts of the said line and the confiscation of what goods they lade, carry, or take, which shall be found to be theirs. [Felipe III – Valladolid, December 31, 1604. Cárlos II (in this *Recopilación*) – 1681; see preceding law.]

LAW LIX

We order the viceroy of Nueva España and the governor of Filipinas, each one as it pertains to him, to adjust and regulate the fares to be paid by passengers, according to the place that each shall occupy, in the ship on which he sails, with men and goods; and what is to be paid on the trips going and coming, according to the expense incurred by the ships, in accordance with their burden and crew. They shall apportion it in such manner that superfluous and useless expenses shall not be caused. And unless it lacks what is necessary and requisite, it shall be unnecessary to supply anything from our treasury toward the expenses of that fleet. We order that the advisable care and effort be given to this by the overseer [*veedor*], accountant, and royal officials of the Filipinas Islands. [Felipe III – Valladolid, December 31, 1604; San Lorenzo, April 22, 1608.]

Perú during the period of their exile. And should they be condemned to the galleys or to other services, they shall fulfil the condemnation.— [Felipe III – Aranjuez, April 29, 1605. Felipe IV – Madrid, January 27, 1631. In *Recopilación de leyes*, lib. vii, tit. viii, ley xxi.]

LAW LX

The registers of all shipments from Filipinas shall be opened in the port of Acapulco, by the person to whom the viceroy of Nueva España entrusts it, and the officials of our royal treasury of the said port. They together shall examine and investigate the bales and boxes, and shall make as close and careful an examination as shall be necessary to discover what may have come outside of the register and permission. They shall send the registers to Méjico, as has been the custom, with all investigations made at the port of Acapulco, by a sufficiently trustworthy person, or by one of our said officials. In Méjico everything shall be again investigated, and the duties appertaining to us shall be appraised and collected; and all other investigations requisite to ascertain and discover what has come unregistered shall be made. All that shall have been sent without register and in violation of the prohibition shall be confiscated. No permission shall be given by this means, pretext, and occasion, to cause any unreasonable injury to the owners of the goods. [Felipe III – Valladolid, December 31, 1604; San Lorenzo, April 22, 1608; clause 11.]

LAW LXIX

In the vessels that we shall permit to sail from Perú to Nueva España and the port of Acapulco or from Nueva España to Perú and its ports, no quantity of Chinese stuffs can be laden, sold, bought, or exchanged, even though it may be reported to be gratuitously as a gift or charity, or for the service of divine worship, or in any other quality or form, in order that the prohibition may not be evaded by

such pretexts and frauds. In case that any shall be convicted of the above as chief factors, associates, or participants, or of aiding or giving advice, they shall, besides the confiscation of their goods and boat, incur on their persons the civil and criminal penalties imposed on those who handle contraband goods, and of perpetual banishment, and deprivation of the post that they shall have obtained from us in the Indias.

u In regard to the above we charge the conscience and care of our servants. [Felipe III – Valladolid, December 31, 1604 (?); San Lorenzo, April 22, 1608 (?); clauses 16 and 17.]⁷

LAW LXX

If any quantity whatever of Chinese stuffs be found in any boat sailing from Nueva España to Perú or in the opposite direction, the inspector, royal officials, and the other persons who take part in the register and inspection shall be considered as perpetrators and offenders in this crime; so that, taking example from them, others may abstain from similar transgressions. The captains, masters, boatswains, and other officers whose duties extend to the management of vessels, shall also be considered as offenders and accomplices. [Felipe III – Valladolid, December 31, 1604 (?); San Lorenzo, April 22, 1608 (?); clause 18.]

LAW LXXIV

We order the viceroys of Nueva España to maintain very special care of the observance and execu-

⁷ The *Recopilación* is not clear as to the date of this law and the one immediately following. Law lix bears both dates (as also does law lx), and is designated as clause 11. Laws lxix and lxx bear no date (probably through error of the compiler or printer),

tion of the ordinances for the commerce of the Filipinas line, established by the laws of this titulo; and to keep at the port of Acapulco, in addition to the royal officials who shall be there, a person of great honesty and trustworthiness, with the title of alcalde-mayor, so that everything be done with very great caution, and justice be observed. He shall not permit more silver to be taken to Filipinas than that conceded by these laws, with or without license. [Felipe III – Valladolid, December 31, 1604.]

LAW LXXV

The viceroy of Nueva España, and the governor and captain-general of Filipinas, all other of our judges and magistrates, and private individuals, each one in what pertains to him, shall observe, and cause to be observed and fulfilled, the ordinances regarding this traffic and commerce, and shall execute them exactly without remission or dispensation. In their residencias, especial attention shall be paid to their omission and neglect. We charge the archbishop of Manila to exercise the same care in what shall be specially entrusted to him, which is not repealed or altered by these laws. Of all, advice shall be given us. [Felipe III – Valladolid, December 31, 1604.]

LAW LXXVI

We charge and order the viceroys of Perú to see that all the ordinances in regard to the prohibition of Chinese stuffs be fulfilled and executed exactly. For their execution and fulfilment, they shall appoint but are designated as clauses 16 and 17, and clause 18, of a decree by Felipe III. Hence the above dates with queries have been assigned to these laws.

an auditor of our royal Audiencia of Los Reyes, in whom they can place entire confidence. They shall see that he proceeds thoroughly and executes the penalties with the required rigor, without any dispensation. The auditor shall privately try these cases in the said city and its districts in so far as he shall have cause to invoke the law; and all other justices in their territories shall do the same. [Felipe III – Valladolid, December 31, 1604.]

LAW LXXVIII

Permission was given for two ships to go to Nueva España annually from Perú for commerce and trade to the value of two hundred thousand ducados; which was afterward reduced to one ship, with certain conditions. And inasmuch as the trade in Chinese stuffs has increased to excessive proportions in Perú, notwithstanding so many prohibitions expedient to our royal service, the welfare and utility of the public cause, and the commerce of these and those kingdoms; and a final decision of the viceroy, Conde de Chinchon,⁸ having preceded, and a vote of the treasury to suppress absolutely any opportunity for this trade: therefore we order and command the viceroys of Perú and Nueva España to prohibit and suppress, without fail, this commerce and trade

⁸ Luis Geronimo de Cabrera, fourth Conde de Chinchon, became viceroy of Peru in 1628, holding that office until 1639. During his term there was made known the efficacy of a medicine – previously in use among the Indians – the so-called “ Jesuit’s bark,” or “ Peruvian bark,” obtained from a tree found only in Peru and adjoining countries, named *Chinchona* by Linnæus, in honor of the viceroy’s wife (who, having been cured by this medicine, introduced its use into Spain). From this bark is obtained the drug known as quinine.

between both kingdoms,⁹ by all the ways and means possible; and that it be not carried on by any other regions, for we by this present prohibit it. This prohibition shall be kept strictly and shall continue to be so kept. [Felipe III – Valladolid, December 31, 1604; San Lorenzo, June 20, 1609; Madrid, March 28, 1620, clause 1. Felipe IV – Madrid, November 25, 1634; Madrid, March 29, 1636, a clause of a letter to the Conde de Chinchon.]

LAW XXIV

The inspection of ships sailing from Nueva España to Filipinas shall be made by our royal officials, according to custom. They shall examine in great detail the lists of soldiers and sailors of the ships, in order to abolish the places that shall be found without justification; and they may proceed by law, when they discover any infraction or fraud in this. Such shall be visited on the person causing it, with the greatest severity. [Felipe III – Valladolid, January 25, 1605. Felipe IV – Madrid, October 16, 1626.]

LAW LXV

We order that the duties and freight customs collected in the port of Acapulco on the Filipinas mer-

⁹ Whenever any ships sail from the port of Acapulco and other ports of Nueva España to make the voyage to Perú on the opportunities permitted, it is our will and we order our officials of those ports to visit and inspect those ships with complete faithfulness and the advisable rigor. They shall endeavor to ascertain whether such ships are carrying any Chinese silks or merchandise, or any from the Filipinas Islands. They shall seize such, and declare those found as smuggled goods. They shall divide them, and apply them as is contained in the laws of this título. [Felipe IV – Madrid, April 9, 1641. In *Recopilación de leyes*, lib. viii, tit. xvii, ley xv.]

chandise, shall not be placed in the royal treasury of Méjico, but shall be expended in things necessary to those islands; and the sum lacking [for those necessities] shall be sent from the treasury of Méjico. The viceroy and the governor of Filipinas shall send us a particular report for each voyage of the amount of the duties and freight customs and what must be sent. [Felipe III – Valladolid, February 19, 1606.]

LAW IX

We declare that in the five hundred thousand pesos granted by permission [to be sent] from Nueva España to Filipinas, must and shall be entered the amounts of legacies, bequests, and charities [*obras pias*], with the wrought silver and all other things carried thither; and nothing shall be reserved, except the pay of the sailors, as is ordered by the following law.¹⁰ [Felipe III – San Lorenzo, August 19, 1606.]

LAW X

We grant permission to the sailors serving on the trading ships between Nueva España and Filipinas to carry in money the actual and exact sum of their pay, in addition to the general permission. Thus shall the viceroys of Nueva España provide, unless they perceive some considerable objection. They shall see to it that the said sailors or other persons shall not be allowed to exceed the amount permitted by this law. [Felipe III – San Lorenzo, August 19, 1606.]

LAW XI

No wrought silver can be taken to Filipinas, even

¹⁰ See note to law lxxviii, p. 33.

when for the service of those who shall go thither, or for any other purpose, unless bonds are first given to return it, or unless it shall have been included in the permission. [Felipe III – San Lorenzo, August 19, 1606.]

LAW XLVII

The governor of Filipinas shall send the viceroy of Nueva España a report of the apportionment of toneladas that he shall make, and what is to be laden in the ships of that commerce. The viceroy shall send the former a report of the money that shall be sent in accordance with the ordinance. The latter shall pay consideration and attention to the reports sent him by the said governor, so that he may adjust more equitably and circumspectly the licenses of this kind that he shall give. [Felipe III – San Lorenzo, August 19, 1606; Madrid, June 4, 1620.]

LAW IV

Inasmuch as it is advisable for the security and conservation of the Filipinas Islands that great care and vigilance be taken there regarding the foreign nations and Sangleys who live in Manila; and inasmuch as there should be a trustworthy, influential, and disinterested person in the said city, who should have charge of purifying the country and giving license to those who must remain there: therefore we order the governor to take charge of his appointment and to appoint for the said commission the person most suitable for it in that community, of whose zeal for our royal service and the common welfare, and of whose trustworthiness and care, he has the greatest assurance. The governor shall not appoint

for this office and employment any of his servants, inasmuch as we expressly prohibit that. [Felipe III – San Lorenzo, March 6, 1608.]

LAW XVIII

The cargo of the ships of the line, on both outward and return trips between Nueva España and Filipinas, shall be stowed in the fore-hold; and only the sea stores, the sailors' and mess chests, the rigging, sails, and all the necessities, between decks. Likewise rigging shall be taken to the port of Acapulco, in consideration of the fact that the city of Manila has it at cheaper rates than the port of Acapulco – whither it is carried from San Juan de Ulua¹¹ at very great cost and expense. We order this to be so executed, providing there is no inconvenience; and if there should be any, we shall be advised in order to provide the advisable measures. [Felipe III – San Lorenzo, April 22, 1608.]

LAW XX

The governor and captain-general of Filipinas shall furnish the ships of that commerce from Nueva España with the arms needed for their defense, and shall see that the soldiers, sailors, and passengers go well armed. He shall order each ship to carry a person to whose care the arms shall be confided, and who shall have charge of them, and shall make efforts to preserve them, as is advisable. [Felipe III – San Lorenzo, April 22, 1608.]

LAW LII

Great disorder has occurred in the Filipinas ships,

¹¹ See VOL. XIV, note 12, p. 99.

and the sailors have been permitted to take two or three very large boxes, under pretext that these contain wearing apparel, and thus cumber the ships. We order that no irregularity be permitted in this, and that the utmost circumspection be exercised; and that the sailors be not allowed to carry more boxes or clothing on the said ships than that indispensably needed for the voyage. [Felipe III – San Lorenzo, April 22, 1608.]

LAW LVI

It has been reported that the passengers and sailors of the trading ships of Filipinas transport and carry slave-women, who are the cause of very great offenses to God, and other troubles; this should be prohibited and reformed (and more reasonably so in a navigation so long and dangerous), and all occasions for offending God suppressed. For the remedy of this, we order and command the president and auditors of our royal Audiencia of Manila not to permit any slave-women to be transported or carried on those ships. They shall pay particular attention to the correction of the aforesaid evil, so that those difficulties may cease and be avoided. We also order and command the fiscal of the Audiencia to see to its execution. The senior auditor shall inspect the ships at the time of their sailing, and see if any married woman is aboard, who has no necessity for making the voyage. The trying of any cause shall be before the said president and auditors, who shall provide justice, and this shall be made a clause of their residencias. [Felipe III – San Lorenzo, April 22, 1608.]

LAW XII

After those who wish to go to the Filipinas have bound themselves and given bonds to live in the islands for at least eight years, the viceroy of Nueva España shall permit them to take thence their own property in money, outside of the general permission. He shall take precautions and ordain that there shall be no fraud; and that such persons shall not carry more than the value of their own property, under any consideration. In case of a violation of this, the penalties imposed shall be executed. [Felipe III – El Pardo, November 20, 1608.]

LAW II

The trade, commerce, and navigation from the Filipinas to Japon shall be made by the citizens of the former islands, and the Japanese shall not be allowed to go to the islands. On the merchandise carried in the ships despatched on the account of our royal treasury, no less freight charges shall be collected than those caused in the ships of private persons, so that the cost of the merchandise may be assured. If there should be any inclination or substance in this trade, so that the duties may be paid and our treasury relieved of a portion of its costs and expenses that be paid from them, we order that they be collected and paid. [Felipe III – Segovia, July 25, 1609.]

ANNVÆ

LITTERÆ

SOCIETATIS IESV

Ad vnum J. J. à Garcia
Alv. Godd.
ANNI MD. CC. X.

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PATRES ET FRA-

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SOCIETATIS



DILINGÆ

Vidua Joannis Mayer

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JESUIT MISSIONS, 1608-09

PROVINCE OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

These islands have ninety-one [*sic*] members of the Order. Four have passed away; and the same number have been received into the Order.

	Total	Priests	Preceptors	Scholastics	Lay Brethren
Manila College	XXXII	XII		XI	IX
Seminary of St. Joseph	III	I		II	
Elementary School	XI			IX	II
Establishment at Silang	II	I			I
Establishment at Antipolo	VII	IV			III
Cebu College	VIII	IV			IV
Bohol Residence	V	IV			I
Carigara Residence	VI	IV			II
Dulac Residence	VI	IV			II
Tinagon Residence	V	IV			I
Palapag Residence	V	IV			I
Arevalo Mission	II	I			I

Adults cleansed by holy baptism, two thousand three hundred and eight-three. Heretics condemned, twenty-three.

Chastity protected against suitors or immodest women, fifteen times.

Heretics reconciled, seven times.

The sacred commentaries have been used by eleven.

The Holy Cross and the recitation of the Gospel of St. John has rescued thirteen persons from various dangers; the Blessed Virgin, two; the Blessed Ignatius and Xavier, five.

THE COLLEGE AT MANILA

I. Since last year's letters regarding this college were very full, we shall deal with it now very briefly; we will begin with two brethren who have finished their course of life: Luis à Figueroa and Didacus de Zarcuela. Luis was of noble birth, but of nobler nature. When he had studied the humanities, he could not be persuaded that he might be admitted to sacred orders; and when the fathers hesitated to admit him into the Society because of a lack of strength in his feet, "Receive me," he said, "I beg you, as a servant, to set fire to the wood others have cut; and, when the work is done, to cover the fire with ashes or put it out." Being admitted in so humble a frame of mind, he took care for the most part of the wardrobe, being best satisfied with the lot of Martha, which he praised wherever he had the opportunity. So powerful and effective was he in persuasion and dissuasion that one of his associates declared that he went to his work more readily on ac-

count of Luis's words in conversation than through the formal speech of any orator whatsoever. He exhibited the virtue of charity in the highest degree; and although unable to tolerate the slightest deficiency in himself, he strove with love and prudence to effect the same perfection in others. Receiving from Rome at the end of his illness letters by which he was formally enrolled among the lay brethren, he was so penetrated with joy that he had strength to offer his vows in the church – after which, his illness increasing again, he soon died. Didacus also attained the same vows, having been two and twenty years a servant of the Society; of this number he devoted not a few to the seminary of St. Joseph. He was a man who set a good example, and was of extraordinary diligence. So desirous was he of the salvation of the Indian races that he said: “ If Spain were only two leguas away, I should not care to go thither. Nothing would induce me to exchange my lot with any brother in Europe ” – which saying he repeated oftener as death approached. He died of a fever, contrary to the expectation of the physicians, but not to his own; for he declared that he should die when his illness attacked him, and so he passed away. Some persons who took refuge from external danger, under the protection of the Blessed, our fathers Ignatius and Xavier, were preserved alive. To three women Ignatius granted easy childbirth; and one Basque they relieved of toothache, when he prayed to them. Xavier came to the aid of a Spanish commander of a battalion of soldiers, who was near to death; and prolonged his life in return for two wax candles promised him.

II. As for the rest: Among those of all ages,

Christianity advances daily throughout the population of Manila, so that the devotion of youths cannot be affected by entreaties or overcome by reward – especially among those who glory in the name of members of sodalities; while women do not at all fall behind men in fervor and piety. Although on account of their sex they cannot join men's associations, they think that they have the right to perform the same acts which would be praised in the members of sodalities. There are some of the Spanish women who fast three times a week; they sleep on the ground; in their private chambers, among their intimate friends, they scourge themselves until they draw blood. One woman who was delivered by the Virgin from a grievous illness vowed that everything she and her women could make with the needle should be wrought to adorn our church. She has already finished many articles; and, because she seemed to have vowed beyond her strength, she was directed to cease. Her answer was that she had taken her vow to do this, so that if Ours refused the work she would bestow it on some other church. Other decorations have been added to this church, so that it is almost unique in the islands; and, as a result, the religious services which are wont to be held on the three days of the Carnival¹² have been attended by much larger congregations. For, before, bare

¹² Latin, *Bacchanalia*. In Latin countries, the three days before Ash Wednesday are given up to boisterous outdoor merriment, which frequently degenerates into coarse and licentious revelry. Hence, the expression "Bacchanalia" Carnival. In order to counteract these abuses, the Jesuits at Macerata in Italy, introduced, in 1556, some special devotions during the three days. The Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament was held in the church; this custom was adopted by St. Charles Borromeo, in Milan; and

tiles scarcely covered it; and the dripping water penetrating when it rained, the church was defiled by a multitude of bats. By the contributions of very many pious men a new ceiling has been added to the roof, adorned and wrought with various decorations, so that it gives dignity and splendor to the place – a work worth many a piece of gold, because it seems very great, considering the poverty of the city. Those Indians, too, whom many years ago the Society supported near this city, have now set up in a newly-built church a statue of their patron Saint Michael, together with a new and beautiful image of the Virgin Mother of God, and other statues – marks of no small piety in a small town.

III. The heretics among the prisoners taken in the Dutch fleet last year (they were over ninety)¹⁸ have been visited and assisted by Father Andrea de la Camara very often, both those in prison and the wounded in hospitals. Of the Lutherans and Calvinists in both those places he taught over twenty to recant their heresies – and those generally of the higher rank among them, masters, superintendents, surgeons, etc., and (if he ought to be named in the same class) a minister of the Word. This man, ashamed of his ignorance, readily gave us his hand, and the letters which he had received from his anti-bishop in testimony of his authority, having been in a manner dragged from pitch and shoemaking to it gradually extended to other places, and was developed subsequently into “The Devotion of the Forty Hours,” which is not confined to the Carnival season. This is the explanation of the term “Bacchanalia,” in connection with that church ceremony. – REV. E. I. DEVITT, S.J.

¹⁸ Evidently referring to the capture of van Caerden’s fleet by Heredia (see note 26, *post*).

the ministry of the Word. These all are now as true lovers of our Society as before they were bitter adversaries of it. When on account of the scarcity of workers Father Camara was sent to the Pintados Islands, these men went to the vicar of the Holy Inquisition, and asked him that he would not suffer them to be without some Jesuit, whose ministry they might enjoy – even through an interpreter, if need be. For, they declared, they were persuaded that Ours might differ in language, but not in character.

In fact, many others have been reconciled to us, or at least, if friends have been made, more friendly. Distinguished among them is he who governs these islands in the royal name, Don Juan de Silva; for he has showed forth his love toward God and us in many ways. He has especially done so by the restoration, at no small expense, of the chapel in which the relics of the saints are kept, for which he also provided that a lamp should be kept constantly burning. He has also liberally assisted us with money and other things in a sickness which afflicted us all for a short time. We have restored to not a few persons their friends, from whom they had been torn by covert grudges; but I wish to avoid unpleasant allusions; and I only praise the greatness of soul of one woman in forgiving injuries. She sailed all the way from Europe, first to Mexico, then to these Philippine Islands, and finally to the Malucas, in search of her absent son. She found him at last in the island of Ternate, where he held an official position; but while she was rejoicing at finding her son, she was deprived of this brief joy also. For soon after her coming her son, pierced with many wounds, was slain in a quarrel; and she had again lost him whom she had found with so great

efforts and after so many journeys. This misfortune the woman has borne in such a spirit that she has not only freely forgiven the slayer, but, turning this grief to a good use, has begun to give herself wholly to the praises of God and to heavenly actions. Every day she devotes four hours to prayers; thrice in the week she fasts; thrice she mortifies herself with a hair-shirt, thrice with scourging; and partaking on the Lord's Day of the divine feast, she continues to this day in this most beautiful mode of life.

ESTABLISHMENTS AT SILAN AND ANTIPOLO, WITH THE COLLEGE OF CEBU

IV. The town of Silan is accessibly and commodiously situated. Hence it is easily and frequently visited by sojourners, the more so because the inhabitants themselves are uncommonly humane and devoted to Christian piety. It happened that some Indians turned aside from their journey to visit one of the inhabitants; and as they were taking out of a little chest some clothes that they were carrying with them, packed up, it happened that they took out along with them a tiny idol formed of a twisted mass of hair. The people of Silan who were present were frightened when they saw this, and told one of Ours, who was stationed there, of it. He went to the house as if on another errand, and uncovered the deceit together with the idol. Then taking advantage of the occasion, he made a serious address to the Indians, warning them against such wickedness; and he inspired in the owner of the idol (who was a woman) a better mind. With the help of God she abjured the impious worship of hair, which she had before pursued, and also abandoned and corrected another

sin of no small heinousness. The delights of a festival which had been announced were almost destroyed by a great misfortune which accidentally befell this place. For while all were looking forward to the day sacred to All Saints, when all the inhabitants had prepared themselves for the proper reception of the feast, behold, at the oncoming of night the fury of all the winds arose. The rain and storm which followed did not cease to rage until they had overthrown more than two hundred houses, to the incredible alarm of the Indians, who left their own houses to take refuge as quickly as possible in our church, where nearly the whole night was spent in hearing their confessions. But not even here were they safe enough, for the wind blew the boards off the walls and whirled them away; so that the whole body of people took refuge in the sanctuary, where they waited for death and the last hour.

V. At the proclamation of the same feast in the village of Antipolo ninety persons received communion – sixty more than in that of Taitai – which is a large number for new Christians. And among these tribes, as has been elsewhere said, that cross is still much visited to which in this year a woman brought a public attestation of the recovery, on two occasions, of her health. The inhabitants of the village have given a silver cup and other ornaments to the church.

VI. The women of Taitai, who formerly surpassed all other Indians in their worship of idols, are now as completely devoted to the pursuit of Christian rites and customs. Even those of high rank among them are not ashamed to sweep the floor of our church, and to appear in public with broom and water, in order that they may be able to command

their servants to do the like. This is the praise due to the women; the men deserve another. A very old man dropped from his hands the slip of paper given to him monthly, on which was written the name of the saint whom he had received by lot. Grieved at his loss, the good old man ran back to the village of Taitai, which is about a mile from his own; and thence (as he did not find the father who used to distribute that kind of slips of paper) he went on to Antipolo, over a rough and hilly road. When he reached there, after going four miles, he first asked the father's pardon for his carelessness; and then begged him not to refuse to give him another in place of his lost patron. This fact shows plainly enough with what zeal these tribes strive after the greater matters of salvation. In another place an Indian was lying sick, and had received communion and been anointed with the holy oil. Early in the evening he began to be in such agony that the people in the house took him for dead, and, after laying out the body, put him on his ancestral bier. After they had watched the whole night about his body, when dawn returned he returned also, stammered something, and about noon uttered his words articulately. Then he said first that he seemed to have been dead three years, because of the cruel torments which he had himself suffered in hell, and which he had seen an infinite number of Indians suffer. There demons – at it were, smiths – kindled forges with bellows, poured melted iron over the wretched souls, and in the midst of their pitiful howlings burnt them forever with never-ceasing tortures. After he had seen these things, he said, he had been led by a venerable old man away to a higher place, by reaching which (for he thought it

was heaven) he was filled so full of bliss that he was unwilling to leave it. But when he was commanded, he returned to life, to inform the living about each place to which men are consigned, that of the blessed and that of the damned; and this command, he affirmed, was laid upon him under a heavy penalty; for there are among mortals not a few who by the pretense of virtue deceive themselves and others, and although they are looked upon as good, yet are very far from the service of God. Then he added that his conductor told him to bid his fellow-townsmen be of good courage, for the church they were then engaged in building would be better and stronger than the others. The Indian, after he had said these things, recovered, and a general confession was appointed. He continues to this day to show by his life and example that those things which he reported were no dreams. The improvement of morals which has followed in many others who heard of these things has almost entirely put an end to pretexts for doubt and suspicions of deceit.

The prophecy, moreover, with regard to the church – that it should be stronger than the others – has been fulfilled. A few months before, the church of these Indians had burned down for the second time, together with our house. The fire broke out in the following manner. Some of the townspeople were out hunting, and, a dispute arising among the barbarians about the hunt, they came to blows. Soon after the quarrel, fire was thrown on our house, and destroyed the new church with almost all the furniture. The relics of the saints and the images were in part saved from the fire by the dexterity of the Christians. But Ours after no long delay bent them-

selves to the work again, and erected another church for themselves, at no trifling expense, and with no small labor on the part of the Indians. This is the seventh church erected in the ten years since the founding of the town. A further fortune which befell an Indian woman confirmed many in the Christian faith. She had ventured, without confessing her sins after the manner of Christians, to receive Christ in the communion; after she went home, she began to suffer from such agony in her throat that she thought she should choke to death. Thus she suffered, complained, and wailed until, having recognized the cause of her suffering, she went to the church that very evening. She prayed and besought the father to hold back her soul, already departing; and to succor an unhappy woman, whose throat was burned by the host as if by a flaming torch. When the father heard this, he instantly besought God, and God instantly showed mercy. She declared her sins, and thereupon all her torment ceased; and by this salutary remedy of confession the maladies of many Indians have been suddenly dispelled by Ours, the name of God or of some saint being invoked.

At the college of Zebu one of the Society, when in the town one day, heard weeping not far away; and when he followed it he discovered a mother bitterly lamenting the death of her new-born infant. Touched by her grief, the father went a short distance away, and entreated God, in the name of the Virgin Mother, to help this afflicted woman. Instantly the child revived, without a trace of sickness left upon him. Whether it was his senses or his soul that had left him, it is surely to the divine goodness that his sudden revival is to be attributed. The reci-

tation of the Gospel of St. John has also benefited many sick persons; but Ours have found nothing so fit for removing the sicknesses of souls as the salutary Exercises of our blessed Father [*i.e.*, Loyola], which the very heads of each magistracy, the sacred and the civil, have employed – not alone to private but also to public advantage. Their example, imitated by some of those in the higher ranks, has been followed by the same results. The rest of the people have been marvelously stirred up by the renewed fervor of the members of the sodalities, among other things; and by the new confidence given them by letters from Rome received this year, to the great delight and approval of all; which letters have much promoted the worship of the most blessed Virgin, and have also kindled those who are reckoned among the first in the city to accept the advice to join a sodality. By these means cares have been turned aside; and four bitter family quarrels, in which the very heart of life and salvation was attacked, not without public scandal, were brought to an end with the desired success.

BOHOL ESTABLISHMENT

VII. The harvest of souls at Bohol has increased with the decrease of the audacity of the enemy, and of the almost annual invasion by the people of Mindanao. As many as a thousand have been baptized, if children and adults are reckoned. In this number are several *bailans*, or priests of idols; and one there was who, before his baptism, did nothing but rage, and attack with teeth and nails those who passed by, who came forth from the waters of the sacred font, gentle and in his right mind. And when

some Indians saw this, snatching the cause from the fact, they went to the father and begged him to sprinkle a dying Indian woman with the same healing waters. Our father, suspecting that they made this request with the the purpose of enabling the woman to avoid the trouble of learning the catechism, refused, unless she would first learn what Christians know. "Father," said they, "that ought not to be the way in which you act; we want her baptized to keep her alive." "And I," said one, "when I was lying near to death, was by the command of another father sprinkled by an Indian cantor, and as soon as I was sprinkled immediately I began to recover. Then that madman, as you know, washed away his madness in the same font; and this companion of mine, who was already despaired of, when he received baptism was restored to himself and his kinsfolk." The father yielded to all these arguments, ordered the sick woman to be carried into the church, and after putting the questions demanded by the occasion and the need, cleansed her with that purifying sacrament; she immediately began to improve, and soon recovered all her former strength. Every day several feel the healing power of this font. An equally great miracle is that the chiefs of this tribe, who have been very ill disposed towards us, and from whom not even the lives of Ours were safe, have been so suddenly changed at the sight of one of our fathers that they not only – themselves, without being urged – have submitted to the Christian ordinances, but also seek out the barbarians, even in the mountains, where they wander and are dispersed like wild beasts; and partly by the exercise of their authority, partly by persuasion, bring them down to the villages, and

offer them to the fathers for instruction and baptism. Together with these there were once offered more than seventy idols, the spoils of the bailans, which were publicly burnt by Ours before the uplifted cross. The same thing has been done again and again elsewhere, especially at Jalibon, Ingaon, Orion, and Canliron, where the joyful Indians in this manner took vengeance upon the evil demon who had so often deceived them by the delusions of idols. The bailans are conspicuous in this zealous attack upon the enemy. They go so far as to scourge themselves¹⁴ until they draw blood, in order to atone for their sins; and thus they who formerly opened the door to all kinds of impiety are now the means above all others by which the rest of the bailans who still work their impious sacrifices are led to the faith, for the art of these latter loses its power when the others reveal the deceit. Indeed the deceit not seldom reveals itself by their predicting that which never comes to pass, or threatening terrors which injure no one.

VIII. The members of the Sodality of the Blessed

¹⁴ Flagellation in the Philippines was a custom probably taken from the early Spanish friars, but it has been so discouraged of late years by the church that it is performed only in the smaller villages of the interior and in the outlying *barrios* of the larger towns, more or less secretly, away from the sight of white men. Especially is it prevalent during Holy Week. Although the Philippine flagellants are called "*penitentes*" the flagellation is not done in penance, but as the result of a vow or promise made to the diety in return for the occurrence of some wished-for event, and the "*penitentes*" are frequently from the most knavish class. The fulfilment of the vow is a terrible ordeal, and begins back of the small chapel called "*visita*" that exists in every village. The "*penitente*" wears only a pair of loose thin white cotton trousers, and is beaten on the back by another native first with hands and then with a piece of wood with little metal points in it until the blood flows freely. Thus he walks from *visita* to *visita*, with

Virgin are devoting their attention to themselves, and striving to root out from their souls those sins which have grown old there. There was an Indian woman who was seized by a suitor in her bed, and who, to protect her chastity, threw herself out of the window; there was a youth who, being unable to keep a crowd of wanton girls out of his cottage, so savagely scourged his own back with cords that they, alarmed at the fierceness of the sounds, at last dispersed. There were some who, to avoid the sin of drunkenness, entirely denied themselves the use of wine.

Of old there were among these Indians no bowels of compassion, no signs of family affection. Nay, parents sold their very children for food; children did the same by their parents; and this sort of avarice (or rather of cruelty) was still more common among kinsmen by marriage or blood, so that they did no kindness without doing an injury. Now, by the grace of God, all these things are reversed, and these people delight in doing to others as they would be done by; and on that account the hospital which has been built never wants for necessaries, and always has some, even of high rank, who rejoice in giving themselves to the service of the poor.

Moreover, this hospital is supported thus: during the week a basket is placed before the doors of the church, in which every one puts what he pleases,

covered face, beating himself with a cord, into the end of which is braided a bunch of sticks about the size of lead pencils. He prostrates himself in the dust and is beaten on the back and soles of his feet with a flail. At every stream he plunges into it, and grovels before every *visita*. From all the houses as he passes comes the chant of the Passion. (Lieut. Charles Norton Barney, who was an eye-witness of the flagellation - "Circumcision and flagellation among the Filipinos," in the *Journal* of the Association of Military Surgeons, September, 1903.)

according to his ability, either of food or herbs, to be carried to the hospital. On Sundays, besides, each village in turn serves the sick, after the following manner. Those whose turn it is go hunting boars or stags, and on the appointed day bring flesh, boiled or roasted, with rice, or bring some equivalent food, for the sick. Now this tribe, which is at this time so Christian, formerly observed the custom of never going hunting without consulting their idols. When they perceived that the fathers of Ours detested this custom, and indeed wholly annulled it, some of them asked them what they ought to do then when they went out on such enterprises. When they were told that they should go to some church and beseech God through the Virgin Mother of God to give them success in their hunting, they did so; and at noon of that very day they killed twenty-two boars and stags not far from the village. When they came home loaded with their game, every one marveled greatly; and they said: "Ah, Father, how good is the God of the Christians! The gods that we used to worship would scarcely grant us, in return for long continued implorations, at last two boars or stags, and most often nothing; but now the true God after having been barely prayed to has freely given us all these beasts in a short time." The pious example of these people having been followed by others in another village, they too had slain five and twenty of this kind of game within three or four hours; and they went about shouting: "Away with you, lying bailans, who were about to destroy us and all that we had! For us there will be henceforth no God but Jesus Christ, who has displayed so great liberality to us who have recently turned to Him." I might say more as to the

Gospel of St. John, the saving sign of the cross, and other mysteries of the Christians, whose marvelous efficacy these tribes have experienced; but I would not be prolix. Let it be enough to state that seven or eight sick persons at least have been cured by amulets of this sort.

ESTABLISHMENT AT DULAC, CARIGARA, TINAGON, AND PALAPAG

IX. At the establishment at Dulac Ours have often had the better of the devil, and the devil of them. They certainly believe that what has happened can have had no other author. They had appointed the festival of which we have spoken above; and when they were all assembled in the church and were waiting for divine service, a messenger suddenly appeared and announced that the Mindanaos, their ancient enemies, were at Carigara. As soon as the Indians heard that, they poured out of the church all together in consternation, each trying to pass the other; and leaving the priest, for the mass was not yet finished, they fled from the village and took refuge in the mountains. The priest, when he had finished the divine office, and arranged his affairs as well as time permitted, began himself to think of flight, that the shepherd might be with his flock. However, being detained by an Indian chief, whose wife he had been about to bury, he remained, and performed the rites for the woman – one who had deserved well of the Christians, and who, as her husband testified, had been visited by the Blessed Virgin. In the mean time a messenger brought a more certain report, to the effect that a few small villages on the island had been visited by some five or six ships

at Caragara; and that they had captured only twenty Indians, the rest having taken refuge in flight.

They all came back then from the mountains, and in a few days the work of many was accomplished. The number of those who confessed the faith increased so rapidly that the long days seemed short. This, I am sure, grieved the devil not a little; and no less did what Father Christoforo Ximenez effected after he returned to Manila, where he put into print the catechism of Cardinal Roberto Bellarmino, translated into the Bisayan language.¹⁵ He went by the order of his superiors to Alongala, then without a priest. When he had remained there up to the beginning of Holy Week, and had made the people ready and active in all works of piety, it happened that a certain idol-worshiper of that island, a man of very high rank, Malacaia by name – who owned over sixty slaves, and who was revered by all the Indians most highly, even as a father – was once looking on, and wondering to see many of the natives busied in pious works, and so seriously engaged in scourging themselves. In amazement he said, “Shall I do that, Father?” “Do,” replied

¹⁵ See VOL. IX, note 13. Roberto Bellarmino, born in 1542, entered the Jesuit order in 1560, becoming one of its most famous theological writers. He was long connected with the college at Rome, and later was successively provincial of Naples, a cardinal of the Roman church (from 1599), and archbishop of Capua (1602-05); he died at Rome, September 17, 1621. Perhaps the most widely known of his works is the *Dottrina christiana* (Roma, 1598); it passed through many editions, abridgments, and translations, having been rendered into more than fifty languages. See account of these in Sommervogel's *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, art. “Bellarmino.” “He was the first Jesuit who had ever taken part in the election of a pope” – Cretineau-Joly's *Hist. Comp. de Jésus* (Paris, 1859), iii, p. 106. This refers to the election of Paul V (1605).

Ximenez, "what they are doing, and scourge thyself." "Will that scourging do me any good?" asked Malacaia. "It will do thee no little good," answered the father. The other instantly took off his tunic and girded himself for the work, and walking upon the stage with the others, the Christians, he so tragically worked upon himself that, not content with one scourge, although it was rough with little sharp studs, he also snatched the scourge from one standing near, and, as with a two-edged sword, fearfully smote himself upon the back as if with thunderbolts. These scourgings reached even to the man's soul, although at the time he knew not what he was doing; for this noble deed was an example of great profit to others, and he himself, moreover, received at this time the desire for baptism, for which he is now being prepared as a catechumen.

X. The Christians taught by the fathers at the establishment at Carigara have this in common with those at Dulac, that they receive a mighty protection from the services of the church when duly celebrated. For as the former, by setting up a cross in the fields and by the use of holy water, drive the swarms of locusts from their grain, so the latter by bearing palm-branches and seeds to the church effect the same result. An old custom of theirs has been condemned—namely setting up in the fields great beams, which they call *Omalagars*, upon which they believe the souls of the dead to sit. Here fifty have been initiated in the Christian mysteries, and more would have been if ministers had not been wanting. Forty couples have been joined with a more holy bond. Several persons were found by the marvelous providence of God (for it would be impious to re-

gard that as a chance which was wrought for Ours, kept safe in so many perils), who, being scattered over the mountains, so that they could have no one else, begged for a father to whom they might confess their sins. There were also found in a little island forty lepers loathsome with filth and stench, unclothed, and without food, lacking everything. To all of them first the teaching of Christ, then baptism, and finally food and clothes were given. But one man found God sterner, who, though warned by Ours to desist from his impious habit of swearing, yet never obeyed. He was often wont to use an expression by which he devoted himself to the crocodile; and not long after, being made the prey of one, he taught others by his evil fate to do that which he had refused to do before. As compared with his death all the more happy was that by which Father Alfonso Roderico was taken from us. He had professed the four vows, and was dear alike to Spaniards and to Bisayans. He was so devoted to the good of both that he was not satisfied with the narrow space of twenty-two years, during which he was permitted to live among us, but at his death used the very words of St. Martin: "Lord, if I am still needed by thy people, I do not refuse to labor."

XI. The attention of Ours at Tinagon has wisely been given to the women, since they are more ready to take an interest in sacred things, and are more seldom absent from the village – except when one or another makes her escape from the hands of some procurer, preferring to pass the nights in the forests and mountains in the midst of serpents, rather than at home to suffer danger to her chastity among men that are as deadly. As for the other affairs of this

establishment, they may nearly all be included under two examples, one of divine compassion, the other of divine justice. An Indian woman was carelessly crossing a stream, and was carried off by a ferocious crocodile. She screamed, she cried, she prayed to God for pardon, and for only so much time as should serve her to make her confession. Her husband, who was not far away, ran up quickly, threw himself into the water to attack the monster, struck it, and at last dragged his wife from its claws; but she was so mangled and lacerated that there was no hope for her life. What were the good people to do in a village without a priest, and far distant from the residence where the fathers lived? The woman was in such a condition that it was impossible to take her there before her death. Yet a way out of all these difficulties was easily found by the wise God of mercy, for by His guidance there came into the village, while they were still doubting what to do, a priest of our Order, quite unaware of what had happened. As soon as the matter was reported to him, he went to the dying woman, consoled her in her affliction, and sent her to Heaven, confessing and sorrowing for her sins. The other case differs little from that which we recorded earlier as occurring at the Carigara establishment. A fellow whom no fear or warning could improve, and who would not control his wicked habit of swearing and blaspheming, was one day testifying in a legal case. He devoted his head to the crocodile, if the matter were other than as he testified, adding that he could confirm his testimony by calling in others as witnesses. As he was crossing a stream to summon them in behalf of his case, he was carried off by a crocodile; and – a certain proof of

the damnation of the man – it was later discovered by the testimony of others that he had borne false witness.

XII. At the settlement at Palapag there has been a conflict with hunger and disease; yet the Indians have so conducted themselves that the sick have not lacked the necessary services. Likewise Ours have made such provision that the poor were cared for from the harvest; for at their gate they daily served food to more than seventy persons. Their newly-built church and their sodality make them hopeful of great good, for their beginnings are such that six hundred of full age have presented themselves at the sacred font for purification; while I should reckon the number of children at eight hundred, the greater part of whom have gone the straight way to heaven. One of Ours was called to a little infant which was said to be sick, to baptize it; and he refused, partly because he thought the matter was not so pressing, partly because he wished to teach the Indians the custom of bringing their little ones to the churches. At last, overcome by the importunities of those who asked him, he went thither; but when he could perceive in the child not the least sign of illness, he was about to return without baptizing it. But when he looked at the boy again he seemed to be silently warned by it not to deny it that benefit. At last, when he had complied, and when everything had been performed duly and in order, the child expired in the very arms of its sponsor. By this event the father was rendered joyful, but still more cautious not to think that time should be allowed any advantage in matters of this kind; for, as he said, he would rather suffer all the ills of sea and land if he might

open heaven to this single little boy. There have been seen other signs (not a few) of the singular care extended by divine providence to this tribe and Ours. Such a one was this. An Indian was wrapped in the folds of a serpent eight feet long, but, groaning forth the saving name of Jesus, he was released. Again: when there was a deficiency of that kind of food which it is lawful to eat in the days of Lent, a boat on the beach, brought by I know not whom, freely supplied fishes of a kind not usual there. Again: when a church was on the point of falling, the Indians were frightened out from it by a tremendous roar; and, because the mass had not been finished, it did not fall before the father had taken refuge in the sacristy, the chalice being safe, with the sacred images on the abandoned altar. These things we mention, passing over those persons to whom God has been pleased to grant good of soul or body through Ours. To this establishment there was sent ten years ago Francisco Simon, a lay brother; he died on the day on which twenty years before he had entered the Society. And although through all this interval of time he had neglected none of the things for which a good religious may be praised, yet the nearer he approached to death, the more content he seemed in doing them. The garden, the kitchen, the dining-room, the sacristy, the workshops, the other places in which he labored, he regarded somehow as sanctuaries – sometimes saying his beads, sometimes holding colloquies with the Holy Trinity, Christ, and our Lady the Virgin. A naturally irritable temper he had so completely overcome by virtue and diligence that the fathers whom he accompanied on their missions wished for no one more kindly; they

could hardly have had anyone more diligent and more ready to do anything. But as witnesses of his virtue Francisco had not only the priests of his home but also those of other places; for when he died he was away among them, attending to the preparation of rice – offering to all a good example, as he first sent to his superiors a report of his business by letter; and, as he was to return no more, he sent his last farewell to his companions. A place of burial was given to him by the priest who has in charge the village of Abla in Luzon, by whom the funeral rites also were performed most honorably, a great multitude of Indians attending them.

THE MISSIONS AT OCTON AND TO THE MALUCAS

XIII. In addition to our accustomed labors with the Spaniards and Indians of Arevalo, there has been another of no small importance with a large force of troops, who undertook an expedition to the Malucas. No trifling benefit was carried to the foreigners by Father Francisco Gonzalez, who had been called back thence to the town of Zebu to take the four vows. On his journey he brought back into the way the Indians everywhere, who were turning aside to their madness and their idols. He reestablished Christian customs, baptized children and adults, made stable their fickle and inconstant marriages, and did many more things of the same kind – which, though unwritten, are understood. The following event should not lack a pen. A man entangled by lewd delights, but moved by the fact that he had no example among the repentant people, or by the influence of a festival just then announced, had settled himself to a proper life; but rising in the middle of

the night he went out from his house, and was longing for his accustomed delights. While he was doing so, behold two specters, very large and horribly black, wrapped in hanging cloaks, appeared to him. The unhappy man dared to annoy them by approaching and speaking to them. Without answering, they snatched him up and carried him high in air, filling everything with his screams and cries, and struggling in vain. His neighbors, awakened and following the sound of the voice, went round the whole village without finding anything. At last at dawn they found the man among the thick bramble-bushes on the mountains, his body all bruised, and himself half-dead and speechless. When they found him, they took him to our church, and the prayers of many were offered for him, and remedies were applied. At last he recovered his senses and his speech, and cried aloud that he had been punished by the just judgment of God, since he had for a long time neglected the precepts that he had received at confession, and had not done the things becoming a Christian. He then went on to say that when the demons carried him off, they took him to a deep black cave; and just as they were about to hurl him down into it, he was delivered by the intervention of God, to whom he had commended himself. Thus, having confessed his sins, he put on a better way of living.

XIV. The member of the Society who accompanied the general of the Philippines on the expedition to the Malucas, Father Angelo Armano,¹⁶ did

¹⁶ In the Ventura del Arco MSS. (Ayer library) i, pp. 341-381, is a copy of a letter (dated June 11, 1611) from Father Armano to his provincial, Gregorio Lopez, detailing the achievements of Silva's expedition to the Moluccas in 1611—on which occasion

his duty during the whole time of the voyage and the war, not without peril on land and sea. He did with energy what could be done in the midst of arms, the noise of artillery, the ambushes of the enemy, and the slaughter. And surely there was great hope of extending religion by this expedition, for the native king himself, when detained at Manila with his son and other chiefs for five years, often used to promise the governor that if he would send a fleet to the Malucas again, he himself would give into subjection and obedience to his Catholic Majesty all his vassals, who are estimated at about two hundred thousand souls. This has seemed the quickest way to liberate the Malucan Christians from the new yoke of the Dutch heretics, by which they are oppressed. The multitude of those who have thus far professed the Christian faith there can be estimated only from the Amboynans, of whom the number reaches above twenty thousand. Therefore, although the general came back home in glory from this expedition, after winning a victory, yet he has expressed his grief more than once that the welfare and salvation of all this great number of islands and tribes should be insufficiently provided for on account of the lack of priests; and he has affirmed that he wishes more earnestly for nothing than that he might have the opportunity of sending forth many of the Society of Jesus on this divine work.

Silva restored to his throne Zayri, king of Ternate, who had been kept as a prisoner at Manila for five years. Rizal says in his edition of Morga. p. 247, note 1, that this king did not return to his island. He was probably taken back to Manila shortly after this restoration.

DECREE REGULATING SERVICES OF FILIPINOS

We order that, in the Filipinas Islands, no Indians be distributed in repartimiento, in any number, for private or public means of gain; since for the cutting of wood, navigation of caracoas, and other works of this sort, in which our royal treasury is interested, and for the public convenience, the Chinese and Japanese found on any desired occasion in the city of Manila must be (as they are) hired; and, as is understood, there will be a sufficient number of workmen among them, who will engage in these services for the just price of their toil. From them shall be employed those who wish to hire themselves out, in order to avoid the concourse of Indians [at Manila]. In case that the repartimiento cannot be entirely avoided, as will be provided, and if the Chinese and Japanese are either unwilling or unable to satisfy the actual need of those public works, the governor and captain-general shall take measures with the Indians so that they may aid in the works freely and voluntarily, making use of the means that seem advisable to him to effect it. But, granted that there be a lack of voluntary workers, we permit that some Indians be forced to work in these occupations, under the following conditions, but in no other manner.

That this repartimiento shall be made only for necessary and unavoidable affairs; for in so odious a matter, the greater benefit to our royal treasury, or the greater convenience of the community, cannot suffice; and all that which is not necessary for their preservation, weighs less than the liberty of the Indians.

That the Indians in the repartimiento shall be lessened in number as the voluntary workers shall be introduced, whether the latter be Indians or those of other nations.

That they shall not be taken from distant districts, and from climates notably different from that of their own villages. The choice of all shall proceed without any partiality, and so that both the hardship of distances, the burden of the occupations, and compensation for the other circumstances in which there will be more or less grievance, shall be shared and distributed equally, so that all may share the greater and less toilsome services, so that the benefit and alleviation shown to some may not be changed into injury toward others.

That the governor assign the number of hours that they shall work each day, taking into consideration the lack of strength and weak physical constitutions.

That they be given in full the wages that they earn for their work. And they shall be paid personally each day, or at the end of the week, as they may choose.

That the repartimientos be made at a time that does not embarrass or hinder the sowing and harvesting of land products, or the other occasions and periods upon which the Indians have to attend to the profit and management of their property; for our in-

tention is that they be not deprived of it, and that they may be able to attend to everything. Therefore, we order the governor that, at the beginning of the year, he shall take note of the building and other matters of our service in which the Indians have to be employed; for if the time is chosen, it may be arranged in such a way that the Indians may receive no considerable injury to their property or persons.

That, granting the poor arrangement and plan of the caracoas, and that when remanded to them many Indians generally perish, because of sailing without a deck, and exposed to the inclemencies of storms, we order that these craft be improved and built in such a manner that the Indians may manage the oars without risk of health and life.

In all the above, and in all that may touch their preservation and increase, we order the governor to proceed with the care and vigilance that we expect, and that he punish signally and rigorously the ill-treatment received by the Indians from their caciques or from the Spaniards – especially should the latter be our officials, upon whom the penalties must be more rigorously executed. We request and charge both the secular prelates and the provincials of the orders to exercise the same attention in the punishment of offenses of this nature, committed by the ministers of instruction and other ecclesiastical persons. And we order that any omission of the governors, justices, and officials entrusted, in whole or in part, with the observance and fulfilment of this law, be made a matter of their residencia.

[Law passed in the reign of Felipe III, and dated Aranjuez, May 26, 1609.]

DOCUMENTS OF 1610

Petition of the Recollects. Dionisio de la Anunciacion, and others; June 30.

Dominicans request suppression of the Audiencia.

Baltasar Fort, O.P., and others; June 30.

Relation of 1609-10. Gregorio Lopez, S.J.; July 1.

Letter to Felipe III. Juan de Silva; September 5.

Letter to Silva. Felipe III; December 7.

SOURCES: All these documents save one are obtained from the original MSS. in the Archivo general de Indias, Sevilla. The third is found in the Ventura del Arco MSS. (Ayer library), i, pp. 273-340.

TRANSLATIONS: The first three documents are translated by James A. Robertson; the fourth and fifth, by Robert W. Haight.

PETITION OF THE RECOLLECTS

Sacred Royal Catholic Majesty:

In conformity with certain requirements of the visitor of the Augustinian order in these islands, we, the Recollect religious of the same order, have all rendered obedience to the father in their rule of life in this country. We are obeying very exactly the orders that you, Sire, have given, although we have received signal annoyance thereby, as we think they will prove in every way a great hindrance to our mode of life and its tranquillity. Especially do we believe – and it is beyond doubt true – that if we are forced to continue the same obedience, it will mean not only a cessation of the forward movement of this special work, but the extinction of us all therein; for we have in no way been guilty of any fault whereby we have merited such a penalty, as this action, under this form, must be considered. This will be shown by the evidence, for some of us religious, who came to these so remote regions from that country [Spain] by order of your Highness, have died; and although others have taken the habit, this is not a country where the orders can be preserved by that method alone, without the reënforcement of those who can come from those kingdoms to help in this work. If we are kept subject to the rule, we shall lose this

refuge, and we are on the direct road to ruin without attaining that fruit through special desire of which we felt ourselves forced to leave our native land and the association of our brother religious in our so prompt response to the order of your Highness. Since our mode of living has been, and is, regulated by the care that we owe to our obligations, and is an example and to the edification of the town – and this is public and well-known – to say nothing of our established rules and rigor; since this city and kingdom hold us in pious and especial affection; and since, in the service of your Highness we are laboring for the conversion and administration of a mission-field in a toilsome post, and one without any temporal consolation, and through not having the proper number of religious for another mission (namely, three) we left the latter, as well as many others to which attention should be given, and which have been offered to us and are offered daily, but which we have not accepted for the above reasons: we believe that we can supplicate your Highness with proper confidence – as we do supplicate you – in the submissive spirit of faithful vassals and the humility of poor religious, to be pleased to favor this so pious cause, and one so to the service of our Lord. We ask, Sire, that you will cause some Recollect religious to be sent from those kingdoms, so that with an increased number we may also increase in courage; for all must result in an increase of the service of the two majesties. We do not intend by this, in fundamentals to withdraw ourselves from the obedience that we have been ordered to give to the rule, but only to preserve our established laws, and to attend with greater leisure and assiduity to our obliga-

tions. The clemency of your Highness will be very necessary to encourage this work, as has been done hitherto in everything offered us. Hence we again supplicate it with the urgency demanded by the importance of the matter.

When we came to these regions, your Highness was pleased to grant us the alms of wine and oil for the space of six years, as you did to the other orders. Inasmuch as – although, in accordance with your orders, the alms have been granted us hitherto – the limit assigned by your Highness will soon expire, we humbly beseech your Highness to be pleased to have the said alms provided, as to the other religious orders, and also the support for the religious of this convent, as may seem best to your Highness. We also beseech your Highness to have medicines given us for our sick, as to the other convents. Will your Highness grant us this with your accustomed piety, since we are as poor as the other convents, and are occupied in the same ministry.

Don Juan de Silva, your governor, in your Highness's name granted us a site, where we have a church and convent, with the proviso that we secure your Highness's confirmation thereto within forty years. We beseech you with all due humility to be pleased to grant us the said confirmation. For that and for all the other matters contained in this letter, our father master, Fray Pedro Solier,¹⁷ provincial, who

¹⁷ Pedro Solier was born about 1578; he entered the Augustinian order in 1593 at Salamanca, where he remained five years, and then joined the Philippine mission. In 1603 he went to Spain on business of his order, returning to the islands in 1606. Elected provincial of his order in 1608, he held that office for two years; and in 1610, "on account of the deposal of Father Lorenzo de León, journeyed to Spain to make a report of that unpleasant incident" (Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 57).

has been living under our rules in these islands, is delegated with our authority. In case of his death, we delegate our authority to the prior or procurator of the Recollect convent in your capital. We shall receive most singular favor in whatever action your Highness takes in despatching our affairs with your most powerful hand. May God's favor be ever with your Highness, and may He preserve and prosper you for His greater service, and for the increase of our holy Catholic faith, as we, the humble chaplains in this your Majesty's convent of Sant Nicolas of the Recollects, desire. Manila, June the last, 1610.

FRAY DIONISIO DE LA ANUNCIACION, prior.

FRAY ANDRES DEL SPIRITU SANTO

FRAY FRANCISCO DE LA MADRE DE DIOS

FRAI PEDRO DE SAN JOSEPH

[*Endorsed*: "Ascertain what the governor must have written in regard to the site given them. When Fray Pedro de Solier comes, everything will be examined."]

DOMINICANS REQUEST SUPPRESSION OF THE AUDIENCIA

Certain religious of the Order of St. Dominic declare that his Majesty's decrees are not observed, and relate the evil behavior of the fiscal of that Audiencia. They send a memorandum of their arguments for the suppression of the Audiencia in those islands.

Sire:

The Order of St. Dominic has been in these districts and islands upwards of twenty-four years, and one of those who write this letter is one of the first who came to these districts to establish the order. Here, by the grace of God, great service has been rendered to God and to your Majesty in the conversion of the provinces which have been entrusted to us – namely, the province of Pangasinan, and that of Cagayan, and this. The conversion has ceased to progress for want of ministers, and now is not being continued for the natives. In all the above period of time, we have seen many things, and write as eyewitnesses. Our first statement is that if this country were governed according to the orders and decrees despatched by your Majesty for that purpose, it would be the most prosperous of all your Majesty's kingdoms, for your Majesty's orders in regard to this country seem truly to have had at the time of their

ordering the special help of the Holy Spirit. But the deplorable thing is that your Majesty's orders and decrees are not observed; and worse, some say that your decrees do not bind the conscience. This is very grievous, and brings in its train great difficulties. The pity is, that those who should be the agents and defenders of your decrees are the first to violate them. All that is done is contrary to your Majesty's orders and commands. As this state of affairs should be punished severely for the correction of other offenders, and there is no one to attend to that punishment, the Lord, who is supreme judge, advocates the cause thus, and punishes them, avenging by His hand the little respect given to your Majesty's just orders. This is seen in the great number of shipwrecks, one after another. Although there are no prophets in this land, yet all prognosticate beforehand what will surely happen, since the vessels sail with so heavy a cargo of injustices; and accordingly they say that the voyages will not end well, as we see by the outcome. But the pity is that, as the punishment is public, and in the ships, it is necessary that the just should pay for the sinners. Of the truth of all the above, your Majesty would rest assured if you were to visit this country. This is daily going from bad to worse, because until now, if those debarred therefrom were trading and engaging in commerce, they did so with some show of shame, and under some cover; but last year your Majesty's fiscal came here, and all shame has been lost. For he has publicly traded and engaged in commerce, and has gone to Cavite to lade his exports. This has scandalized the entire community. Although the fiscal has been advised and corrected in a fraternal spirit, he has not

turned over a new leaf. One of our number having told him that he had committed a heavy sin against the oath that he had given to your Majesty, he says that he knows his own business, and what he can do. And, as your Majesty is far away, they have no fear.

A memorandum concerning your Majesty's Audiencia in this country, accompanies this letter. Therein are set forth the reasons why it is advisable for your Majesty to order it to be suppressed, and they explain how it would be to the service of God and of your Majesty, and to the advantage of your royal treasury were there no Audiencia. For the Audiencia serves but to take the profits of the country, in violation of your Majesty's orders in your royal decrees. For if there is any matter of gain it is given to the relatives or followers of the auditors, and in matters touching trade and commerce, these are they who export most of the cargo. This is manifestly unjust, as it would be in Castilla, if any corregidor should unlawfully reap the benefits of the whole returns of vineyards which were not his. In this country there are no other vineyards or fields than the cargo which your Majesty has conceded to the inhabitants. As for the advantage that could accrue from this Audiencia to this country, that was, to act as a check on the governor. This consideration has now no longer any force, on account of the decrees brought by the governor, in which the auditors are ordered not to oppose him, but only to give information to your Majesty. This can be done by many in this community who are free from covetousness (as are the archbishop and the religious orders), if they were permitted to attend to this and to oppose the acts of the governor. The auditors are pledged to

the said governor, because he has given the posts and advantageous positions to the relatives of the auditors; therefore the latter do not dare to talk, as experience has shown us in the past. If your Majesty reestablished the Audiencia – and we, your Majesty's vassals, requested it – it was with hopes of the aforesaid. And since that result is lacking, it is very much to the service of God and of your Majesty, and advantageous to your royal treasury, that there be no Audiencia. For any lawyer can conclude the cases here, as Licentiate Rojas and Doctor Morga did when there was no Audiencia here. We trust, through our Lord's mercy, that your Majesty will consider this so just proposal, and give it inspiration, so that it will be settled in a manner suitable to the service of God and that of your Majesty, and the welfare of all these your vassals who live so far from your Majesty, and who are most loyal, as you have been made to see in the past.

Archbishop Don Diego Vazquez de Mercado reached this city this month of June, and was received with universal rejoicing and happiness; for he is well-known, and the people know his earnest zeal, and that it is expended for the service of your Majesty and that of God, and the increase of our holy faith. We trust that life will be given him to reestablish all this country that has remained without a shepherd for so long. The pity is, that he has not the means with which to assist the poor, as their father which he is, and all are grieving over this. Will your Majesty encourage him to continue with holy zeal in the future and not to become faint-hearted on account of poverty; and surely it is poverty to be an archbishop in this land.

The royal officials, whose duty it is, by right, to inform your Majesty of everything here, will inform you and attend to that. They are honorable men and fulfil their obligations, as we see. Especially does the factor Juan Saenz de Hegoen attend in a very Christian and faithful manner, and very assiduously and carefully, to what is in his charge. He shows his zeal for the service of your Majesty and for the increase of your royal treasury. He is deserving of favor from your Majesty. Inasmuch as others will inform you of this, we shall not enlarge more on it, but beg from the Lord the life that we all wish for your Majesty, even if it be taken from ours, for the welfare of His church, the glory of the Lord, and the increase of the estates of your Majesty. Manila, June the last, 1610.

FRAY BALTASAR FORT,¹⁸ prior provincial.

FRAY FRANCISCO MIÑAYO,¹⁹

prior of St. Dominic, Manila.

FRAY BERNARDO DE SANTO CATALINA,

commissary of the Holy Office.

¹⁸ Baltasar Fort was a native of Moto in Valencia, though some say of Horcajo in the diocese of Tortosa. He studied Latin grammar at Villa de San Mateo. At Valencia he studied philosophy. He took his vows at the Dominican convent of San Esteban at Salamanca, May 2, 1586. After serving as prior and as master of novitiates in Aragonese convents, he went to Manila in 1602. Most of his ministry there was passed in the province of Pangasinan. He served as prior of the Manila convent, and then as provincial, after which he was sent to Japan as vicar-provincial, whence he was exiled in 1614. He was definator several times and once rector of the college of Santo Tomás, after which he was again prior of the Manila convent. He died in that convent without the last sacraments, October 18, 1640, being over seventy years of age.— See *Reseña biográfica*, part i, pp. 311, 312.

¹⁹ Francisco Minayo was a native of Arévalo. After arriving

Memorandum, in order that his Majesty may see why it is not advisable to have an Audiencia in the city of Manila.

Many great disadvantages result from having an Audiencia in the Philipinas Islands. Only those that appear to be the worst are mentioned.

1st. As to the first, it has been seen by experience that, since the arrival of the royal Audiencia, many more suits occur than before. The jails are full of prisoners; that of Manila contains usually more than one hundred prisoners. Some of them are there for a considerable time, even for many years, because the auditors do not attend to their duty. A Sangley infidel of those imprisoned during the war was seven full years in prison. After that, for want of galley criminals, he was placed in the galleys, while his case was being investigated. He was one of those who afterward mutinied in the galley, and killed the captain, after which he and his companions went to China. There is at present an Indian woman of La Panpanga imprisoned in the Manila prison. She was incarcerated there when a girl, for she was said to have been accomplice in a murder. She has grown up in the prison, and is now a woman in years; and her case is still to be investigated. In conclusion, it is an open fact that those imprisoned at the order of the governor or alcaldes are generally let out of prison quickly, and their affairs are soon concluded. But those imprisoned

at the Philippines in 1598, he labored extensively in Cagayán, where his ministry had good results. He was accused of the sin against nature, but after arrest and trial was released. Later he was prior of the Manila convent, and after his three years' term returned to Cagayán, where he died at Lallo-c, August 25, 1613. See *Reseña biográfica*, part i, pp. 302-303.

by the royal Audiencia either have no hope of leaving, or else they leave the prison only after a long period.

2d. *Item*: That the said royal Audiencia not only is useless in these islands, but a signal harm to, and destroyer of the peace and quiet of the natives of the islands, because of the Indians' method of procedure and their characteristics. These are quite different from the characteristics of the Spaniards, for when the Indians have quarrels and disputes, they do not come to knife-thrusts or blows, but present false testimony. For this the royal Audiencia's method of procedure is very suitable. When an Indian is accused by a false witness whom they present, the Audiencia immediately have the accused man arrested and thrust into prison, which is the end desired by his opponent in order to avenge himself; for he knows quite well that the prisoner has entered the prison not for a few days or months. If the accuser wishes to proceed with his investigation, he presents more witnesses and proves whatever he desires. He can find witnesses for anything, as the Indian's nature is as facile in swearing falsehood as truth. Cases like this are actually seen daily. In grave matters the innocent and guiltless are punished and condemned to the galleys, while the guilty and deceivers are left free and unpunished. The ministers of the gospel, who know the truth of the matter, and how things are tending, seeing that those punished blaspheme the name of God – saying that those who condemn them are Christians and men placed there in the stead of the king to administer justice, but who administer injustice – the religious, then, incited by their zeal for the honor of God, in-

form the judges. That the truth may be known, they go to give information of what they know. The judges answer that they have to judge *juxta allegata et probata*, without proceeding to inquire of the nature of the witnesses. Consequently instead of administering justice they administer injustice. They condemn the innocent, and allow the criminals to go free. False testimonies continue to increase. False witnesses have no fear of justice. Finally, the Indians declare that they punished like crimes better when they were infidels, while the Sangley infidels assert that their law is better, for justice proceeds rigorously to punish false witnesses, which is not done by the royal Audiencia.

3d. *Item*: The said royal Audiencia is the cause of the perversion of distributive justice. Dignities and offices are given to the unworthy and undeserving, thus causing those who have served his Majesty to complain.²⁰ For the appointive offices and offices of dignity, both of war and of the districts of *alcaldes-mayor*, are given to the brothers, sons, or relatives of the said auditors. These are men without experience or merit. As a manifest and evident proof of this, it is not necessary to refer to the events of past years, but only to what is now current in this city of Manila. There are five companies of foot-soldiers. Don Pedro de Almagar, son of

²⁰ The following law was passed at Lerma July 23, 1605; and at Madrid December 19, 1618, and is found in *Recopilación de leyes*, lib. iii, tit. x, ley xiv: "The governor and captain-general of the Filipinas Islands shall take care to reward the soldiers who shall have served us there, and their sons, with the posts and profits that shall fall to his appointment, in accordance with the ordinance, and with full justification, so that they may have some remuneration, observing in everything the laws issued upon this matter."

Auditor Almaçan, a youth of tender years, and inexperienced in military affairs, is captain of one company. Don Juan de la Vega, son of Auditor Vega, likewise a person of tender years, has another company. Captain Madrid, brother of Auditor Madrid—who has been in this country but one year, and before coming here was only a common soldier — has a third company. I do not mention many others — alferезes and sergeants who are immature boys — at whom all laugh, and who would better be in school than occupying such offices. They are the ridicule and plaything of the soldiers; for the latter see in them no other valor or sufficiency than to be relatives of the auditors or fiscal. The same is true of other honorable and advantageous posts. Mateo de Heredia is alcalde-mayor of La Pampanga. He is the son-in-law of Licentiate Almaçan, and that office is the best appointment in this country. To be chief guard of the parián of the Sangleys is a position that needs especially qualified persons, and those who have served his Majesty for many years. For six or seven years it has been held by Diego Sanchez, a common person, who is married to a mestizo woman of Nueva España. He has no greater merit therein than to be the brother-in-law of Auditor Alcaraz. The same is true of other provisions.

4th. *Item*: That if any person connected with any of the auditors commits a crime or crimes, such a one is not brought to justice for it, however grave and enormous his crime. This very year a very grave case has happened in this city, in the person of a son of Auditor Vega, who committed adultery with a woman married to an inhabitant of this city, an honorable man, and of a good family. The

woman betook herself to a convent, and the adulterer fled. The aggrieved man begged justice of the governor and the Audiencia. The said Auditor Vega not only did not do his duty as judge, but defended his son with unfurled banners, to his own great infamy and censure as a person whom his Majesty maintains to administer justice. The preachers have denounced him in the pulpits, demanding that justice be done. The people are exceedingly scandalized at so grave a matter remaining unpunished, only because the criminal is the son of an auditor. Not only do they not punish him, but the said adulterer was even made captain of infantry in the war with the Dutch, to the great offense of all. That appeared so unjust that a grave religious, who was going to the said war, said that he feared the wrath of God, and that the enemy would be victorious, because of so mischievous a man going on our side, who had offended God so deeply. Yet he was not punished, for the sole reason of being the son of an auditor, and because his father defended him so earnestly.

5th. *Item*: That the said auditors in this country can rather be called honorable traders and merchants than ministers of justice, since they trade and engage in commerce quite openly. Under their protection their sons, relatives, and connections trade very extensively. This is a cause of very great injury to the poor, and to the inhabitants of this city; and they are defrauded in the division of the cargo, for the auditors' freight is better looked after. Hence it follows that the auditors possess very large estates. They build elegant houses, at a cost of twelve or fourteen thousand pesos. They generally

keep embroiderers at work in their houses publicly, just as any merchant keeps them.

6th. Lastly, after the arrival of the governor last year with the decrees that he brought from his Majesty, if the royal Audiencia was before a harm or of little use, it is now useless; because then its possible service was to oppose the said governor and to undo any injury or violence committed by the governor, but now that is prohibited by the said decrees of his Majesty. In them his Majesty orders the royal Audiencia not to contradict their president and captain-general in whatever the latter wishes to do, but to advise him of the governor's actions, without opposing the latter, in order to avoid scandals. In order to give information of the governor's want of prudence, no Audiencia is needed, for there are enough people here to advise you.

During former years this city petitioned his Majesty that he would be pleased to order the establishment of an Audiencia, because it was believed that it would be a check on the governor's actions, which were not so well considered. Now this ceases with the said precautions brought by the governor, in which his Majesty orders that the auditors shall not oppose the governor, but that they only advise his Majesty of everything. As to the said Audiencia, their hands have not been tied by these new precautions, nor do the auditors pay any attention to them, for they have so ingratiated themselves with the governor, because he has advantaged them and their relatives and followers, and his Majesty is so far away.

U of M

RELATION OF 1609-1610

EXTRACT FROM THE RELATION OF EVENTS IN
THE FILIPINAS DURING THE YEARS
1609 AND 1610, BY FATHER
GREGORIO LOPEZ ²¹

This country heard last year, by way of Joló and Mindanao, that the Dutch were going to come in the year 1609, to harass it with a strong force. Consequently Governor Juan de Silva entered upon his government with the intention of fortifying the port of Cavite, where our ships anchor, distant about three leguas from the city. For as Cavite was unprotected, not having even a cavalier or rampart mounting a couple of pieces with which to head off the Dutch ships, which might attempt to anchor in its harbor, the Dutchman could enter with all safety to himself, and be quite secure. [If he should do so] it would be a great impediment to all the islands, and a very great nuisance, both for the despatch of the merchandise – which is the vineyards and olive-

²¹ Father Gregorio Lopez was a native of the town of Alcocer, in the bishopric of Cuenca. He studied theology at Alcalá de Henares, but took the Jesuit habit in Mexico. He filled in Mexico the chairs of the arts and of theology, and was master of the novitiates. After sixteen years' residence in Mexico he went to the Philippines, where he became a teacher of Christian doctrine, and rector of the seminary at Manila. He was later vice-provincial and then provincial of his order for eight years, being the first provincial. He died at the age of fifty-three, on July 21, 1614. He spent fourteen years in the Philippines.

DOCUMENTOS
DATOS Y RELACIONES
PARA LA
HISTORIA DE FILIPINAS
HASTA HORA INEDITOS
FIELMENTE COPIADOS
DE LOS ORIGINALES EXISTENTES
EN ARCHIVOS Y BIBLIOTECAS
POR
VENTURA DEL ARCO
AUDITOR DE MARINA OFICIAL DE LA
CONTADURIA GENERAL DE EJERCITO
TOMO I
1586 - 1630
MADRID 1859

orchards of these regions – and for the easy preparation of some boats with which to drive the Dutch out of these regions. While the people remained in this dread, the news was confirmed by another message, that came on November 3 from the town of Arevalo, eighty leguas from Manila. By this news it was learned that three Dutch ships and one patache were near that island of Oton,²² where they had seized some boats full of provisions, that were intended for the relief of Maluco; and that they were making for the port of Yloilo. A large amount of provisions was gathered in that place; and although the Dutch did not attack it, all was lost. For our Spaniards, in order not to let it fall into the hands of the enemy, broke the jars of wine, and set fire to the rice. As soon as the governor received this news, he sent the sargento-mayor of troops here, Cristobal de Azcueta Menchaca (master-of-camp elect of Terrenate), to Oton, in order that he might attend to what seemed necessary for the defense of that region, with the men under his command and those who were there. Among the boats accompanying him was a champan, a Chinese craft; it contained a considerable number of soldiers. They encountered the Dutch vessels, which were approaching this city. In the endeavor to defend themselves, if the enemy, who had perceived them, should try to attack them, the Spaniards began to take the cargo of the champan ashore by means of lanchas, and with it to fortify themselves for their protection in a sort of bastion. Among the other things, they took

²² La Concepción says (*Hist. de Philipinas*, iv, p. 284) that the Dutch unexpectedly encountered at Panay a Spanish force, on its way to the Moluccas, who compelled the invaders to retreat.

some barrels of powder ashore; while in others, which were left aboard, fire was carelessly set, with very great injury to those who were near it. Many were burned, but at the time only two or three died there. The rest threw themselves into the water and gained the shore. One man only was left in the champan which was burning; for he had been jammed among the beams. Although he cried out loudly for aid, he could not be helped, and was accordingly burned to ashes. Those who escaped alive began to march overland toward this city, some leguas distant from the place where the misfortune occurred. On the way, some persons died, and the others arrived in such condition that all who saw them bemoaned their sad lot. Scarce did they seem men, but swollen cinders, full of maggots. Some even had maggots in the very palms of their hands. They were treated with much care in the hospital here. Most of them recovered; but six or seven of them died in the hospital. The Dutch did not try to harm them, which was a great mercy of God, because of the facts above stated. On the contrary, the Dutch continued their route until they reached the mouth of this bay, in sight of Manila.

The governor was not careless at this time, especially in the fortification of Cavite. He sent thither the regular infantry of this camp, with 10,000 musket-balls, 30,000 arquebus-balls, 6,000 brazas of musket-fuses, 14,000 brazas of arquebus-fuses, and 40 barrels of powder. He also sent engineers and workmen with material for building a fort, wherein to mount artillery. To make the work move faster, he went thither himself to take part in it. From Cavite he sent a summons to some inhabitants, so that

the Spaniards in Cavite numbered more than six hundred. In this city, the citizens stood guard, and endured many hardships in it. All lived with great vigilance, born of a fear of the Sangleys – of whom rumors were circulating that they were restless and intended to revolt, because they imagined that the Spaniards, through lack of confidence in them, were about to kill them. But the king's fiscal, as their protector, went to their parían; and, calling a large meeting, talked to them with manifestations of great affection. He promised them all kind treatment, in his Majesty's name. Accordingly, laying aside all their fear, the Sangleys became quiet. Assuredly, had they revolted at this time, they would have placed the country in great straits, for there is a considerable number of them. Besides, the Dutch were near by with their well-equipped and strong vessels; and the Spaniards are few. For the greater security and some relief of the citizens, several companies of Pampangos were summoned. Among all these islanders they have proved themselves most loyal to the Spaniards, and most fit for soldiers.

In Cavite the care and diligence expended in fortifying it, were of great importance; for the Dutch commander, one Francisco Witer,²³ although he had once before been in these islands as secretary to Oliverio del Nort – the commander of the two vessels that anchored near the city in the year 1600, and had returned defeated and disabled [*con las manos en la cabeza*; literally, "with his hands to his head"] – yet he was determined to come to try his luck a second time. He was incited to this by certain trai-

²³ François de Wittert. See VOL. XV, pp. 323-328.

tors to his Majesty. These having gone over to his side in Maluco, to the disservice of God and the king, recounted to him all the affairs of the Filipinas. They represented to him the little resistance that he would encounter from large vessels; the weakness of the port of Cavite, which he could easily overpower, and burn whatever it contained; and the immense wealth that he could seize, of silk, silver, and other merchandise, which come to Manila from Mejico, Macao, China, and Japon. Especially did one Francisco Aguirre inform him of the above, in detail. He brought this man with him, promising him one thousand pesos to induce him to accompany the Dutch, and to guide him faithfully on this expedition that he was undertaking. Accordingly, as was reported, the Dutch commander set sail in the afternoon of St. Martin's day, November 11, three or four days after he had been seen from this city. With two ships and his patache (for his flagship was left in the same location), he approached Cavite. However he was forced to retire because of the innumerable cannon fired at him. Although these did him no damage, he did none, either, with the artillery that he fired. But he noted how slight were their forces for injuring him, for they had no more than three very small vessels, which could scarcely carry any artillery; one old, dilapidated ship, called "Espiritu Santo," which was already almost useless and broken-up from its voyages to Nueva España, and was mastless and without rigging; and one galley of twenty benches. Therefore not anticipating any trouble with Cavite, where he found the resistance that he did not expect, and preferring to effect his purpose bloodlessly, and quite safely to himself, he returned

to his post. Not long afterward, he had all four of his vessels weigh anchor; and going out of sight of the city, went to anchor at the port called El Fraile [“the Friar”], at a short distance from his former anchorage. There he began to rob whatever he could, and prevented the ingress of provisions brought from all the islands to this city. Alférez Aldana was aboard one of the boats that he seized coming from a corregidor’s district. He, thinking the Dutch to be Castilian vessels, went to them with great joy; but his joy was shortly changed into sad captivity, for he was pillaged and imprisoned. Shortly after this event, four Dutchmen fled from the Dutch fleet. Their arrival was singularly consoling, for full information was obtained from them of the Dutch force and object. Not more than three slaves deserted from us to the Dutch; and, being slaves, they could give but little information regarding our affairs. Almost the same thing happened to captain Castillo as to Alférez Aldano; for having come from Japon, whither he had gone with a fragata, he was sent, as one experienced in these coasts, to a certain place, to warn the ships from China and Japon of the Dutch, and that they commanded the sea. One day the [Dutch] patache went so far in search of ships that Captain Castillo could not be persuaded that it was not a friendly vessel; consequently he went to give it information, according to his orders. Although he was afterwards undeceived, and tried to escape from the Dutch, who pursued him, he was unable to do so. Their commander tried to learn from him whether Cavite had greater force than he had seen; but he always answered that he knew of nothing else, and excused himself by saying that he

had but recently come from Japon. On the contrary, he belittled our affairs, in order to assure them the more. He managed to write a letter thence and send it by a Sangley, in which he gave an account of the vessels, artillery, and men, thus making the battle easier.

A fire broke out in Cavite at this juncture, and almost all the Spanish houses were burned. The fire nearly caught in the house where the powder was stored, a circumstance that placed the people in the utmost danger. Not one was bold enough to try to remedy matters, for they all feared lest they be burned, until the governor personally set to work. Then, incited by his example, a considerable number of people began to drag the barrels to the seashore in order to throw them into the sea, if the fire came near it. By this means the powder was preserved, the loss of which would have been felt keenly, besides the damage that would have resulted from its explosion.

Maluco was also in need of help, and could get it nowhere else except from this country. Accordingly the master-of-camp, Azcueta, was ordered to enroll some men in Oton; and two galleys and several smaller vessels, carrying money and other supplies important for the succor of that stronghold, went from Manila. All this, although necessary, meant a decrease of these islands' resources. The two galleys, both of which were new, returned from Oton. One had been launched shortly before the arrival of the Dutch, and the other not long after. On this return voyage, the flagship was in great danger of being lost, because the crew of rowers attempted to mutiny. This would have been done,

had not a Japanese revealed the plot which they were conspiring. Thereupon the guilty were punished, and suitable precautions taken. The consort was more unfortunate. The Chinese and Japanese convicts conspired to mutiny; and although those nations are like cats and dogs, they were very much in concord on this occasion. They selected as the most appropriate time for their treason the hour for the siesta, when, as it was daytime, the Spaniards slept with less caution. They first aimed at the head, by striking Captain Cardoso (who was resting soundly and carelessly) with an ax, which made him awake in the other life. The blow was given by a Chinaman whom he had favored. After him some fifty convicts, who were freed from prison, began to work destruction among the other Spaniards with whatever they could seize, and set out to kill them all – that is, all who were not of the above nationalities. The Spaniards were unarmed, all except the sergeant of the company, who had a sword and executed considerable damage with it, killing many. He was accompanied and encouraged by another Spaniard who wielded with both hands the ladle belonging to a piece of artillery. Finally, the sergeant having impaled a furious Sangley, or Chinaman, on his sword, the latter was so cramped by the wound that, not having time to withdraw the weapon, the sergeant was compelled to leave it sticking in the body, and jump into the water, where he saved himself by swimming. Some others availed themselves of the same plan, while some took the galley's small boat. Thus some few escaped, to bear the unfortunate news. It caused universal and great sorrow, as happening at a time of such need. Many Spaniards

had been killed. The mutineers killed also the convicts themselves – from whom no harm could be feared – who were not Chinese or Japanese; and although the poor wretches tried to throw themselves into the sea, when the sudden assault came, their efforts were useless, for they were shackled, and hung by their chains [over the side of the galley]. There, with great cruelty, the mutineers cut off their legs and threw them overboard, where they helplessly perished. It was feared and suspected that the galley would go over to the Dutch, but it did not. On the contrary, it fled from them, so that, although the patache pursued the mutineers, it could not overtake them. It is yet unknown where the galley has stopped. Such was the unfortunate death of Captain Cardoso, whose brother, Alférez Cardoso, had died a few days before, among those burned on the champan, as related above. It seems that they have inherited such disasters, for their father – a Portuguese gentleman, and a gallant soldier – after serving his Majesty in Africa, had to flee to Ytalia, because of committing an atrocious crime, which was as follows. Another gentleman insulted a relative of this gentleman. The insulted man, either for lack of ability to do more, or because he was a good Christian, did not take vengeance for the insult. The father of these Cardosos was very angry, and, with the intention of avenging the injury, left his home. First going to his relative's house, he abused the latter with words, and even stabbed him, because he had not taken vengeance. Then he went to the house of the insulter, and seizing him, thrust him forcibly into a bread-oven, under which a fire was lighted. Gagging the man, he left him there until he was

dead. After having fled to Ytalia, this gentleman had charge of a castle, in which was stored a quantity of powder. One day fire caught in the powder, and a great portion of the castle was blown up. The Castellan Cardoso was killed, and buried in the ruins. One of his wife's legs was torn off at the thigh. Although these two boys (who were quite small then) received no hurt, they ended their lives in the so disastrous ways that I have related,

The governor upon learning of the loss of this galley, had another put on the stocks, which was finished in two months. Seeing how leisurely the Dutch were remaining in this country, he began to prepare a fleet to attack them. For that purpose great haste was given to finishing a vessel called "San Juan Baptista," which had been commenced in the island of Marinduque. Although the enemy heard of this, their information was very confused, for they did not know to what place the ship "Espiritu Santo" — which was so disabled, as I have depicted above — had retreated. They were commencing to repair that vessel, and it cost even more trouble than if it had been built new. The Spaniards also equipped the two small vessels as well as they could. For lack of iron for nails, they removed the gratings of the windows.²⁴ While Manila was laboring under this anxiety, the strength of the enemy was increased by a good ship. That vessel came with food, and thus caused this community much distress. But greater suffering would have been caused had the Dutch commander's resolution, made in Maluco, been carried out — namely, that a fortnight after his depart-

²⁴ "The bells of the churches were cast into heavy cannon" (La Concepción, *Hist. de Philipinas*, iv, p. 286).

ure this ship and one other should follow him hither; and, besides these, a very large and well-equipped galleon named "The Devil from Holland" built on purpose to fight with the galleons of Eastern Yndia. The Dutch at Maluco considered it inexpedient to send more than the said vessel, and especially so to send the galleon. They considered it very unadvisable to send it among islands where, if it were wrecked, its loss would be great and irreparable. It was all the miraculous disposition of Heaven, as will be seen later. With this new accession, the Dutch commander determined to come again in sight of Manila. Accordingly he entered the bay on January 19, and without doing more than to gather new information concerning our scarcity of vessels, he remained there until the twenty-seventh of the said month. Then he again left the bay, and commenced to capture the Chinese vessels that were already coming with the accustomed merchandise and food. The Dutch seized from the Chinese their hams and capons, and the choice wine.²⁵ And even before the eyes of the Chinese themselves, they gave themselves up to the wine to such an extent, that the Chinese observed it, and made jests at, and ridiculed them, talking of them and comparing them to the most degraded Indians who were wont to become intoxicated. The Dutch usually threw all other articles of food into the sea, saying that the Spaniards had no need of them. They seized so many fowls that even the lowest common seaman was given rations of them. And because of the number of fowls they established a poultry-yard on an islet, where they kept two or three thousand capons. They chose

²⁵ *Vino de Mandarin*; literally, "mandarin wine."

what silk was most to their liking. In the matter of pay there was variety, for the sailors and almost all the soldiers paid immediately for what they bought; but the commander and a few others gave the Chinese promises to pay when they should capture the king's ship from Japon which they had been awaiting some days, and which was bringing a great amount of wealth. Certain of these vessels from China escaped; and one, while fleeing, was wrecked, and lost nearly all its cargo. Some Sangleys, fleeing overland from the Dutch, fell into the hands of Zambal Indians, expert archers and bowmen. The latter killed many of them, to our great sorrow, although, as the said Indians were his Majesty's vassals, this proceeding was checked as soon as possible. The Zambals also killed six Dutchmen, who had landed to get water; and brought their heads, with great rejoicing, to show to the governor. Because of the misfortunes recounted daily by the Chinese who came in plundered, and because of the fear lest the ship from Japon, that from Macao, that from Castilla, and some of the largest Sangley merchantmen which bring goods for the Spaniards from China, should fall into the enemy's hands, great efforts were made in preparing the supplies necessary for the war. The well-inclined Sangleys offered themselves for any toil, because of their rage against the Dutch. Public prayers were said throughout the islands, beseeching and importuning God for a successful outcome. The governor built a new foundry, where he cast seven large and reënforced cannon, which were of very great importance. A considerable quantity of powder was refined which was almost lost. A great number of balls were cast. In

short, the greatest care was exercised in everything and great haste displayed; and they were able, as a consequence, to launch the finished and equipped vessel "San Juan Baptista" in the bay on March 22. That gave extraordinary consolation to the entire city. It mounted several pieces, and carried some picked soldiers, who had been assigned for its defense in case the enemy tried to burn it on the stocks, or to come to meet it in order to seize it. But the enemy attached so little importance to this vessel, and to the forces of this land, that they acted with as great security as if anchored in Holanda. They reproached the Indians that they captured for their subjection to a people who did not dare to attack them [*i.e.*, the Dutch], and who had no forces for that purpose. Freeing those Indians, the Dutch told them to sow a quantity of rice, and to rear many fowls and swine, for they said that the following year they intended to come with a greater force to make themselves absolute masters of these islands, and it was necessary that they have plenty of food prepared.

The preparation of the fleet in Cavite was finished, so that it was ready to sail by April 21. In the midst of the greatest efforts that were being made to furnish its rigging, news was received that the Dutch had returned laden with wealth. This filled the whole city with sadness, on seeing that the Dutch were continuing their ravages without any chastisement or punishment. But soon it was learned for certain that it was not so, whereupon the Spaniards were very joyous and happy. Such was the courage and spirit of our Spaniards, that they burned with desire to begin the fray. Finding that it could not be done so quickly, they manifested their anger, and

raged like caged and angry lions or tigers which cannot avenge an insult. A day or so before our fleet sailed, a Japanese ship arrived at Cavite. The disastrous loss of the ship "San Francisco," the flagship of three vessels that sailed hence for Nueva España, was learned from that vessel. This was the most unfortunate thing that had yet happened; for by that blow this country was almost ruined, and the death of one man was hastened, a few days after, by his sorrow. Many Spaniards of those who escaped the wreck were aboard the said Japanese boat, and one Augustinian religious. The latter was seized by the Dutch, together with some of the wrecked Spaniards; but the Dutch did not harm the Japanese, in order to establish friendly intercourse with them. Under shelter of the latter, others of the Spaniards were saved, and a considerable quantity of goods, although the Dutch stole some anchors and cables of the king's that were aboard the vessel, and some two hundred sacks of flour from private persons, but nothing else. At last, after diligent search for Castilian or Portuguese silver, the Dutch allowed the vessel to continue its voyage, because of a present of three hundred pesos given them by the Japanese. In the beginning of April an edict was issued for the men of the fleet to make ready. As many as one thousand sailors and soldiers were enlisted, and many Indians for service and as common seamen. Besides these men, the governor intended to take two hundred other soldiers of great courage and valor; on those soldiers he placed great reliance. These are about two hundred martyrs, whose relics repose in the [church of the] Society of Jesus in a side chapel. The governor had the reliquary newly

fitted up, with great care; and placed himself with courage under the care and protection of those martyrs, considering the victory as his, with such volunteers. The fleet left Cavite on Wednesday, April 21, between ten and eleven, in search of the enemy, who were at Playahonda, twenty leguas from Manila. The governor embarked in person in the fleet, as its commander. His presence inspired the soldiers not a little, and incited many volunteers to accompany him. On this and other accounts, which are deeply felt, they regarded his going as very important, and almost absolutely necessary. His lieutenant was Juan Juarez Gallinato, who has come this year as master of this camp. His admiral was Don Fernando de Silva, a courageous and spirited youth, nephew of the governor. As the admiral's lieutenant and captain of the almiranta went the sargento-mayor of Maluco, Pedro de Heredia, who last year overcame the galliot in which the Dutch commander, Pablo Blancard,²⁶ was sailing, with seventy of his men. The captains of the small vessels were:

²⁶ Paul van Caerden (Pablo Blanchardo), who had made several voyages to the East Indies, was captured by Sargento-mayor Pedro de Heredia after a fierce fight near Terrenate, the seat of the new Dutch posts in the Malucos. Juan de Esquivel, Spanish governor of the Malucos, allowed him to pay a ransom of fifty thousand pesos; but was severely rebuked by the Manila Audiencia then in power, for doing so without first advising them. Esquivel took the censure so much to heart that he fell into a melancholy, and died soon after. His successor, Sargento-mayor Azcueta Menchaca, anxious to please the Audiencia, pursued van Caerden and captured him a second time, although the Dutch tried to burn their ship to escape such an ignominy. He was sent to Manila, and his ransom promised on certain conditions. Twenty-two Spanish prisoners at Ternate were given; but, the other conditions not being met, the Dutch officer was kept prisoner at the expense of the royal treasury until his death, in Manila. See *La Concepción's Hist. de Philipinas*, iv, pp. 112-114.

of the "San Yldefonso" (the largest), Juan Tello de Aguirre, regidor of this city; of the "San Pedro," Captain Guillestigui – both of these men Biscayans; of the "San Pedro y San Pablo," Juan Pardos²⁷ de Losada, a Galician gentleman; of the "Santiago," Moreno Donoso. Of the two galleys, Captain Romanico was lieutenant; and Captain Juan Rodriguez commanded the consort.

The artillery was as follows. The flagship "San Juan Bautista" mounted twenty-six pieces: four of the new guns, which were eighteen-pounders; and twenty-two good guns, from four to twelve pounders.

The ship "Espiritu Santo," the almiranta, twenty-two pieces: three of them of the said new guns; seventeen, from three to fourteen pounders; and two swivel-guns.

The other four vessels carried four, five, or six medium-sized guns; the galleys, what they generally carry.

Besides these vessels there were also two galliots and other small boats laden with provisions, and sheltered by the fleet, and ready to render assistance should occasion arise.

By day, and even by night, there was continual prayer and entreaty in the city, in one place and another, for the successful outcome of the affair. There was also a very solemn procession on Friday morning, in which our Lady of Guidance [*Nuestra Señora de Guia*] was carried to the cathedral church from her chapel, which is about one-eighth of a legua distant.

²⁷ La Concepción and Montero y Vidal make this name Faxardo (or Fajardo) instead of Pardos; and the latter gives the following name as Luis Moreno Donoso.

The fleet anchored outside the bay. Although they intended to sail at dawn on Friday to give the enemy a rude awakening,²⁸ they were unable to do so; for on weighing anchor, at midnight, they were delayed a long time, and happened to lose four anchors – one from the almiranta, and three from the small vessels. This did not fail to cause uneasiness; but at last the Spaniards were able to sight the enemy on Saturday, between six and seven o'clock in the morning. The enemy's flagship was riding with two anchors, and the other two vessels were somewhat farther out to sea. At this juncture, our fleet began to prepare for the battle. Orders were given for the crew to make their confessions to the religious aboard the vessels. There were sixteen of these from the religious orders which are in Manila – two fathers of St. Dominic, seven of St. Francis, three of St. Augustine, and four of the Society of Jesus. In addition there was another religious, a Trinitarian,²⁹

²⁸ The original is *malos dias*, literally, "a bad 'good-morning.'" It is used as the term *buenos dias*, or "good morning."

²⁹ The Trinitarian order was founded at Rome in 1198 by St. John of Matha, a native of Provence, and Felix of Valois, an aged French hermit, in order to redeem Christian captives from the infidels. The order received sanction from Innocent III. Their rule was that of St. Augustine, with particular statutes; and their diet was one of great austerity. The habit in France was a soutane and scapular of white serge, with a red and blue cross on the right breast. The first monastery was established at Cerfroy, France, and continued to be the mother-house, until the French Revolution. At one time the order had two hundred and fifty houses, and by the seventeenth century had rescued 30,720 Christian captives. At the dissolution they had eleven houses in England, five in Scotland, and one in Ireland. The religious were often called Red or Maturin friars in England, from the color of the cross on their habit and because of their famous house at Paris near the chapel of St. Maturin.

A reformation made by Father Juan Baptista was approved by

who accompanied the governor, and a secular priest. The soldiers proved very valiant and devoted on this occasion. They uttered many expressions of joy at finding themselves near the enemy. It seemed as if they were about to attend weddings and balls with great pleasure and delight, rather than to fight with vessels so powerful and well-equipped with artillery. Their greatest anxiety was lest the enemy should run away when he saw our fleet; but there was nothing to fear, for they were encouraged doubly to fight for the honor of God and the fame of the Spanish nation. Both of these, in a certain manner, depended on this battle in districts so remote: the honor of God, because the Chinese were looking on and saying, "Now we shall see who is more powerful, the God of the Castilians, or the God of the Dutch;" and besides this, as the Dutch were about to take a great part of the silk that they were intercepting, to Japon, where they already had a trading-post, their trade would be established firmly in that land, and that new field of Christendom would be in danger of heresy (which spreads like a cancer), in addition to the daily calamities to which it is subject under pagan lords. The honor of the Spanish nation was also concerned, because the temper of many of these peoples is, "Long live the conqueror!" and they do not dare to stir because of their idea of the Spaniards. If these nations should become insolent on seeing the Spaniards overwhelmed and conquered, their pacification would cost more blood than the first conquest cost, the Holy See in 1599, and resulted in the erection of the congregation of discalced Trinitarians in Spain. Their houses, as well as those of the unreformed portion of the order, were suppressed in Spain in the reign of Isabella II.

See Addis and Arnold's *Catholic Dictionary*, p. 810.

as has been experienced in Mindanao. Encouraged, then, in this manner, the vessels approached. The Dutch, without any faint-heartedness, raised one anchor, and placed the other apeak, in order to go to meet our fleet. They made fun of our fleet, and encouraged their soldiers to fight by telling them that the Spaniards were coming to scare them with egg-shells – alluding to the small size and slight force of the vessels that they had seen. They bore down upon our flagship. At this juncture, they did not omit to report a singular providence of Heaven, namely, that our two vessels, the flagship and the almiranta, had some good pieces mounted low down, whose ports had to be shut, whenever the sea was choppy, as was experienced on one occasion of that sort. On that account the enemy had a great advantage, for all their guns were mounted high up. Accordingly it was our Lord's pleasure that there was only enough wind to sail by, and the sea was almost like milk [*i.e.*, calm and smooth]. Finally the vessels closed; and each fired heavy discharges of artillery and musketry. Our pieces – which, as I said, were mounted low – made the enemy's hull³⁰ tremble with the damage received from them. They killed men below decks, where they were sheltered under their rigging, so that scarcely a man appeared. Our men, who were above deck without a single shelter, also were injured by their artillery and swivel-guns. However they did not lose any of their spirit. They grappled the Dutch vessel, and stayed there fighting more than three hours; and amid balls, pikes, and broad-swords, they boarded

³⁰ The Ventura del Arco copy reads *concera*, which may be a mistranscription for *casara*, hull.

the hostile vessel, with such courage and valor, that the Dutch themselves were amazed to see them placing themselves in so manifest danger without shelter. There was one who, when his companions tried to make him retire by force, because he had received a ball in his body, and a nail from a swivel-gun in his throat, tore himself from those who were carrying him, and returned to the fight, with the fury with which a wounded boar turns to avenge itself. Our men continued to decimate the enemy so thoroughly that they had scarcely five men on deck alive or unwounded. The commander was one of the first to be killed. The enemy, seeing themselves without any power to resist, tried to burn the ship. And they would have done it, to the evident loss of our men, but that was prevented by the master of the vessel, who, as he declared later, had always been a Catholic. He advised the Dutch not to do such a thing, for, although they had already lost their substance, they should not lose their souls. At this advice they surrendered with fair conditions. Of the Spanish captives [aboard the enemy's ship], only the Augustinian religious Fray Pedro Montejo³¹ was killed, by a ball from our vessel. The others were safe and sound. Francisco Aguirre lost a leg in the battle, and being condemned to be shot as a traitor one day after the victory, he died that same night. The

³¹ Pedro Montejo took his vows at the Toledo Augustinian convent. After his arrival at Manila he was master of novitiates and superior of the Manila convent of San Pablo until 1607. In that year he was assigned to the Japan missions at his own request. He probably did not go to that empire, however, for shortly afterward he was in Manila again on business for the province, where he embarked. He was captured by the Dutch and killed, as stated in the text, by a ball from the Spanish fleet. See Pérez's *Catálogo*.

same that I have related of our flagship occurred in our almiranta. It grappled with another good vessel, and defeated it after having fought with it with the same valor. The infantry captains, Don Pedro de Almazan and Don Juan de la Vega,³² distinguished themselves greatly in the battle, showing great courage and valor, although they were very young. The others can also be praised with good reason, for they proved themselves valiant captains. Such were Soriano, Rosa, Don Antonio de Leos, and Captain Madrid.

The third [Dutch] vessel was defeated by the two vessels "San Yldefonso" and "San Pedro." However so complete a victory was not obtained as with the others; for when it caught fire, they could not extinguish the flames. Two excellent bronze pieces were melted by the fire; and when the flames reached the powder, it blew up the men and other things and set fire to the neighboring forests, where the fire lasted for six days. However, they were able to take the artillery. Ten Chinese vessels witnessed the battle. That was of no little importance, because of the opinion that they formed of the Spaniards, and the fear of our men that struck them, besides that which they have always had. Three of those vessels had already been plundered, and the other seven expected the same thing. But seeing themselves free, they went to the governor to thank him for his kindness in freeing them. Having received permission, they proceeded to Manila immediately, where they made great feasts for the governor after their arrival.

³² For quite another estimate of these youthful commanders, see *ante*, p. 97.

The fourth Dutch vessel was outside and quite near a Japanese vessel that it had captured, whose captain and pilot were inside the Dutch vessel. These having displayed a banner on which was written "Viva Holanda" ["Long live Holland!"], and a letter of safe-conduct from the Dutch factors in Japon, the captain of the said vessel answered that the Japanese had nothing to fear, and that his commander would give them the best of treatment. But the Dutch only wished to see if they had any Portuguese or Castilians aboard. But on hearing the sound of firing, they became anxious; accordingly, sending the said [Japanese] captain and pilot to their ship, and having crowded all sail in their own, they commenced to flee in all haste. Others had come in this Japanese vessel, Spaniards from the ship "San Francisco;" and among them was its commander, Juan de Esguerra. The Lord delivered them from this second peril by so signal a victory. The [Dutch] patache was also looking for vessels. Coming in that night with a Chinese prize, it sent its boat ahead to reconnoiter the position. Finding different signs from those that it had left, it became suspicious, and accordingly began to flee. The almiranta, the ship of Captain Juan Pardos de Losada, and the flagship of the galleys went in pursuit of it, but although they searched the neighboring coasts twice, they did not sight the vessels, or discover what direction they took. The last time when they went to run along the coast, they met a ship; and, as it seemed to be the patache, the galley pursued it with sail and oar, but found it to be a vessel from Macao. The bishop of Macao,³³ of the Order of St. Dominic,

³³ This was Fray Juan Pinto de Fonseca.

was coming on business of great importance for the welfare of that community. Thinking our vessels to be Dutch, they fled at their utmost speed, and threw overboard all their cargo, although it was valuable, in order to make the vessel lighter.

News of the victory reached Manila at two in the morning. At that hour the bells were loudly chimed and the people uttered many expressions of joy. Next day a very solemn procession was made, as a token of thanksgiving. The procession marched from the cathedral to our church, where a sermon was preached. It caused great consolation throughout the city and in all those who were present. After the sermon the governor sent letters to each order, thanking them for the prayers that they had said for his success. The one that came to me read as follows:

“We discovered the enemy this morning, and the battle began at seven o'clock. It lasted about four hours, and during that time, our Lady and the glorious St. Mark showed themselves favorable to us. For we obtained the victory with the surrender of their flagship to ours, and their almiranta to ours. Fire was set to the other ship, and it was burned. Thus the battle was ended with but slight loss to us, and some wounded. I confess that this victory has been given me by reason of the prayers of your Paternity and those reverend fathers, whom I thank for their care in this, and assure them that I shall consider the same in what pertains to my office, by aiding whatever may be of pleasure to your Paternity. May our Lord preserve you, as I desire. From this vessel
“San Juan Baptista,” April 24, 1610.

DON JUAN DE SILVA.”

And inasmuch as he makes mention of our Lady and St. Mark, I must not neglect to report a matter that seems worthy of consideration. At the beginning when the war was discussed, the governor had a dream. In it, he saw a venerable man, who told him that he would obtain a glorious victory on St. Mark's day. Although it seemed too late to go to attack the enemy, as it was thought that he had already gone with his ships full of plunder – which meant to go with shouts of victory, yet on this account the governor hastened to sail before the day of the holy evangelist, with the intent of punishing the enemy. However, he could not prepare the fleet as was necessary before April 21. Making an attempt to attack the Dutch on Friday, the twenty-third, they could not, for the reason above stated, of losing their anchors. Consequently the time went by until the twenty-fourth, for us, Saturday, the day of our Lady. The governor had had her image put on the royal standard and implored her aid by that verse, *Mosstrate esse Matrem* [*i.e.*, “Show thyself to be our Mother”]. This day was for those who came from Maluco the twenty-fifth of April, or St. Mark's day, as it was also for those from Japon. It is an extraordinary thing to find this conflict in the days when they unite, namely, those who sail east and those who sail west meet.³⁴ It appears that those days had, as it

³⁴ This difference in time when sailing east and west, was commented on by many early writers. Acosta (*History of the Indies*, Hakluyt Society's publications, London, 1880) says “seeing the two Crownes of Portugall and Castille, have met by the East and West, ioyning their discoveries together, which in truth is a matter to be observed, that the one is come to China and Iappan by the East, and the other to the Philippines, which are neighbours, and almost ioyning vnto China, by the West; for from the Ilands of Lusson, which is the chiefe of the Philippines, in the which is

were, overlapped, so that the victory might be obtained on our Lady's day, for our favor; and on St. Mark's day for the ruin of the Dutch – the saint warring upon them as on Calvinists, since Calvinists made spiritual warfare upon his state of Venecia. Besides, the victory was gained past noon on St. Mark's day, when his day strictly begins.

In the pocket of the dead commander was found a copy of the order given to his vessels for their departure, which was to be within one week after St. Mark's day. As a farewell, he had intended to make a demonstration in Manila Bay with many streamers, pendants, and bannerets. But may our Lord decree that these heretics go to no place where they may prosper better.

Before the return of the fleet, they sent in the wounded on either side (who were numerous) to this city, where they were tended with great care. A Dutch surgeon helped in the treatment of the Dutch and Spaniards. That surgeon had been aboard the enemy's flagship, and he displayed great skill. The governor went to visit his soldiers upon his arrival, and consoled them for their pains, and praised them as brave and valiant men. The sick men were greatly

the city of Manilla, vnto Macao, which is in the Ile of Canton, are but foure score or a hundred leagues, and yet we finde it strange, that notwithstanding this small distance from the one to the other, yet according to their accoumpt, there is a daies difference betwixt them. . . . Those of Macao and of China have one day advanced before the Philippines. It happened to father Alonso Sanches, . . . that parting from the Philippines, he arrived at Macao the second daie of Maie, according to their computation, and going to say the masse of S. Athanasius, he found they did celebrate the feast of the invention of the holy Crosse, for that they did then reckon the third of Maie." Acosta then gives the reason for this difference. See VOL. I of this series, p. 22, note 2.

consoled at that. Before entering Cavite, the governor assembled the volunteers, and thanked them in his Majesty's name for their toil, and for the good that they had achieved. He assured them that he would without fail assist their necessities, since they had also assisted the king's service. To those who had died in their services for all, his Lordship instituted certain honors with a mass and sermon in [the church of] St. Francis in this city; and he erected for them a rich catafalque, elegantly adorned. This catafalque had three square stories. On each corner was a pyramid. On the last story was a tomb covered with crimson brocade from the spoil, instead of the pall. The rest of the catafalque was filled with tapers, and Latin and Spanish epitaphs, and with images of mortality [*muertes*], with appropriate inscriptions. The church was all hung with different colored silks, and displayed signs of gladness rather than of weeping, because of the so glorious death of those who perished. On them were conferred the following honors: the pontifical chant; the mass by the bishop of Macao, in the presence of the governor, Audiencia, the ecclesiastical and secular cabildos, and all the orders. After that the spoils were distributed. They were very rich, for the said vessels contained a quantity of silk and silver (not to mention the hulls of the vessels, the ammunition, and more than fifty pieces of artillery), and other things such as wine, oil, etc.—all worth three or four hundred thousand pesos.

Many of the Dutch who were wounded have confessed, and died reconciled to the Church. Among them was the master who, as I said above, had prevented the fire, in order not to lose his soul. We

hope that he gained his soul, for he died from a wound received in the flight from the battle, with signs of great repentance for his sins, and leaving excellent pledges of his salvation. Father Andres de la Camara, of the Society of Jesus, attended to the Dutch. He was a native of Gante [*i.e.*, Ghent], and although he has seldom used his own language [*i.e.*, the Flemish] for eighteen or twenty years, one would believe that our God's mercy aided him with especial efficacy; for he conversed with the Dutch elegantly and fluently of the divine mysteries. Such is the outcome of the war. Now we shall recount something of other matters concerning what I have thus far told.

A ship of Chinese merchants went to Maluco to trade merchandise with the Dutch. The latter gave the captain of the said vessel, called Caichuan, a general, fourteen thousand pesos to invest in trust for them. He returned to China, and thinking that it was a good sum, and that there was no one to bring suit against him, he kept the said money, as he never again expected to see the Dutch. Some of the interested persons were in these Dutch vessels, and they did not fail to ask, of every ship that they seized, after that of Cachuan, and threatened to punish him severely if they caught him. Had he been seized, it would have been a great loss to this city, for, as is affirmed, he brought fifty thousand pesos invested by our citizens. His time to come arrived, and when he least expected it, he found himself near the Dutch patache. He started to escape, and the patache to pursue him. Cachuan, seeing himself closely pursued, cried out to his men that there was good hope of help, and advised them all to kneel down and ask

protection of the God of the Castilas [*i.e.*, Castilians] as they call us – saying that He was sufficiently able to deliver that ship from the Dutch, since it contained so much property of those who adored and served Him. They prayed, whereupon a fresh wind immediately came, which took them, against their wish, to an unknown islet, where the patache lost sight of them. The Chinese did not cease to pray as above for the space of five days, twice each day. At the end of that time, they had a favorable wind, with the aid of which they entered the channel used by the ships of Castilla, many leguas from their right and usual path, and at last reached port in safety after the victory.

The ship from Japon for which the Dutch had so ardent a desire ran great risk in its voyage. It arrived [in Japon] after a violent gale, almost under water, without rigging and masts. There it learned from the Dutch factors that their vessels were about to come to harass these islands. On that account they did not return as quickly as they intended, waiting until they believed that we had already driven the Dutch away with our fleet. Although, when they had reached the province of Pangasinan, we had already obtained the victory, still they had no news of it. Accordingly, assured of finding enemies, they went into a safe river after landing their cargo, because of the bar, which was dangerous. Then when about to leave the river again, after hearing the good news, they were wrecked, and lost considerable property, besides their boat.

The vessel from Macao, laden with wealth of amber, musk, pearls, and precious stones, and more than three hundred slaves, would have fallen into

the hands of the Dutch, who were awaiting it, had not a shoal stopped it, and knocked it to pieces, and caused the death of some hundred persons of the five hundred aboard it. Among the drowned were two ecclesiastics who were returning from Macao, but recently ordained priests; and Captain Tijon, who not a few times had escaped from similar shipwrecks. The rest of the people went to an uninhabited island, where the Lord had prepared for their support a great number of turtles, and of the birds called boobies [*bobos*, *i.e.*, "stupid"],³⁵ to which this name is applied because they allow themselves to be caught with the hand. After the wreck of that ship, Garci Perez de Baltasar, appointed sargento-mayor of this camp, embarked in a small boat which they fitted up, with as many people as it could carry, to beg that some one be sent from this city to get the people on the island. After several days' voyage, they were seen and perceived by the Dutch, which obliged them to ground their boat on the beach and take to the woods inland. They all escaped overland, and arrived safely at Manila; their boat was burned by the Dutch. When the expedition against the latter was ended, they sent for the people who had been left on the island; but as yet they have not arrived.

In the beginning of January, 1610, a fragata was sent to Macao with warning for the said ship to remain there until the Dutch were driven from these seas. As commander in it was the pilot, Juan Bernardo de Fuentidueñas, who was sick with the fever. He went on the voyage, and before dawn of Thursday, January 28, ran foul of a reef, where no land

³⁵ A species of pelican (*Pelicanus sula*).

could be seen in any direction, except a few rocky points at low tide. The fever left the pilot at this sudden catastrophe, and at dawn the Spaniards saw on the reefs a large ship, that looked like a Chinese vessel, which had been wrecked. They went to this vessel to get its small boats. Entering it, they found not a soul, living or dead. But they found considerable silver scattered about. Not content with what they found in the vessel, the Indians began to dive into the water to see if they could find any more. Their efforts were not in vain, for they must have found in that way about eight thousand reals of eight to the peso, although somewhat oxidized by the sea-water. From the top of the little elevation, an islet was discovered, of not more than one legua in circumference. They went thither in successive trips of the small boat, and found three Lequian Indians, who had been there for months. They were the only survivors of ten who had left their country. On this island, the Spaniards refitted, as well as possible, their boat and another one that the Lequians had at hand, although it was also small. They divided themselves between the two boats, and taking as much of the money as they could carry, started for Macao. A short time after, a very violent vendaval struck and separated the boats. The boat of the pilot Fuentidueña, obedient to the waves, was able to escape the danger and reach its destination. Nothing is known of the other. It is regarded as certain that it has foundered, and that its occupants have perished. The ship for which they were looking in order to warn it had left Macao five days before for Manila, where the pilot himself returned many days after. Upon his relation of the event, he

was sent as pilot of the boat that went to look for the men of the wrecked ship. On the way, perhaps he will look for the reef or the Chinese ship again, in order to finish getting what money it has.

Three ships left here in July of 1609 for Nueva España, and all of them were exposed to dangers and storms. The ship "San Andres," which was almiranta, and was the only one to reach Nueva España, encountered so terrific storms that its bow was under water during most of the voyage, and they were in so great danger that the pilot vowed never to embark again – a very rare thing.

The ship "Santa Ana," almost entirely dismantled by the violent winds and heavy seas, reached Japon, and its arrival there was through not a little of God's mercy. Although it remained thirteen days aground in a port of the kingdom of Bungo,³⁶ still it did not go to pieces. On the contrary it was able to refit, and intends to prosecute its voyage this June of 1610.

The ship "San Francisco" of the said two ships [that failed to reach Nueva España] encountered a greater storm. From the first it gave the passengers plenty of fear, both because of its dangerous leaks and a poor helm, and because of the disservices to the Divine Majesty which were committed. To narrate all its fortunes would be long, so I shall content myself by referring to some of them. In this country, leave to return to Castilla is granted with difficulty.³⁷ Accordingly, certain persons desirous

³⁶ The modern province of Bungo is located on the eastern side of the island of Kyushu, on the Bungo Channel.

³⁷ "It is prohibited by us that the Audiencia of Filipinas should grant licenses [for anyone] to go to the provinces of Peru. We

of returning are wont to go below deck and conceal themselves until the ship is fifteen or sixteen days at sea, at which time they open the hatchway and come out into the light of day. Such people are called *llovidos* [*i.e.*, stowaways; literally, "those rained down"], and feed themselves from the stores of the passengers. While they remain hidden, they open jars of food and liquor, which causes not a little annoyance to their owners. After coming out of their place of concealment, they accommodate themselves one day with one mess, and next with another, and thus exist throughout the voyage. One day a passenger of high rank gave a blow to one of these persons. The aggrieved one was so overwhelmed with sadness and grief from what had happened to him, that he appeared inconsolable. One of our fathers, talking to him in order to console him, found him like one

order that all the audiencias of Nueva España keep and observe this law, and that those of Perú do the same in regard to Nueva España." Ordinance 27, Toledo, May 25, 1596. (*Recopilación de leyes*, lib. ix, tit. xxvi, ley lxi.)

"The governor of Filipinas shall not concede leave to any soldier or any other person who shall have gone there at the cost of our royal treasury, to leave or go out of those islands unless there be very urgent causes; and in this he shall proceed with great caution and moderation." Madrid, March 29, 1597. (*Recopilación de leyes*, lib. ix, tit. xxvi, ley lxii.)

"It is advisable that the citizens of the Filipinas Islands shall not leave them, and especially those who are rich and influential. In consideration of this, we order the governors to proceed with great moderation in giving passports to come to these kingdoms or those of Nueva España, for thus it is important for the preservation of the people of those islands. And in consideration of the fact that the passengers and religious who come are numerous, and consume the food provided for the crews of the vessels, we order the governors that they avoid as far as possible the giving of passports to the said passengers and religious, in order to avoid the inconveniences that result and which ought to be considered." Segovia, July 25, 1609; and San Lorenzo, August 19, 1609. (*Recopilación de leyes*, lib. ix, tit. xxvi, ley lxiii.)

demented, and he seemed to rave. Finally, when it was least expected in the ship, the poor wretch cast himself into the sea. It was noted with wonder that, although he made no movement with his body or tried to swim—which he could have done, as the weather was fair—he floated above water for half a legua. Later, during the last storm, a wave washed off the man who struck him, and he was found drowned on the strand, a most hideous and misshapen mass. During the first gale the ship, at its beginning, because of obeying its helm poorly, was struck head on. The sails pulled with such force on the masts, that, as the captain dared not take them in, they were blown into shreds. The pilots began to throw overboard whatever was above decks, until nothing was left on them. They threw overboard the boat, and the boxes and bales of merchandise. On that account the sailors lost their poor possessions, and some of the passengers lost a goodly amount. The ship tossed and rolled frightfully, and dipped below the water on both sides. Consequently it shipped so much water that it was generally half an estado deep above decks. The waves were furious and high, and so great that the fore and after cabins shipped water. One wave carried away a considerable portion of the stern gallery, together with four little slave girls who were in it. In this way they passed one night, almost in despair of seeing the morrow. But day came, and they repaired the ship by bending other sails that were carried for that purpose. After this storm the ship was very crank, and even in fair weather its sides were under water, although it had a high freeboard. Consequently, it shipped so much water that the waves washed over

the decks with great noise and uproar, and entered the berths where the better-class passengers are generally quartered. The rigging had to be repaired piecemeal. Consequently, for those reasons, and as the vessel lacked other necessities, some tried to make them put back to Manila. However, this was without effect, and they proceeded on their way with some storms; and in the last, which was frightful, the people had no safety, even inside the boat, for the waves tore them from it, and drew men after them. The ship leaked very badly, and consequently it was necessary to work the pumps continually. All, seeing the danger before their face, helped in this; even Don Rodrigo de Bivero,³⁸ who had just completed his office as president of the Audiencia and governor and captain-general, assisted in his turn, as did Father Pedro de Montes and the other religious.

Finally, at the end of this struggle, they were wrecked on the coast of the kingdom of Quantu, at the head of Japon, in almost its extreme east. That coast extends from the kingdom to the district of Ximo, where the port of Nangasaqui is located. Thence many vessels sail to Manila annually, which is farther west.³⁹

Almost four hundred persons went ashore – that

³⁸ On the death of Pedro de Acuña, Rodrigo de Vivero was appointed governor ad interim of the Philippines, by viceroy Luis de Velasco of Mexico. He landed at Manila, June 15, 1608, and governed until April of the following year. He was a native of Laredo (Santander), and was experienced in the political life of the Indies. He introduced important reforms and laws among the *alcaldes-mayor* and *corregidores*. He was given the title of *Conde dela Valle*, and made governor and captain-general of Panama. See La Concepción's *Hist. de Philipinas*, vi, pp. 114-116.

³⁹ The following description of Japan is taken from *Recueil des*

is, all except some twenty-five or thirty, who were drowned in the course of the voyage. After a time the sea washed ashore some pieces of gorgoran,⁴⁰ satin, and velvet. Those who had gotten away with less clothing wrapped these about their bodies, while they made sandals from bits of silk, like those of leather worn by shepherds in España, because of the sharp rocks upon which they were walking barefoot. They found two Japanese in some fields, and were greatly comforted thereby; for they imagined that land to be a desert islet without any food, upon which fortune had cast them to die. However, they would have had not a little mercy from God if they had been able to die after confessing at leisure. The Japanese guided them to a town near by, where they were given some rice for their support. There most of them were kept carefully guarded for many days. The chief Japanese continued to take charge of all the silk that could be saved, but did not give it up until an edict therefor was granted to the Spaniards by the king. Consequently some of it was given to

Voyages (Amsterdam, 1725), ii, p. 84: "These islands look toward New Spain on the east; Tartary on the north, besides other countries unknown; China on the west, and unknown lands on the south; with a large sea between them. They comprise 66 petty kingdoms, and are divided into three chief parts. The most considerable, and the one always named first, is Japan, which contains 53 seigniories, or petty kingdoms, the most powerful of which are Méaco and Amagunce. The king of Méaco has under him 24 or 26 kingdoms, and he of Amagunce 12 or 13. The second of these three parts is called Ximo, and contains 9 kingdoms, chief of which are Bungo and Figeu. The third part is called Xicoum, and contains 4 kingdoms or seigniories." J. J. Rein (*Japan*, London, 1884), gives four divisions in modern Japan, namely, Japan proper, the Riukiu Islands, Chigima or the Kuriles, and Ogasawara-shima or Munitô, commonly called Bonin Islands.

⁴⁰ A kind of silk grograin.

them; but the Japanese rebought it at what prices they wished, paying for it very impure silver. Consequently the Spaniards were scarce able to get fifty thousand pesos in current Castilian money for it; although it is regarded as certain that if all that could have been saved had been delivered to the Spaniards, and they had sold it at a just price, they would have received five hundred thousand pesos beyond all doubt. Although General Juan de Esguerra tried to negotiate with the king for the return of some forty boxes which were held by one of the Japanese lords, he failed to do so. On the contrary, the counselors advised him to be content with what had been returned, unless he wished to keep nothing. In short they are pagans, who believe in only the law of might, and do not keep faith and friendship more than they think advisable. Governor Don Rodrigo de Bivero visited the king in his court at Suronga. The king received him and treated him with great honor, and gave him one thousand taels as a concession. Each tael is worth ten reals when made into money. The general gave this money to the people to provide for their journey to Nangasaqui, whence many have come to this city [*i.e.*, Manila]. Don Rodrigo de Bivero and Father Montes continued their voyage in the ship "Santa Ana," which was in Bungo. The Japanese came very near attacking it, but they say that they did not do so because such action was not expedient; for they had injured their trade with Macao, by attacking the galleon en route from that city to Japon with silk, until they had to burn it, with the loss of eight hundred thousand taels; and they would curtail their trade with this country and suffer great lack of silk.

I will end this relation with the affairs of, and voyage to, Maluco, for whose relief, as I stated above, two galleys made an expedition. The food and men were divided among various caracoas, fragatas, and champans, in Oton. After setting sail, they proceeded without disaster as far as Sarragan in Siao. There one of the boats was wrecked by a fierce gale, although only one Spaniard and ten Indians of its crew were drowned. The rest escaped without weapons or anything else besides their shirts. Those who escaped were given shelter in the other boats. One afternoon while continuing their voyage, they discovered four Dutch vessels, in sight of the island of Maluco. They put to sea in order to escape them, with the intention of making port that night. In this way some of them reached a place of safety. But one fragata, which carried one of the captains, went toward the enemy, because our men had not reconnoitered the land well. Consequently, in the morning, it found itself surrounded by four ships and one patache, and accordingly had to remain with them. Those [Dutch] ships also seized a large champan which had been left behind, and which carried a cargo of food and goods, belonging both to the king and to private persons.

These boats that were captured by the Dutch contained all that we were sending to the fathers at Maluco – namely, one hundred and two baskets of clean rice, thirty-one jars of wine, meat, and butter, which were very necessary to them, in the condition of affairs there, for Father Masonio having gone to visit the fort of Bachan, with nine slaves who served him as a boat-crew, they were taken by the Dutch and their Terrenatan allies. In the fight sixteen Span-

ish soldiers were killed, besides some of the natives. Of the slaves whom the father was taking with him, three were killed and six were captured by the Dutch. After the father confessed the wounded and entered their fort, he escaped and hid for a week in the woods; and, although many persons were paid by the Dutch to look for him, they could not find him. In that place the father lost a large supply of food, besides other things. It was being sent to him there from Malaca, to whose province pertains the port of Maluco. Not the least of his losses was to be deprived of his companion, by the death of Father Gabriel de la Cruz,⁴¹ who was called Rengifo in España. The latter was his only associate in that exile. A long illness preceded his death, although during it he continued to work as if he were healthy and alone. He died after a long life of glorious labor in the islands of the Moros, so devoid of human consolations, but so full of the consolations of heaven – as our blessed Father Francisco Javier certified, who was the first to sow there the seed of the gospel. His death caused great sorrow, because that field of Christendom remained without a shepherd. Although they tried to send a companion to Father Masonio from Malaca, over three hundred leguas away, send-

⁴¹ Gabriel de la Cruz (in the Moluccas as early as 1605), together with Lorenzo Masonio (Laurent Masoni) wrote a relation entitled *Relacion de la toma de las islas de Ambueno y Tidore que consigieron los Holandes en este año de 1605*, which is published by Colin in his *Labor Evangélica*, lib. iv, chap. ii. Masoni was born at Campolieto (Naples), February 27, 1556. He entered the Jesuit order when already a priest, in 1582. In 1586 he went to the Indies, where he died at Amboina, July 19, 1631. He wrote also a letter from that island, which is published in *Lettera annuæ di Giappone* (Roma, 1605), pp. 113-121; also in *Hist. Univers. des Indes orientales*, by Antoine Magin (Sommervogel).

ing by way of these islands Father Antonio Pereira, they were not successful, for the latter died on the voyage, in the manner that I stated at the beginning.⁴² But we hope, through our Father, that some day those seas will become free from pirates, so that Maluco may be supplied from its own province with men and other necessities.

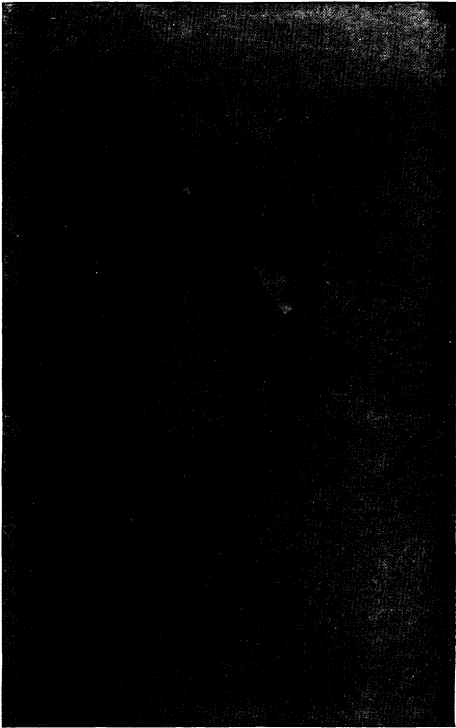
Word is also received from Maluco that the Dutch commander, Pablo Blancard, was ransomed this year. The Dutch gave eighty thousand pesos for him last year; and now they have given fifty-two Spaniards held captive among them, one hundred natives friendly to us, the fragata and all its cargo, and six thousand pesos in money.

I have endeavored to make this relation very faithful for the greater glory of God our Lord. May

⁴² The author of the present relation precedes the portion here presented, which appears to be complete, by a notice of the death of Father Antonio Pereira. This notice appears to have been abridged by Ventura del Arco, who copied the document from the archives. La Concepción states (vol. iv of his history) that after Acuña had recovered the Malucos, all but two of the Jesuit priests there were ordered to Malaca. This included Pereira, who was stationed on the island of Siao. The authorities at Malaca contended that the care of these religious devolved upon the Philippines, hence they were ordered to go there. Pereira left Malaca in July, 1608, for Manila in a Portuguese vessel, but they were wrecked after twenty days' voyage. The Portuguese and Father Pereira started for Borneo next morning in the small boat, leaving 130 slaves who were in the vessel to their fate. After four days the boat reached a desert island, with its occupants famished. Father Pereira, having a knowledge of the region, procured water from one of the hollow canes growing on the island. There they were captured by Moro or Malay pirates and sold by them to the Borneans. They were sent to Manila in a small boat by the sultan; but, in a storm, Father Pereira died. He was a son of Gonzalo Pereira, who had also lived at Siao. Father Pereira had aided Chirino in various labors in Cebú, whence he later returned to Siao.

Signature of Gregorio Lopez, S.J.

[*From tracing of original, in Ventura del
Arco MSS. (Ayer library)*]



He preserve your Paternity⁴³ for the welfare of all the Society. Manila, July 1, 1610.

GREGORIO LOPEZ

⁴³ This phrase, the usual epithet of the general of the Jesuit order, would indicate that Lopez was addressing that official—who was then Claudio Aquaviva; he died on January 31, 1615.

LETTER FROM SILVA TO FELIPE III

Sire:

In the capitana "San Juan Bautista," which sailed from this port on the twelfth of July last, I gave your Majesty an account of everything that had occurred up to that time; I likewise did so by the Dutch almiranta, which left four days later. But as it was not so good a sailing ship as the capitana, and did not weather the storms so well, it was delayed several days, without being able to get outside the island of Fortun. I ordered it to return thence to this port, as it appeared that it was not fit for a freight ship, and because it was necessary for the service of your Majesty, owing to new developments, which I shall here detail. A fortnight after the ships were despatched, and when the almiranta was about to put out to sea, there arrived here a fragata belonging to your Majesty, which came from Goa, and had sailed from Terrenate for Yndia, loaded with cloves. It brought me a despatch from the viceroy, Ruy Lorenzo de Tabora, in which he informed me of his arrival in that kingdom, and in what desolation he found the affairs of Yndia, and particularly the trade, on account of the Dutch. And he said that, in order to make safe the voyage from Japon, he sent Don Diego de Vasconcelos de Meneses, with eight gal-

leons, well provided with men, artillery, and supplies of war, with orders that if I should advise him that he might accomplish some good for the service of your Majesty, he should attend to it with his fleet. Likewise General Diego de Vasconcelos wrote to me from Malaca, that he was crossing to Macan with six galleys and one urca;⁴⁴ and that there he would await advices from me or from Maluco, so that, if anything could be accomplished for the service of your Majesty, he could be present with his fleet. The day after the arrival of this fragata, there entered this port a Dutch patache, which had been taken by Captain Pedro de Avellaneda, with the galley "San Christobal," close to the island of Tidore, after a fight of three hours; and in it were General Pablos Brancaorden [*i.e.*, van Caerden], twenty others, and five Dutch. This general is the one who was taken in another galleota by Captain Pedro de Heredia, and who was ransomed by Master-of-camp Christobal de Axqueta for fifty of our soldiers and sailors, thirty Indian pioneers and artisans, and six thousand pesos in money. All the forces that the enemy has in Maluco and Banda were in his command. The said master-of-camp advises me that only a patache and one ship of the enemy's had remained in the islands; and that although he sent a vessel with persons acquainted with the language to Ambueno to learn whether a fleet had come, there was no news of one, and the enemy were greatly cast down and discouraged to see that no fleet was coming to them, as there is little hope that it will be here this year, for none thus far has waited longer than May or June to

⁴⁴ A vessel built like a pink — that is, with a very narrow stern — and sloop-rigged.

come. When the information was sent [to me] it was the thirtieth of July, and there was no word of a fleet.

I have already informed your Majesty that the Dutch, our enemy, are masters of all the Malucas Islands and Banda, and how important this is. By a memorial and calculation which was found among other papers in the possession of General Pablos Brancaerden, lately captured, an account is given of the revenue, which amounts yearly to more than four million pesos. Nothing has remained for your Majesty throughout all these islands, except the fort of Terrenate. All the natives are with the Dutch, and having chosen as their king the younger son of the one who is a prisoner here, they help the Dutch to fight and to fortify the islands, without one of them being on our side. The king of Tidore is thus far in our favor, much to the disgust of his vassals, and our fear lest they make an agreement with the enemy – in which case he would be ruined, and there would be no remedy for it.

I have also informed your Majesty that the emperor of Japon has assigned two ports and factories in his kingdom to the Dutch, and the latter are making strenuous efforts to secure one in China. If they succeed in this, and trade in silks, gold, quicksilver and other riches from that great kingdom to Japon, and Europe, it will be worth to them every year more than the spice trade, in which case (may God avert it!) this country and Yndia would be ruined. For, as is known, it is impossible to support them without the traffic and merchandise, particularly the spices and silk; and as the Dutch heretics are such mortal enemies of the crown of España, and so rich,

we may well fear that, in league with other European princes, envious, and even fearful of the power of your Majesty, they may claim rights over some of the territories in your Majesty's possession, and attempt something that would give cause for anxiety. All these reasons have induced me to use all care and diligence, without sparing labor or danger, to bring about a junction of forces; and, although they cannot be such as are demanded by this undertaking, at least they will be such as to allow an attempt with the favor of God, toward driving the Dutch out of Maluco, and taking from them the fortresses that they have built in those islands. Accordingly, after having consulted with the Audiencia, the archbishop, and the council of war, I ordered the master-of-camp, Juan Xuarez Gallinato, to go to Macan and find Don Diego de Vasconcelos; and to represent to him by word of mouth what I had already informed him of by letters, namely, all that I am informing your Majesty of, and how good the occasion is this year. May God further our efforts; for if we lose this chance, and await the coming of the fleet, although it might bring with it more strength, it is certain either that the enemy would also have more, and that their forts would be better fortified, whereby the difficulty would be increased – or, as they say, your Majesty will by some peace or arrangement concede to them their continuance in what they possess, both there and here. And, in order that Don Diego may have no difficulty in the voyage here, the master-of-camp was given money to provide that fleet with everything necessary. And if perchance Don Diego should hesitate in regard to the authority of the command and the government, I have ordered

the said master-of-camp to offer him on my behalf whatever he may ask. For I desire so earnestly, with my heart and life, that so great a good may be attained, and so great a service accomplished for your Majesty and for Christendom, that, in order that it might be effected, I would gladly go and serve as a soldier. I believe indeed that Don Diego will not stop for this last; but I am providing against anything that can hinder this expedition and the service of your Majesty.

In this port I have ordered the equipment of the capitana and the almiranta which were taken from the enemy, the ship "Spiritu Santo," and the "San Andres," two pataches, and three galleys; and I am busy providing everything necessary for food, artillery, and supplies. Thus when the vessels of Don Diego de Vasconcelos arrive here, which I think will be at the end of November, they may start on the voyage toward Terrenate; and it seems to me that they might be there by the beginning of January, so as to have a chance to accomplish as much as possible before the beginning of May, when the arrival of the enemy is to be feared. I trust in our Lord that, if no fleet has arrived for them, some good results may be obtained from the expedition. If a fleet should have come, I will try to ascertain their forces, in such manner as not rashly to risk your Majesty's forces which I shall take there. I shall try to send information as early as possible of all that happens there, by way of Nueva España; and other advices via the strait of Sunda, or that of Bali, and the Cape of Buena Esperança.

Considering that all the Terrenatans are on the side of the enemy, and not a single one of them for

us, and that they all aid and serve the Dutch with their persons and property; and that they even consider as their king, and obey as such, the son of the king whom we hold prisoner here – it has appeared to me best, after consultation, to take with me on this expedition the chief king and the cachils who are here. For he and they offer that, if I place them safely within the fort of Terrenate, they will bind themselves, being in those islands in person, to bring over to the service of your Majesty the son and all his vassals; and that they will take up arms against the Dutch, and would serve in this way, or any other that might present itself during the expedition, with fidelity. If your Majesty were pleased to leave him in that kingdom, he would be your vassal, would have amity with none of our enemies, and would only barter the cloves to the factors whom your Majesty might have in that island. If he carries out his promise, it will facilitate the expedition greatly, and diminish the forces of the enemy. I shall take him with me, and if it turns out as I trust in our Lord it will, and the king holds to his promises, so that all his vassals there remain quiet and peaceful, I shall leave him and his son in the fortress at Terrenate, with the greatest care and protection, until I have advised your Majesty of all, and you have given such orders as shall please you.

For so costly an expedition, this royal treasury is in great need, for of two hundred thousand pesos that the viceroy of Nueva España sent here, there were taken to Macan fifty thousand pesos to buy quicksilver; twenty-six thousand for provisions, powder, and other munitions and supplies; thirty-five thousand paid to the fund of probated estates, and to citi-

zens who had lent money the year past for the support of the fleet. So great were the arrears of debts to private persons, since the taking of Terrenate, and an entire year's pay that was owing to the troops, that it is greatly impoverished, having, as is the case, so many necessary matters to attend to. The most important of these is a fort in this port, so that I may not find myself in such risk and danger as the enemy placed me in this year, capturing the port from me, together with three unfinished galleons, as I have informed your Majesty. In the preparation for the expedition that I have resolved upon, it would not be possible to accomplish all, or even a small part of it, if it were not for forty-five thousand pesos that have been collected from the eight pesos that each Sangley gives for his license to remain in these islands. With all this there is such a lack of money that I must go with little enough on the expedition. If there were any fund from which to get support, I should make use of it; but I promise your Majesty that there is none anywhere, nor even a citizen from whom I can borrow a real. We shall have to get along as best we can, until the viceroy of Nueva España provides for us. May our Lord protect the Catholic person of your Majesty for many years, according to the needs of Christendom. Cavite, September 9, 1610.

Your Majesty's humble vassal and servant

DON JUAN DE SILVA

LETTER FROM FELIPE III TO SILVA

To the governor and Audiencia of Manila, directing them to give information concerning the controversy that the natives of the village of Quiapo have with the fathers of the Society concerning certain lands; and, in the meantime, that they provide what is expedient.

The King: To my governor and captain-general, president and auditors of my royal Audiencia of the city of Manila, of the Philipinas Islands. Don Miguel Banal has informed me – in a letter of the fifteenth of July, six hundred and nine – that, at the instance of the natives of the village of Quiapo, the late archbishop of that city wrote to me that the fathers of the Society of Jesus, under pretense that the metropolitan dean of Manila sold them a piece of arable land [*verta*] which lies back of the said village, have appropriated it for their own lands, taking from them more than the dean granted – to such an extent that there hardly remains room to plant their crops, or even to build their houses. And the said Miguel Banal, who is the chief of that village, having built a house, one of the Society, called Brother “Nieto,” came into his fields, together with many blacks and Indians, with halberds and other weapons; and they demolished the house, to the great

scandal of all who saw them, and without paying any attention [to the remonstrances of] the alcalde-mayor of the village. He entreats me, for assurance of the truth, to command you to make an investigation regarding it; and in the meantime not to disturb them in their ancient possession, which they have inherited from their fathers and grandfathers. Having examined it in my Council for the Yndias, it has appeared best to order and command you, as I do, to inform me of what has occurred in this matter, and is occurring, and in the meantime to take such measures as are expedient. Madrid, on the seventh of December of one thousand six hundred and ten.

I THE KING

Countersigned by Juan Ruiz de Contreras.
Signed by the Council.

DOCUMENTS OF 1611

Foundation of the college of Santo Tomás of Manila.

Bernardo de Santa Catalina, O.P., and others;
April 28.

Hospital at Nueva Cáceres. Pedro Arce, O.S.A.;
July 20.

Letters to Juan de Silva. Felipe III; November-
December.

Letters to the Dominican provincial. Felipe III;
December 31.

SOURCES: All these documents save one are obtained from original MSS. in the Archivo general de Indias, Sevilla. The first one is found in a pamphlet entitled *Algunos documentos relativos á la Universidad de Manila* (Madrid, 1892), pp. 5-20.

TRANSLATIONS: The first document is translated by James A. Robertson; the remainder, by Robert W. Haight.

FOUNDATION OF THE COLLEGE OF SANTO TOMÁS OF MANILA

In the name of God Almighty, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and in honor of Mary ever-virgin, who, under the advocacy ⁴⁵ of her most holy rosary, is proposed and accepted as patroness of the work which will be declared below, inasmuch as she is also patroness of the Order of Preachers of the patriarch St. Dominic, established in these Filipinas Islands and the kingdom of China; and to his honor and glory and that of the consecrated doctor ⁴⁶ of the holy Church, Saint Thomas Aquinas, by whose intercessions, protection, and aid the work described in this writing will have a good beginning and means, and proceed from good to better forever without

⁴⁵ By metaphor, the instrument is here used for the person; the reference is to the advocacy of the Virgin as obtained through the rosary, the instrument of the chief devotion to Mary. As such, many churches and other institutions are dedicated to the rosary. — REV. PATRICK B. KNOX (Madison, Wisconsin).

⁴⁶ Thomas Aquinas, born in 1227, belonged to a noble family, descended from the kings of Aragón and Sicily. Entering the ecclesiastical life, he soon became noted as a scholar and divine. He was professor of divinity in several universities, and author of numerous theological works. He died on March 7, 1274, and was canonized in 1323. Various epithets have been bestowed upon him: "the Angelic Doctor," "the Universal Doctor," "the Dumb Ox" (alluding to his taciturnity), "the Angel of the School," and "the Eagle of Theologians." "It was in defense

end: by virtue of which, I, father Fray Bernardo de Santa Catalina,⁴⁷ religious of the said order, and commissary-general of the Holy Office in these islands, as executor of the most illustrious and reverend archbishop of this city of Manila in the islands, Don Fray Miguel de Benavides, now defunct, and [as the one] to whom his Lordship communicated the application of the remainder of his properties for the work and foundation which will be hereunder declared – as appears from his last will and testament, which he signed in this said city of Manila before Francisco de Alanis, former notary-public in this city, on the twenty-fourth day of the month of July of the former year one thousand six hundred and five; and the clause treating of this matter, copied, corrected and collated with the said will signed by the said notary, is of the following tenor:

Item: His most reverend Lordship said and declared that he made – and he did so make – while still in life, a complete and irrevocable gift of all the remainder of his properties for a pious enterprise. He has conferred and communicated in regard to the same with the said fathers – namely, the prior of Santo Domingo, Fray Domingo de Nieva,⁴⁸ and of Thomas Aquinas that Henry VIII [of England] composed the book which procured him from the pope the title of Defender of the Faith” (Blake’s *Biographical Dictionary*, p. 66).

⁴⁷ Argensola says mistakenly that this father was killed by the Chinese in the insurrection of 1603.

For sketch of his life see VOL. XIII, note 43.

⁴⁸ Domingo de Nieva was a native of one of the three towns of Villoria in Castilla, and professed in the Dominican convent of San Pablo at Valladolid. On going to the Philippines he was sent first to the mission of Bataan, where his labors were interrupted and severe. He became fluent in the Tagál language,

Fray Bernardo de Santa Catalina, commissary of the Holy Office. In this charitable work all his properties remaining are to be applied and distributed, in what manner and form they ordain and consider advisable, in accordance with his communication and resolution in regard to it. For this work he said that he gave – and he did so give – all the remainder of his properties gratuitously; and the institution was immediately and henceforth to be constituted the holder and possessor of them. He transferred to them [*i.e.*, the above fathers] his rights and power of disposal [in the property]. This is the work of which mention was made above.

And I, the said father commissary as executor of another bequest of properties, which Pablo Rodríguez de Araujo and Andrés de Hermosa, defunct, left to my distribution and discretion, in accordance with the terms of their wills – that of the said Pablo Rodríguez de Araujo appears to have been signed in this city before Francisco de Valencia, notary-public, on the sixteenth day of the month of February, of the former year six hundred and six; and that of the said Hermosa before Francisco de Alanís, notary-public, on the fourth day of the month of May of the former year six hundred and four – [declare that] the tenor of the said clauses, one after the other, according to their copies corrected by the wills signed by the said notaries, is as follows: “ And in

after which he was assigned to the Chinese mission near Manila; and he composed and published several devotional treatises in both those languages. He was elected prior of Manila, but before his three years in that office were finished, he was sent as procurator to Madrid. He died at sea, at the end of 1606 or the beginning of 1607, after having spent nineteen years in the Philippines. See *Reseña biográfica*, part i, pp. 108-110.

order to fulfil this my will and that herein contained, I leave and appoint as my executors and administrators father Fray Bernardo de Santa Catalina, commissary of the Holy Inquisition of these islands, Captain Fructuoso de Araujo, and Francisco de Alanís, notary-public. To all three of them, and to each one of them singly, *in solidum*, I delegate power sufficient to adjust and inventory my properties, and to sell and fulfil that herein contained. And for its fulfilment, I give, lengthen, and concede to them all the time and limit that they declare to be necessary. And no ecclesiastical or secular judge shall meddle with them to make them give account of the said executorship, because of the confidence that I have in the above-named persons. For this is my wish, and if such judge should undertake to demand from them the said account, in that said event I constitute them my heirs. And when this my will is fulfilled and observed, and that herein contained, to that part of my properties remaining and its rights and disposal, inasmuch as I have no obligatory heir, either forbears or descendants, I establish and appoint my soul as heir of the said remainder of my properties, its rights and disposal, so that what pertains to that inheritance, shall be given into the power of the said father commissary, who shall distribute it in doing good for my soul in pious works, alms, and other works of charity, as shall seem best to him.

“ And after this my will and that herein contained is fulfilled and observed, I assign as my only heir to all the remainder of my properties, the said Inés de Sequera, my wife. However, she shall bind herself, before all else, to the sum of two thousand pesos net, which sum shall be employed after the fulfilment of

the said my will. With this condition, it is my will that she have all the remainder for herself after the legacies are completed, and the other contents of the said will, and after fulfilment, but in no other manner. This she shall enjoy, and shall take also that portion that pertains to her from all the said properties, as they were all acquired during our marriage. And after having made the reckoning and division in due form, should she refuse to accept the said inheritance with the said condition, I leave my soul as my heir to the whole of the said remainder. My executors shall do with it as they deem best for the good of my soul, in accordance with what I have contracted and agreed with the said father commissary. And if the said my wife shall accept the said inheritance, and shall bind herself to the sum of the two thousand pesos, they shall be employed as is stated, and they shall be distributed; for this is my intention, and as such I remit it."

In accordance with the clause of the will of the said archbishop, I, the said father commissary, Fray Bernardo de Santa Catalina, inasmuch as the said father Fray Domingo de Nieva is dead, declare that what his Lordship communicated to us (to myself and to him) was, that the said remainder of his properties be spent in aiding the foundation and endowment of a college-seminary, where the religious of this said convent may pursue the study of the arts and of theology; and where the religious may instruct the novices and other religious who wish to avail themselves of their aid, others who are sons of inhabitants of this city and the islands, and any other persons. It is to be under the name and devotion of Nuestra Señora del Rosario [*i.e.*, Our Lady of the

Rosary]; and to be established in this city, or where the religious of this said order should assign it, inasmuch as his Lordship and some of the first founders were of this city. And inasmuch as there are but one thousand five hundred pesos left of the properties of the said archbishop, it has been and is necessary, in order that a work so important for the welfare of this kingdom, and one that sheds so much luster on communities and people and directs them so greatly to the service of our God and Lord, may not be without effect (I declare likewise that there have remained and are left three thousand seven hundred and forty pesos from the properties of the said Pablo Rodríguez de Araujo; and that from the properties of the said Andrés de Hermosa, six hundred and thirty-seven pesos of the two thousand pesos left at my disposition, have been collected): I establish, apply, unite, and set aside all the aforesaid two thousand pesos—that collected and to be collected of them—and the three thousand seven hundred and forty pesos from the properties of the said Pablo Rodríguez de Araujo, together with the sum remaining from the properties of the said archbishop, for the endowment and foundation of the said college. In their names, I declare that I have bought two houses and their grounds, which are located near the principal chapel of this convent, on a street half-way to the corner of the street that runs from the said principal chapel to the square and cathedral church of this said city, contiguous to the street running to the river gate; and on the one side, the houses of Antonio de Espejo, and on the other those of Alonso Gómez—the place where the building of the said college-seminary must be located, and the

instruction in the said branches take place, and where must live and remain the students and other things and persons pertaining to the said college and the use of it. And in case it is necessary, I, as such executor and administrator, delegate authority, cession, and transfer to the part of the said college, so that it may collect the one thousand three hundred and sixty-three pesos thus owing from the properties of the said Andrés de Hermosa; and they shall give receipts and take what steps are necessary for the collection until the money is obtained. And although I, the said father commissary, might make this foundation and endowment alone – by virtue of my authority granted me by the said clauses, and that authority given me by my superiors for the exercise of the said executorship – for its greater stability, and so that it may be firm and valid forever, since the very reverend father Fray Baltasar Fort, provincial of the said province of Nuestra Señora del Rosario, is present, I beg the latter, in addition to the permission and license that I have had and have, for new permission and license to make and execute this foundation and endowment, and its articles and conditions.

I, the said father provincial, grant, give, and concede everything necessary for the above. Exercising such permission and license, the said father commissary requested the said father provincial and father Fray Francisco Minayo, prior of this said convent, to accompany him and assist him in sketching the plan and method which ought to be followed in the said foundation, both in appointing at present a patron and administrator of the said college, and in

making arrangements for the future in what they see makes for its profit and growth. For that purpose he places in the hands of the said provincial and prior, from this moment, the said alms and the properties above stated and declared, in order that so holy and profitable a work may be begun with them. That work will, I trust, through the intercession of its principal patron, the holy rosary of our Lady, and the said St. Dominic and St. Thomas, its advocates, be of much service to our Lord, and to the growth of learning and wisdom in these kingdoms, so that it will be a much greater institution in future times. Therefore, I, the said father provincial, exercising the power vested in me in accordance with the statutes and privileges of the said province and order, and especially of that granted me by the provincial chapter in the name of the entire province, accept this endowment and foundation, as is and will be contained in this writ. And consequently, in the most sufficient form and greatest stability that we can employ, all we three – the said father provincial, the prior, and the commissary father Fray Bernardo de Santa Catalina, in behalf of the said deceased, decide and acknowledge that we are making a foundation of the said college-seminary in the form and under the conditions and articles following.

First, in respect to the application made by the said father commissary of the said properties, we apply them, according as they are assigned and declared, for the particular properties of the said college of Nuestra Señora del Rosario – which is to be its title and advocacy – so that a beginning may be made with them in its foundation. [This we do] with hopes that others of the faithful, after seeing

its good effects in these kingdoms, will augment those properties with much more, that will help in attaining the great fruit that will result from the foundation. Consequently from now and henceforth forever, we erect and constitute the said house and lands, and their accessions and improvements, and all other properties, which are at present to be applied to the said college, and those which shall be applied to it in the future, and what it may have in ecclesiastical and spiritual properties. And they shall be used as such for the benefit of the said college, and for the good of the souls of the said archbishop, Pablo Rodríguez de Araujo, Andrés de Hermosa, and the other benefactors of the college.

Item: That the said house and college with all the incomes and profits pertaining to it at present, and that shall pertain to it in the future in any time or manner, shall be under the charge and administration of the father provincial, and other prelates of the said order and province. But they shall be unable through that authority to dispose of anything in the general or special benefit of the order; but all must be used, spent, and consumed for the good and welfare of the said college and for its greater utility, adornment, and growth. All ways and methods shall be tried for the advancement of this work, as it is just that this work, so urgently commended by the laws and holy councils, which has so ennobled the cities that enjoy such houses and colleges, should make progress. And inasmuch as this province of Nuestra Señora del Rosario has an ordinance ruling that the properties of the convents be at the disposal of the father provincial, and that he may distribute them and give

them to the house that he thinks has need of them: since these properties of this said foundation do not belong to the said convents, or any one of them, but are to be applied to this one purpose; and since the said college is not a monastery, and only in its administration is under the patronage of the said father provincial and it being necessary, under that of the prior, the father provincial promises and binds himself, for himself and for the other provincials succeeding him, to observe this article, and not dispose of the properties of the said college or any part of them, in any other thing than the benefit, growth and permanence of the college; and he renounces any ordinance, statute, or privilege concerning it which authorizes him in any way whatever to make the said distribution. And for a more binding pledge, I thus swear, with my hand on my breast, *in verbo sacerdotis*.⁴⁹

Item: Inasmuch as the aforesaid convent of Santo Domingo of this city, is the chief one of this province, both in antiquity and in all other things, which makes it the most prominent of them all; and since it is a convent that receives no chaplaincies or other funds as memorials of the deceased, but is sustained only by ordinary alms (as is notorious); and it has been built and rebuilt after the fires that have happened in this city, by means of those alms, through the exceeding devotion with which the faithful citizens of the city assist the welfare of the said convent; and since the convent has been, after the said archbishop, the first contriver and author of such a work as this, and founds it, and intends to preserve and increase it; and consequently, it is just

⁴⁹ That is "by my priestly word."

that the prior of the said convent have some prerogatives over the other priors of this province in the said college: it is an express statute and condition of this foundation, that he who is, or shall be, now and henceforth, forever, prior of this said college [*sic*; *sc.* convent] of Manila, shall have in his charge the government, discipline, and teaching of the said college, and that he cannot be removed, suspended, or dismissed from the said administration, unless dismissed from the priorship of the said convent.

Item: As such founders of the said charitable work and college, we desire, and it is our will, that the said province of Nuestra Señora del Rosario be its patroness. The provincial of the province shall have the prerogative and privilege of appointing the lecturers necessary for the efficient teaching of the branches that may be studied and taught in the said college, and the officers and assistants advisable for its efficient administration and temporal government—both within the said house and outside it—and in all the other things advisable for the growth and care of the properties, causes, and affairs of the said college. However, if at any time any ecclesiastical or secular person shall desire to endow the said college copiously for the increase of the work and teaching for which it is founded, such person shall be given the right of patronage whenever he shall have made a considerable endowment to the satisfaction of the definitors of the provincial chapter, together with four fathers of the province, those of longest standing who may be present. Such person shall be admitted as patron, and shall be given the right of patronage; and this said province and provincial shall desist from exercising that right—pro-

vided that such patron be not permitted to enact any statute or ordinance, or to change any of the conditions of that foundation contrary to the authority of the said father provincial, in regard to the provision of lecturers; or withdraw the said college from the said order and province; or remove the said prior from its administration. For it is advisable that there be no change from the aforesaid for its good management. [This shall be done] provided that the endowment thus made for the right of patronage be without any injury to this work and beginning; for we must always bear in mind and remember to look after the welfare of the souls of the said archbishop and other persons, with whose alms this holy work and foundation is begun; whether the said province, or any other individual patron of the same, whoever he be, shall exercise the right of patronage, and enjoy the favors, exemptions, prerogatives, and privileges, which are conceded by all law to such patrons.

Item: As such founders, and in behalf of what pertains to the said province and its religious, and those of this said convent, I, the said father provincial and the other fathers, do ordain that the branches studied and taught in the arts, theology, and other subjects, by the religious of the said province and order of our father St. Dominic, shall be studied in the same college forever, and not those of any other order, seculars, of whatever rank and quality they may be, both to the religious of the said order, and any other persons whatever, ecclesiastical or secular, who shall go there to study – and especially and chiefly to the secular students who shall be reared and taught there; and they shall wear, as dis-

tinctive marks of being students there, black gowns with white facings.

Item: That the said father provincial – and, in his absence, the said prior who shall be directing the said college – may accept fellowships to it, chaplaincies, legacies, and endowments, which may be made – with any obligation to say masses or other suffrages which shall have to be fulfilled in this said convent by the religious of it. The college shall satisfy the said convent for the said suffrages, in the form decided by the said father provincial or prior, with the advice of the fathers of the council who reside in this convent; and from that moment permission and authority shall be granted for it.

Item: Whenever it may be deemed expedient, the provincial chapter of this said province – by which is understood the provincial of the province and four definitors – and two other religious of the said order of the highest rank and learning, may make statutes, ordinances, and new articles for the welfare of the said college – in the distribution and administration of its properties and incomes; in what pertains to the ministry and teaching of the subjects that shall be taught in it; and for the appointment of a rector, with the authority and power that shall seem advisable. Such statutes shall be made after the said college is finished and completed, and after it is used for teaching the said branches, and as a residence for the rector and collegiates. [They shall make statutes] regarding the admission of the collegiates, and all else that may be desirable and necessary. This shall be done as often as it may seem advisable; and, once made, such statutes cannot be added to, altered, or abrogated

without a special authority and order from his Holiness, which shall state and declare distinctly that the statutes of the said college shall be changed, added to, or abrogated, and shall point out, for this, one or several of the statutes. And such cannot be done, nor shall it be done, by concessions and general orders now received or to be received by the said province touching the affairs of its order, even though they be received and obtained after this foundation, or after the making of the said rules, statutes, and ordinances, or those that should be made by virtue of this article.

Item: All the properties and effects owned or to be owned by the said college shall be kept in a box with two keys: one of which shall be kept by the father provincial, and, in his absence by the vicar-provincial; and the other by the prior of this convent of Manila. And should the said father prior happen to use the same in the absence of the said father provincial and of the vicar-provincial, then the said provincial may appoint another religious of the same order and convent to keep the key. The said box is to be kept in the convent for the greater security and safety that can be had for it. This regulation shall be observed until it is ruled and ordained otherwise by the said statutes, which shall be made as aforesaid.

Item: The properties possessed by the said college at present, and those that shall accrue hereafter from the said houses and possessions – inasmuch as it is necessary to construct and reconstruct them for the aid of this foundation – shall be spent and used in the said work, building, and rebuilding, in permanent form, how and as appears advisable to the

said father provincial, and the prior, and the commissary; and in the absence of one of them to the other two, or in the absence of the holders of the keys of the said box, to those in whose charge is to be the payment and remuneration of what pertains to the said works and buildings of the said house.

Item: We enact and ordain that, inasmuch as the said college is founded with the alms dedicated therefor by the said archbishop and the other deceased, as above declared, at the discretion of me, the said father Fray Bernardo de Santa Catalina, and with other alms that, God helping, shall be set aside and applied according to the said method and plan, and in any other way; we desire and it is our will that, if at any time any ecclesiastical or secular prince should claim by act or right to possess any dominion, by way of patronage, or in any other way should try to dispose of the properties and incomes of the said college, or to meddle with its administration and government, or to obstruct and disturb its purpose by any method and in any manner whatsoever, and through any judge or powerful person, or any other person whomsoever, who should do it: then immediately and for the time being, the said property and possessions with which the said college is founded, and all the rest collected and applied to it, that is obtained in any manner whatsoever, shall be applied by us to the said province and religious of the said order, so that all of it, together with the said houses and college, and their additions and improvements, may be possessed and enjoyed as their own properties, acquired with just and legal title; and we annul and render void this foundation, as if it had

never been made. The said order shall be obliged with them to perform masses and other benefits and suffrages for the souls of the said archbishop and the others, with whose alms and properties this foundation is begun; and of the others who, in any manner, shall hereafter bequeath and apply any other properties for it. Consequently by this method the said province will render satisfaction for the said alms to their givers.

We establish and found the said college with the above articles and conditions. They shall be kept and observed, together with any others made hereafter in the manner above described; and they shall not be violated or subverted, or opposed or contradicted, in whole or in part. I, the said father provincial, by virtue of the said authority, vested in me as above stated, bind the religious of this said province and order to see to the fulfilment of whatever pertains to them, both in the administration of the said patronage, and in their exercise of the teaching of the said branches; and to keep the said college under their rule and administration, as well as the houses and other properties possessed by it now or in the future; and to do all their duty without any exception, excuse, or limitation. [This I charge on] both the religious now present, and on all those who shall be here in the future henceforth and forever, and they shall not be exempted from its fulfilment for any cause, reason, or law, which they may have to enable them to do it, or that may be conceded to them by laws and royal ordinances, statutes, or privileges, and concessions of this province and order, as yet given or to be conceded and given hereafter. I, the said father commissary, as such execu-

tor and administrator of the properties of the said deceased, assert that this application and endowment that I make with them and for their souls is, and will be, certain and assured; and I have not made any donation, distribution, or any other application of them for any other purpose. The said properties will be certain and assured under the express obligation vested in me specially and specifically for this foundation and endowment of the said college. And all three, the said father provincial, the prior, and the commissary, authorize the justices who can and ought to try this cause, so that they may compel and force all on whom falls the fulfilment of this instrument to observe it, as if they were condemned thereto by the definitive sentence of a competent judge, rendered in a case decided. We renounce whatever laws and rights plead in our favor, and in this case, and the law and rule of law that says that a general renunciation of laws is invalid. This is given in the said city of Manila, on the twenty-eighth day of the month of April of the year one thousand six hundred and eleven. The grantors, whom, I, the notary, testify to be known to me, signed this instrument – Captains Diego de Valdez, Gerónimo de Gamarra, and Melchor de Ayllón, all citizens of Manila, being witnesses.

FRAY BALTASAR FORT, prior provincial.

FRAY FRANCISCO MINAYO, prior.

FRAY BERNARDO DE SANTA CATALINA

Before me:

JUAN ILLÁN, his Majesty's notary.

THE HOSPITAL AT NUEVA CÁCERES

Sire:

In the city of Cáceres there is a hospital where the religious of St. Francis attend with much charity to the treatment of the sick, Spaniards as well as natives. It is very poor, and on the verge of ruin. May your Majesty be pleased to extend to it some alms, to erect another building for it, and provide it with some income, that it may aid in the maintenance of the sick who are being treated in it, particularly the natives, who suffer great want on account of having no income. The city furnishes very little to the aid of the said hospital, because the citizens are few and poor. Accordingly, I know of no other remedy but to have recourse to your Majesty, that, as you are so Catholic a king and a patron of all the churches and hospitals of these islands, you may supply this need, and give them the aid which may appear most fitting to your Majesty, particularly in the case of this hospital, which suffers such dire need. Although I am desirous of alleviating this, I cannot, as I also am poor. Accordingly I beg and beseech your Majesty to have pity upon it and aid it, and give it what your Majesty may judge sufficient. It seems to me that your Majesty might order the governor of these islands to assign some

of the Indians from vacant encomiendas, to apply to this purpose, and give to this hospital to aid it. In this your Majesty will do a great service to our Lord, and a very gracious favor and good to the said hospital, and to me who am seeking this in its name. As it is a work of such piety and service for our Lord, I have dared to make this request. May He protect your Majesty many happy years, for the good of His church. Manila, the twentieth of July, of the year one thousand six hundred and eleven.

FRAY PEDRO ARCE, bishop-elect of Nueva Cáceres.

[*Endorsed*: “Manila; to his Majesty, 1611; the bishop-elect of Nueva Cáceres, July 22. Let the governor and royal officials of Manila send information, together with their opinion. June 15, 1612.”]

LETTERS FROM FELIPE III TO SILVA

The King: To Don Juan de Silva, knight of the Order of Santiago, my governor and captain-general of the Filipinas Islands, and president of my royal Audiencia there. Your letter of July 24, 609, was received and examined in my Council of the Yndias, and I was glad to learn by it of your arrival in those islands, and that you had a prosperous voyage. As for what you say concerning the anxious efforts of certain religious to cause the governmental and military offices in their districts to pass through their hands, and the disturbances and troubles which have occurred among the natives, and the assemblages of people, and the reduction of villages which has been accomplished, when there was an opportunity for the same to hinder the royal jurisdiction by opposing the corregidores and others who are governing – as happened a short time before you arrived, in a district of the province of Nueva Segobia, where you found it necessary to send troops of war with the sargento-mayor Christoval de Axqueta to pacify and punish some Indians who had rebelled because the religious had tried to unite them and make them sedentary without giving account to the governor: it has seemed best to me to charge you, as I do charge you, that you shall endeavor that such measures be

taken in these matters that suitable provision be made against such troubles, and manage affairs considerately and prudently; for we confide in you to avoid the difficulties which you describe, and others which may occur.

The bishoprics of Cibu and that of Nueva Cáceres are already provided for, as you will be informed.⁵⁰

In the lading of the ships for that trade it is understood that there has been great evasion of the law, as you likewise say in your letter; and because this, as is known, causes much trouble, I order you to take great care to observe inviolably, in regard to this matter, what is ordained by the decree which treats thereof – causing it to be fulfilled and executed, without infraction in any case, whatever it may be, as this is expedient for the general good.

What you have done in regard to the matter of the three per cent from the Chinese is well, and accordingly its collection will be continued; and likewise all the current dues from the two per cent which was recently imposed upon the merchandise of the natives which goes to Nueva España will be collected from those who shall owe it. In future, you will comply with the orders given you in regard to this, endeavoring to have both imposts collected with as much gentleness as possible.

What you say concerning the proposition by the

⁵⁰ The see of Cebú was made vacant by the death of Bishop Agurto (September 14, 1608), and that of Nueva Cáceres (in 1607) by the death of its second bishop, Baltasar Corarrubias, O.S.A. The reference in our text is to the appointment of new bishops for these sees – for Cebú, Pedro Matías, O.S.F.; and for Nueva Cáceres, Pedro de Arce, O.S.A. But, as Matías did not understand the Visayan language, these appointments were finally exchanged; Matías was transferred to Nueva Cáceres, which he administered for two years and until his death, and Arce to Cebú.

agents of the Mindanaos regarding the settlement of peace with them has been examined, and is being considered; and you will be promptly advised of the decision which will be made.

In the post of alcaide and governor of the troops of the force in Terrenate a person has been appointed to serve, on account of the death of Juan de Esquibel, as you will have already been informed.

As it seems to me that the administration of the clove product and other property which I hold in Terrenate should be suitably placed, in charge of a person of intelligence and the necessary trustworthiness, and that these qualities are combined in Pedro de Baeza, I have appointed him as my factor there, subordinate to the instructions which you will give him, which will be in accordance with the confidence that we have in your prudence and zeal, as you have the matter near at hand, and can be informed so punctually of what is expedient therein. In the meantime, until the formal decision is made as to who shall take charge of the cloves for the future, you will observe what has been decreed in regard to this. You will advise me minutely of what it has brought into my royal treasury—not only through the trade with the Portuguese and other nations in Maluco, but what has been carried to those islands for the crown of Castilla; and what is the net result, to whom that merchandise has been given, and where it has been consumed, so that, having this information, I may decree and order whatever is fitting.

It is very well that care has been taken, as you say, and an order issued to the effect that Japanese should not reside in those islands; and you will con-

tinue this procedure with the attention which the matter demands.

As it proves difficult for the natives to conduct warfare after the manner of the Spaniards, you will issue decrees dispensing with it; and will provide for safety as you suggest in your letter.

The decree in regard to the time when the ships on that trade-route shall depart for Nueva España you will cause to be carefully executed, as you know the importance of this for the safety of the voyage.

On occasions when any prebends of the metropolitan church of that city shall be vacant, you shall propose, as is expected, conjointly with the archbishop thereof, three persons for each of them, according to the orders.

You shall see that the cargo which will be carried on the ships in that traffic be always placed in the first hold; and, between decks, the ship's stores, sailors' chests, and rigging, as you say. You will do this in accordance with the order that has been given. You will likewise take care, as you suggest, and as I charge you to do, to provide that the common seamen take the provisions necessary for the voyage, that they may not suffer want.

As you know how important it is that the said ships should not go overloaded, you will fulfil, with the care which may be expected from you, what has been ordered in regard to this. For if at any time it should happen that they threw overboard any cloth from these ships, you will take such measures as may be best for all, making provision that the damage shall be shared among all in equal parts, so that those who are interested can demand satisfaction and no one remain injured.

The results of the accounts⁵¹ of these islands, and errors in them, you will examine as I have ordered you, and place them in my royal treasury if you have not already done so, concerning all items which are not justified by vouchers, advising me by the first opportunity of what you may do.

In conformity with what you say, my viceroy of Nueva España has already been ordered not to allow any married man to pass to your islands; and if any of them shall go thither it must be with the permission of their wives for a limited time, and with guarantees given that they shall come back within the appointed time; I have thought best to advise you thereof, so that you may be informed of it, and on your part execute the same rule in so far as it concerns you.

The duties have been examined, in order that my royal treasury in those islands should have a surplus, thus saving what is carried from Nueva España for

⁵¹ "Because of the difficulty that has been represented to us in going or sending from very distant provinces, separated by the sea, to give their accounts, we have determined and resolved that the accounts of Chile and Filipinas shall be examined as hitherto, in accordance with the ordinances of the Audiencias – notwithstanding what is ordained by others – given to the accountants. The accountants shall have to be brought and given in the tribunal of accounts. We order that those thus examined in Chile be sent to the tribunal of accounts in Lima, and those of the Filipinas to that of Méjico. Our royal officials of those treasuries shall also send at the beginning of each year the lists and muster-rolls of the soldiers to the said tribunals, signed also by the governor and captain-general. The accountants of the above-mentioned tribunals shall send a report of the said accounts, with its lists, to our council of the Indias." Felipe III, San Lorenzo, August 17, 1609, ordinance 24. (*Recopilación de leyes*, lib. viii, tit. i, ley lxxix). A decree dated San Lorenzo, October 19, 1719, ordered this law to be observed, and ordered also inspection of the treasuries every week. See note in *Recopilación de leyes* to the above ordinance.

the expenses there. This is now being considered, and in a short time you will be advised of the decision made. [Guadarrama, November 12, 1611.]

I THE KING

By order of the king, our lord:

JUAN RUIZ DE CONTRERAS

To Don Juan de Silva, governor of the Philipinas, informing him of the decree that your Majesty has commanded to be given to the deputy from Olanda, directing him to set at liberty Pablo Brancardin and other Dutchmen, as they have not given any provocation for their second capture.

The King: To Don Juan de Silva, knight of the Order of Santiago, my governor and captain-general of the Filipinas Islands, and president of my royal Audiencia there. At the instance of Teodoro Rodemburg, who is present at my court on certain business concerning the islands of Olanda and Celandia, I despatched an order to you, by a decree of the same date as this (which has been delivered to that envoy), commanding that the admiral, Paulo Brancardin, and the seventy-four Dutch who, according to your letter, have been captured with him in an oared vessel, by Captain Pedro de Heredia, while voyaging from Terrenate to the island of Morata, should be set free, if it has not already been done, in conformity with clause thirty-four of the truce with Flandes. But if, after being freed from this captivity, he or any of the others should give any occasion for capturing them again, then (since in this case the fault would be theirs) you will advise me without setting them free. This I have thought best to inform you of, so that with this understanding, if

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they are again taken with cause – which they have given, as has been said, and as has been learned by a letter from Sargento-mayor Christoval de Asqueta, and by what you wrote to the viceroy, Marques de Salinas, in a letter of the fourth of September, 610, a copy of which he sent to me – and should they wish to negotiate their freedom by means of a ransom, or any other means, before or after the use of said decree, you will not admit of it, nor give them freedom in any manner, either to the said admiral or to the others; but you shall hold them prisoners with the greatest care, until you receive further orders from me. Madrid, on the twentieth of November of the year one thousand six hundred and eleven.

I THE KING

By command of the king our lord:

JUAN RUIZ DE CONTRERAS

Signed by the members of the Council.

To Don Juan de Silva, governor of the Philipinas, ordering him to build and collect immediately a squadron of ships, to cruise in that sea, about the point of Manila, to make sure thereby that the Dutch do not rob the ships and other vessels which go to those islands from Nueva España, China, and other regions.

The King: To Don Juan de Silva, knight of the Order of Santiago, my governor and captain-general of the Philipinas Islands, and president of my royal Audiencia there. By letters from you and other persons zealous in my service, I have learned that the king of Japon has admitted the Dutch to commerce with his realms, for their having offered to carry him a great quantity of silk, which is the chief com-



modity in which they deal there; and because those rebels had robbed the Chinese, from whose ports they procure the silks, they dare not go to that kingdom for them. Accordingly, to keep the terms of their offer, and not lose that trade, it will be necessary for them to await the vessels of the Chinese near that city of Manila, which are going there with silk, in order to rob them of it. And not only will they do this damage, but they may also do the same with the ships which go to Nueva España, and other vessels from Malaca and Macan. It has been represented to me that, both in order to avoid this danger to my ships and my vassals, and likewise for the importance of keeping the said Dutch from fulfilling their offer to that king – for if they do not do it he will drive them out of his lands, where it is important [for us] that they should not secure a foothold – it would be well to have a squadron cruise close to the port of that city [of Manila]; and to secure this result, it will not be necessary to have large ships. I have thought it best to approve this; and, considering that when you receive this you will already have made the expeditions of which you wrote me in the letter of the fifth of September of six hundred and ten, if you have good success in them, with the help of our Lord, I command you that, with the ships that may remain to you of the fleet which you were engaged in collecting, you will keep those necessary for a squadron sufficient to cruise in that sea, and with it will attend to the matters above mentioned. And if there are not enough ships by using these, you will make and build, with all possible despatch, what may appear to you expedient for this purpose; and will inform me, at the first opportunity, of the

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number and kind of ships, and how they are supplied and equipped, with both men and artillery, and with all else necessary; until I may give a different order; as such is my will. These presents will be registered by my auditors of accounts who are in my Council of the Yndias. Dated at Madrid, the nineteenth of December of the year 1611.

I THE KING

By command of the king our lord:

JUAN RUIZ DE CONTRERAS

Signed by the Council of War for the Yndias.

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LETTERS TO THE DOMINICAN PROVINCIAL

To the provincial of the Order of St. Dominic for the Philipinas, directing him to apply to certain actions of the religious thereof, the correction which he ought and is bound to apply, maintaining friendly relations with the governor.

The King: To the venerable and devout father provincial of the Order of St. Dominic for the Philipinas Islands. By a letter from Don Juan de Silva, my governor and captain-general there, of the fifth of September, 610, I have learned that several religious of your order, from various motives, usually oppose the things that are ordered for the sake of good government. At times this has gone so far that incidents such as to cause anxiety have occurred. Such was the case in Nueva Segovia, regarding the Indian whom the alcalde-mayor held prisoner, on appeal condemned to death by the Audiencia, who had ordered the sentence to be executed there. When the day before the execution arrived two friars went to the prison, saying that they were going to confess him. They succeeded in being left alone with the prisoner in a room with a window opening on the street; and, having provided some one to take him to their convent, they thrust him out of the window,

without the knowledge of the persons about the building, which resulted in a very scandalous affair. The alcalde-mayor, on learning of it, went to the convent to get possession of the prisoner; and found that for his greater security they had placed him upon the altar – which, as may be seen, was an improper action. When he attempted to take away the prisoner, the friars treated the alcalde-mayor very scurvily; and when he had removed the Indian they proceeded against him with censures and interdicts, in such wise that he had to return to the church, unpunished, the man whom they themselves had delivered up, when he was seized – demanding his death, and saying that it was best to execute him there as an example for all. Although it is understood that you made the proper remonstrances in this case, yet, as I wish to know what they were, I charge you to advise me of it; and from this time forth to continue, with the care which I am sure you will exercise, to apply in all cases due remedy, as you are bound to do. I also charge you to maintain very friendly relations with the said Don Juan de Silva, my governor, to whom I am writing to maintain the same relations with you, on account of the importance of this for the service of God and my own. Madrid, on the twenty-first of December of the year one thousand six hundred and eleven.

I THE KING

By order of the king our lord:

JUAN RUIZ DE CONTRERAS

Signed by the Council.

To the provincial of the Order of St. Dominic of the Philipinas, directing him to see to it that the religious of the order do not cross over to Japon without permission from the governor, as is ordered.

The King: To the venerable and devout father provincial of the Order of St. Dominic in the Philipinas Islands. By a letter from Don Juan de Silva, my governor and captain-general there, of the fifth of September, 610, I have learned that several religious have passed over to Japon without his permission, claiming that that of their own superiors was sufficient. As it is expedient for my service that the decrees regarding this should be executed by my said governor, as he is again ordered to do, by another decree bearing this date, I charge you that, with the diligence which I trust you will use, you will take such action that the religious of your order shall not contravene this decree; and that you will, so far as possible, secure the observance of the orders which I have issued, as that is so important for the service of God and my own, and for the good government of the islands. Madrid, on the thirty-first of December of the year 1611.

I THE KING

By command of the king our lord:

JUAN RUIZ DE CONTRERAS

Signed by the members of the Council.

[*Endorsed*: “*Idem*, to the provincial of the Order of St. Augustine for Philipinas.” “*Idem*, to the provincial of the Society of Jesus there.” “*Idem*, to the provincial of St. Francis for Philipinas.”]

DOCUMENTS OF 1612-13

Status of missions in the Philippines. Gregorio Lopez, S.J., and others; [ca. 1612].

Trade of the Philippines. Juan, marques de Montesclaros; April 12, 1612.

Letter from the bishop of Nueva Segovia. [Domingo de Soria, O.P.]; August 15, 1613.

Letter to Silva. Felipe III; December 2, 1613.

SOURCES: All these documents save one are obtained from original MSS. in the Archivo general de Indias, Sevilla. The second is taken from *Doc. ined. Amér. y Oceanía*, vi, pp. 298-314.

TRANSLATIONS: The first and second are translated by James A. Robertson; the remainder, by Robert W. Haight.

STATUS OF MISSIONS IN THE PHILIPPINES

ORDER OF ST. AUGUSTINE

List of the convents and ministrations of the Order of our father St. Augustine in these Philipinas Islands, and the religious and ministers necessary for them.

Spanish towns

In the convent of the city of Manila, twenty priests and ten brethren.

In the convent of the city of Santisimo Nombre de Jesus, five priests and two brethren.

In the convent of our Lady of Guadalupe, three priests and one brother.

Province of Tagalos

Tributes Indians Ministers

In the convent of Batangas and its visitas there are two ministers, who minister to eight hundred tributes, or two thousand four hundred [souls] in confession.

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Tributes Indians Ministers

In the convent of Taal and its visitas there are three ministers, who minister to one thousand five hundred tributes, or four thousand five hundred in confession. . . . 1,500 4,500 3

In the convent of Tana-
navan and its visitas there are two ministers, who minister to eight hundred tributes, or two thousand four hundred in confession. . . . 800 2,400 2

In the convent of Sant Sebastian and its visitas there are two ministers, who minister to one thousand tributes, or three thousand in confession. . 1,000 3,000 2

In the convent of Bay and its visitas there are two ministers, who minister to one thousand tributes, or three thousand in confession. . . . 1,000 3,000 2

In the convent of San Pablo and its visitas there are three ministers, who minister to two thousand tributes, or six thousand in confession. . . . 2,000 6,000 3

In the convent of Tagui

Tributes Indians Ministers

and its visitas there are two ministers, who minister to five hundred tributes, or one thousand five hundred in confession. . . . 500 1,500 2

In the convent of Pasig and its visitas there are three ministers, who minister to one thousand five hundred tributes, or four thousand five hundred in confession. . . . 1,500 4,500 3

In the convent of Palañac and its visitas there are two ministers, who minister to eight hundred tributes, or two thousand four hundred in confession. . . . 800 2,400 2

In the convent of Tongdo and its visitas there are three ministers, who minister to one thousand two hundred tributes, or three thousand six hundred in confession. . . . 1,200 3,600 3

In the convent of Caruyan and its visitas there are two ministers, who minister to eight hundred tributes, or two thousand four hundred in confession. . . . 800 2,400 2

Tributes Indians Ministers

In the convent of Bulacan and its visitas there are two ministers, who minister to eight hundred tributes, or two thousand four hundred in confession 800 2,400 2

In the convent of Malolos and its visitas there are two ministers, who minister to seven hundred tributes, or two thousand one hundred in confession 700 2,100 2

In the convent of Quingua and its visitas there are two ministers, who minister to six hundred tributes, or one thousand eight hundred in confession. 600 1,800 2

In the convent of Calompit and its visitas there are two ministers, who minister to one thousand two hundred tributes, or three thousand six hundred in confession. 1,200 3,600 2

In the convent of Agonoy and its visitas there are three ministers, who minister to one thousand two hundred tributes, or three thousand six hundred in confession. 1,200 3,600 3

*Province of Panpanga**Tributes Indians Ministers*

In the convent of Apalit and its visitas there are two ministers, who minister to six hundred tributes, or one thousand eight hundred in confession. . . . 600 1,800 2

In the convent of Macabibi there are three ministers, who minister to two thousand tributes, or six thousand in confession. . . . 2,000 6,000 3

In the convent of Lubao and its visitas there are three ministers, who minister to one thousand tributes, or three thousand in confession. . . . 1,000 3,000 3

In the convent of Guava and its visitas there are three ministers, who minister to one thousand two hundred tributes, or three thousand six hundred in confession. . . . 1,200 3,600 3

In the convent of Bacolor and its visitas there are four ministers, who minister to one thousand three hundred tributes, or four thousand in confession. . . . 1,300 4,000 4

Tributes Indians Ministers

In the convent of Mexico and its visitas there are two ministers, who minister to five hundred tributes, or one thousand five hundred in confession 500 1,500 2

In the convent of Betis and its visitas there are two ministers, who minister to five hundred tributes, or one thousand five hundred in confession. 500 1,500 2

In the convent of Poray and its visitas there are two ministers, who minister to six hundred tributes, or one thousand six hundred in confession. 600 1,600 2

In the convent of Ayumbon and its visitas there are two ministers, who minister to six hundred tributes, or one thousand six hundred in confession. 600 1,600 2

In the convent of Candava and its visitas there are three ministers, who minister to one thousand two hundred tributes, or three thousand six hundred in confession. 1,200 3,600 3

*Province of Ylocos**Tributes Indians Ministers*

In the province of Alingayen and its visitas there are two ministers, who minister to eight hundred tributes, or one thousand four hundred in confession. . . .

800	1,400	2
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In the convent of Agoo and its visitas there are two ministers, who minister to one thousand five hundred tributes, or four thousand five hundred in confession. . . .

1,500	4,500	2
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In the convent of Bavan and its visitas there are three ministers, who minister to one thousand two hundred tributes, or three thousand six hundred in confession. . . .

1,200	3,600	3
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In the convent of Purao and its visitas there are two ministers, who minister to one thousand tributes, or three thousand in confession. . . .

1,000	3,000	2
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In the convent of Tagurin and its visitas there are two ministers, who minister to one thousand

Tributes Indians Ministers

tributes, or three thousand
in confession. 1,000 3,000 2

In the convent of Santa
Cruz and its visitas there
are two ministers, who
minister to nine hundred
tributes, or two thousand
seven hundred in con-
fession. 900 2,700 2

In the convent of Can-
don and its visitas there
are two ministers, who
minister to eight hundred
tributes, or two thousand
four hundred in confes-
sion. 800 2,400 2

In the convent of Ban-
tay and its visitas there
are three ministers, who
minister to one thousand
tributes, or three thousand
in confession. 1,000 3,000 3

In the convent of Sinay
and its visitas there are
two ministers, who minis-
ter to one thousand two
hundred tributes, or three
thousand six hundred in
confession. 1,200 3,600 2

In the convent of Batac
and its visitas there are
three ministers, who min-
ister to one thousand five

Tributes Indians Ministers

hundred tributes, or four thousand five hundred in confession. 1,500 4,500 3

In the convent of Dinglas and its visitas there are three ministers, who minister to one thousand five hundred tributes, or four thousand five hundred in confession. 1,500 4,500 3

In the convent of Ylavan and its visitas there are three ministers, who minister to one thousand four hundred tributes, or four thousand two hundred in confession. 1,400 4,200 3

In the convent of Bacarra and its visitas there are two ministers, who minister to eight hundred tributes, or two thousand four hundred in confession. 800 2,400 2

Province of Pintados

In the convent of Hibahay and its visitas there are three ministers, who minister to two thousand tributes, or six thousand in confession. 2,000 6,000 3

In the convent of Aclan

Tributes Indians Ministers

and its visitas there are two ministers, who minister to one thousand two hundred tributes, or three thousand six hundred in confession. . . . 1,200 3,600 2

In the convent of Batan and its visitas there are two ministers, who minister to eight hundred tributes, or two thousand four hundred in confession. . . . 800 2,400 2

In the convent of Panay and its visitas there are three ministers, who minister to one thousand two hundred tributes, or three thousand six hundred in confession. . . . 1,200 3,600 3

In the convent of Marlousao and its visitas there are three ministers, who minister to one thousand five hundred tributes, or four thousand five hundred in confession. . . . 1,500 4,500 3

In the convent of Pasig and its visitas there are three ministers, who minister to three thousand tributes, or nine thousand in confession. . . . 3,000 9,000 3

Tributes Indians Ministers

In the convent of Laglag and its visitas there are two ministers, who minister to one thousand tributes, or six thousand in confession. . . . 1,000 6,000 2

In the convent of Baong and its visitas there are two ministers, who minister to eight hundred tributes, or two thousand four hundred in confession. . . . 800 2,400 2

In the convent of Dumangas and its visitas there are two ministers, who minister to nine hundred tributes, or two thousand seven hundred in confession. . . . 900 2,700 2

In the convent of Salop and its visitas there are two ministers, who minister to one thousand five hundred tributes, or four thousand five hundred in confession. . . . 1,500 4,500 2

In the convent of Otong and its visitas there are three ministers, who minister to one thousand tributes, or three thousand in confession. . . . 1,000 3,000 3

Tributes Indians Ministers

In the convent of Antique and its visitas there are two ministers, who minister to six hundred tributes, or one thousand eight hundred in confession.

600 1,800 2

In the convent of San Nicolas de Cebu and its visitas there are two ministers who minister to one thousand tributes, or three thousand in confession.

1,000 3,000 2

In the convent of Sian and its visitas there are two ministers, who minister to eight hundred tributes, or two thousand four hundred in confession.

800 2,400 2

SOCIETY OF JESUS

In this province of the Society of Jesus of Filipinas, there are at present ninety-two religious – forty-five priests, seven theological and four philosophical students, twenty-eight lay-brethren of long standing, and eight novices (counting students and lay-brethren).

They are distributed among two colleges, and one seminary of secular students, six residences under direct charge of the provincial, and one mission.

Manila

There are forty-three religious in Manila – sixteen

priests, eleven students, eight lay-brethren, and eight novices – counting among the priests the father provincial and his associate, Father Valerio, who are now about to go on a visit, with one brother already counted; and Father Alonso de Humanes, who is now about to go to Roma with another brother of Manila; and counting also the three religious in the seminary of San Joseph. Consequently they attend not only to preaching to and confessing the Spanish in Manila, and the other duties usual in the professed houses; but also to the principal object, the studies of Latin, arts, and theology, and the training of novices. They have charge of the seminary for the secular students; and attend to the Indians of San Miguel and the others of the city, with frequent confessions and sermons.

Mission of Silan

One father and one brother – sometimes two fathers – generally reside in this mission [*doctrina*] in subordination to the college of Manila. The tributes of the village of Silan are about four hundred, and those of the village of Malabag, a visita, lying one-half legua away, about seventy tributes.

Octon

The mission [*mission*] of Octon has one father and one brother. The novitiate of San Pedro, which is being founded and instituted, has two brethren.

Residence of Antipolo

There are four fathers and three brethren in this residence. The villages of this residence where the fathers always officiate number three, and have three

churches: Antipolo, with two visitas, namely, Santa Cruz and Mahayay; Taytay, with one visita, namely, Caynta; and the village of Santiago de la Cruz, which has no visita, but attracts savage Indians from the forests. The souls in confession of this residence number about five thousand, already well instructed Christians, and they give much occupation to the fathers.

The churches and tributes in charge of the fathers of the Society of Jesus in the province of Pintados are as follows.

Zebu

The college of Zebu has in charge an Indian village situated one legua from the city, which has eighty tributes. It has three fathers and three brethren, who are busily occupied with the Spanish inhabitants and soldiers, the Indians of the city and of the neighborhood, and the boys' school. It needs many more laborers.

Residence of Dulac

Part of the island of Leyte and part of that of Ybabao – on that side where those two islands almost join – have four fathers and two brethren in charge. This [*i.e.*, the waterway between the islands] has been a great convenience for conducting the instruction. This residence comprises a circuit of about thirty leguas or so. In that space it has in charge the following villages, each village having one church.

Tributes

Village of Dulac, with three hundred and
seventy-one tributes. 371

Village of Barugo, with one hundred and seventy-two tributes.	172
Village of Buraguen, with five hundred and ninety-five tributes.	595
Village of Vincay, with four hundred and ten tributes.	410
Village of Bito, with two hundred and forty-one tributes.	241
Village of Abuyog, with two hundred and seventy-six tributes.	276
Village of Palo, with two hundred and seventy tributes.	270
Village of Malaguicay, with three hundred and thirty-six tributes.	336
Village of Dagami, with three hundred and eighty-two tributes.	382
Village of Basay, with four hundred and thirty tributes.	430
Village of Hubung, with two hundred and forty tributes.	240
Village of Guiguan, with one hundred and eighty tributes.	180
Village of Pamboan, with two hundred tributes.	200

Consequently they have in charge in this residence four thousand one hundred and three tributes. 4,103
and
13 churches.

Residence of Carigara

This residence is likewise situated in the island of Leyte, and includes the adjacent islands of Poro and

Panan. Although the principal part of it (namely, five villages) is included in a narrow circuit, the remaining part, because of the paucity of inhabitants, and their destruction by the Mindanaos, extends for sixty leguas – and more rather than less. Throughout its extent it has the following villages, each village having its church.

Tributes

Village of Carigara, with about three hundred and sixty tributes.	360
Village of Barugo, with one hundred and eighty tributes.	180
Village of Alangalan, with four hundred tributes.	400
Village of Xaro, with three hundred and fifty tributes.	350
Village of Leyte, with two hundred and twenty tributes.	220
Village of Ogmuc, with one hundred and sixty tributes.	160
Village of the island of Camotes, called Poro, with one hundred and fifty tributes. .	150
Village of Baybay, with one hundred and eighty tributes.	180
Village of Canamucan, with one hundred and twenty tributes.	120
Village of Ymasava, with forty tributes.	40
Village of Cabalian, with one hundred and fifty tributes.	150
Village of Panaon, with fifty tributes.	50
Village of Nonangan, with sixty tributes.	60

 2,420

tributes and 13 churches.

Consequently, the said residence has in charge thirteen churches in which are instructed two thousand four hundred and twenty tributes; these are administered by four priests, aided by two brethren.

Residence of Tinagon

This residence is located in the island of Ybabao and includes the islets of Cavayan and Capul. Twelve villages with their churches are instructed in it. They are as follows, lying within a distance of twenty leguas.

Tributes

Village of Tinagon, with three hundred and thirty tributes.	330
Village of Bangaun, with one hundred and eighty-seven tributes.	187
Village of Paranas, with two hundred and twenty tributes.	220
Village of Malulubug, with three hundred tributes.	300
Village of Caluigan, with one hundred and eighty-five tributes.	185
Village of Libunao, with three hundred and ten tributes.	310
Village of Cotay, with ninety-four tributes.	94
Village of Cavayan, with two hundred and ninety tributes.	290
Village of Ybatan, with three hundred and thirty tributes.	330
Village of Boloneto, with one hundred and forty tributes.	140
Two villages in the island of Capul, called Sucar and Savan, where there are four hun-	

dred and thirty-seven tributes. 437

2,823

tributes and 12 churches.

Consequently this residence embraces twelve churches, in which two thousand eight hundred and twenty-three tributes are instructed by four priests of our Society, aided by two brethren.

Residence of Cabo de Spiritu Santo, or Palapac

This residence extends for forty leguas—more rather than less—within the island of Ybabao, and includes the two adjacent islets of Lavan and Biri. The following villages are instructed in it, and each village has its own church.

	<i>Tributes</i>
Village of Biri, with sixty tributes.	60
Village of Calatman, with three hundred and thirty tributes.	330
Village of Pamboan, with three hundred and forty tributes.	340
Village of Laguan, with one hundred and eighty tributes.	180
Village of Catabig, with four hundred and ten tributes.	410
Village of Palapac, with four hundred tributes.	400
Village of Gamay, with two hundred tributes.	200
Village of Bacor, with one hundred and fifty tributes.	150
Village of Bolor, with one hundred and thirty tributes.	130
Village of Unasan, with two hundred tributes.	200

Village of Tubig, with one hundred and twenty tributes.	120
Village of Boronga, with two hundred tributes.	200
Village of Libas, with two hundred and thirty tributes.	230
	2,950

tributes and 13 churches.

Consequently this residence embraces thirteen churches, in which two thousand nine hundred and fifty tributes are instructed by four priests of our Society, aided by two brethren.

Residence of Bohol

Only this island of Bohol, which is forty leguas in circumference, and the islet of Bacacay belong to the king, our sovereign, in all the territory in charge of the Society. The Society has likewise charge of the islet of Panglao and that of Siquior, or Isla de Fuegos ["Island of Fires"]. This residence includes the following villages and their churches.

Tributes

Village of Loboc, with six hundred tributes, where there is also a seminary for Indians.	600
Village of Tubor, with one hundred and fifty tributes.	150
Village of Baclayon, with three hundred tributes.	300
Village of Dita, with three hundred tributes.	300
Village of Tubigan, with fifty tributes.	50
Village of Hinabangan, with two hun-	

dred tributes.	200
Village of Bacacay, with thirty tributes.	30
Village of Talibon, with two hundred tributes.	200
Village of Bauliron, with one hundred tributes.	100
Village of Yngaon, with one hundred and twenty tributes.	120
Village of Panglao, with sixty tributes. .	60
Village of Siquior, with eighty tributes.	80

2,200

tributes and 12 churches.

Consequently this residence instructs two thousand two hundred tributes, of which two thousand and fifty belong to the king, our sovereign. Four fathers and two brethren minister to all of them.

As your Lordship ordered, the Society of Jesus presents this paper, in which are recorded faithfully its ministers, the villages where they are stationed, the churches, tributes, and extent of its field. From it two things are apparent: the first, how necessary is a greater union and settlement of the Indians, in such form as your Highness may judge best; the second, that the need of help by a great number of new ministers is extreme. For where there are four priests, ten are regularly needed, because the indicated number of tributes corresponds to a very much greater number of souls, either now confessing or being catechised for baptism – as is apparent from the report of a residence that accompanies this present.

Therefore I entreat your Highness to petition his Majesty the king, our sovereign, to send a consider-

able number of fathers of the Society of Jesus from Europe – at least about fifty, considering that it is many years since any have been asked for, and on this occasion a procurator is going for that purpose. It will, moreover, be important for his Majesty to issue there very urgent orders, so that the superiors in Europe may not be illiberal and refuse to furnish ministers. If he considers the pacification of Mindanao, and, besides that, if we should have to provide Maluco with ministers from here with the new government which is coming, it is necessary to provide beforehand for an increase in the number of workers. I hope for all the above from the great foresight of your Highness, with grace and justice.

GREGORIO LOPEZ

ORDER OF ST. FRANCIS

Very potent Sire:

Since I am ordered, in your Majesty's name, to give a minute of the convents in this province of San Gregorio, of the discalced friars and religious in it, and the number of souls to whom they administer the holy sacraments and instruction, by virtue of that command I declare that this province has forty-eight convents with their visitas, where religious live; and four convents where they they do not minister to Indians – namely, Sant Francisco of Manila, Sant Francisco del Monte, Sant Francisco of Caceres and Sant Diego of Cavite. Further it has six [*sic*] hospitals: the royal hospital of Manila; that for the natives; that of La Misericordia; that at Los Baños ["the baths"]; and that at Cavite. There are one hundred and one priests, counting well, sick, and old. There are thirty-eight lay-

brethren, who serve and act as nurses at the hospitals, infirmaries, and convents generally. We have in charge as many as eighty thousand souls or so. In Maluco there is one convent where the native Indian Christians are instructed, both those living there and those who go thither from these regions. There is also a hospital where the soldiers are cured. From the aforesaid convents twelve religious have been taken since last year (when some came here), and religious of our order are requested in many other places.

In [the districts of] some of these convents there are few Indians, because they refuse to join the chief settlements; nor can those people be well instructed, as they are very remote, unless they have religious. Moreover, there are fifteen priests in Japon and six lay-brethren, busied in the conversion and in hospital work.

FRAY MARCOS DE LISBOA,⁵² vice-provincial.

ORDER OF ST. DOMINIC

List of the houses and missions of the Order of St. Dominic in these Philipinas Islands.

It has one convent in the city of Manila, with sixteen friars – six priests and six lay brethren.

It has a mission [*doctrina*] in the town of Binondoc and Baybay with two ministers for six hundred Sangleys, or a trifle less. For the hospital of San

⁵² Marcos de Lisboa was born of a noble family in Lisboa, Portugal. At an early age he was sent to India to engage in its commerce. Establishing himself at Malacca, he took the vows in 1582, in the Franciscan convent established there in the preceding year by Juan Bautista Pisaro. In 1586 he went to the Philippines, where he projected and later helped to found (1594) the Confraternity of La Misericordia at Manila. He later spent a number of years in the province of Camarines, where he labored

Gabriel it has two religious – one a priest and the other a lay-brother – and there the Sangley infidels are nursed and instructed.

It has a mission in the district of Batan with four priests for one thousand six hundred Indians.

It has four missions in the province of Pangasinan. The first is called Bina Lato-gan and has four religious, three of whom are lay-brethren, and one who is not, for one thousand three hundred Indians.

The second is in Calasiao and has two ministers for one thousand and thirty Indians. The third is Magaldan and has two ministers for nine hundred Indians. The fourth is Mauazuag and has two religious, one a lay-brother and one who is not, for four hundred Indians, or a trifle less, and the new conversion in the tingues.

It has eleven missions in the province of Cagayan. The first is called Pata and has two ministers for eight hundred Indians. The second is called Tular and has two ministers for one thousand one hundred Indians or a trifle more. The third is called Potal and has two ministers for three hundred Indians and the new conversion laid open on the creek of Mandayas. The fourth is called Camaluyuga and has three ministers for six hundred Indians, or a few more or less. The fifth is that of Nueva Segovia

extensively. He was elected three times as definitor (1602, 1608, and 1616), and once (January 16, 1609), as vicar-provincial. In 1618 he went to Mexico, whence (July 16, 1622), he went to Madrid, and then to Rome to take part in the general chapter of his order. At the conclusion of the chapter he retired to the convent of San Gil at Madrid, where he died in the beginning of 1628. Lisboa left a number of written works, among them four in the Bicol language, which he was the first to write. See Huerta's *Estado*, pp. 447, 448.

where the Spanish live. There is a convent there that has charge of the mission of Bagunbaya, which has two ministers for one hundred Indians, or a few more or less. It is to be noted that this house receives no alms, either from his Majesty or from encomenderos, or from Indians, and consequently it is in great need. The sixth is called Tocolana and has three ministers for one thousand Indians. The seventh is called Asiping and has two ministers for seven hundred Indians or a trifle more. The eighth is called Pia and is situated on the creek of Lobo. It has three ministers for two thousand Indians. The ninth is called Malaguey and has two ministers for one thousand Indians. The tenth is called Tuguigerao. For one thousand three hundred Indians it has three ministers. The eleventh is called Pititan and has four ministers for one thousand six hundred Indians and for the new conversion among the tingués of Zinbuey.

FRAY BALTASAR FORT, prior provincial.

Item: We have three houses in Japon. One is in Nangasaqui, and has three priests and one lay-brother; another in Sanga, which is situated in the kingdom of Figen, with three religious – two priests and one lay-brother, the third in Meaco, the residence of the Dayfo, with two priests.

[*Endorsed:* “List given by the convent of St. Dominic in accordance with his Majesty’s order.”]

TRADE OF THE PHILIPPINES

Official letter from the Marques de Montesclaros,⁵³ viceroy of Peru, directed to his Majesty, in regard to changing to España the trade between Mexico and Filipinas.

In behalf of the consulate⁵⁴ and corporation of the merchants of Sevilla, your Majesty was entreated to have the trade between Nueva España and Philipinas suppressed, and to order that it should be carried on only from those kingdoms [*i.e.*, España and Portugal] with the said islands. Your Majesty upon hearing those merchants, was pleased to order me to make investigation and give my opinion in the matter. For that purpose you despatched your decree of September 1, 610, and I received it by these last mails.

⁵³ The Marquis de Montesclaros (third marques of the title, see VOL. XIII, p. 228) was born posthumously probably at Sevilla; and was a knight of the Order of Santiago, and gentleman of the bedchamber. Throughout his offices as viceroy of Nueva España and of Peru, he showed ability and determination, and his policy was approved. See Moreri's *Dictionnaire*, vi, p. 268; and Bancroft's *History of Mexico*, iii, pp. 5, 6.

⁵⁴ The consulate (see VOL. XII, p. 57) of Sevilla was formed in accordance with a law dated August 23, 1543; it authorized the exporting merchants of that city to meet annually for the election of prior and consuls to administer, regulate, and guard the commercial interests of those merchants. See the laws enacted regarding this institution, in *Recopilación de leyes*, lib. ix, tit. vi.

The arguments which, it seems, were presented to your Majesty by the said letter and an enclosed memorial, for this purpose, are reduced to the exaggeration of the general and individual inconveniences and losses with which the voyage is attended at present in the route that is followed; and that those inconveniences and losses would all cease, and great and recognized blessings to the universal benefit of your Majesty's kingdoms would result, if measures of the sort that those merchants desire were to be taken. Although one might satisfy the originator of the idea with less, we shall enlarge the reply to greater length – bearing in mind that the dimensions of this scheme are not measured by his yard-rule; nor can the advantages resulting from it compare with the hundred per cent of their profits. We especially consider that we are talking with your Majesty through councilors and ministers of such high standing, among whom any state argument, however great, has its due consideration and place.

It is recognized, Sire, that the chief means of keeping these kingdoms tranquil is to make them dependencies of España, in what pertains not only to distributive and commutative justice, but also to whatever else is necessary for the preservation of life, in the spiritual as well as the temporal. But dependence of this sort, when viewed entirely and only from the sovereigns' standpoint, is regulated by what is necessary and requisite that the vassals of regions so distant may live in the subjection, and render the obedience and loyalty that are due from them. Although this argument, since it is the most substantial, when it encounters the others most justly takes precedence of any other and private advantage of the

vassals themselves and the kingdom, it would [not] be excusable to molest and vex the subjects with what is not actually necessary, if the above purpose could be attained at less cost and vexation to them. Accordingly, in the matter of restricting the mutual trade of certain kingdoms, and directing that trade to España alone, one must proceed with very great caution, and with measures adapted only to what the attainment of the chief end demands, in order that we may avoid as far as possible the harm that might result; since, if this body saw itself so disunited that it could not even avail itself of its own members, it might become desperate, and the whole might fall into decay, as is usual with those in despair.

They are persuading your Majesty that the trade of these kingdoms with España is decreasing. I, Sire, feel differently, and am persuaded that never were the profits resulting from it greater; nor am I less certain that such result must necessarily follow, in this manner.

It was known in the beginning that neither wine nor olive oil was produced in Nueva España, but these were brought from Castilla. Inspired by the example of the profits made by some persons, all—especially the inhabitants of Andalucía—began to plant vineyards and olive-orchards. He who had esteemed any kind of trade a degradation twenty years before, now, with the incentive of sending away his crops, shipped greater cargoes than would a whole fair of merchants. Consequently, the ocean trade increased, in a short time, from at most fifty or one hundred casks of wine and a few more jars of olive-oil—carried by one or two vessels, unauthorized and without register—to cargoes which fill

thirty or forty vessels, that sail annually in a trading fleet. The vessel in which this is received is earthen, and of limited capacity; and what was slowly filling it continued to increase. Now this vessel is full to the brim, but still they obstinately continue to pour in more. Is it not evident that what is more than enough to fill it must overflow, and be the same as lost?

Thus was the land conquered in Perú. True reports were published concerning its so great abundance of wealth – that it was considered easier and cheaper to arm men and shoe horses with silver than with iron; and that for one quire of paper ten pesos of gold were paid, for one cloth cloak one hundred pesos, and for one horse three or four thousand pesos. At this report, various kinds of merchandise were brought, and had a continual good outlet and sale; and they were taken in the necessary quantity. Years passed, and the treasure – which was too plentiful, because it was in possession of people who had no use for it – came into the hands of those who finally saw it disseminated through the world – and for this reason the share of each part is less. The account that should be taken of reason and common sense is forgotten, and men persuade themselves blindly that, since they get a thousand for five hundred, with one million they must make two. And as if they could expect the same profit from supplying necessity and from adding to abundance, they multiply their trading-fleets and double their investments. Is it not evident that if their shipments are in excess, their profits must fall short, and that the ratio between the two cannot be equal to what it was before? Let the records of the customs duties belonging to your Maj-

esty be examined, where those who profit and those who lose pay on account of what they produce; and they will tell how not only the commerce has not declined, but also that rather, through its having increased so greatly, the danger of losing the invested money results.

What their provinces can digest and assimilate, Sire, should be exported to the Indias, and a limit should be set to the hope of their increase, and endeavor should be made to preserve them in the extremely flourishing condition which they reached; and if efforts pass those limits, then, instead of causing the Indias to increase, it will be a greater blow, whereby they will slip back more quickly along the coast of decline.

Coming then to the particular matter, the question is one of suppressing the commerce now carried on with the Philipinas Islands by way of the South Sea. This may be advantageous to España in two ways: in making the kingdom of Méjico absolutely dependent on España's aid, without leaving it any other recourse; and in increasing the proportions of their present trade by adding to that kingdom [*i.e.*, España] that commerce from those islands by way of the Ocean Sea,⁵⁵ to which it is desired to direct the trade-route.

In the first place, it will be considered that Nueva-España passed many years without any communication with the Philipinas, and that the same will happen now if that commerce be taken away, although at the outset there may be some ill-feeling among

⁵⁵ The Atlantic Ocean; the new trade-route opened by the Portuguese a century before led to the Atlantic via the Cape of Good Hope.

them; and that the prevention of a thing so temporary, and in one province only, ought not to overbalance what is of so different an importance, as that España (the seat of your Majesty's monarchy) should have plenty of money. For all that México sends to Manila will go to España, and should have an outlet for its merchandise, since from that must be supplied what Nueva-España now receives from the islands.

In order that Nueva-España may preserve itself if this trade be suppressed, the years while it lived without that trade have no consequence; for it would be a mistake to compare a period when that kingdom was in so early an infancy⁵⁶ that the royal incomes therein scarcely amounted to thirty or forty thousand ducados, and when in the whole kingdom the amount of outside capital employed did not surpass two hundred thousand, with what El Cerro⁵⁷ now alone produces, where one reckons the product by millions and takes no account of the tens and hundreds. From all this one may infer that whoever sits down to a meal, however plentiful, when he sees it growing less would doubtless have sufficient strength to call out and plead his hunger; and much more when we baptise business with the name of diet.

But this has not much force, since it is not intended to suppress, but only to change the mode of this supply. In order to see whether it be feasible, one should consider, that, barring certain articles of

⁵⁶ Spanish, *tan en las mantillas*, i.e., the long outer garments in which an infant is dressed.

⁵⁷ Referring to the Cerro Gordo ("rich hill") of Potosi; see VOL. XIV, p. 306.

adornment and luxury, the chief exports from España to Méjico are wine, oil, and linen, and from the Philipinas woven and raw silk.

The former products, in whatever quantity needed, must always be bought from España. There is no other region that can supply them, nor does Méjico itself produce them; therefore its enforced dependence on España follows. However, in what pertains to linen, Méjico may supply itself in part by using the cloth that the Indians make from cotton. The rest (namely, silks supplied by Manila) may be obtained in great abundance, without begging it from anyone, by only encouraging the industry in any of Méjico's provinces. These are very suitable for it, especially the province of Misteca,⁵⁸ where it could be cultivated and woven admirably.

Admitting the above, my opinion is that, allowing that Nueva-España could be maintained, although with difficulty, without trade with the Philipinas, it must be by means that would prove harmful to those islands alone – which would lose this aid without any resultant good to España; since they would not ask for those products of España which they at present demand, or increase those which they are now exporting because of the increase of money [in Nueva España]. And we have already stated that Nueva-España is incapable of consuming more wine and oil than it now uses.

But if all this should cease, and España should have to supply the above-mentioned necessities because of shutting the door to the trade in the Philipinas, the bulk of silk stuffs would have to be brought

⁵⁸ Perhaps the region known as Miztecapan, which has fertile valleys.

from Francia and Flandes, to whom España always gives her treasures in exchange for this merchandise. For Constantinopla is so far from Italia, and so little do gold and silver suit that route – or else the French and the rebels⁵⁹ are so skilful in getting this product away from us, that one may doubt whether they do not take it all with them. According to this, he who is not suspicious enough to believe that the merchants of Sevilla alone consider as enemies prejudicial to your Majesty's crown those who do not trade much with them, should be astonished that they direct and regulate the reform so that the Chinese cannot avail themselves of the silver of Nueva España. For it is a fact that the Chinese do us no other harm than to keep the silver; and that the merchants do not consider that by that other road all tends to come into the hands of him who exerts himself with it in order to attempt and compass to acquire what remains.

Let us examine, then, what interest would accrue to España in the other point, the appropriation to itself of the trade with the Philipinas. The consulate says that España will be enriched with the exportation, to Manda⁶⁰ and Xapon, of its products and

⁵⁹ A truce of eight months, to begin with May, 1607, was arranged between Spain and the United Provinces, in which for the first time Spain gave up its claims to control the latter. This paved the way to the long truce of twelve years signed at the meeting of the States-General at Bergen-op-Zoom, in April, 1609, in which the independence of the United Provinces was recognized (see VOL. XI, p. 166, note 27). But that independence was completely recognized and assured only by the treaty of Westphalia or Münster (in October, 1648), which also opened to the Dutch the ports of the Eastern and Western Indias.

⁶⁰ Thus in the text, according to the editor of *Docs. inéditos*; apparently an error for Manila.

other merchandise that will go to those islands, where they also desire so ardently to have an abundance of what is brought from there [España?] and from China; and this will easily prevent the loss of the great quantities of silver that pass by this road from Nueva España.

To the first, sufficient answer is made with what experience, that great teacher in such matters, has taught us to the contrary – to me, at least, during the time while I governed in México. For, since your Majesty was pleased to order me in a decree, dated December 17, 604, to give my opinion as to whether export duties would better be levied on the merchandise sent to the Philipinas from the port of Acapulco – since all the other merchandise sent thence, to Guatemala and Perú, pays two and one-half per cent – and that in order to do this I should investigate the quality and nature of the said merchandise, I made special efforts to ascertain these facts. After examining the registers of several years, I found that, even if the duty should be collected from the Philipinas exports as from the others, it would not amount to two hundred pesos of eight reals each year; for all those goods were articles of luxury, and in very small quantity. I sent your Majesty an official report of this in my letter of February 17, 606. On August 19 of the same year, I received a reply, ordering me to make no change so long as the trade did not increase to such an extent that I thought it inadvisable; and in such case to advise your Majesty of it confidentially. Consequently, since there will be no greater exportation from Nueva España of like commodities from that kingdom [*i.e.*, España] – where there are no others,

and whence only these would be sent – the same thing would result.⁶¹ One errs in saying that those goods are desired in Manila and Xapon, since cloth stuffs (the only thing lacking to them) besides being a merchandise of so great value that he who would export them so far to the Philipinas would lose them – are not used, because of the heat; and in Xapon, where the cold might make them sought, they cost very little, for the natives clothe themselves with the taffetans of that country, and use cotton quilts. Consequently, I have also answered what was alleged concerning the increase of the duties that would accrue to your Majesty from the export duties in España and the import duties at Manila.

The other argument – namely, that España would be filled with products from China and Xapon – may be conceded to them; but it remains for them to show us the utility that would accrue to them, after the goods had been obtained. For I, on the contrary, regard them as a very great harm, since with those goods would cease the present industry [in España] of the raising of silk, its weaving and trade; and all this would be exchanged for what is so much poorer and of so little durability. It is a fact that even now we are experiencing that, and are discovering here the harm caused by even the small quantity of silk of this class [*i.e.*, the Chinese silk]; it comes mixed with that of España, in almost all the velvets and taffetans brought from España, for in but two days' time they become useless.

That by this means would be prevented the ex-

⁶¹ That is, if the Philippine trade to Nueva España were suppressed, the commodities from Spain which are now shipped to Manila via Acapulco, and are mainly articles of luxury, would not find any greater sale in the Orient than before.

portation of silver from Nueva-España, is an opinion that one might value and thank them for, if they were not trying to withdraw the silver from another and more important region, where the harm would be greater. But, supposing that what now goes from México will be sent later from Castilla and Andalucía, it seems that the only utility will be found in the less occasion [for buying Chinese goods] that each of those provinces would have, so that the export of silver would be in smaller quantity. That is to be regulated by the wealth of each province, and by their facilities for diverting it. All the silver that Nueva-España obtains now comes from its own provinces, or is brought from the provinces of Perú. The bulk of it is used in the trade with España, some in that with the Philipinas, and very little in the retail trade of its own cities and towns; for although Nueva-España has intercourse with Perú, it never uses more than the products of the country for that. What is sent to the islands goes by way of Acapulco, which is the only port in all the South Sea where this despatch is made or can be made. That España would have more silver if it retained within its bounds what it receives, seems to be undeniable, since therein is gathered the silver of México, Perú, and all the Indias. But the gates by which that silver issues [from España] – now it is known whether there are any – are, to speak correctly, as many as there are seaports and sterile districts, with the usual and accustomed communication between them.

Accepting this as true – on which is based assertions of those who say that less silver will be sent to Manila from a kingdom where conditions are such [*i.e.*, España] than México [now] gives – I, at least,

no matter how long may be the argument, do not comprehend so obscure a secret; on the contrary, I am persuaded that España will be no poorer thereby. For, if this mouth be stopped, España must be drained, by those that remain (as is done today), of all of this article that other kingdoms are offering it, as in a flood. But with equal certainty, I understand that incomparably more money will go to the Philipinas by this road than now goes by the other. And to assert that this loss will cease because, with the increase of trade with Xapon, the merchandise which must go to España will come from that country, is a statement without foundation. For if this argument were worth anything, it must have the same force, in preventing what is today carried from México; since trade with Xapon from Manila is open and permitted to all who wish it.

The consulate is trying also to strengthen its proposition with the improvements that it pretends to find in the voyage, if it were to be made by the cape of Buena-Esperanza. But, discussing that point by what I have been able to learn of it, I find that the emperor and king our sovereign, of glorious memory, your Majesty's grandfather, having been persuaded that the discovery and conquest of the Spice Islands – the name then given to those islands today included in the name of Philipinas or Malucas – pertained to the crown of Castilla, inasmuch as they were within the line drawn by his Holiness, Alexander VI, for the division of the world, ardently desired, and made extraordinary efforts, so that his vassals might make that voyage without touching at the ports and lands of the kingdom of Portugal. For that purpose he made an agreement with Fernando de Magallanes to

discover [such a route]. The latter discovered and gave name to the strait in this region at the south. Although by the result [of Magallanes's expedition] one could recognize the great difficulty and danger of the voyage, his Majesty would not desist from the undertaking. On the contrary, he immediately sent, in the year 25, two other fleets by that way, while, at the same time, he sent a ship under command of an intelligent man to find a new entrance by the coast of Labrador and the Bacallaos.⁶² Following up the attempt, he ordered Don Fernando Cortés, conqueror of Nueva-España, to attempt this expedition from Nueva-España. He would not have ceased like means until attaining it, had not he made that contract or agreement concerning those islands with the king of Portugal in the year 29.⁶³ That put an end to the enterprise until afterward, when Don Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy of Nueva-España, took up again the same search in the year 42, and continued to persevere in it, so that it was realized during the latter years of the governorship and life of Don Luis de Velasco, who succeeded the said Don Antonio in that office.

I would, Sire, narrate in minute detail to your Majesty these labors, and those of many others, who lost their lives and possessions at various times to see the accomplishment of so important a matter, if I were not afraid of making a history of this letter – in

⁶² In 1525 Esteban Gomez – who had been one of Magalhães's pilots (VOL. I, pp. 263, 319) was sent by Charles V "to find a route to Cathay" north of Florida. He had but one caravel with which to make this voyage, but he went to the Bacalaos (Newfoundland coast), and thence as far south as Florida. His discoveries were noted on the map of the cosmographer Diego Ribero (1529). Gomez's voyage is described by Peter Martyr.

⁶³ Referring to the treaty of Zaragoza (VOL. II, pp. 222-240).

order to entreat you that, since God our Lord ordained that a good desired by so many should be enjoyed with so great quietness in these most fortunate days of your Majesty, you will not permit the glory of this happiness to be disturbed and obscured; for the motives and efforts of so suspicious a people embarrass it. They, in order to gain their own private interests, try to cover them with this cloak of convenience and conservation of so superior authority. And although it appears that a great part of the former injuries are lacking today, since the kingdom of Portugal (although by right of a separate crown) is under the universal domain of your Majesty, still, the zeal and affection that your Majesty has always felt in greater proportion for the inhabitants of Castilla ought not on that account to cease; since there is also no cessation of the rancor and hostility with which the Portuguese, in all the Indias where they rule, withhold the friendly intercourse that they owed to the Castilians as the vassals of the same sovereign.

I am quite persuaded that there is little difference between these two routes as regards the weather and dangers of the sea. For, although the Nueva-España vessels consume not longer than sixty days, and sometimes less, the return voyage is of longer duration, and the whirlwinds and gales more continuous. And although I believe that voyages made by way of the cape of Buena Esperanza take more than the three months that the prior and consuls assert (especially since the vessels have to stop at one or two way-stations), yet, in regard to this, I estimate the two routes as equal. But in point of certain security, the advantage lies greatly with the voyages made by way

of the South Sea, as it is at all times so free from enemies. No further proof is necessary regarding this statement than the fact that not a single vessel going to and fro between Acapulco and Cavite and the port of Manila has been captured;⁶⁴ while very many vessels take that other route, which are so heavily armed that, in comparison with the first, one may consider them as more than fortresses. The warning that the Dutch make use of this route [*i.e.*, through the Strait of Magellan] cannot force me to believe the contrary; and by it without so many advantages as those enjoyed by your Majesty's ships they have made themselves almost complete masters of all the Spice Islands, for they had no other routes from which to select this one. I assert from the prudence with which the Dutch consider what is of advantage to them, that if they could enjoy so great convenience as Nueva-España possesses, they would not take the risk of running by the coast and ports of your Majesty as they do today by the open sea, where they might meet one who would resist their progress. An excellent proof of this truth is their so-oft repeated effort to find a passage through the strait of Anian.⁶⁵ For they consider it more conducive to the

⁶⁴ Montesclaros has forgotten the capture of the "Santa Ana" by Candish. See VOL. VI, p. 311, and VOL. XV, appendix A.

⁶⁵ The fictitious strait of Anian (for which name see Bancroft's *History of Northwest Coast*, i, pp. 53-56), was the supposed western terminus of the northwest passage, whose eastern terminus Cortereal was thought to have found in Hudson Strait. A kingdom marked Anian is shown on Ortelius's map (*Theatrum orbis terrarum*, Antwerp, 1574), with the strait just north of it, above 60°. Both the kingdom and district are shown on a number of old maps. Du Val's map (Paris, 1684) of North America, which shows California as an island, portrays the strait of Anian directly north of it, between 45° and 50° of latitude. Vaugondy's map (that of 1750 corrected), Paris, 1783, shows the strait between

peace of their voyage to experience rough and unknown seas, than to be liable to the sudden surprises to which those that are milder and more traversed are liable. The mastery that I know them to exercise in those districts, is to enter for pillage and barter, as they usually do, even in the very kingdoms of your Majesty which are nearest to the defense and power of your fleets. And if, in addition, the Dutch have any trading-posts, established and manned with soldiers, it is not necessary that España should trouble itself to dislodge them, but the governor of the Philippines, and the soldiers and ships of Malaca and of the viceroy of India, should attempt it; and it will be easy to drive them out at once. In truth, however, (that I may always discuss a similar case), our design must be more difficult to attain than theirs; for they content themselves with going where they are received, and of receiving what they are given, without caring much whether others enter that district, while your Majesty desires, as is right, to be absolute and sole ruler, and to shut the gate to all who do not enter under the name and title of vassals.

As to the difficulty and delay of sending aid to the islands, although it is understood that the enemy is attempting some entrance in the islands, I can easily comprehend that it would be easier to build a fleet in España, and that it would be despatched much more quickly than from these provinces. But I have always considered that, in this regard, Sire, he who has so extensive a monarchy as your Majesty, must 50° and 55°. Comparing the latter with Russel's general map of North America, 1794, the Anian strait appears to coincide with the strait between Queen Charlotte's Island and the mainland, the modern Hecate Strait. Vizcaino had orders to look for this strait on his voyage, and explore it.

see that each part of it have all the force necessary for its sole defense, without being dependent for so costly and remote reënforcement, as would necessarily be the case did your Majesty send it from the the ports of that kingdom. Consequently, I presume that, if the islands should find themselves in a like necessity, either they would have to resist an attack with their presidios and walls, or (to extend the hope farther) that they would not have need for more aid than what they could secure from Malaca with the galleons of that crown. The aid that is not so pressingly needed, and which, it seems, must necessarily come from España – such as infantry for the presidios – is sent there with some difficulty, because of the long distance overland from Veracruz to the port of Acapulco, in a land so open that the companies necessarily lose some men. But it would prove more costly should your Majesty, in order to avoid this, have to form a fleet on occasions when it would be necessary. However, I have thought that an effort might be made, some time, to send the soldiers who must go to the islands in the trading fleet or galleons sailing to Puertobelo;⁶⁶ and to advise the president [of the Audiencia there], somewhat earlier, to have small boats provided to take the soldiers by river from Chagre to Cruces.

⁶⁶ Puertobelo, now called Porto Bello, is situated on the isthmus of Panama, almost directly north of Panama – in the old department of Panama of the United States of Colombia; but now (as the other places herein named) in the independent state of Panama – and but little west of Aspinwall, the Atlantic terminus of the Panama Canal. Chagre is the modern Chagres, and lies on the Atlantic side of the isthmus southwest of Porto Bello; there empties the Chagres River, which can be ascended to Cruces, which is twenty miles north of Panama, the Pacific terminus of the canal, capital of the old department of Panama, and of the present state of Panama.

Since from that point to Panama it is only five leguas overland, the men might be taken there easily and at little expense. The viceroy of Peru, having been notified beforehand, should, without any expense to your Majesty, have a vessel at Panamá, where the soldiers could embark and go to Acapulco. There they could change ships for those in the Philipinas line. By this method some of the greatest inconveniences could be avoided.

And lastly, as the concluding argument of this discourse, I remind your Majesty that since the Philipinas Islands are surrounded by enemies so powerful as are Xapon and China – one because of its strength and valor, and the other because of its incredible multitude of inhabitants – with only the seven hundred Spaniards that the islands had, during my government of Nueva España, who could bear arms (a number now increased somewhat by the presidios of Terrenate and Thidore), they are preserved solely for this reason, that by their means the trade of those countries is opened to your Majesty's kingdoms. Thus said the emperor of Xapon, when he was advised to conquer Manila. The Chinese king wrote the same words to Don Pedro de Acuña, when the latter suspected that the insurrection made in those islands by the Chinese king's vassals had been made by his orders. And it must be considered seriously that if the trade be carried on by way of the cape of Buena Esperanza, it would be quite possible that the Chinese – who, in order to go to Manila, have to sail, both in the open and among islands, with some risk and danger because of the smallness of their craft – after seeing that the Spanish ships had to make a way-station at Malaca or Xava, would go from the

river of Canton, which is the gateway from which the Chinese ships set out, coasting from land to land along their own country, and would change the bulk of their trade to Portuguese ports, and thus deserting Manila. If they did this, the principal support and defense of Manila would fail, and its enemies would change their opinion, since they would no longer enjoy the benefits that now attract them.

For all the above, Sire, my opinion is that, if the matter were in its beginnings, from no other part could this trade be directed than from Nueva España; for it is nearer the islands, and is the region from which less silver can go. And should this cease, without doubt that kingdom would be greatly weakened, and the Philipinas destroyed – and none of this to España's advantage. On the contrary it would be to España's greater loss, since that country would be filled with merchandise of little value, at double the money that would be derived from its sale. The dependence of all the other kingdoms, which is now sure and not uncertain, would possibly be endangered by venturing upon the execution of this plan; and your Majesty would also be obliged, in order to make the sea safe in this route, to have two war vessels to accompany every trading vessel, notwithstanding the extraordinary cost which this would involve.

The other things mentioned in the memorial, namely, [*original MS. broken*; the appointment (?)] of officials, soldiers, and sailors now engaged in this despatch do not seem of such nature that they oblige me to answer them in detail. It is certain that the viceroys appoint very suitable persons, and will always do so, since they rely on their honor; and the

commander does not care to overload the vessels, since he is not interested in the freight charges. Consequently, when the auditor of Manila obliges them to load much cargo in Cabite, they usually unload and leave goods on the shoals that they meet, whence arise innumerable complaints and suits. The pilots and sailors are examined in what is necessary for them, and the soldiers are sufficient for a navigation route of so great safety. If it is true that the latter are lazy and vagabonds, few times have I seen men enlisted in any region who are not such, or who do not desire to be such. Although there may be things to correct in all matters, there are other reforms less costly and easier.

Your Majesty might wish to have these arguments in briefer form; but, although I have omitted some things, the matter is of so great moment that I have not been able to pass over anything that I judge essential for your proper decision in this matter.

May God preserve your Majesty as Christendom has need. Los Reyes, April 12, 1612.

LETTER FROM THE BISHOP OF NUEVA SEGOVIA

Jesus

I hold it certain that our Lord has placed your very reverend Paternity in this place – as he did Joseph, for the good of his fatherland and his brothers – in the government of the kingdoms of this province of Philipinas, which is one of the most religious that exist at present, I understand, in our holy order. Although it is one of the most remote of those therein, it is at present in the greatest need that your very reverend Paternity extend to it your protection in a matter which is most just, and which his Majesty is in conscience bound to aid. It is a fact that the foundation of a college has been begun in connection with the convent of Santo Domingo in Manila, in which is to be studied the teaching of our father, St. Thomas, which is pure and righteous. This enterprise has been so thoroughly approved in this city that several of the citizens, even before the walls of the college were finished, began to endow scholarships of a hundred pesos of income each per annum, wherewith the students may be supported and clothed, and the more virtuous and worthy can be selected. As a copy of the rest of the reasons will accompany this, I do not choose to set them down here, lest I tire your very reverend Paternity, whose time is so fully occupied.

The fathers of the Society of Jesus some years ago established another college, which is of no use for the public good; since those who enter it to study have to clothe themselves at their own expense, and give a hundred pesos a year for their board, which only the very rich can do. Accordingly, though many have entered, thus far none have been ordained priests and ministers; for all turn to the fleshpots of Egypt. These blessed fathers, it is understood, have made opposition to our college, and have caused his Majesty to issue a decree to his governor, Don Juan de Silva, to give information as to whether it is desirable to continue further the said college. This knight is very much opposed to the order, because its religious have done their duty by preaching the truth, and persuading to observance of the royal decrees of his Majesty, which he has with so much wisdom issued for the good government of these islands. And even I have suffered a part of the persecution, because I preached the same thing at the feast of the Rosary, in the year 612; they took from me my stipend for a year, and the archbishop sent the sermon to his Majesty. Just now two other copies are being sent for examination, for he persecutes the preachers and bishops; accordingly, we may dread information from the governor—although, on the other hand, the truth has so great power that I think he will utter it, and particularly as at present we have peace, thanks be to the Lord. Your very reverend Paternity should be informed that although this governor is a good soldier, in matters of government he lacks the best qualification, which is executive ability and exemplary conduct. Accordingly this country is in a wretched condition, and he is rich

indeed who has the means to stop the mouths of all that complain.

This province is in great need of religious, as they are the best ministers, and on account of their vow of poverty are best liked by the Indians, and those who are most desired; but it seems that the Council is deliberating whether to give permission for them to come. As all we who are bishops are informing his Majesty, those from whom that permission could with justice be taken away are the calced Augustinian friars; for this province of that order is very lax, and all who come from there become inactive, and most of them become traders, and skin the natives. There is a Master Solier there [*i.e.*, in España] – who, it is said, is confessor to the president of the Indias, Marques de Salinas – who is said to have carried [from here] more than thirty thousand pesos, and to be claiming a great bishopric. May God free His church from such prelates. This year there goes from these islands, sent by the governor on his affairs, another friar of the Augustinians, named Fray Diego de Gevara, who has been confessor to the said governor, to the great scandal of this community. He also made visitation of this his province, and it is public report that he visited the purses. I believe it is beyond doubt that he is taking letters very favorable to himself, and he is so kind a man that he promises bishoprics. I write this to your very reverend Paternity for the relief of my conscience, for I know that this matter of the bishoprics must rest in your hands; and bishops may cause great injury here if they are not very exemplary, fathers of the poor, and free from all avarice.

Father Fray Diego Duarte went to that court as

procurator for this province to bring religious here, which he did in the manner of a messenger of God. Now, after he had come with the second reënforcement of them to help carry the burdens of this province, at the command of his obedience he is returning again to bring more religious; for his virtue is already recognized in that court, and he too is acquainted with those who have influence there. I beseech your very reverend Paternity to receive him as one recommended, and favor him on any occasions that may arise. May our Lord protect your very reverend Paternity for many long years, for the good of His church, with many gifts from His divine favor. Manila, August 15, 1613.

THE BISHOP OF NUEBA SEGOVIA⁶⁷

⁶⁷ Diego de Soria entered the Dominican order at Ocaña. He came to the Philippines in the first mission of that order (1587), and held various dignities and official positions in the province; he also did missionary work in Cagayán and other regions of Luzón. About 1597 he went to Spain and Rome on business of his order; and later was appointed bishop of Nueva Segovia, taking possession of that see in 1604. He died in 1613, at Fernandina (now Vigan). See *Reseña biográfica*, i, pp. 69-77.

LETTER FROM FELIPE III TO SILVA

The King: To Don Juan de Silva, knight of the Order of Santiago, my governor and captain-general of the Philipinas Islands, and president of my royal Audiencia there. Your letters of July 20, 612, have been received and examined in my Council of the Yndias, and I was pleased to learn that you had sent to Nueva España, by the ships going that year, the two hundred quintals of quicksilver⁶⁸ of which you informed me; also of the friendly reception and kind feeling that you encountered among the Chinese in the matter of selling this metal and bringing it to

⁶⁸ The reduction of silver ore by amalgamation with mercury was discovered (although mercury had been used long before for obtaining gold) by a Spanish miner in Mexico, Bartholomé de Medina, in 1557. From that time, enormous quantities of mercury have been continually required for the mining operations in the silver-producing districts of Spanish America. Efforts were occasionally made by the Mexican viceroys to procure it in China; but "the Chinese mercury obtained from Canton and Manilla was impure, and contained a great deal of lead; and its price [1782] amounted to 80 piastres the quintal." See Humboldt's account, descriptive and historical, of this use of mercury, in his *New Spain* (Black's trans.), iii, pp. 250-288.

In this connection, see the interesting statement by Santiago de Vera (VOL. VI, p. 68) that as early as 1585 the Japanese (who then had but little communication with the Spaniards) were using Chinese quicksilver in the silver mines of Japan. Some of the Chinese mercury had been brought to Manila in 1573 (VOL. III, p. 245), and Sande mentions (VOL. IV, p. 54) the mines of silver and quicksilver in China.

Macan, where you say there is established a factory [*i.e.*, trading-post] for this purpose. I feel gratified at the diligence and care that you have exercised in the matter, and earnestly charge you to advance this matter, and strive that the quantity of quicksilver that you shall purchase and send to Nueva España may be as large as possible, in accordance with the request of the viceroy. You will keep in close correspondence with him, and not draw on any money that he may have sent you or shall send you in the future for this purpose, for any of your own needs, however great. You will try to foster this trade in such manner that it may be at as little cost as possible. It has been thought best to advise you to consider whether it would be possible to procure the quicksilver by having the Chinese bring it with a clearance direct to the Philipinas, and thus do away with the factory in Macan. For with the latter there cannot fail to be difficulties, as the Portuguese merchants do not trade in the quicksilver; besides, it would seem that the metal would be furnished by this method at a lower price. I do not mention other objections that have been considered. However, the documents that you mention will be sent through the Council of Portugal.

What you mention in regard to the eight pesos paid by the Sangleys who last year remained in the country, for each license, is well; and I charge you to exercise the care which is of so much importance, that no difficulties shall result from their presence and intercourse in those islands.

All the papers that you send regarding the violations of law that are imputed to the royal officials have been examined in my said Council; and pro-

vision has been made therefor, as you are already aware by the despatches which were sent to you. In view of the fact that the investigation and process concerning their guilt, which you wrote me you would send, is at present being awaited, and you have not done so, I order you to comply with the orders that you received by the said despatches (duplicates of which accompany this) so that, if you have not received the originals, you may by these understand what is to be done regarding the appointment of persons which you say you have made, to serve in their offices in the interim.

What you say concerning the measures you have taken to regulate the dues which the encomenderos of those islands enjoy, from the encomiendas which they possess, has been considered, and the result will be awaited at the first opportunity.

You did well to advise me of what the king of Japon wrote you to the effect that he can not obstruct the friendship into which he has entered with the Dutch, and the desire that he also has to maintain friendly relations with my vassals. The matter is being looked into, and at the proper time the result will be written to you.

It was likewise proper to give me an account of all you mention in regard to the permission that Sebastian Vizcayno gave in Japon for a ship to go thence laden with merchandise for Nueva España; and the difficulties that in your opinion may result from the opening of this trade, of which I am informed.

In the matter of the assessments and contributions which you say the Indians pay, and the annoyances which they suffer on this account from the religious

who are instructing them, you speak in general terms of all the orders in those islands; whereas it would have been best to write to me particularly as to which orders have thus transgressed, and to send the investigations that have been made. And, since the protection and guardianship of the Indians is in your charge, you should attend to them, in so far as lies in your department, so that they may not receive any injury or grievance. You should always carry out the provisions and ordinances in their favor, proceeding with the religious by discreet and legal measures, and advising with the Audiencia. You will strive to deal prudently with the archbishop of that city, maintaining amicable relations with him, so that from the government of both may follow the good results that are desirable; for any lack of harmony between those who govern must always result in evil, besides the general scandal and the bad example that is furnished. The same is being written to the archbishop, and he is ordered to avoid the exercise of censures in the cases that you describe in your letter, since it is not proceeding against the religious to give me information concerning occurrences. You are informed of this, that you may understand the matter. As for what you say regarding the entrance of the said archbishop in his pall, in spite of the decree sent him which directs the contrary, I have written to him that he should not have done this, but should have complied with the decree, and observed the custom in these kingdoms; of this, too, you are informed so that, being aware of it, you may take care that the said decree is complied with as I command you to do. As to the other matters contained in your letters, decisions will soon

be reached, and the result will be written to you soon.
Pardo, December 2, 1613.

I THE KING

Countersigned by: JUAN RUIZ DE CONTRERAS
Signed by the members of the Council.

DOCUMENTS OF 1616

- Recommendations regarding the archbishopric of Manila. [Council of the Indias?]; 1613-16.
Letter to Felipe III. Valerio de Ledesma, S.J.; August 20.
Portuguese and Spanish expedition against the Dutch, 1615. Juan de Rivera and Valerio de Ledesma, S.J.; [1616?].

SOURCES: The first document is obtained from the original MS. in the Archivo general de Indias, Sevilla. The second, and the first part of the third, are found in the Ventura del Arco MSS. (Ayer library), i, pp. 403-429; the remainder of the third, in Colin's *Labor evangélica* (Madrid, 1663,) pp. 802-810.

TRANSLATIONS: The first document is translated by Robert W. Haight; the remainder, by James A. Robertson.

RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF MANILA

Sire:

Licentiate Diego Vazquez de Mercado, archbishop of the metropolitan church of the city of Manila in the Philipinas Islands, by a letter written your Majesty on the first of July, 610, submits that, as that church has been without a prelate for a long time, he finds the affairs of the church in a condition far from what they should be, and much in need of correction; but, owing to his great age and the hardships he has undergone, he is very deficient in health and strength to fulfil the obligations of a good prelate, and that therefore he finds it necessary to appeal to your Majesty, that you may be pleased to relieve him from that burden, and receive his resignation of the archbishopric, which he tenders. And he asks that, in case this favor is not extended to him, there be named and appointed a person of suitable qualifications as his coadjutor, with the future succession, and this should be done as soon as possible. This has been examined in the Council; and they regard as actual and valid the hindrances which he represents. Considering the urgent request which he makes in the letter to your Majesty and in others which he has written to private persons to the same

effect; his advanced age and his failing health, and the great distance from España to that church, where a person would have to be sent to take his place in case he should fail; and the great inconvenience that would result if it was so long without a prelate as has been seen by experience – it has appeared very expedient to appoint for him, with the future succession a coadjutor, of the requisite qualifications, age, and vigor, so that he can fulfil the obligations of a prelate, and attend to the pastoral ministrations. It is recommended that he be given, for his fitting support, a third part of the income of the archbishopric, besides the occasional fees [*ovenciones*] and its visitation – it being understood that the archbishops of that church are granted a decree to the effect that if the returns do not amount to three thousand ducados a year, what is lacking will be furnished them from the royal exchequer. If your Majesty be pleased to approve this, the persons who appear best fitted for that church will be proposed to you, so that at the same time when you write to his Holiness on the matter, the presentation of the person whom your Majesty would nominate, may be sent to him. Madrid, June 28, 1613.

[*Endorsed*: “In order not to institute coadjutorships in such cases, let the Council ascertain whether there is any person for those regions who, being appointed in his own right, might aid in performing the archbishop’s duties; and if such a one be found, advise me of it, and of what is to be done regarding the resignation of the archbishop.”]

Sire:

In the year 613, your Majesty was given an ac-

count of the reasons set forth by Licentiate Don Diego Vazquez de Mercado, archbishop of the metropolitan church of the city of Manila in the Philipinas Islands, why he should be given a coadjutor. The Council was of opinion that your Majesty might command it to be examined, with the enclosed advice; and your Majesty was pleased to answer: [Here is repeated the endorsement on the letter preceding this]. In order to give better satisfaction to your Majesty, and to report on the state of affairs in those islands, we have waited for the coming of the letters. As for himself, the archbishop persisted in his claim, which was explained to your Majesty in writing on the fourth of May, 614, and the second of August, 615. He considers himself of no use in the government of his church, as he is more than seventy years of age, with many infirmities; and he is anxious over the failure that gives cause for regarding him as remiss, and the fact that he can not fulfil his obligations, nor make easy the conscience of your Majesty, and is burdening his own. As a result of this his jurisdiction is becoming every day less; and owing to his inability to punish them, and take needful measures, there is cause to fear that there may be increase of certain sins. It is but right that this should be remedied in due time, by sending a successor. Again he beseeches your Majesty to appoint one, so that he may continue to fulfil the obligations of that office; and that, for his own support, he be left two thousand of the three thousand ducados which your Majesty has commanded to be given him. In the letters from the religious orders of these islands it is evident how fitting and just it is to concede to the archbishop what he asks. Having

considered and examined into this, the Council is of the same opinion as in the said advice of 613; and thinks that your Majesty, conformably thereto, may consider it desirable to ask his Holiness to grant the archbishop a coadjutor with the future succession, who will be given a third of the stipend of that archbishopric – namely, one thousand ducados – besides the occasional fees and the visitation of the archbishopric, leaving to the archbishop the other two-thirds. It should be through a coadjutorship, because in this form it appears more suitable, and in accordance with the petition he makes, and with the customary action in similar cases. If your Majesty be pleased to approve, persons in that region and in the archbishopric will be considered in regard to the qualifications that are required for that church. Madrid, the first of July, 616.

LETTER FROM LEDESMA TO FELIPE III

Abstract of a letter from the provincial of the Society of Jesus, Valerio de Ledesma, to the king, informing him of the condition of the Filipinas Islands.⁶⁹

In this letter Father Valerio made complaint to the king that the condition of the country was most unhappy and unfortunate, and resembled a sick man in the throes of death. He declared that the trade of the ships from China and Nueva España, which was sustaining and enriching the islands, had fallen off in great measure, and much more in its profits; for in the year 1616 no more than seven ships had gone there, although formerly as many as fifty or sixty were wont to go; and as for Acapulco, no ships had been sent in either direction. Even if they should be despatched, they were in danger not only from corsairs but from stormy weather.

Great armaments had been organized in a short time, to drive out the Dutch; but for that very reason, the inhabitants had been compelled to make vast sacrifices at the cost of their fortunes. Hence they were in so ruined a condition that the three or four wealthiest citizens had been unable to equip a ship to be sent to Acapulco. The Indians were so exhausted and harassed with tributes, new imposi-

⁶⁹ This document is simply an abridgment or summary made by Ventura del Arco from the letter of Ledesma.

tions, and personal services,⁷⁰ that it became necessary for many, after they had nothing more to give (since they had given all their possessions), to give their persons to others, as slaves, so that the latter might give for them what they themselves did not possess.

The enemies with whom the Spaniards had to contend were numerous and gave them no respite – namely, the Mindanaos, Caragas, Sangails, Joloans, Dutch, and English – and of these last, all those eastern districts were full of their boats, so that no voyage could be made without meeting them; and there was no security from them.

To these calamities was due the death of Governor Juan de Silva, who, all had hoped, was to free these islands and those of Maluco from the invasions and piracies of the Dutch.

He closed by petitioning the king to send forces to sustain the declining colony, as it was so important, and so precious a portion of the Spanish monarchy.

[Dated Manila, August 20, 1616, and signed
VALERIO DE LEDESMA,⁷¹ provincial of the Society of Jesus.]

⁷⁰ Cf. this statement with the royal decree of May 26, 1609, which is presented in this volume, p. 79, *ante*.

⁷¹ Valerio de Ledesma was born at Alaejos, March 23, 1556, and became a novitiate in the Jesuit order in 1571-1572. He was sent to the Philippines, where he served as rector of Cebú, associate of the provincial, rector of Manila, provincial, rector and master of novitiates at San Pedro Macati, and again rector at Manila, where he died, May 15, 1639. See Sommervogel, Barrantes (*Guerros piraticas*), and Pardo de Tavera (*Biblioteca Filipina*, Washington, 1903) as to his authorship. See also Murillo Velarde's *Historia* (Manila, 1749), book ii, ch. vii, pp. 260-266, for a notice regarding him. In the *Ventura del Arco MSS.*, at the end of this summary of Ledesma's letter appears a tracing of his autograph signature.

PORTUGUESE AND SPANISH EXPEDITION AGAINST THE DUTCH, 1615

After the Dutch pirates began to sail the seas of Eastern India and the archipelago of Filipinas, and to carry cloves from Maluco, silks from China, and drugs from the adjacent islands, they began also to cripple the cities that were sustained by the trade, which are the principal cities; because the seas were infested, and there was little security on them from those pirates. They, from the first year of their entrance into the Orient, coasted the shores, sounded the ports, and established trading-posts in the chief places, which they filled with people whom they brought from Holanda. Consequently, by the year 1614, the Dutch had eighteen armed galleons in the South Sea, and they burned the city of Arevalo, where the food for Maluco was stored, and committed many other depredations, which obliged Don Juan de Silva, governor and captain-general of the Filipinas Islands, to prepare a large fleet to attack them and drive them from our seas. But, thinking that the forces of the Filipinas were insufficient to attend to so many things at once – the support of the camp in Maluco; the defense of the city of Manila, which is in sight of twenty thousand Chinese (who had already, in 1603, risen against it and incited a war);

and sallies to fight the enemy – it was determined to ask help from the viceroy of India and to join the two forces, Castilian and Lusitanian, who are especially being attacked by the Dutch. Indeed, the letters-patent given to them by Count Mauricio read that they are to make war on the Castilians and Portuguese. Besides this argument, it is evident that Yndia is not less interested in driving out those enemies than are the Filipinas.

Father Juan de Rivera,⁷² then rector of the residence of the Society of Jesus at Manila, was appointed to negotiate this league and reënforcement. He prepared himself in a few days and left for Yndia on November 21 of the year 1615. He reached Malaca on Tuesday, December 9, by Manila reckoning, but Wednesday by that of Malaca; for the date for those sailing west is later, and earlier for those sailing east.⁷³

From Malaca he journeyed to Cochin, and from Cochin to Goa, at the time when Yndia was engaged in the wars of the north; because peace with the great Mogor⁷⁴ had been broken. The viceroy had gone

⁷² According to Sommervogel, Juan de Ribera was born at Puebla de los Angeles in 1565, and entered upon his novitiate at Rome in 1582. He was sent to the Philippines in 1595, and taught theology and was rector at Manila, where he died June 5, 1622. Besides the present letter, Father Ribera was the author of the *Lettera annua* from the Philippines for 1602-1603, which was printed at Venice and Paris, in Italian and French respectively, in 1605.

⁷³ In regard to the correction of Manila time, see VOL. I, p. 22, note 2.

⁷⁴ That is, "the Great Mogul," meaning "the ruler of Mogor," a name applied to Hindostan. The monarch here referred to is Jáhangír (or Jehanghir), the tenth of the Mogul emperors, who in 1605 succeeded to the throne by the death of his father, Akbar the Great. See account of his power and wealth, by

with a powerful fleet to capture, if possible, four English ships anchored at Surate, where he received the letters belonging to our voyage and embassy. Considering the importance of the matter, he hastened his return and went to Goa. There he furnished four galleons for the said help, and three hundred or more soldiers, appointing as commander of the latter Don Francisco de Miranda Enrriquez.⁷⁵

The latter left Goa May 12. The voyage, which is generally thirty days, lasted three and one-half months. We ran short of water in the middle of the open stretch, and thought that we were lost, on account of having been despatched with broken tanks and hogsheads. Together with this was the disorder among the soldiers of Yndia, who surreptitiously took with them many servants of their own and of other people, so that it was necessary to support these people aboard the vessel. These afterward consumed the food, and then caught and spread a pestilence. Although there were only one hundred and ten soldiers in our galleon, there were about seven hundred persons, mostly negroes and Cafres; of these many were free, although nominally slaves, as Don Gonzalo de Silva, bishop of Malaca, who was aboard the same galleon, testified. He declared that many

Pyrard de Laval (publications of Hakluyt Society, London, 1888-90) ii, pp. 250-253; also *The Hawkins' Voyages and Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe* (published by the same society in 1878 and 1899, respectively). Roe and William Hawkins successively resided at Jáhangír's court between 1610 and 1620. An interesting sketch of Jáhangír's life is given by Valentyn in his *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën* (Dordrecht and Amsterdam, MDCCLXXIV), part iv, sec. ii, pp. 218-230; it is part of a series of the sketches, "Lives of the Great Moguls."

⁷⁵ According to Montero y Vidal (*Hist. Filipinas*, i, p. 161) this expedition was under the orders of Alonso Váz Coutiño.

lads were free, even some whom they were taking as captives. This is a general sin, wherefore some Portuguese authors say, with Father Hernando Rabelo, that God is punishing Yndia and the Portuguese nation, which alone has more slaves than any other nation of the world.

July 30 we met two Dutch ships, which were apparently going from Palliacate [*i.e.*, Palicat] to carry aid to Maluco. Our galleon fought singlehanded with those two ships, because the other galleons were far to leeward. The enemy had waited two days between us, without our knowing it, in order to show themselves at a favorable opportunity. So great is the confidence of the Portuguese that they did not fear them. They said that they were ships from Cochin, and that, had they known in time that they were enemies, they could have captured them easily. In short they remained a cannon-shot from the flagship, and so fought until night, when they made off badly battered – as we learned later from the people of Achen, on whose coast one of the ships was immediately wrecked, having sprung a leak through the effect of our balls and their own firing. They only killed two of our men. After the battle, our galleon ran aground on a shoal, on the eve of our Lady of the Assumption, near Pulo Parcelar. At the first shock, the helm was shifted seaward, and all that night we tossed up and down dreadfully until, next morning, we miraculously got off the shoal. We reached the strait of Sincapura on August 10, where, as the pilots said the Manila monsoon was over, we determined to run to Malaca.

In Malaca the ships were very inhospitably received, for soldiers are wont to commit depredations.

But within a few days they were made to see that the landing there of the galleons was for their relief and the salvation of their city; for a month after their arrival the king of Achen came with sixty thousand men to besiege it. Information of this number and of the other things that will be related, was given by the Portuguese who were captives in Achen and returned to Malaca. They had three hundred and fifty sail – among them sixty galleys, each with three pieces in the bows; the piece in the midship gangway fired balls of sixty libras, as we saw in those found in the galleons after the war. Along the sides they carried five falcons, firing balls of six libras. In the royal galley, called “Espanto del mundo” [*i.e.*, Fear of the world] by the people of Achen, were sixteen hundred soldiers and one hundred and fifty falcons and half-sized falcons. That king of Achen, the most powerful on the sea of all this Orient, had concerted with the Dutch that both should take Malaca. Consequently they took a few days in arriving. The king of Achen arrived first at the bay of Malaca with a squadron of eighteen galleys, in order to reconnoiter the place. Finding our four galleys anchored in the port, and learning that they were war-vessels, they put to sea to await the Dutch. When our men saw them depart and go toward the strait, where they might capture the boats from China and unite with the Dutch, they resolved to set sail and give battle. They did so with the four galleons and six galliots – ten small vessels. They encountered the Achen boats on November 15, and fought for two and one-half days. The enemy carried a considerable force. They burned one galliot, so that the soldiers abandoned it and went

to the galleons. The flagship grappled eleven galleys. Fire was set to it many times, but our men extinguished it. The enemy grappled the galleon of Don Juan de Silveira, which carried twenty-two pieces of artillery, and set fire to it. They were unable to extinguish the fire, and so it was entirely burned.

Don Juan de Silvera and Antonio Rodriguez de Gamboa, son of the commander-in-chief of that fortress of Malaca, and forty other Portuguese, took to the water; but all were captured by the king of Achen and placed aboard his galley. A fresh wind began to blow, wherewith the vessels separated and the men of Achen went to their country with something less than thirty craft, counting large and small boats, and with two thousand men killed. Although we did them damage, it was not so great as that which we received. Accordingly they regarded it as a victory and entered their kingdom in triumph — where they feasted the captains, whom they treated courteously, and then loosed them and gave them liberty.

On December 7 of the same year of 1615, the Dutch reached the bay of Malaca with seven ships and one patache, coming to join the king of Achen. They found our three galleons, which, for greater security, had been anchored between a sandbank made by the sea and a small island near Malaca. There they said that they were invincible, for entrance could be had only by a channel near the rampart, which, by means of its pieces of artillery, would refuse entrance. On the sea side they were defended by the sandbank and shoals. But the enemy sounded the port that night with its lanchas and found a new

channel, where they entered without being hindered by the rampart. This was attributed to the fault and negligence of those who could and ought to have prevented the lanchas from making soundings, because of the many galliots in the port.

The enemy having entered and coming within cannon range, opened a fierce bombardment, which lasted two and one-half days. At this time our vessels defended themselves with three pieces that could be fired, and no more, because they were anchored, and the current threw them in a line toward the Dutch; although had the people on shore been diligent, they could have brought the vessels about with cables. The enemy tacked at will and played the majority of their pieces. We discovered that our galleons were stronger than their ships, for their balls did not pass through the sides of the galleons, especially of the almiranta and flagship. The damage inflicted by them was through the open ports; while we saw that our balls passed through the Dutch ships from side to side, and then went bounding through the water. Nevertheless, distrusting the Dutch and their battery, the men of the galleons began to edge away and to leave them at the approach of night, especially when they saw Captain Juan Pinto and Admiral Alfonso Vaez fall; they were killed with four others, by a ball that entered through a port.

First they abandoned the galleon called "Plata," without taking the precaution to set it afire when they left, so that the enemy could not approach with their artillery. This the enemy did, entering and capturing it, as was well seen; and afterward they set it afire.

When the enemy saw that the soldiers were desert-

ing the almiranta, they lowered their lanchas and entered it. One Dutchman, climbing up to the maintopsail, lowered the banner of Christ and ran up that of Count Mauricio, the sight of which caused us great anguish. Throughout that battle our men did not fire a musket or espingarda,⁷⁶ and they had none on the second day, for they tried to escape by swimming. Our men set fire to this galleon, the almiranta; and when the Dutch saw that it was burning, they left it, and the fire did its duty until it converted the vessel into ashes. The flagship held out longer, but the soldiers did not wait for the Dutch to board, for some of them escaped from the galleon by swimming. Thirteen or fourteen of them were drowned, among them Christobal de Feguedo. Some jumped into a small skiff belonging to the galleon, for they had taken all the boats from the city, so that they had none in which to come thence. The galleon was left with a few men, who were no longer firing and were silent. At this juncture, the general left by a port, as best he could. Reaching shore, he ordered the galleon to be set afire, which was done. It began to burn, to our very great sorrow and to the exultation of the enemy, for it was an unusually fine vessel; it carried thirty-six pieces of artillery and a quantity of ammunition. When the fire reached the powder-magazine, so great was the noise made, that the island of Malaca trembled and the houses shook. A cloud of smoke arose to the heavens which hid the clouds, and in that instant we lost sight of the galleon.

In the four galleons ninety-two pieces of artillery were lost. The wounded and dead reached one hun-

⁷⁶ A small piece of ordnance; or, a long musket or matchlock.

dred. The enemy were insolent and victorious, and, although we had done them some damage, they nevertheless attained their purpose, not only of preventing the relief of Maluco, but of destroying the Portuguese squadron – and that without the necessity of boarding any galleon, for which there was no such need; because, before they could reach the galleys, these were abandoned.

As soon as the enemy were discovered, many said that it would be advisable to mount some pieces on the island, with some gabions, in order to attack the enemy, and defend the galleons, which would have been an admirable relief. But it did not have the desired effect, for only one piece was mounted, and that late; and no one cared to guard it, until Antonio Pinto de Fonseca, inspector of forts and one who insisted urgently that the pieces be mounted, found a homicide, who with other criminals, guarded the piece. He did considerable injury to the enemy, for he fired from a short distance and with safety. Had there been six guns, they would have sunk the enemy; but that was not the first or the last act of carelessness.

On the twelfth of the month, the galleons were converted into ashes, and the Maluco relief expedition was destroyed. After the battle and disaster many quarrels arose among the nobles by land and sea, over the question who was to blame. Each one blamed the other, attributing the loss to many excesses that they mentioned. The truth is that such excesses existed, and they and our sins were the cause of so great a chastisement.

On February 25, Don Juan de Silva, governor and captain-general of the Filipinas, reached the strait

with ten galleons, four galleys, and one patache. The Dutch were informed of his coming, for having captured Juan Gallegos, a pilot who came from Macao in a patache, he told them the plans of the governor. Thereupon the enemy took refuge a week beforehand. They had been awaiting two vessels that were coming from China with all the wealth of Yndia; and the Portuguese considered it a foregone conclusion that these would fall into the hands of the enemy. They had resolved to land on the island of Bintan or Pulo Timon and burn the galleons, so that the enemy should not benefit therefrom. For that purpose they sent Captain Fernando Acosta to Malaca. But at the news of the governor's coming, the enemy abandoned their station and left a free passage to the ships, which arrived one day after the governor. It is reported that the two vessels had ten days of contrary southeast winds which prevented them from reaching the strait sooner, where their danger was. But God our Lord did better, and He deprived the enemy of the prize, which would have enriched them enormously, and allowed them to make war on Europe.

For that good result and benefit given to all Yndia by Don Juan de Silva, the Portuguese were extremely thankful, and accordingly received him in Malaca under a pall and with great acclamation. On March 26 all confessed that God had delivered them from the Dutch by his means; and they hoped that he would drive the enemy from these seas later. But death, which comes when God pleases, finished all their hopes; for it brought him to his bed, and from that to a grave on April 19, 1616, of a fever that carried him off in eleven days. During the

course of his sickness, the city made a procession from the *asse* or cathedral to [the church of] La Misericordia,⁷⁷ praying our Lord for his health. At his death, they bewailed him with extreme sorrow.

Before dying he saw that his end was near, and accordingly prepared himself by acts of faith and penitence, receiving the sacraments. He ordered his body to be embalmed, and taken on the royal galley to Manila, and thence to Jerez de los Caballeros,⁷⁸ where he founded a convent of disalced Carmelite nuns. In the meanwhile the body should be deposited in the residence or houses of the Society of Jesus. Accordingly, in the residence of Malaca they celebrated the church services for him. At the end of nine days, the body was taken to the galleys anchored in the strait of Sincapura. There it was received with a salute on May 2. On the fourth, sail was set toward Manila.

The fleet was composed of ten galleons, four galleys, one patache, and three frigates. It carried three hundred pieces of artillery, eight companies of Spanish soldiers, five hundred Japanese, two hundred volunteers, sixty artillerymen, and two hundred sailors. [Without signature.⁷⁹]

⁷⁷ The plan of Malaca in Bellin's *Atlas maritime* (Paris, 1764), iii, 46, indicates this church, stating that it was then a magazine within the fort. Other public buildings are located – the Chinese pagoda and bazar, the Mahometan mosque, etc. See Valentyn's account, descriptive and historical, of "Malakka," in his *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*, part v, book vi, pp. 308-360; it contains a large engraving, a view of the city of Malaca.

⁷⁸ A small city in the province of Badajoz, Spain.

⁷⁹ Cf. La Concepción's account (*Hist. de Philipinas*, iv, pp. 330-366) of the ravages committed by the Dutch; the despatch of a fleet from India at Silva's request (made through the Jesuits Gomez and Ribera), and its conflicts with Malays and Dutch at

Letter from Father Juan de Ribera,⁸⁰ rector of the residence of the Society of Jesus at Manila, in which he gives account of his voyage to and from India, and of the unfortunate fate of the four galleons that he took thence.

We set sail at Cavite November twenty-one, the day of the Virgin. In a fortnight we entered the strait of Sincapura, having followed the new route, which is called that of China. It is a very wide channel, some forty or fifty brazas deep. We anchored at Malaca on Tuesday, December nine, by our account, but on Wednesday by that of Malaca. We left there on Christmas eve, with favorable weather. In the neighborhood of Punta de Gale [or Galle], which is located in Ceylan, we experienced a heavy storm. When that had subsided, the currents carried us to the islands of Mal-Divar [*i.e.*, Maldives], a voyage from which few emerge in safety. We lost our reckoning, and were in great need of wood and water. But by God's help, after having approached one of those islands, our necessity was relieved by some Malabar pirates for money. We were sailing among that great forest of islands

Malacca; Silva's preparations for the joint expedition; his journey to Malacca, and death there; and the return of his fleet to Manila, and failure of all this costly enterprise. La Concepción mentions Ribera's account (p. 344), and says (p. 337): "We have a complete diary, written by the rector of Manila [Ribera], from the twenty-first of November, when they hoisted sail at Cavite"—that is, when he went on the embassy to India in 1614. Apparently his account, as here presented, has been synopsised and abridged by Ventura del Arco, who has also borrowed somewhat from Ledesma's letter (*post*).

⁸⁰ This part of the document is the version of Ribera's letter which appears in Colin's *Labor evangelica*, pp. 802-806. It is here presented as containing some matter not in the other copy, and as showing the methods of the respective editors.

when we became becalmed, the peril most feared by pilots. When we were all grieving over that, the chief of the Lascars, a Moro by nation, and religion, arose. Taking a dish in his hand, he begged us all for an alms for our Lady of Guadalupe of the city of Cochin,⁸¹ assuring us that she would give us wind. He pledged himself to give double the alms collected, even if she did not give the wind. Much surprised in so great confidence in a Moro, and all of us being encouraged, he collected in a short time eighteen pesos, and after folding them in a cloth, he tied them to the mizzen-masthead begging the Virgin to fulfil her promise. The fact was that from that day the wind to navigate (little or much) never failed us, until we reached Cochin. That was on January twenty-three, and on entering the bar there, we met a fleet of Malabar pirates who were sufficiently powerful to oppose us. But God so disposed that we came upon them when they were tired out, as we afterward learned, by a battle that they had waged for the space of two days with another pirate, also a Malabar – who, conquered by them at last, scuttled his ship and went down with all on board, in order not to fall into their hands. For that reason they did not attack us so quickly, and we had time to enter Cochin.

The fathers provincial received us on the beach – the present father Francisco,⁸² and the past Alberto

⁸¹ *i.e.*, Kocchi. As in all foreign words ending with a vowel, the Portuguese have nasalised the “i.” In 1505 it was written “Coxi.” See A. C. Burnell’s note in *Voyage of Linschoten* (Hakluyt Society’s publications, London, 1885), i, p. 68. This city lies some thirty miles north of Cape Comorin.

⁸² Pedro de Francisco, S.J., was born at Mala, in the Zaragoza diocese, in 1607. He was admitted to the Society in 1626, and

Laercio⁸³ – accompanied by the most grave fathers with music and other kindnesses. We stayed two months in Cochin, where we received singular kindness and entertainment from all. They took me to Caranganor, five leguas from there, along very pleasant rivers, in a boat like a house, belonging to the archbishop of Sierra, Father Don Francisco Ros⁸⁴ of our Society, a native of the city of Girona in the principality of Cataluña, whose hand I desired to kiss. We found him at Peru. He seemed a saint to me. When I remarked to him, à propos of the retirement and poverty in which I found him, at the first salutation, “*Qui Episcopatum desiderat, bonum opus desiderat,*” he replied, “Our Chaldean answers, *Bonam servitutem querit.*”⁸⁵ He is learned in that language, in which his priests pray and celebrate the mass with peculiar ceremonies. We found him living so apostolic a life that he did not have

went to the Indias, where he taught grammar, and for seven years theology. He labored at Cochin, and became rector of the Macao seminary, whence he was driven by the Dutch. He was at Macassar in 1652, but his name does not appear in the catalogue for 1655. See Sommervogel’s *Bibliographie*.

⁸³ Alberto Laercio or Laerzio, S.J., was born at Orte in 1557, admitted to the Society in 1576, and set out for the Indies, where he made his profession at Goa, July 9, 1590. For twelve years he was master of the novitiates, rector of Salsette, and associate-visitor, for three years vice-provincial, and for six years provincial. He died at Cochin in 1630. See Sommervogel’s *Bibliographie*.

⁸⁴ Francisco Roz, S.J., was born at Gerona in 1557, became a novitiate in 1575, and went to the Indies in 1584, where he labored in the Malabar mission. In 1601 he was appointed bishop of Angamala, and in 1605, archbishop of Cranganore. He died at Parur, February 16, 1624. He wrote a number of treatises and letters. See Sommervogel’s *Bibliographie*.

⁸⁵ The two Latin phrases read in English, respectively: “He who desires an episcopate, desires a good work;” and “He gets a hard and fast slavery.”

room to entertain the eight of our Society who were there—among whom was the rector of Cochin, Father Gaspar Fernandez⁸⁶—nor did he have any food to give us. Consequently we returned to the boat, which was more comfortable than the house. We went to Caranganor, a Portuguese fortress, and a residence of ours, just opposite Samorin. I saw some doors and windows that had been broken with volleys, and they told me that a father who was praying in the window had been killed. The father rector of the residence there had a carved image of the child Jesus asleep in a little gilded bed, which had been sent him by a pagan Malabar pirate, who stole it from a Portuguese, believing it to be gold. But when he had carried it to his house, he found that it was only gilded wood, and gave it to his children for a toy. The sleeping Child, however, did not allow his owner to sleep, for according to his account, He kept him awake every night, and placing Himself in front of him, said to him, “Take me to the land of the Christians.” He communicated the matter to his wife, and by her counsel sent Him to the father rector of Caranganor. We went to Vaypicota, a residence of our Society, which formerly had a greater number of our members. That field of Christendom has become lessened through the little favor [shown to the Christians by] the pagan king to whom it is subject. It is a wonder to me that within a stone’s throw of our church is a Moro mosque, a pagan temple, and a Jewish synagogue, without one harming another, although they

⁸⁶ Sommervogel mentions only that this Jesuit was a Portuguese missionary at Goa in 1608, in which year (December 18) he wrote a letter from Goa.

annoy us greatly by their shouting, when they invoke the devil.

From Cochin we went to Goa on April three of this year, one thousand six hundred and fifteen, in a galley of the fleet. We coasted along the shore and visited the fortresses of Malabar. We spent Holy Week in Mangalor. We lodged in the convent of St. Francis, and helped confess the soldiers. We spent forty days in the voyage, until we reached Goa, where Father Francisco Vergara, rector of the college, and all the others received us with great charity. Four of them took me to visit the viceroy, who showed us great courtesy. After I had been talking with him for almost an hour, the chief chancellor entered, who is at the same time auditor for the reports in causes, and is a knight of the habit. Having given him a seat of honor, such as we were occupying, the viceroy said to him: "I am surprised, sir, that all the fathers of the Society are all so much alike; for the father rector of Manila, whom we have here, is just like the fathers here, even in speech." He determined immediately what could be done in accordance with the present state of India, in respect to the aid that I was come to request—namely, to give four well-equipped galleons, with as many as four hundred soldiers and ninety pieces of artillery among them all. As commander of this fleet, he assigned Francisco de Miranda Enriquez, a gentleman who has had good fortune in war; and, as admiral, Alfonso Vaez Coutiño.

We left Goa on the twelfth of May. We were one hundred and two days on the voyage for the lack of good weather, and on account of the poor route chosen by the pilot, who took us to the land of

Achan; and as its inhabitants are hostile to the Portuguese, the latter did not dare land there. The men were dying with thirst, and had it not been for some showers, and the final resolution to get water on a desert island, we would have suffered even death. We had many *samstras*, or hurricanes, on the coast of that great land, which broke topmasts, tore sails, and broke moorings, causing us to lose anchors and other necessary articles.

On July thirty, on the eve of our Father St. Ignatius, in the district of Pulu Parcelar, our capitana galleon fought two Dutch vessels, without the other galleons being able to render aid, as they were to leeward. Our galleon made two vain attempts to grapple – one because of too much wind, and the other for lack of wind – for the one was a samatra or hurricane, and the other so great a calm, that neither we nor the Dutch could manage our ships. But inasmuch as we remained within cannon-shot of one another, we fought until night deepened, and they fled battered to pieces; for our balls had gone clear through them, while theirs made scarcely any impression on us. Accordingly we only lost two men in the fight.

On the eve of the Assumption⁸⁷ we ran upon a shoal three brazas under water, where the galleon remained all night, tossing up and down frightfully. In the morning a boat came from one of our other ships in response to the numerous pieces that we discharged, and helped us get off the shoal; but we were in so bad condition that from then on the boat made thirty palmos of water every twenty-four hours.

We finally reached Malaca August twenty-two.

⁸⁷ The Assumption of the Virgin is August 15.

Although it was thought that the monsoon or favorable wind was already ended, we attempted to make the voyage to Manila. We passed the strait of Sincapura, and on the fifth of September, because of the little progress that we made, called a council, in which we all resolved to winter at Malaca. However, on the next day, the commander attempted to continue the voyage to Manila, until the soldiers and sailors mutinied and forced him to put in at Malaca, on the nineteenth of the same month.

The fleet was very ill received by the inhabitants there, because of the harm that soldiers generally do. But our going there was soon seen to have been a providence of God; for within one month the king of Achen came to attack that city with a fleet of one hundred and fifty sail and forty thousand men, and had not he found our galleys there would surely have captured it. And further, according to rumors (and as was shown in the result), he had agreed with the Dutch to join them, since they came only twenty days apart, as I shall immediately relate. In my opinion the same thing that had happened to the prophet Abacuc [*i.e.*, Habakkuk] happened to me. For he having prepared the food for his reapers, the angel bore him by the hair to Babylon, to relieve the necessity of Daniel, who had been locked in the den of lions. I took that aid from Goa for Manila, and the Lord took us to Malaca, and conveyed us as if by the hair, since we put in with great repugnance; and at last all that reënforcement was consumed in helping Malaca.

A squadron of galleys came ahead to reconnoiter. Finding our galleons anchored, and taking note of the soldiers in them and in the city, it went ahead to

the strait to await (as was heard) the Dutch. Our men feared lest they should attack the trading ships which generally come at that time from China. Accordingly it was resolved that four galleons, six galliots, and other oared craft should sail out to drive the enemy from the coast. They engaged on the fifteenth of November, and fought all that day, and the one following. The enemy's force was large. They burned one galliot and forced the men to desert the others and enter the galleons, which now were in need of men. The enemy attacked our flagship and surrounded it with twelve large galleys. It caught fire many times, but our men always extinguished the fire and defended themselves valiantly. They attacked the galleon of Don Juan de Silveyra, which was a fine vessel, and a fort of twenty-two cannons. It caught fire and burned so furiously that the flames could not be extinguished; and it was accordingly burned to ashes. The said Don Juan de Silveyra and Antonio Rodriguez Gamboa – his brother-in-law, and son of Juan Cayado de Gamboa, commandant of that fortress of Malaca – leaped overboard. They and thirty or forty other Portuguese were captured by the people of Achen and taken to their king, who treated them courteously and gave them liberty. Those gentlemen declared to me, in writing, in Malaca that the fleet of the people of Achen consisted of three hundred and fifty craft, among which were sixty large galleys, each with three pieces of artillery at the bow, while that of the midship gangway had the caliber of sixty libras; that the royal galley carried one thousand six hundred men, with one hundred and twenty falcons and half-falcons; and that they lost ten large galleys in

the fight, besides twenty other lesser craft. They also stated that after returning to his country the king punished certain of his captains because they had not burned all the galleys; and that having given liberty to the captives he sent them to Malaca, with the message that he desired peace with his brother, the king of Castilla and Portugal.

Our good fortune resulted in his not having effected a meeting with the Dutch, who arrived the next month, on the seventh of December, with seven ships and one patache. Our three galleons had been stationed in a cove between the small island of Malaca and a sandbank – a place that seemed impregnable, as it was defended on the sea side by the sandbank and shoals, and on the land side by the artillery of its ramparts. But the enemy, having thoroughly reconnoitered the sandbank and shoals, discovered a channel where they could enter, and thereupon entered on the morning of the next day, flying their red rear-admiral's banners. The flagship remained outside, although within cannon-shot. Then began a cruel bombardment that lasted three days. Our galleons could not play all their artillery, for they were anchored, and the currents were dragging them toward the Dutch, who were free, and maneuvered at will. Our artillery was heavier than theirs, consequently the few pieces that we fired did them great damage. The building of a protection for the cannon was discussed, and the planting of some pieces on the island, in order to defend the galleons. That would doubtless have been of great importance for they would have fired from a covered battery and at very close range, as was seen by the effect produced by only one piece that was mounted

there. It was fired by a man who had been condemned to death, and who was awaiting justice for having pillaged two Chinese vessels. He was promised pardon if he would take charge of that piece, as he did, to the damage of the enemy. But as he was alone and the enemy were bringing to bear all the artillery of their ships, they finally prevailed. On the first day, Juan Pinto, captain of a galley, being killed, and his uncle, a valiant soldier, having broken his leg, his men were disheartened, and deserted the galleon; but they did not take the precaution to burn it, so that the enemy could not profit, as they did, by its artillery, food, and other things that it was carrying; afterward the enemy set it on fire.

At dawn of the next day, December ten, the heretics began to attack the almiranta. At the first volleys the admiral and five other men were killed. The men were so disheartened by that event that they began to jump overboard, and it was impossible for certain commanders and brave soldiers, who were trying to defend the galleon, to prevent them. But, as the enemy perceived them deserting the vessel, they sent their lanchas and entered it; they first lowered the flag of Christ from the masthead and placed it on their ship below that of Count Mauricio. The vessel was already burning from the fire set by our men, and accordingly the enemy deserted it quickly.

Our flagship kept up the fight longer, but at last men were lacking; for, as the land was near, they tried to reach it in boats or by swimming. The commander Francisco de Miranda Enriquez was left with very few men; and they even, seeing that it was impossible to defend themselves, were forced to land, after having set fire to the galleon. It was a

very fine and strong boat. It carried thirty-six cannon, and had so much ammunition that when the fire reached the powder magazine, the vessel blew up with so great a din, that it made the entire city and the island of Malaca shake, and the vessel was seen no more. This was different from the almiranta, which, when its powder had been spent, was two days in burning. The dead and wounded on our side number about one hundred. The enemy lost one of its vessels, but was at last victorious. Then they went to the strait to await the ships expected from China. In the city was little harmony, those of the fleet and those of the city accusing one another of the fault [of the defeat]. I revered the judgments of God, and considered that, although there was some excess on both sides, the chief cause of so great a loss was our sins. *Quia peccavimus tibi Domini*, etc.⁸⁸

The largest fleet ever seen in these islands or perchance in the Indias was prepared that year of 1615 in the port of Cabite.⁸⁹ It seems a miraculous circumstance that so large a number of ships could be gathered together in a land so recently conquered and peopled with Spaniards, and the most remote and distant in all the Spanish monarchy. It was the peculiar offspring of the magnanimous courage, valor, and energy (never sufficiently praised) of Governor Don Juan de Silva. It consisted of ten galleons, four gal-

⁸⁸ That is, "Because we have sinned against thee, O Lord," etc.

⁸⁹ This is a letter by Valerio de Ledesma, S.J., according to Colin (from whose *Labor evangelica*, pp. 806-810, we obtain it). Compare with the first version of Ribera's letter, *ante*, in which the account of Silva's death is similar to that by Ledesma. Colin has evidently edited both letters more or less, and it is difficult to ascertain what the exact original text was.

leys, one patache, and other smaller craft: the flagship of the galleons, called "La Salvadora," of two thousand tons burden; the almiranta, by name "San Marcos," of one thousand seven hundred; "San Juan Bautista," and the "Espiritu Santo," of one thousand three hundred; "San Miguel" and "San Felipe," of eight hundred; "Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe," and "Santiago," one hundred less; "San Andres," five hundred; and "San Lorenzo" (the smallest one), four hundred. The galleys were all under the advocacy and name of the Virgin Mary, our Lady. Those craft were armed and equipped with five thousand men, two thousand, or a few less, being Spaniards; three hundred pieces of artillery—the flagship alone carrying forty-six (the smallest of eighteen, while the majority of them were twenty-two libras' caliber, and some were thirty), and all were bronze, and it carried nine hundred men; the almiranta seven hundred men, and thirty-two pieces; and the other vessels in proportion. Of powder, they carried four thousand five hundred arrobas; of biscuits, five thousand; of clean rice, three thousand fanegas; and so on, in all the other war-supplies, ammunition, and food. All this was at the king's account, not to mention the private persons who embarked.

Among the other precautions that the governor took in order to accomplish a successful result was one, namely, to ask the provincials of the orders and their religious to aid—the one with their prayers and continual sacrifices in their convents; and the other by religious who were priests, to act as chaplains of the vessels. Six fell to the share of the Society, two of whom embarked in the flagship, in which were

the chief Japanese of a company of that nation which had been raised to serve as volunteers on that expedition, through the vigilance of Father Garcia Garcès,⁹⁰ a Castilian, one of the exiles, whom the governor esteemed highly. Accordingly, the latter ordered that the father should embark on the flagship, and with him another religious of the Japanese nation, a person respected because of his worth. In the galleon "San Juan Bautista" was Father Pedro Gomez, rector of Maluco. He had gone to India, and returned with the news of the four Portuguese galleons which were coming to unite with our ten. As his associate went Father Manuel Ribeyro of the province of Cochin and its subject. In the ship "San Felipe" was Father Miguel Ignacio, at present rector of the residence of Zebu, who, without urging the obligation of his office or the ill-health that he was enjoying [*la poca salud, que gozaua*], offered himself so fervently to the superiors for that perilous mission, that they had to yield to him. The commander of that ship has declared in his many letters the talent of the said father as a preacher, and his opinion of his sanctity; and how great was the esteem of the soldiers and sailors for the abundant fruit that he had gathered in Cabite by his apostolic preaching. His associate was Father Melchor de Vera,⁹¹ who had been in the expedition and victory

⁹⁰ Garcia Garcès, S.J., was born in 1560 at Molina, in the diocese of Sogovia, and entered the Society October 23, 1574. Going to the Indias in 1588, he labored for several years in the missions of Japan. He was rector at Nagasaki, whence he was exiled with his companions. He went to Manila and later to Macao, where he died in 1628. See Sommervogel's *Bibliographie*.

⁹¹ Melchor de Vera, S.J., was born at Madrid in 1585, and after being received into the Society in 1604, went to the Philip-

of the year 10. Of the other religious orders there were also some prominent members, divided among the other boats.

That noble fleet could not set sail until the last day of that year of 1615. It had been collected with the intention of going straightway in search of the enemy in their own forts and the chief stronghold of Malayo. But as the galleons from India did not arrive, which they had heard were wintering in Malaca; and knowing that at that time some ships were generally awaiting in its strait the trading-ships from China which pass that way, and that some good fortune could be secured from them: the governor considered it advisable to lay his course toward Malaca – whence he supposed that after the destruction of the enemy that he would cause there, and after having joined the Portuguese galleons, he would go straight to Malayo. It was a well founded idea, but founded on an uncertain end as are all human ideas and considerations. For besides that there were then no galleons in Malaca, because they had been burned in the manner above related, if the governor had not left these coasts, or at least had he sailed directly to those of Maluco, and even without leaving the bay of Manila, he would have had in a short time a victory equal to the past, and would have destroyed the help that came, because of his preparations, from Olanda by way of the coasts of

pinas in 1606, where he labored in the missions of the Bisayas and in Mindanao. He served as rector of Carigara, and superior at Bapitan and Zamboanga. His death occurred at the residence at Cebú, April 13, 1646. He was a good civil and military architect, and planned and directed the building of the fortifications at Zamboanga, and constructed the church of his residence at Cebú. See Sommervogel's *Bibliographie* and Murillo Velarde's *Historia*, book ii, chap. xxi.

Pirú and Nueva-España to these islands. For it happened that at the same time that Don Juan de Silva was going out by way of Miriveles with his fleet, one of the four governors of the state of Olanda was entering by way of Capulco [*i.e.*, Capul] with four large ships – his flagship being one called “Sol de Olando” [*i.e.*, “The sun of Holland”] – and two pataches. Those ships were coming straight to anchor at the same entrance of Mariveles, by which the fleet that we had fitted out had sailed one month previously.

That unlooked-for event caused great confusion in this city of Manila and the port of Cabite. Licentiate Andres de Alcaraz and the gentlemen of the royal Audiencia were governing. They put aside their togas and girded on their swords. They divided the most dangerous and important posts. One of them was charged with the fortification of Cabite, and the repair of three galleys and other boats that had been going to rack and ruin there; another with the casting of new pieces from the little metal remaining in the royal magazines, and he, because by its scarcity the sudden need for artillery could not be supplied, tried to use the waste left from former castings, by digging and sifting the earth around the ancient foundry. That was so excellent a scheme that three thousand arrobas of metal were collected in a few days. It is a cause for wonderment, and could not have been accomplished except by Spanish activity, stimulated by necessity and the energy of the Chinese, sharpened by the reward of three reals given them for each arroba. More than one thousand five hundred persons worked at the sifting, and at the casting of new pieces. As a result the necessary can-

non for the defense of Cabite and Manila were manufactured in a short time.

To that and other temporal precautions and efforts, were added at the same time the spiritual – acts of prayer and supplications, the most holy host being exposed in the cathedral, the convents, and the parochial churches, with the effect and devotion that exigency and need are wont to stimulate. The image of our Lady of Guidance was carried in solemn and devout procession from her church (which is located in the suburbs of this city) to the cathedral, where it was visited continually by the inhabitants, who could not tear themselves from it. In our residence the most holy host was also exposed to all the town, with the solemnity of service and sermon on the day that belonged to it; while on all other days it was especially exposed by Ours at the hour of prayer and devotion. Each priest was ordered to say a novena of masses, and those who were not priests a novena of rosaries, penitences, and other devotions. Similar and even advantageous action was taken in the other convents, churches, and communities of the city and surrounding villages.

The Lord, whose providence is always most notable in the greatest exigencies, was pleased to hear the united voice of this community, and induced our enemy, after they had lain at anchor for a fortnight in the bay in sight of Manila, to hoist their sails; and without doing more than seize one champan and send two letters by a prisoner – one to the commander of their nation [*i.e.*, van Caerden] who was a prisoner here, and the other to the royal Audiencia, asking for his ransom. But that could have no effect, for the miserable man had died a short time before in

his perfidy, exchanging his temporal for the eternal prison. [After sending these letters] the enemy returned to Terrenate, ridding this city of its great anxiety. On that occasion the religious served not only with spiritual weapons, but also with what temporal arms they could use and those that they knew how to manage. Among others was one of our brethren, whom the royal Audiencia charged with the management of the artillery of the port of Cabite, because of his skill in the art and of his bravery, which the occasion required. Another religious, also ours, by his good management prevented the soldiers of Cabite from burning that settlement, for they had already commenced at one of the houses, where were collected the goods of the Portuguese commander, who had come from España the year before as commander of certain caravels with reënforcements from the kingdoms of España. They considered it less wrong for us to burn them ourselves than to let the enemy make use of them. But that religious with his arguments and good management hindered it, and inspired them all to extinguish the fire. That was a cause of rejoicing afterward, when they saw the enemy go away and leave us, without forcing us to so costly a precaution.

While the above was passing in Manila, our fleet reached Malaca, and entered the strait February twenty-five. The enemy had left it one week previous, fleeing with all sails set, because of the secret advice that they had received that our fleet was going in search of them. The day following the arrival of our galleons, the two Chinese trading-ships entered the same strait, bearing all the wealth of India. It was a most fortunate event and was worthily cele-

brated by the public acclamations of the inhabitants of Malaca, who called Governor Don Juan de Silva their redeemer. They received him in their city under the pall, with demonstrations of joy and honors as if he were a viceroy, for as such did they regard him; and they assured themselves that with his valor and powerful fleet, they were to deliver India from the inopportune war and the continuous pillaging of the Dutch. But (O human misery!) fortune changed within a few days, and all those hopes were frustrated; it brought the governor to his bed with a mortal burning fever, which killed him in eleven days. During the course of those eleven days the city made a public procession from the cathedral church to the Misericordia, praying God for his health. On the day of his death – namely, April nineteen, 1616 – there were general mourning and tears from men, women, and even children, as if each one of them had lost a father.

Recognizing the approach of death, he received the holy sacraments, and performed many acts of faith and penitence, protesting that he was dying in the service of his king, and, as he hoped, in that of God, for his intent had been none but the conservation and increase of the Catholic faith and the destruction of heresy in those districts. And he said that if the natives had been harassed any, those molestations had not been intended and were unavoidable, for war brings them. He ordered his body to be embalmed and carried to this city of Manila in the flagship galley. From here he ordered his body to be carried to Xerez de los Cavalleros, where he ordered a convent of discalced Carmelites to be founded; and that his remains should be deposited in

the residences of the Society. Thus was it done in Malaca, and afterward here in Manila, where all that fleet arrived in the first part of June, on the eve of Corpus Christi, in the year of 1616. The mission and ministry of Ours and of the other religious who took part in the campaign had lasted for four months, in which they had a very abundant harvest of souls, discomforts and hardships; for they had been two months below the equator itself, where they suffered incomparable heat and drank poor water, which was the cause of the men catching the plague. And hence there was considerable to do, and in which to employ their fervor, particularly during Lent and Holy Week, which they spent at sea.⁹²

⁹² An account of this expedition is given in the first chapter of Murillo Velarde's *Historia* (Manila, 1749), evidently taken in part from the present account.

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2. *Dominicans, in re Audiencia.*—The same as No. 1.

3. *Letter from Juan de Silva.*—“Simancas – Secular; Audiencia de Filipinas; cartas y expedientes del presidente y oidores de dicha Audiencia vistos en el Consejo; años 1607 á 1626; est. 67, caj. 6, leg. 20.”

4. *Letters from Felipe III to Silva.*—“Audiencia de Filipinas; registros de oficio; reales ordenes dirigidas a las autoridades del distrito de la Audiencia; años 1597 á 1634; est. 105, caj. 2, leg. 1.”—except that of November 12, 1611, noted below.

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6. *Letters to Dominican provincial.*—The same as No. 4.

7. *Status of missions.*—The same as No. 3.

8. *Letter from Soria.*—The same as No. 5.

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12. *Decree regulating services.*—In lib. vi, tit. 12, ley 40.

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17. *Trade of the Philippines.*—From *Doc. inéd. Amér. y Oceanía*, vi, pp. 298-314.

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CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE GOV-
ERNORS OF THE PHILIPPINES
1565-1899
AND
THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE IS-
LANDS AT DIFFERENT PERIODS

LIST OF PHILIPPINE GOVERNORS

MIGUEL LOPEZ DE LEGAZPI – Native of Zubarraja (Zumárraga), Guipúzcoa, born in early part of sixteenth century; goes to Mexico in 1545, where he becomes clerk of the cabildo; appointed in 1561 to lead expedition to discover western islands; lands at Cebu April 27, 1565; begins fort and takes possession of Cebu and neighboring islands for Spain, May 8, 1565; takes possession of Manila, May 19, 1571; erects city of Manila, June 3, 1571, and appoints regidores, etc., June 24, 1571; death, August 20, 1572; term as governor February 13 (date of first anchorage near Cebu)-August 20, 1572; also adelantado or governor of the Ladrones.

GUIDO DE LABEZARES – Biscayan; accompanies Villalobos expedition of 1542; appointed royal treasurer of Legazpi's expedition, 1564; appointed by Mexico Audiencia by sealed instructions to succeed Legazpi in case of the latter's death; succeeds to governorship, August 20 (?), 1572; orders Salcedo to subdue Ilocos and found town of Fernandina (now Bigan), and orders subjection of Camarines, 1573; defends Manila against pirate Limahon, 1574; apportions encomiendas; term as governor (*ad interim*), August 20 (?), 1572-August 25, 1575; given appointment for life as master-of-camp, by

Felipe II, and encomiendas of which he has been deprived by Sande, restored to him.

DOCTOR FRANCISCO DE SANDE—Native of Cáceres; serves as attorney, criminal judge, and auditor in Mexico; succeeds Labezares, August 25, 1575; founds city of Nueva Cáceres; arrival of first Franciscans, 1577; expedition to Borneo, 1578; term as governor, August 25, 1575-April, 1580; becomes auditor in Mexico Audiencia.

GONZALO RONQUILLO DE PEÑALOSA—Native of Arevalo; alguazil-mayor in Mexico; contracts with king to colonize islands, for which to receive governorship for life; arrives at Manila, April, 1580; arrival of bishop and first Jesuits, 1581; founds Arévalo, 1581 or 1582; founds Nueva Cáceres, 1582; expedition to Maluco, 1582; imposes import and export duties, 1582; conflict between the bishop and Augustinians, 1582; sends Gabriel Rivera to Spain; death, March 10, 1583; term as governor, April, 1580-March 10, 1583.

DIEGO RONQUILLO—Nephew of preceding; appointed governor *ad interim* by royal decree, succeeding to government, March 10, 1583; first great Manila fire, March 19, 1583; term as governor March 10, 1583-May, 1584.

DOCTOR SANTIAGO DE VERA—Native of Alcalá de Henares; alcalde of Mexico; arrives at Manila, May 16, 1584; establishes first Audiencia of Manila, 1584; sends Diego Ronquillo prisoner to Spain, 1585; sends expedition to Maluco, 1585; Father Sanchez leaves for Spain, June 28, 1586; arrival of Dominicans for their first mission, 1587; constructs first stone fort, 1587; Candish captures "Santa Ana," November 4, 1587; insurrection in the Bisayas,

1588; term as governor, May 16, 1584-May, 1590; appointed auditor in Mexico Audiencia.

GOMEZ PEREZ DASMARIÑAS – Native of Galicia, and knight of Order of Santiago; corregidor of Murcia and Cartagena, 1589; appointed governor of Philippines, 1589; sails for Mexico, December 8, 1589; sails from Acapulco, March 1, 1590; arrives at Manila, May (June 1, according to his own letter, *q.v.*, VOL. VIII, p. 268), 1590; suppresses Audiencia, 1590; establishes regular camp, and fortifies and walls Manila; quarrels with bishop; contracts with Estevan Rodriguez de Figueroa to conquer Mindanao, May 12, 1591; correspondence with Japan, 1592; Bishop Salazar goes to Spain, 1592; embassy from Camboja, 1593; sails on Maluco expedition, October 19, 1593; murdered by Chinese rowers, October 25, 1593; term as governor, May (or June 1), 1590-October 25, 1593.

LICENTIATE PEDRO DE ROJAS – Auditor of Manila Audiencia, 1584; lieutenant-assessor, 1590; governor (*ad interim*), October-December (forty days) 1593; war affairs of islands in charge of Diego Ronquillo; appointed alcalde of Mexico, 1593.

LUIS PEREZ DASMARIÑAS – Son of Gomez Perez Dasmariñas, and knight of Order of Alcántara; receives governorship *ad interim*, by virtue of appointment of father, December (Zúñiga says 3), 1593; foundation in Manila of Confraternity of La Misericordia, 1594; arrival in Manila of Chinese mandarins, 1594; embassy from Siam, 1595; Figueroa's expedition to Mindanao, 1595; Morga arrives at Manila as lieutenant-governor, June 11, 1595; expedition to Camboja under Gallinato, 1596; term as governor, December 3, 1593-July 14, 1596 (San An-

tonio says the last of June). Some historians and chronologists say that Dr. Antonio de Morga acted as governor *ad interim* from his entrance into Manila, June 11, 1595, until Tello's arrival July 14, 1596, but he merely fulfilled the duties of his office of lieutenant-governor. In his letters after his arrival, and in his book, he distinctly states that Luis Perez Dasmariñas was governor. Tello says in a letter of July 17, 1596 (see VOL. IX, pp. 274-277), "In respect to the person of Don Luys Perez Dasmariñas, whom I found acting as governor." Consequently Morga is given no place in this list.

FRANCISCO DE TELLO DE GUZMÁN – Native of Sevilla, and knight of Order of Santiago; treasurer of India House of Trade; appointed governor and president of Audiencia, which he is ordered to re-establish, by royal decree, November 26, 1595; enters Manila, July 14, 1596; martyrdom of Franciscans in Japan, February 5, 1597; arrival of first archbishop, May 1598; Audiencia reestablished, May 8, 1598; arrivals of first suffragan bishops, 1598-1600; Moro invasions, 1599-1600; Morga's fight with Oliver van Noordt, December 14, 1600; Jesuit seminary of San José founded, 1601; term as governor, July 14, 1596-May, 1602; death in Manila, April 1603.

PEDRO BRAVO DE ACUÑA – Knight of the Order of St. John, and comendador of Salamanca; appointed governor of Cartagena in West Indies, 1593; appointed governor of the Philippines as early as January 16, 1600 (see VOL. XI, p. 312); instructions issued for, February 16, 1602; arrives at Manila, May, 1602; second fire in Manila, April 30, 1603; first Chinese insurrection, 1603; expedition to Ma-

lugo, January 15-May 31, 1606; Audiencia rules during his absence; first Japanese insurrection, 1606; death, June 24, 1606.

VACANT – The Audiencia takes charge of political affairs, and Auditor CRISTOBAL TELLEZ DE ALMANSA of military affairs, June 24, 1606; arrival of first Recollect mission, 1606; second insurrection of Japanese, 1607; Audiencia governs, June 24, 1606-June 15, 1608.

RODRIGO DE VIVERO – Native of Laredo; page to queen in Spain, and official in Nueva España; appointed governor (*ad interim*) by royal decree, July 7, 1607; arrives at Manila, June 15, 1608; issues instructions to alcaides-mayor; term as governor, June 15, 1608-April (Easter), 1609; appointed count of Valle, and governor and captain-general, and president of Audiencia of Panama.

JUAN DE SILVA – Native of Trujillo, and knight of the Order of Santiago; arrives in Manila April (Easter), 1609; brings reënforcements of five companies; victory over Wittert, April 25 (San Antonio says 24), 1610; arrival of fourth archbishop, Diego Vazquez de Mercado, June 4, 1610; fruitless expedition against Dutch, 1611; expedition in conjunction with Portuguese against Dutch, February 4, 1616 – April 19, 1616; death, April 19, 1616; Audiencia governs during absence; term as governor, April, 1609-April 19, 1616.

VACANT – The Audiencia takes charge of political affairs, and Auditor Licentiate ANDRÉS ALCARAZ of military affairs, as substitute for Jerónimo (uncle of Juan) de Silva, who is appointed governor (*ad interim*) in case of Juan de Silva's death, by royal decree of March 20 (Delgado) or 28 (San Antonio),

1616 (Alcaraz having been left in charge by Juan de Silva on his departure to Malaca); return of fleet, June 1, 1616; Spielberg bombards Iloilo, September 29, 1616, and is defeated next day; his defeat at Playa Honda by Juan Ronquillo, April 14, 1617; Jerónimo de Silva arrives from Maluco and takes charge of military affairs, September 30, 1617; Audiencia governs (after Juan de Silva's death), April 19, 1616-June 8 (Delgado), 1618.

ALONSO FAJARDO Y TENZA – Native of Murcia, knight of the Order of Alcántara, and seigneur of Espinardo; arrives at Cavite, July 2, 1618, and takes charge of government on the day following (but June 8 is the erroneous date given by Buzeta and Bravo); foundation of convent of Santa Clara, August-November 1, 1621; kills wife for adultery, 1621; checks insurrection in the Visayas, 1623; death from melancholy, July 11 (Delgado) or before July 23, 1624; term as governor, July 3, 1618-July, 1624.

VACANT – The Audiencia takes charge of political affairs, and JERONIMO DE SILVA of military affairs at death of Fajardo; Silva imprisoned by Audiencia for failure to pursue Dutch whom he puts to flight near Playa Honda, 1624; Audiencia governs, July, 1624-June, 1625.

FERNANDO DE SILVA – Native of Ciudad-Rodrigo, knight of the Order of Santiago, and former ambassador to Persia; appointed governor (*ad interim*) by viceroy of Mexico; arrives at Manila, June, 1625; term as governor, June 1625-June 29, 1626.

JUAN NIÑO DE TABORA – Native of Galicia, comendador of Puerto Llano, and knight of Order of Calatrava; master-of-camp in Flanders; arrives at Manila, June 29 (Retana, *Estadismo*, says wrongly July

29), 1626; despatches expedition against Moros, 1627-1630; builds Manila bridge and strengthens fortifications; death, July 22, 1632; term as governor, June 29, 1626-July 22, 1632.

VACANT – The Audiencia takes charge of political affairs, and LORENZO DE OLAZA (or Oloaso) of military affairs, being appointed by viceroy of Mexico; Audiencia governs July 22, 1632-about the middle of 1633.

JUAN CEREZO DE SALAMANCA – Appointed governor (*ad interim*) by viceroy of Mexico; expeditions against Moros, 1634-1635; term as governor, about middle of 1633-June 25, 1635.

SEBASTIÁN HURTADO DE CORCUERA – Native of Berbenda (Bergüenda) in the mountains of Burgos (some say of Vitoria, in province Alava), knight of the Order of Alcántara, and ex-governor of Panama; arrives in Manila, June 25, 1635; term notable for troubles with archbishop and ecclesiastics; expeditions against Moros, 1637-1638; Chinese insurrection, November, 1639-March, 1640; Formosa captured by Dutch, August 24, 1642; gives first ordinances for good government in the Philippines, 1642; term as governor, June 25, 1635-August 11, 1644; arrested and held prisoner for five years by successor; released by order of king and appointed (1659) governor of Canaries; death at Tenerife, August 12, 1660.

DIEGO FAJARDO – Knight of the Order of Santiago; takes office, August 11, 1644; dominated by secretary Eustacio de Venegas, until September 15, 1651; naval battles with, and victories over, Dutch, March, July, and August, 1646; fortifies city; term as governor, August 11, 1644-July 25, 1653.

SABINIANO MANRIQUE DE LARA – Native of Málaga, knight of the Order of Calatrava, and ex-castellan of Acapulco; arrives at Cavite, July 22, 1653; takes possession of government, July 25 (Retana, *Estadismo*, says July 28), 1653; earthquake in Manila, August 20, 1658; insurrections among natives 1660-1661; Chinese insurrection, 1662; term marked by partial cessation in ecclesiastical troubles and outbreaks of Moros; term as governor, July 25, 1653-September 8, 1663; returns to Málaga after residencia and becomes priest.

DIEGO DE SALCEDO – Native of Brussels, an army officer; appointed governor by royal provision, December 2, 1661; arrives at Manila, overland from Cagayan, September 8, 1663; troubles with archbishop and ecclesiastics lead to his arrest by the Holy Office of the Inquisition, September 28, 1668; term as governor, September 8, 1663-September 28, 1668; sent to Mexico for trial in 1669, but dies at sea; Inquisition of Mexico exonerates.

JUAN MANUEL DE LA PEÑA BONIFAZ – Junior auditor of Manila Audiencia; succeeds as governor (*ad interim*) by trickery, September 28(?), 1668; term as governor September 28(?), 1668-September 24, 1669; takes refuge in Recollect convent.⁹³

MANUEL DE LEON – Native of Paredes de Nava, and military officer; appointed by royal provision June 24, 1668; arrives in Manila, September 24, 1669; conflict with archbishop, 1673; death, April 11, 1677; term as governor, September 24, 1669-April 11, 1677.

⁹³ Inasmuch as Bonifaz, although junior auditor, obtained the office by trickery he was a true governor *ad interim*, and the Audiencia did not have charge of political affairs.

VACANT – The Audiencia takes charge of political affairs, and Auditors FRANCISCO COLOMA and FRANCISCO SOTOMAYOR Y MANSILLA, successively, of military affairs; death of former, September 25, 1677; term of latter, September 25, 1677-September 21, 1678 (Delgado says September 22, 1679); Audiencia governs, April 11, 1677-September 21, 1678.

JUAN DE VARGAS HURTADO – Native of Toledo, knight of the Order of Santiago, and military officer; appointed by royal provision, June 18, 1677; arrives at Manila, September 21, 1678 (Retana, *Estadismo*, says that he took charge of the government September 29); rebuilds college of Santa Potenciana; trouble with Archbishop Felipe Pardo; term as governor, September 28, 1678-August 24, 1684; is excommunicated; residencia lasts four years; dies at sea on way to Mexico, 1690.

GABRIEL DE CURUZEALEGUI Y ARRIOLA – Knight of the Order of Santiago, naval officer, member of council of war, and twenty-fourth regidor of Sevilla; arrives at Manila, August 24, 1684; reinstates archbishop, and exiles auditors; death, April 17 (Delgado and San Antonio) or 27 (Zúñiga), 1689; term as governor, August 24, 1684-April 17 or 27, 1689.

VACANT – The Audiencia takes charge of political affairs and Auditor ALONSO DE AVILA FUERTES, knight of the Order of Alcántara; Audiencia governs, April 17 or 27, 1689-July 19 (Delgado, and Buzeta and Bravo) or 25 (Zúñiga and Montero y Vidal), 1690.

FAUSTO CRUZAT Y GONGORA – Native of Navarra of a distinguished Pamplona family, and knight of the Order of Santiago; appointed by royal provision, January 15 (Delgado) or 31 (San Antonio), 1686;

arrives at Manila, July 19 or 25, 1690; issues ordinances of good government, October 1, 1696; rebuilds governor's palace; term characterized by ecclesiastical troubles; term as governor, July 19 or 25, 1690-December 8, 1701.

DOMINGO ZABÁLBURU DE ECHEVARRI – Knight of the Order of Santiago, and military officer; appointed governor, September 18, 1694; arrives at Manila, December 8 (San Antonio says September), 1701; attends to public works; receives papal legate to China, Cárlos Tomás Maillard Tournon, without credentials (which leads to his dismissal by the king), September, 1704; term as governor, December 8, 1701-August 25, 1709; returns to Spain, 1710.

MARTIN DE URZUA Y ARISMENDI – Count of Lizaraga, and knight of the Order of Santiago; appointed by royal provision, August 19, 1704; arrives at Manila, August 25, 1709; diminishes number of Chinese at Manila; schism between Recollects, and other ecclesiastical troubles; death, February 4, 1715; term as governor, August 25, 1709-February 4, 1715.

VACANT – The Audiencia takes charge of political affairs, and Auditor Doctor JOSÉ TORRALBA of military affairs; carries on public works; Audiencia governs, February 4, 1715-August 9, 1717; Torralba arrested by next governor for deficit and misuse of funds; dies in Philippines in poverty, with sentence by Council of Indies of exile from Madrid and Manila.

FERNANDO MANUEL DE BUSTILLO BUSTAMENTE Y RUEDA – Usually called the “Mariscal,” because he was the first mariscal-de-campo to govern the islands; ex-alcalde-mayor of Trascala, in Nueva Es-

pañã; appointed governor by royal provision, September 6, 1708; arrives at Manila, August 9, 1717; severe in judgments; reestablishes garrison at Zamboanga; his troubles with the ecclesiastics lead to arrest of archbishop, and to his assassination by a mob (said by some to have been instigated by Jesuits), October 11, 1719; term as governor, August 9, 1717-October 11, 1719.

FRAY FRANCISCO DE LA CUESTA – Of the Order of San Gerónimo; native of Colmenar de Oreja; elected archbishop of Manila, August 12, 1712; arrested by Bustillo Bustamente; becomes governor (*ad interim*), on refusal of auditors to serve, October 11, 1719; term as governor, October 11, 1719-August 6, 1721; transferred to bishopric of Mechoacan, Mexico, entering, April 18, 1724; death, May 30 (Retana) or 31 (Buzeta and Bravo), 1724.

TORIBIO JOSÉ COSÍO Y CAMPO – Marquis of Torre Campo, knight of the Order of Calatrava, and ex-governor of Guatemala; appointed governor by royal provision, June 30, 1720; ordered by royal instructions to investigate death of Bustamente, October 6, 1720; arrives at Manila, August 6, 1721; does not investigate Bustamente's death, although ordered again (1724) to do so by the king, acting on the advice of the Franciscan Totanes and the Jesuits; troubles with Moros continue throughout his rule; term as governor, August 6, 1721-August 14, 1729.

FERNANDO VALDÉS Y TAMON – Colonel and brigadier, and knight of the Order of Santiago; appointed by royal provision, October 25, 1727; arrives at Manila, August 14, 1729; unsuccessfully attempts conquest of Palaos 1730-1733; reforms army and engages in other public works; receives royal decree

of April 8, 1734, deciding suit favorably to islands with merchants of Cádiz and Sevilla over Chinese trade between American colonies and islands; term as governor, August 14, 1729-July, 1739; returns to Spain and appointed mariscal-de-campo.

GASPAR DE LA TORRE – Native of Flanders, brigadier of royal armies and gentleman of the king's bedchamber; arrives at Manila, July, 1739; expedition of Admiral George Anson occurs during his rule; harsh in government; death, September 21 (Buzeta and Bravo say 29), 1745; term as governor, July 1739-September 21, 1745.

FRAY JUAN ARRECHEDERRA – Native of Caracas, Dominican, bishop-elect of Nueva Segovia; becomes governor (*ad interim*), September 21, 1745; quells insurrection in Batangas; fortifies Manila and Cavite against English; term as governor, September 21, 1745-July 20 (Buzeta and Bravo, and Mas say June), 1750; death, November 12, 1751 (Delgado; Retana, *Estadismo*, says wrongly 1755).

JOSÉ FRANCISCO DE OBANDO Y SOLÍS – Native of Cáceres in Estremadura, marquis of Obando, member of his Majesty's council, and mariscal-de-campo of royal armies; in Lima when receives appointment; arrives at Manila, July 20, 1750; troubles with Audiencia and archbishop; troubles with Moros; term as governor, July 20, 1750-July, 1754; annoying residencia; death at sea, while on his way from Manila to Acapulco, 1755.

PEDRO MANUEL DE ARANDÍA SANTISTEBAN – Native of Ceuta, of Biscayan descent, knight of the Order of Calatrava, gentleman of bedchamber of the king of the Two Sicilies, captain of the royal Spanish guards, and mariscal-de-campo of the royal armies;

arrives at Manila, July (Retana, *Estadismo*, says June), 1754; reforms army and thereby incurs enmities; troubles with Moros continue; expels infidel Chinese and builds alcaicería of San Fernando; troubles with Audiencia and archbishop; death, May 31, 1759; term as governor, July, 1754-May 31, 1759.

MIGUEL LINO DE EZPELETA—Native of Manila, and bishop of Cebú; becomes governor (*ad interim*), against consent of part of Audiencia, June (Mas says July), 1759; archbishop claims governorship on his arrival at Manila, but opposed successfully by Ezpeleta; revokes ordinances of good government made by Arandía; brings suit against Santiago Orendáin, favorite of Arandía; royal decree gives governorship to archbishop, July, 1761; term as governor, June, 1759-July, 1761.

MANUEL ROJO—Native of Tala, Nueva España, and archbishop of Manila; takes possession of church, July 22, 1759; becomes governor (*ad interim*), July 1761; quashes case against Orendáin; bombardment, taking, and sack of Manila by English, and cowardice and imprisonment of archbishop, October, 1762; term as governor July, 1761-October, 1762, although maintained as governor by English until death; death as prisoner, January 30, 1764.

SIMON DE ANDA Y SALAZAR—Native of Subijana, born October 28, 1701; auditor; appointed by Audiencia lieutenant of the governor and captain-general; leaves Manila, October 4, 1762; establishes capital in Bacolor, Pampanga, and has himself proclaimed governor; British maintain archbishop as governor until his death, who cedes islands to them; insurrections of natives and Chinese, 1762-1764; ne-

gotiations with English, 1763-1764; term as governor (*ad interim*), October, 1762-March 17, 1764; receives keys to city from British, April, 1764.

FRANCISCO JAVIER DE LA TORRE – Military officer; becomes governor (*ad interim*), March 17, 1764; British evacuate Manila, April, 1764; tries to restore order; term as governor, March 17, 1764-July 6, 1765.

JOSÉ RAON – Native of Navarra, and mariscal-de-campo; arrives in Manila, July 6, 1765; Le Gentil arrives at Manila, October, 1766; Archbishop Santa Justa y Rufina takes his seat July 12, 1767; his conflicts with regular clergy; Raón revises ordinances of Arandía; expulsion of Chinese, 1769; expulsion of Jesuits and Raón's collusion with them; term as governor, July 6, 1765-July, 1770; death, during residencia at Manila.

SIMON DE ANDA Y SALAZAR – Well received at court on return after 1764, and made councilor of Castilla; directs letter to king complaining of certain disorders in the Philippines, enumerating among them a number against the friars, April 12, 1768; arrives at Manila as governor, July, 1770; proceeds against predecessor and others; rouses opposition of regulars; reforms army and engages in other public works; troubles with Moros continue; opposes king's order of November 9, 1774, to secularize curacies held by regulars, and the order repealed, December 11, 1776; rule characterized by his energy, foresight, honesty, and conflicts with the regulars; death, October 30, 1776, at seventy-six years of age; term as governor, July, 1770-October 30, 1776.

PEDRO SARRIO (Soriano: Buzeta and Bravo) – Official in Manila; becomes governor (*ad interim*),

October 30, 1776 (Mas says July) ; continues operations against Moros; royal order to Indians to cultivate flax and hemp, January 12, 1777; term as governor, October 30-July 1778.

JOSÉ BASCO Y VARGAS – Born of an illustrious Granada family, and naval officer; arrives at Manila, July, 1778; Chinese allowed to return to Manila, 1778; opposed by Audiencia, some of whom, with certain military officers, he arrests for conspiracy, October, 1779; increases army and strengthens fortifications; tobacco monopoly established February 9, 1780-March 1, 1782; *Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País* (“Economic Association of Friends of the Country”) established, 1781; insurrection in Ituy and Paniqui, 1785; royal approval of powder monopoly, November 4, 1786; various innovations occur during his term; encourages agriculture and other industries; asks to be relieved because of opposition from Audiencia; at king’s permission sails for Spain, in the latter part of November, 1787; term as governor, July, 1778-November, 1787; appointed rear-admiral, governor of Cartagena, and count of the Conquest of the Batanes Islands (which he had conquered).

PEDRO DE SARRIO – Appointed governor (*ad interim*) for the second time, November 22, 1787, on departure of Basco; insurrection in Ilocos because of tobacco monopoly, 1787; death of archbishop Santa Justa y Rufina, December 15, 1787; term as governor, November 22, 1787-July 1, 1788.

FÉLIX BERENGUER DE MARQUINA – Naval officer; arrives at Manila July 1 (Buzeta and Bravo, and Retana say May), 1787; opposed by Audiencia; Ma-

nila becomes an open port for all but European products, by royal decree of August 15, 1789; proposes plans for government reforms in the Philippines; term as governor, July 1, 1788-September 1, 1793.

RAFAEL MARÍA DE AGUILAR Y PONCE DE LEON – Knight of the Order of Alcántara, military officer, and gentleman of the bedchamber; arrives at Cavite, August 28, 1793; enters government, September 1, 1793; strengthens fortifications, levies native troops, and inculcates various reforms; conflicts with Moros continue, and shipyard established (1794) at Binondo to build boats for Moro war; receives title of mariscal-de-campo; energetic and tireless; hands over government to king's deputy or *segundo cabo*, August 7, 1806; term as governor, September 1, 1793-August 7, 1806; death, August 8, 1806.

MARIANO FERNANDEZ DE FOLGUERAS – Native of Galicia; becomes governor (*ad interim*), August 7, 1806; insurrection in Ilocos, 1807; English commercial house given permission to establish itself in the islands, 1809; term as governor, August 7, 1806-March 4, 1810.

MANUEL GONZALEZ DE AGUILAR – Knight of the Order of Santiago, and military officer; arrives at Manila, March 4, 1810; in accordance with royal decrees of January 29 and February 14, 1810, permitting deputies from the colonies to be chosen for the Spanish Cortes, Philippine deputies are present in that of September 24, 1810; proposes cessation of Acapulco ship, 1810; insurrection (anti-friar and to establish new religion) in Ilocos, 1811; first newspaper established in Philippines, August 8, 1811; Spanish constitution of 1812 publicly received in Manila, April 17, 1813; Aguilar's term

marked by various commercial movements; term as governor, March 4, 1810-September 4, 1813.

JOSÉ GARDOQUI JARAVEITIA – Naval officer; arrives at Manila, September 4, 1813; cessation of Acapulco ship; term marked by various governmental changes in consequence of decrees issued by Fernando VII, by certain commercial changes, and troubles with Moros; death, December 9, 1816; term as governor, September 4, 1813-December 9, 1816.

MARIANO FERNANDEZ DE FOLGUERAS – Becomes governor (*ad interim*) for the second time, December 10, 1816; province of Ilocos Norte created, February 2, 1818; orders reestablishment of *Real Sociedad Económica de Filipinas* (“Royal Economic Association of Filipinas”), December 17, 1819; massacre of foreigners by natives, October 9-10, 1820; establishment of three short-lived newspapers in 1821; term marked by closer connection with Spain; term as governor, December 10, 1816-October 30, 1822; assassinated in insurrection of Spanish-Americans and Filipinos, 1823.

JUAN ANTONIO MARTÍNEZ – Native of Madrid, and mariscal-de-campo; arrives at Manila, October 30, 1822; accompanied by many new officials from Spain; insurrection of Filipinos and Spanish-Americans in consequence; newspaper founded by El Sociedad de Amigos del Pais, 1724; reactionary movements of Spain affect Philippines; term as governor, October 30, 1822-October 14, 1825; death, at sea while on way to Spain.

MARINAO RICAFORT PALACÍN Y ARARCA – Native of Murcia, mariscal-de-campo, and perpetual ambassador of the city of Paz, Peru; arrives at Manila, October 14, 1825; forbids foreigners to sell goods at

retail, February 4, 1828; makes laws in many different directions; gives instructions for government of Mariana Islands, December 17, 1828; foundation of Dominican college in Ocaña, Spain, as a feeder for China and the Philippines, May 2, 1830 (approved, August 15, 1831); returns to Spain, December 23, 1830; term as governor, October 14, 1825-December 23, 1830.

PASCUAL ENRILE Y ALCEDO – Native of Cadiz, military officer and segundo cabo of the Philippines; becomes governor, December 23, 1830; expedition to Igorrotes, 1831-1832; lottery established, July 3, 1833; royal tribunal of commerce created in Manila, January 1, 1834; *Guia de Forasteros* (Guide book for strangers) first printed, 1834; Compañía de Filipinas dissolved by royal order of September 6, 1834; royal order of November 3, 1834, substitutes segundo cabo in office of governor, in case of latter's absence, sickness, or death; many useful laws passed and islands prosper during this term; term as governor, December 23, 1830-March 1, 1835.

GABRIEL DE TORRES – Native of Valladolid province, and segundo cabo of the Philippines; becomes governor, March 1, 1835; death, April 23, 1835; term as governor, March 1, 1835-April 23, 1835.

JUAN CRÁMER (Montero y Vidal) Juakin de Crame (Mas, and Buzeta and Bravo) – Native of Cataluña; becomes governor (*ad interim*) as office of segundo cabo vacant, April 23, 1835; term as governor, April 23, 1835-September 9, 1835.

PEDRO ANTONIO SALAZAR CASTILLO Y VARONA – Native of Ibrillos (Rioja), and military officer; comes to Manila with appointment as segundo cabo; becomes governor (*ad interim*), September 9, 1835;

royal council of Spain and the Indies abolished by royal decree, September 28, 1836; by the promulgation in Madrid (June 18, 1837) of the political constitution of the Spanish monarchy, the Philippines lose their representation in the Cortés; term as governor, September 9, 1835-August 27, 1837.

ANDRÉS GARCÍA CAMBA – Knight of the Order of Santiago, and mariscal-de-campo; captured with royal army at battle of Ayacucho, Peru, December 9, 1824; residence in Manila April, 1825-March, 1835; receives royal approbation to appointment as commander-in-chief of military forces at Manila, May 22, 1826; appointed director of *La Sociedad Económica de Amigos del Pais*; elected to represent the Philippines in Spanish Cortés, 1834; appointed secretary of war (*ad interim*), August 15, 1836; elected to Cortés to represent Lugo (but did not sit), October 2, 1836; arrives at Manila, August 24, 1837; takes charge of government, August 27, 1837; given name of “El Deseado” (“the desired”); is opposed politically and by the ecclesiastics; term as governor, August 27, 1837-December 29, 1838; after return to Spain, elected senator for Valencia; minister of the marine, commerce, and government of the colonies, May 21, 1841-May 25, 1842.

LUIS LARDIZÁBAL – Arrives at Manila, December 26, 1838; enters upon government, December 29 (Montero y Vidal) or 30 (Mas), 1838; first issue of weekly paper, *Precios corrientes de Manila* (“Prices current in Manila”) in Spanish and English, July 6, 1839; province of Nueva Vizcaya created, 1839; project for monument to Magalhães on the islet of Mactan submitted to supreme government, 1840; solicits recall; term as governor, De-

ember 29, 1838-February, 1841; death at sea on return voyage to Spain.

MARCELINO DE ORAÁ LECUMBERRI—Native of Navarra, and lieutenant-general; arrives at Manila, February, 1841; insurrections among Tagáls, the second of native soldiers, 1841 and 1843; newspaper *Seminario filipino* first published, 1843; term as governor, February, 1841-June 17, 1843.

FRANCISCO DE PAULA ALCALÁ DE LA TORRE—Native of Extremadura, and lieutenant-general; becomes governor, June 17 (Buzeta and Bravo say 12), 1843; Isabel II declared of age and received as queen of Spain, December 1, 1843; Alcalá makes laws regulating commerce, the army, and welfare of the islands; term as governor, June 17, 1843-July 16, 1844.

NARCISO CLAVERÍA Y ZALDUA—Native of Gerona (but of Biscayan origin), and lieutenant-general; becomes governor, July 16, 1844; calendar in Philippines corrected, 1844; makes reforms in office of alcalde-mayor, 1844; founds casino called "Sociedad de recreo" ("Recreation Association"), October 31, 1844; his proposal to establish military library approved, February 15, 1846; first steam war-vessels in the Philippines bought (in London), 1848; conquest of island of Balanguingui, 1848, for which he receives the titles of count of Manila and viscount of Clavería, and the cross of San Fernando, besides other rewards; regular clergy forbidden to alienate property, January 15, 1849; surnames given to natives, November 11, 1849; his term marked by intense activity, and the number of papers founded, among them being the first daily of Manila, *La Esperanza*, (December 1, 1846), and *Diario de Manila* (1848); asks retirement and returns to

Spain, December 26, 1849; term as governor, July 16, 1844-December 26, 1849.

ANTONIO MARÍA BLANCO – Segundo cabo; becomes governor (*ad interim*), December 26, 1849; monthly lottery established in Manila, January 29, 1850; creates province of Unión, March 2, 1850; term as governor, December 26, 1849-June 29, 1850.

ANTONIO DE URBISTONDO Y EGUÍA – Native of San Sebastián, and marquis of Solana; formerly a Carlist; becomes governor June 29, 1850; leper hospital founded in Cebú, 1850; bank Español-filipino established, August 1, 1851, and begins operations, 1852; expedition to, and conquest of, Joló, 1851; term characterized by many administrative laws; solicits retirement; term as governor, July 29, 1850-December 20, 1853; appointed minister of war by royal decree, October 12, 1856.

RAMON MONTERO Y BLANDINO – Segundo cabo of the Philippines; becomes governor (*ad interim*), December 20, 1853; term as governor, December 20, 1853-February 2, 1854.

MANUEL PAVÍA Y LAY – Marquis de Novaliches, lieutenant-general, head of department of infantry; appointed without previous consultation, September, 1853; arrives at Manila, February 2, 1854; reëquips army; mutiny of portion of native troops suppressed; monthly mail between Manila and Hongkong established; leaves Manila, October 28, after thanking religious orders (October 27) for coöperation; term as governor, February 2-October 28, 1854.

RAMON MONTERO Y BLANDINO – Becomes governor (*ad interim*) for the second time, October 28, 1854; term as governor, October 28-November 20, 1854.

MANUEL CRESPO Y CEBRIÁN – Native of Extrema-

dura, and formerly segundo cabo of the Philippines; becomes governor, November 20, 1854; expedition against Igorrotes, December, 1855-February, 1856; resigns December 5, 1856; term as governor, November 20, 1854-December 5, 1856.

RAMON MONTERO Y BLANDINO – Becomes governor (*ad interim*), for the third time, December 5, 1856; term as governor, December 5, 1856-March 9, 1857.

FERNANDO NORZAGARAY Y ESCUDERO – Native of San Sebastian, and lieutenant-general; enters upon office, March 9, 1857; authorizes establishments of houses of exchange, June 18, 1857; sends expedition to Cochinchina to aid French, 1858; reforms in local administration ordered, August 30, 1858; infantry reorganized by order of September 23, 1859; first Jesuit mission after reinstatement of order, reaches Philippines in middle of 1859; several papers founded during his term; encourages agriculture; solicits recall because of ill-health; term as governor, March 9, 1857-January 12, 1860.

RAMON MARÍA SOLANO Y LLANDERAL – Native of Valencia, mariscal-de-campo, and segundo cabo of Philippines; becomes governor (*ad interim*), January 12, 1860; pawnshop authorized in Manila, January 18; issues decree for civil government of province of Manila, January 31; functions of bank Español-filipino extended, February 16; Jagor travels through the Bisayas; term as governor January 12-August 29, 1860; death from fever (with rumor in Manila of poisoning), August 30.

JUAN HERRERA DÁVILA – Sub-inspector of artillery; becomes governor (*ad interim*), August 29, 1860; civil administration of provinces of the colonies organized, and Audiencia in Manila reformed, July

9, 1860; printing of *Coleccion de autos acordados* authorized, January 10, 1861; regularly appointed governor, general of marine Mac-Crohon, dies in Red Sea while on way to Philippines; term as governor, August 29, 1860-February 2, 1861.

JOSÉ LEMERY É IBARROLA NEY Y GONZÁLEZ – Senator of the kingdom; becomes governor, February 2, 1861; politico-military governments installed in Bisayas and Mindanao, April 1, 1861; Jesuits given Mindanao as mission field, and opposed by Recollects; operations against Moros; delivers command to segundo cabo, July 7, 1862; term as governor, February 2, 1861-July 7, 1862.

SALVADOR VALDÉS – Segundo cabo; becomes governor (*ad interim*), July 7, 1862; term as governor, July 7-9, 1862.

RAFAEL DE ECHAGUE Y BERMINGHAN – Native of San Sebastián, lieutenant-general, and governor at Puerto Rico; arrives at Manila, July 9, 1862; various insurrections, 1863; earthquake, June 3, 1863; creation of ministry of colonies, 1863; normal school established, January 23, 1865; term marked by various calamities; term as governor, July 9, 1862-March 24, 1865.

JOAQUIN DEL SOLAR É IBÁÑEZ – Segundo cabo of the Philippines; becomes governor (*ad interim*), March 24, 1865; reforms in various branches of government, 1865; term as governor, March 24, 1865-April 25, 1865.

JUAN DE LARA É IRIGOYEN – Native of Navarra, lieutenant-general, and ex-minister of war; assumes office, April 25, 1865; Antonio Cánovas del Castillo appointed minister of the colonies, July 3, 1865; erection of bishopric of Jaro, by bull of Pius IX,

1865; establishment of Jesuit institution Ateneo Municipal at Manila, 1865; recalled for corruption of government; term as governor, April 25, 1865-July 13, 1866.

JOSÉ LAUREANO DE SANZ Y POSSE – Mariscal-de-campo, and segundo cabo elect because of former incumbent of that office having left islands with Lara; term as governor (*ad interim*), July 13-September 21, 1866.

ANTONIO OSORIO – Naval officer; becomes governor (*ad interim*), September 21, 1866; term as governor, September 21-September 27, 1866.

JOAQUÍN DEL SOLAR – Becomes governor (*ad interim*), for the second time, September 27, 1866; term as governor, September 27-October 26, 1866.

JOSÉ DE LA GÁNDARA Y NAVARRO – Lieutenant-general; becomes governor, October 26, 1866; uniform monetary system adopted; reforms primary education, 1867-1868; resigns office; term as governor, October 26, 1866-June 7, 1869.

MANUEL MALDONADO – Segundo cabo of islands; becomes governor (*ad interim*), June 7, 1869; term as governor, June 7-June 23, 1869.

CÁRLOS MARÍA DE LA TORRE Y NAVA CERRADA – Native of Cuenca, and lieutenant-general; becomes governor, June 23, 1869; constitution of 1869 sworn to, September 21, 1869; projects monument to Anda y Salazar; question of removing the monopoly on tobacco; *guardia civil* created; radical in government; term as governor, June 23, 1869-April 4, 1871.

RAFAEL DE IZQUIERDO Y GUTIERREZ – Native of Santander, and lieutenant-general; becomes governor, April 4, 1871; insurrections in Cavite and Zamboanga, 1872; reforms in army; opening of

steamship line and telegraph lines; governor resigns because of ill-health; term as governor, April 4, 1871-January 8, 1873.

MANUEL MAC-CROHON – Naval officer, becomes governor (*ad interim*), as office of segundo cabo vacant, January 8, 1873; term as governor, January 8-24 (?), 1873.

JUAN ALAMINOS Y DE VIVAR – Becomes governor, January 24 (?), 1873; conflict with archbishop and other ecclesiastics; steamship line established between Manila and Spain; various ports opened for commerce; term as governor, January 24 (?), 1873-March 17, 1874.

MANUEL BLANCO VALDERRAMA – Becomes governor (*ad interim*), March 17, 1874; repulse of Joloans; hands over government to regularly appointed governor, June 18, 1874.

JOSÉ MALCAMPO Y MONJE – Marques de San Rafael and rear-admiral; becomes governor, June 18, 1874; conquest of Joló, 1876; given title of count of Mindanao, December 19, 1876; mutiny of artillerymen; term as governor, June 18, 1874-February 28, 1877; given titles of count of Joló and viscount of Mindanao, July 20, 1877.

DOMINGO MORIONES Y MURILLO – Marquis of Oroquieta, and lieutenant-general; becomes governor, February 28, 1877; takes drastic measures against mutinous artillery regiment, 1877; prevents sale of tobacco monopoly, 1877; constructs Manila waterworks, 1878; term as governor, February 28, 1877-March 18 or 20, 1880.

RAFAEL RODRÍGUEZ ARIAS – Naval officer; becomes governor (*ad interim*), March 18 or 20, 1880; term as governor, March 18-April 15, 1880.

FERNANDO PRIMO DE RIVERA – Marquis of Estella; becomes governor, April 15, 1880; cable opened between Luzón and Spain, 1880; royal decree orders repeal of tobacco monopoly, 1881; term marked by corruption in public offices; term as governor, April 15, 1880-March 10, 1883.

EMILIO MOLÍNS – Segundo cabo of Philippines; governor (*ad interim*), March 10-April 7, 1883.

JOAQUÍN JOVELLAR – General; becomes governor, April 7, 1883; decrease of annual period of personal services from forty to fifteen days, and creation of provincial tax, 1883; plan for railroads in Luzón approved, 1883; visits southern islands, 1884; tribute abolished and tax of *cédula personal* substituted, 1884; Jesuit observatory at Manila declared official, 1884; term as governor, April 7, 1883-April 1, 1885.

EMILIO MOLÍNS – Becomes governor (*ad interim*), for second time, and rules three days, April 1-4, 1885.

EMILIO TERRERO Y PERINAT – Lieutenant-general; becomes governor, April 4, 1885; leads expedition in person against Moros, 1885; dispute between Spain and Germany as to ownership of Carolinas, 1885; term as governor, April 4, 1885-1888.

ANTONIO MOLTO – Segundo cabo, term as governor (*ad interim*), 1888.

FEDERICO LOBATON – Naval officer; term as governor (*ad interim*), only one day in 1888.

March 1, 1888, a petition signed by eight hundred and ten natives and mestizos demands immediate expulsion of the friars of the religious orders and of the archbishop, the secularization of benefices, and the confiscation of the estates of Augustinians and Dominicans.

VALERIANO WÉYLER – Native of Majorca, marquis

of Tenerife, and son of a German doctor; becomes governor, 1888; said to have purchased office from minister's wife; school of agriculture established in Manila, 1889; practical school of arts and trades established, 1890; telephone system established in Philippines, 1890; Dominican secondary school established in Dagupan, 1891; said to have received money from religious orders for armed support against their tenants; term as governor, 1888-1891; later minister of war at Madrid.

EULOGIO DESPUJOL – Native of Cataluña, and count of Caspe; becomes governor, 1891; Liga filipina (Philippine League) founded in Manila by Rizal, 1892; introduces many reforms; popular with natives; arouses wrath of religious orders, who are said to have paid \$100,000 for his dismissal; term as governor, 1891-1893.

FEDERICO OCHANDO – Governor (*ad interim*), 1893.

RAMON BLANCO – Becomes governor, 1893; electric light established in Manila, 1895; formation of Katipunan society; outbreak of insurrection, August 30, 1896; Blanco opposed by ecclesiastics; term as governor, 1893-December 9 (date of royal decree removing him), 1896.

CAMILO POLAVIEJA – General; becomes governor, December 13, 1896 (Algué); Rizal executed, December 30, 1896; Tagál republic proclaimed, October, 1896; insurrection spreads; operations against insurgents by General Lachambre, 1897; Polavieja issues amnesty proclamation, January 11, 1897; efficient service of loyal Filipino troops; term as governor, December 13, 1896-April 15, 1897.

JOSÉ DE LACHAMBRE – General; governor (*ad interim*), April 15-23, 1897.

FERNANDO PRIMO DE RIVERA – Becomes governor for the second time, April 23, 1897; insurgents scattered, and more than thirty thousand natives said to have been killed in one province; pact of Biaknabato signed, December 14, 1897; re-occurrence of insurrections in Luzón, 1898; term as governor, April 23, 1897-April 11, 1898.

BASILIO AUGUSTIN – Becomes governor, April 11, 1898; Dewey's victory, May 1, 1898.

FERMÍN JÁUDENS – Becomes governor (*ad interim*), 1898; peace preliminaries, surrender of Manila, and entrance of Americans (August 13) into Manila.

FRANCISCO RIZZO – General; becomes governor (*ad interim*), 1898.

DIEGO DE LOS RÍOS – Becomes governor, with capital at Iloílo, 1898; treaty of Paris signed, December 10, 1898; term as governor, after August 13, 1898-December 10, 1898; leaves Manila, January 1, 1899.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ The following authorities were used in compiling the above list of governors: Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* (Mexico, 1609); Argensola, *Conquistas de las Malucas* (Madrid, 1609); Colin, *Labor evangelica* (Madrid, 1663) – who mentions as authorities the authors Morga, Grijalva, and Chirino; San Antonio, *Chronicas*, parte primera (Manila, 1738); Murillo Velarde, *Historia* (Manila, 1749); Delgado, *Historia general* (Manila, 1892); La Concepción, *Historia general* (Sampaloc, 1788-1792); Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Filipinas* (Sampaloc, 1803), and *Estadismo* (Retana's ed., Madrid, 1893); Mas, *Informe de las Islas Filipinas* (Madrid, 1843); Buzeta and Bravo, *Diccionario* (Madrid, 1851); Montero y Vidal, *Historia general* (Madrid, 1887), and *Historia de la piratería* (Madrid, 1888); Combés, *Historia de Mindanao y Jolo* (Retana's ed., Madrid, 1897); *Catálogo de la exposición general de las Islas Filipinas* (Madrid, 1887); Algué, *Archipiélago Filipino* (Washington, 1900); Sawyer, *Inhabitants of the Philippines* (New York, 1900); Calkins, "Filipino Insurrection of 1896" in *Harper's Monthly*, vol. xcix, pp. 469-483; and various documents already published in this series.

LAW REGARDING VACANCIES IN THE
GOVERNMENT

[*Recopilación de leyes*, lib. ii, tit. xv, ley lviii, contains the following law on vacancies in the government. It is dated Madrid, April 2, 1664.]

Inasmuch as representation has been made to us of the inconveniences resulting from the viceroys of Nueva España anticipating appointments among persons who reside in the Filipinas Islands, so that, in case of the absence of the president and governor and captain-general of the islands, those persons may enter upon and exercise those charges until the arrival of the person who is to govern — *ad interim* or by royal appointment, according as we may decide: therefore we order and command that, in case of the absence of the governor and captain-general of those islands, by death or any other accident, our royal Audiencia resident in the city of Manila shall govern them in political affairs, and the senior auditor in military. The latter, in any cases of war arising for the defense and conservation of the said islands, and in any preparations or other precautions that it shall be advisable to make for this purpose, shall take the advice of the military leaders there, and shall communicate with them for the better direction of matters. We order the viceroy of Nueva España to use no longer the authority that he has had hitherto by virtue of our decree of September thirteen, one thousand six hundred and eight, and the other decrees given to him, to have persons appointed by means of the ways hitherto practiced. Those we now revoke by this our law, and annul, but he shall still be empowered to send the person who shall exercise the said duties *ad interim*. And

as it is advisable that the Audiencia of Manila regulate in conformity to this the execution of the contents of this our law, we order the said Audiencia that, in case of the death of the president, it shall maintain that state in all peace, quiet and good government, administering justice to all parties. The senior auditor who shall exercise the president's duties during his absence, shall exercise very especial care and vigilance in all that pertains to military matters, and shall try to keep the presidios well manned, and supplied with the defenses necessary for their conservation, and the soldiers well disciplined for any occasion that may arise.

SOME THINGS WORTH KNOWING ABOUT THE GOVERNORS OF THE FILIPINAS ISLANDS

[Juan José Delgado, in his *Historia* (chapter xvii, pp. 212-215), makes the following remarks about the governors.]

In no kingdom or province of the Spanish crown do the viceroys or governors enjoy greater privileges, superiority, and grandeur than in Filipinas. That is advisable because of the long distance from the court, and their proximity to so many kingdoms and nations, some of them civilized but others barbaric. Consequently those assigned to this government should be well tested and picked men; for, because of the difficulty of appeal, as so many seas and lands have to be passed, where shipwrecks are continually suffered, there are great setbacks. Therefore it is very difficult and at times impossible to remedy quickly the disadvantages which may arise (and which have been experienced) from an absolute and selfish governor — who has no one to oppose him in

his cupidity, cruelty, headlong disposition, or other vices to which the disordered condition of these so distant lands inclines one. Father Alonso Sánchez, of the Society of Jesus, ambassador of this community at the two courts [*i.e.*, Spain and Rome], presented to his Majesty Don Felipe II a standard or description of the qualities which should adorn the person who should be appointed governor of Filipinas. That most judicious monarch thought it so difficult to find a man of so many and such gifts, that he bargained with the father, and arranged that the latter himself should seek and select the man. Those same gifts and qualities must be found in those appointed as governors, especially in these times,⁹⁵ when it seems as if cupidity, ambition, pride, and haughtiness have fortified themselves in these lands. For it often happens that the governor is so facile, that he allows himself to be governed by one whom he should not [allow to do so]. Consequently it is very advisable that he should have great courage, in addition to goodness and disinterestedness, so that he may act and judge in his government without subjecting himself to any private person—whether he need such for his temporal advancement, or, through friendship or relationship, incurs that disadvantage by undue intimacy.

Thus it happened to Governor Don Diego Fajardo during his term, as is read in various provincial histories; but the experience that he continued to gain daily opened his eyes to the recognition of his error. Seeing certain disadvantages arising from his protection of certain individuals, he dismissed them from his favor to the prison in the

⁹⁵ Delgado's work was written during 1751-54.

redoubt of Santiago, and confiscated their property, without respect to, or fear of, the influence that they had acquired in the community because of their wealth and support. A governor, whom I knew and with whom I was familiar, was told in México that he would come to kiss the hand of a certain citizen distinguished for his wealth and rank. But he, being a man of great courage and spirit, who knew how to hold every one in his own position, without permitting him to rise to greater, immediately upon his arrival in these islands ordered that man in the king's name to perform a certain necessary and useful service. As he, trusting in his favor among the citizens, did not obey the order, the governor condemned him to be beheaded. For that purpose he tore him from the church in which he had sought refuge, and would have executed the sentence, had not the ecclesiastical estate interposed all its influence by pointing out several disadvantages, upon which his punishment was lessened and the penalty commuted. Thus did he hold each one to his post, and all praised his rectitude, disinterestedness, and magnanimity; and he left his government with great honor and reputation.

These islands need disinterested military governors, not merchants; and men of resolution and character, not students, who are more fit to govern monasteries than communities of heroes. They should be men who can make themselves feared and respected by the enemies who surround us on all sides, and who can go in person to punish their opponents (as did the former ones, with so great glory to God and credit to the Spanish arms), so that in that way the islands may be conserved in

peace and be respected and feared by the Moro and Indian chiefs – and those who are called kings or sultans of Joló and Mindanao, who go with feet and legs bare, and have to go to sea to cast their fishing nets in order to live, are that and nothing more. But if a governor comes to these islands with the intention of escaping his natural poverty by humoring the rich and powerful, and even obeying them, the wrongs accruing to the community are incredible, as well as those to Christianity, and to the country – which is at times on the point of being lost because of this reason – and especially since appeal is so distant, as was seen and experienced in the year of 1719.⁹⁶

The governors of these islands are almost absolute, and like private masters of them. They exercise supreme authority by reason of their charge, for receiving and sending embassies to the neighboring kings and tyrants, for sending them gifts and presents in the name of their king, and for accepting those which those kings and tyrants send them. They can make and preserve peace, declare and make war, and take vengeance on all who insult us, without awaiting any resolution from court for it. Therefore many kings have rendered vassalage and paid tribute to the governors, have recognized them as their superiors, have respected and feared their arms, have solicited their friendship, and tried to procure friendly relations and commerce with them; and those who have broken their word have been punished. The legitimate king of Borney, who had been

⁹⁶ Referring to the dissensions and conflicts between the secular and ecclesiastical authorities which culminated in the assassination (October 11, 1719) of Governor Bustamente.

dispossessed of his kingdom, because his brother, who had no right to it, had usurped it, begged help from Doctor Don Francisco de Sande, governor of these islands. Governor Sande went with his fleet, fought with and drove away the tyrant, and put the legitimate king in possession [of his throne]; the latter rendered obedience to the governor, appointed in the place of the king of España, and subjected himself to this crown as vassal and tributary. The same happened during the term of Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas, to whom the king of Siao came to render homage. Governor Don Pedro de Acuña went to Ternate with a fleet, fought, conquered, and took the king of that island⁹⁷ prisoner to Manila, as a pledge that the Ternatans would not again admit the Dutch and English – who, with their consent, were beginning to engage heavily in that commerce, and were seizing the country. Although Don Juan Niño de Tabora had a royal decree ordering that that king be restored to his kingdom, he did not execute it, as that seemed unadvisable to him. Consequently the king died in Manila. One of his sons was also a prisoner of war, and the governor appointed a cachil

⁹⁷ See account of this expedition in Argensola's *Conquistas* (VOL. XVI of this series), book x. The king seized by Acuña was Saïd Berkat, the twenty-sixth king of Ternate; he came to the throne in 1584 and reigned until made a captive by Acuña – who treated him well, but later governors made Saïd the subject of shameful neglect and even cruelty. He died at Manila in February or March, 1627. After Saïd was carried away from Ternate, his son Modafar became king; the ruler of Tidore at that time was Cachil (or Prince) Mole. See Valentyn's history of the Moluccas, in his *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*, i; the annals of Saïd's reign and life are recorded in pp. 208-255 therein (a separate pagination, after the introductory sketch of the Netherlands dominion). On pp. 3, 4 are listed the islands subject to Ternate; they include Mindanao, the Talaut or Tulour group, Ceram, Amboina, Solor, the Moluccas proper, and many others.

to govern in his stead. That king, the king of Tidore, and others in the same islands of Ternate rendered homage to Don Pedro de Acuña, and became friends of the Spaniards. The said governor received them under the canopy in the name of the king of España, and took them under his protection and care. In the year of 1618, the same governor [*i.e.*, Alonso Fajardo y Tenza] made peace and treaties with the king of Macasar, who also placed himself under España's protection, so that the governor might protect him in his needs and necessities.

The country formerly had very peaceable relations with the emperor of Japón, and also a very rich and useful commerce; and his Majesty ordered by a royal decree of June 4, 1609, that it be preserved, although at the expense of gifts and presents of considerable price and value. That friendship lasted until the year 1634, when the Japanese were found lacking in it because of the Dutch – who, always following in our footsteps, introduced their commerce into that empire.

Friendship and commerce have been maintained from the beginning of the conquest with Great China, and are still preserved. The emperor of China ordered a port to be assigned so that the people of Luzon could establish a city and factory under the same conditions as the Portuguese in Macao. His Majesty also ordered, by a decree of April 9, 1586, Doctor Francisco de Sande to sustain the friendship, and prohibited him from making war; for, as some authors say, Sande had the intention of conquering that empire.⁹⁸ That does not seem to me so certain,

⁹⁸ In regard to this, see Sande's own letters and reports in VOL. IV of this series.

for that empire had so many millions of men, with innumerable cities, forts, and walls, and fleets that guard the ports with great vigilance. Moreover at that time the soldiers in these islands did not number five hundred, and were scarcely sufficient to guard them; and it was very difficult to transport them from Nueva España and other kingdoms. Although it might be that that idea was simply speculative, the council prohibited it, and ordered them thenceforth to observe what was prescribed.

The king of Siam captured two ships of these islands in his ports in 1629. Don Juan Niño de Tabora, who was governor at that time, immediately despatched two warships to punish so great violence, and they made many prizes and inflicted many injuries along those coasts. After that he sent ambassadors to the king to ask satisfaction for what the latter had done, and the restoration of the Spanish ships. Although the king who had had the ships seized was dead, his son was forced to return them, and did so. The Mindanaos and Joloans, chastised because of the fleets that they were sending to plunder these islands, have been subdued and have made peace several times. But, whenever it appears good to them, they break the peace, make war on us, and sack and burn the towns of the Christians, capturing many thousands of them; this is done not only by the Mindanaos, but by their vassals, the Camucones and Tirones. Consequently, one can and ought to make war on them very justifiably, until they are destroyed and annihilated, if necessary – as was done before, and is being done in this year of 1751.⁹⁹ During this and previous years the king of

⁹⁹ See account of the expeditions made in that year against the

Joló lived in Manila, was baptized, and made a subject of the Spanish crown. He solicited aid against one of his brothers named Bantilan, by saying that the latter had revolted with the kingdom. However it is hoped that the truth of the whole thing will be discovered in time.¹⁰⁰ It was resolved by a royal provision of May 29, 1720, that all the prisoners made among those nations during the war should be declared slaves forever.

Besides the above, the governors of these islands have absolute authority privately to provide and attend to all that pertains to the royal estate, government, war, and consultations in difficult affairs of the auditors of this royal Audiencia; to try in the first instance the criminal causes of the soldiers; and to appoint alcaldes, corregidores, deputies, and chief justices of all the islands for the exercise of government, justice, and war, together with the chief scrivener appointed by his Majesty for government and war matters. The governor also enjoys the privilege of a permanent body-guard of twelve halberdiers, with a

Moro pirates, under the governor, Francisco de Ovando, in Montero y Vidal's *Hist. de piratería*, pp. 290-299.

¹⁰⁰ Ali-Mudin, sultan of Joló, claimed that he was dethroned by his brother Bantilan, in 1748; and, with the Jesuit missionaries who had just before arrived in Joló, Ali-Mudin went to Manila. In 1750 he was baptized in the Catholic faith, and was named Fernando I. A Spanish expedition was sent to reinstate him on his throne; but it was found that Ali-Mudin was an apostate and a traitor, and the Spanish governor of Zamboanga seized him and all his family and retinue, sending them to Manila, where they were held as prisoners. All except Ali-Mudin and his heir Israel were sent home in 1755; but these remained captives until 1763, when the English conquerors conveyed them back to Joló, and Ali-Mudin abdicated his throne in favor of Israel.

See Montero y Vidal's *Hist. de piratería*, pp. 279-299, 307-309, 317-320, 322, 338.

captain of the guard, who always accompany him, besides many other preëminences conceded by royal decrees to the presidency of the royal Audiencia and Chancillería. He is, finally, captain-general of all the archipelago. For these his employments, his Majesty assigns him annually a salary of eight thousand pesos de minas – or thirteen thousand one hundred and thirty-five pesos, three granos of common gold – besides the many profits and gains assigned to him by domestic and foreign fees and privileges, which amount annually to great sums of money.

ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNMENT AND THE CAPTAINCY-GENERAL

[The following is taken from Sinibaldo de Mas,¹⁰¹ *Informe sobre el estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1842* (Madrid, 1843), tomo ii. Portions of it are apparently embodied in translation and abstract in Bowring's *Visit to the Philippine Isles* (London, 1859), p. 87-93.]

The government of the Filipinas Islands, together with the group of the Marianas, is in charge of a military chief, who, to the title of governor, joins those of president of the Audiencia, and royal vice-patron; subdelegate judge of the revenue, and of post-offices, posts, and express [*correos, postas y estafeta*]; and director of the troops, captain-general, and commander-in-chief of the navy. His authority, then, embraces all the powers derived from these titles, both for administration and for the security and defense of the territory.

¹⁰¹ This writer was minister-plenipotentiary from Spain to Pekin; and during that term of office made a voyage to Manila, of which this book is a result.

To discharge these duties he has three secretaryships – one of government, another of the captaincy-general, and the third of the navy – one military auditor, one adviser in government matters, one fiscal, and one scrivener. One may appeal from his gubernatorial measures to the royal Audiencia, which often alters or annuls those measures by means of sentence. But there is a law that provides that in case that the governor-general undertakes to have his order put into effect, it must be observed until the superior decision, so that no uneasiness and confusion may result from it in the country. The collection of taxes and the disbursement of money is in charge of a superintendent of the treasury [*hacienda*], under the immediate orders of the government at Madrid. In sudden or doubtful cases, the resolutions of the superior council [*junta*] of the treasury – composed of the superintendent, the accountant-in-chief of accounts [*contador mayor de cuentas*], the accountant of the army and treasury, the newest auditor of the Audiencia, and the fiscal of the treasury – decide the matter.

The islands are divided by provinces, in each of which there is a subordinate chief who is styled governor or *alcalde-mayor*. These exercise jurisdiction in the first instance, in matters of government and litigation. They are military captains, and have in charge the collection of the royal revenues, under a responsibility guaranteed by bonds to the satisfaction of the accountant-general of the army and royal treasury. The province of Cavite is an exception to this rule, for the collection of the tribute there is now made by an assistant of the chief justice. Therefore he who rules in a province exercises all the

attributes of political chief, and as such is subject to the governor-general; those of judge of first instance, and as such is dependent on the Audiencia; those of subdelegate of treasury (although he does not have the disposal of the monopolized incomes), and as such has to render accounts, bonds, and obedience to the chiefs of the treasury; and finally, if he is of military rank, he is commandant-of-arms, and subaltern of the captain-general; and even though he be not of military rank he obtains the rank of military commander [*capitan á guerra*] by virtue of his rank of alcalde-mayor. He has charge of the company assigned to his province, and, in the absence of his Majesty's troops, he commands the troops that he equips upon extraordinary occasions.

Each province is subdivided into a greater or less number of towns. Each town has a gobernadorcillo [*i.e.*, little or petty governor], with assistants and alguacils of justice, whose number is fixed. They discharge various functions, among them the administration of justice in regard to fields and palm-trees, and that of police. In some towns where there are a sufficient number of Sangley mestizos (who are the descendants of the Chinese), they form, when they obtain permission from the government, a separate community, with a gobernadorcillo and other members of the magistracy taken from their own midst. In the towns which are the capitals of the province there is often a gobernadorcillo for mestizos and one for natives. This latter always takes command of the province in case of the sickness or absence of the alcalde-mayor. The gobernadorcillos have in their towns all the municipal responsibility proper to the authority which is conferred upon them by their ap-

pointment. They are especially bound to aid their parish priests in everything pertaining to worship and the observance of religious laws. They try civil causes up to the value of two taels of gold, or forty-four pesos. They take action in criminal cases by collecting the preliminary evidence, which they submit to the provincial chiefs. They are under obligation to see to the collections of the royal revenue, and further to give notice of the ordinances for good government. They are permitted to collect certain dues that are specified in their own credentials. Each town has also other citizens known under the name of cabezas [*i.e.*, heads] de barangay. Each cabeza is obliged to look after forty-five or fifty tributes which comprise as many families, and that is the signification of barangay. The cabezas must reside with them in the district or street assigned; must attend in person to the good order and harmony of their individuals; must apportion among them all the services that are due from them collectively; must settle their disputes; and must collect the tribute under a fixed bond, in order to effect its delivery afterward in entirety to the gobernadorcillo, or directly to the provincial chief, as happens in that of Tondo. The cabezas are ex-officio attorneys for their barangays in all matters that concern them collectively, and electors of the gobernadorcillos and other officials of justice. For that interesting function, only the twelve oldest men of each town or the substitutes whom the ordinance assigns, have a vote. In some provinces the cabezas appoint only the three who have to compose the *terna* [*i.e.*, three nominees for any office] for the gobernadorcillo. These, with the outgoing gobernadorcillo, proceed to the election of

the deputies, alguacils, and their committees. The cabecerías [*i.e.*, headships], much more ancient in origin than the reductions [*i.e.*, native villages of converts], were doubtless hereditary. At present they are hereditary and elective. When they fall vacant, whether for want of an heir or through the resignation of the regularly appointed incumbent, the substitute is appointed – by the superintendent, in the provinces near the capital; and in those distant from it by the respective subdelegate chief, but at the proposal of the gobernadorcillo and other cabezas. This same plan is followed in the creation of any cabecera in proportion to the increase in population, and as the number of tributarios in each town demands it. The cabezas, their wives, and first-born sons (who are their assistants in the collection of the royal revenues), enjoy exemption from the payment of tribute. The cabezas in some provinces serve in the cabecerías for three years; and, if they do not prove defaulters, they are recognized as chiefs in the towns, with the titles of ex-cabeza and don. Such system offers the serious disadvantage of multiplying the privileged class of chiefs, which, being exempted from personal services, increases the tax for the common people or the *polistas*¹⁰² in proportion to the increase of the privileged class.

The offices of gobernadorcillo, deputies, and alguacils of justice are elective, and last one year, with superior approbation. It is stipulated that the elections take place exactly at the beginning of each year, in the royal houses or halls of justice in the towns, and not elsewhere. The electors are the outgoing

¹⁰² *i.e.*, those who pay the tax called *polo* – a personal service of forty days in the year; see Montero y Vidal's note, *post.*

governadorcillo and the twelve senior cabezas de barangay. For gobernadorcillo three individuals have to be nominated by a plurality of votes, and the respective place of each one in the terna must be expressed. It is to be noted that the nominee must be able to speak, read, and write the Spanish language. If he cannot do that, the election of the one who lacks this express condition will be considered null and void, where such election has been made. For the other officials of justice, those needed by the town are elected by the same convention. The balloting must be secret, and is authorized by the notary and presided over by the provincial chief. The parish priest may be present, if he wishes, to express what opinions he may consider fitting, but for no other purpose. In sealed envelopes the election returns are sent to the superior governments of the provinces of Tondo, Bulacan, Pampanga, Bataan, Zambales, Nueva Ecija, Laguna, Batangas, and Cavite, so that after choosing one of those proposed as gobernadorcillo, the respective government orders the credentials corresponding to each class to be despatched. In the other provinces, because of their distance from the capital, the chief of each one appoints the nominee in the first place, and making use of the blank credentials entrusted to him by the superior government, writes therein the names of those interested, and places them in possession [of their offices].

The cabezas of barangay can be elected, if they preserve their cabecerías and the collection of tributes, by the rule in the royal decree of October 17, 1785.

The Chinese community may elect from among its Christian individuals, and in a meeting presided over

by the alcalde-mayor of Tondo, one man as gobernadorcillo, one as chief deputy, and a third as alguacil-mayor. The government grants those elected the proper credentials, by virtue of which they exercise jurisdiction. The officials of justice in this community are called *bilangos*, and are appointed by the new gobernadorcillo. The electors are also thirteen in number, and are composed of the outgoing gobernadorcillo, the ex-captains, and the petty chiefs [*cabecillas*] of the tribute and of champions, both past and present. When any number is lacking, it is made up from the petty heads of the trades. At present the collection of tribute or the poll-tax from the Chinese is in direct charge of the alcalde-mayor in the province of Tondo, with a supervisor chosen from among the officials of administration of the royal treasury. In the other provinces it is attended to in person by the chief of each province. This levy of taxes is managed by a register, where the Chinese are enrolled and classified, and that register determines the quota of each, who contributes according to his class.

The gobernadorcillos and officials of justice deserve the greatest consideration from the government. The provincial chiefs are under obligation to show them the honor corresponding to their respective duties. They are allowed to sit in the houses of the latter, and in any other place, and are not suffered to remain standing. Neither is it permitted to the parish priests to treat these officials with less consideration.

POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION

[Montero y Vidal's *Archipiélago Filipino* (Ma-

drid, 1806), pp. 162-168, contains the following chapter.]

The municipal organization of Filipinas differs widely from that of España.

Some native functionaries, improperly called *gobnadorcillos*,¹⁰³ exercise command in the towns; they correspond to the *alcaldes* and municipal judges, of the Peninsula, and perform at once functions of judges and even of notaries, with defined powers. As assistants they elect several lieutenants and *alguacils*, proportionate in number to the inhabitants. Those assistants, together with three *ex-gobnadorcillos* to whom are referred the duties of judges of cattle, fields, and police, constitute a sort of town council. Manila is the only place that has that corporation [*i.e.*, *ayuntamiento*] with an organization identical with those of the same class in España.

Even when the *gobnadorcillos* are recompensed with a certain percentage for the collection of contributions, and they collect some other dues, the total sum that they finally receive is so small that their office is considered honorary. In spite of this, the duty is an onerous one, and they are subject to annoyances, fines, and imprisonment, if the gubernative,

¹⁰³ The services of these municipal officers, which – barring certain abuses, to which their small remuneration and excessive official obligations force them – are of undeniable worth in the Philippines, and their functions, which carry importance and respectability, demand much rather that there be substituted for the ridiculous name of *gobnadorcillo*, by which they are officially designated, another name more serious and more in harmony with their praiseworthy ministry. This is now being done among themselves in the more enlightened villages, where they are called *capitán* [“captain”] instead of *gobnadorcillo*. – MONTERO Y VIDAL.

Cf. Bourne’s account of these officials, VOL. I, of this series, pp. 55, 56.

judicial, and administrative authorities, etc., are rigorous. The Indians covet it with a desire that is astonishing, and avail themselves of all possible means in order to obtain it. The secret of the motive that impels them lies in their fondness for prominence, and in the fact that nearly all of them succeed in becoming rich, or in attaining independent means, after the two years of their office. For the *polistas*, or individuals who are obliged to labor on the public works of the state, build their houses for them free of cost, bringing the materials from the forest or the points where they are found; there are the *fallas*, or the amount of the aliquot sum that is to make good the deficiency in public works [*i.e.*, in the services on public works rendered by the natives], in the collection of which there is opportunity for the *gobernadorcillo* to figure, by supporting all or the majority of those who should perform that work and himself using that money; the innumerable bribes and illegal exactions that they impose, and the taxes that they collect through numberless separate judgments: [all these] make the office sufficiently lucrative, although in that country, scarcely any importance is attached to many of these irregularities (even by those who are injured by them), which custom has almost sanctioned as law.

The election of corporate members is carried on under the presidency of the provincial chief by twelve of the most prominent men in the town – half of them drawn by lots cast by those who were *gobernadorcillos* and *cabezas de barangay*, and the other six from the *cabezas* in actual office; while he who is *gobernadorcillo* at the time of election votes also. The individual who obtains most votes is proposed

to the general government as being first on the list; he who follows him in the number of votes, in the second; and the actual *pedáneo* [*i.e.*, a subordinate officer, here the *governadorcillo*], in the third. From that list of three [*terna*], the governor-general appoints one, after seeing the report of the president of the election.

The *cabezas de barangay* are chiefs of fifty families, those from whom are collected the contributions that form part of the revenues of the treasury and government. This institution, antedating the conquest, is most useful, the more, for the same reasons, since the *governadorcillos* come to be to their members of *barangays* or those they rule, the same that those *pedáneos* [*i.e.*, the *cabezas*] are to the generality of the inhabitants. The actual *cabezas* or the *ex-cabezas*, with the *governadorcillo* and the *ex-captains* (as those who have exercised that office are designated), form the *principalía* [*i.e.*, chieftain class, or nobility].

Their usual dress is a black jacket, European trousers, mushroom hat, and colored slippers; many even wear varnished [*i.e.*, patent leather] shoes. The shirt is short, and worn outside the trousers. The *governadorcillo* carries a tasseled cane [*baston*], the lieutenants wands [*varas*]. On occasions of great ceremony, they dress formally in frock coat, high-crowned hat—objects of value that are inherited from father to son.

On the day on which the *governadorcillo* takes his office, his town has a great festival [*fiestajan*]. All eat, drink, smoke, and amuse themselves at the expense of the *munícipe* [*i.e.*, the citizen who is elected *governadorcillo*], and the rejoicing is universal. In

the tribunal (city hall) he occupies a large lofty seat, which is adorned with the arms of España and with fanciful designs, if his social footing shows a respectable antiquity.

On holy days the officials go to the church in a body. The *principalía* and the *cuadrilleros* form in two lines in front of the *gobernadorcillo* and the music precedes them. In the church the latter occupies a seat in precedence of those of the chiefs, who have benches of honor. After the mass, they usually go to the convent to pay their respects to the parish priest; and they return to the tribunal in the same order, the musicians playing a loud double quick march.¹⁰⁴ There they hold a meeting, at which the *gobernadorcillo* presides, in which he, in concert with the *cabezas*, determines the public services for the week.

The *tributarios* of many towns go, after mass, to hear orally the orders that the *cabezas* communicate to them. In order to summon any of them when necessity requires, they have adopted certain taps of the drum; and on hearing it they go to the tribunal.

If the *gobernadorcillo* is energetic or has a bad temper, the *cabezas* fear and respect him highly; but if he is irresolute they abuse him. When he goes out on the street, an *alguacil* with a long wand precedes him.

Since the majority of these *pedáneos* do not talk Spanish, they are authorized to appoint *directorcillos* [*i.e.*, petty directors], who receive very slender pay. The *directorcillo*—who has generally studied for

¹⁰⁴ The Spanish is *paso doble*, a term used also as the name of a dance, the equivalent of the "two-step."

several years in the university or the colleges of Manila without concluding his course – writes the judicial measures, and the answers to the orders of the provincial authorities; serves as interpreter to the pedáneo, when the latter has to talk to Europeans; and exercises entire influence in all matters. By virtue of that he sometimes commits abuses that the *gobernadorcillo* finds it necessary to tolerate, in order not to lose his services; for there are towns where one cannot possibly find another inhabitant to take his place, because of their ignorance of Castilian. All that redounds to the hurt of the honest administration of the towns, and even the prestige of the government, since the said *directorcillos* are wont to ascribe to the superior orders their own exactions and annoyances.

Each town of Filipinas contains a number of *cuadrilleros*, proportional to its citizenship. They are under obligation to serve for three years, and only enjoy exemption from the payment of tribute and *polos*.¹⁰⁵ The *cuadrilleros* are armed with old guns and spears, perform police duty, and guard the tribunal, prison, and the royal or government house. They also go in pursuit of criminals.

Some provinces (for instance, the majority of those in Luzón) are ruled by legal *alcaldes-mayor* who are lawyers, who exercise the civil government, and are at the same time judges of first instance, sub-delegates of the treasury and of local departments, administrators of the posts, military commandants,

¹⁰⁵ This tribute is the contribution that the Indians and mestizos pay in order to aid in the maintenance of the burdens of the state. The *polos* means the obligation to work a certain number of days in neighborhood works.— MONTERO Y VIDAL.

and presiding officers of the meetings for auctions and for primary instruction. They were also formerly collectors of tobacco, in the provinces where that plant is cultivated.¹⁰⁶

Other provinces, such as those of Visayas and Mindanao, are ruled by politico-military governors, belonging to the army and fleet, who also unite duties identical to those of the *alcaldes-mayor*—with the difference that in these provinces there are judges for the administration of justice; while in the provinces of Luzón the governors conduct the court of justice, with a lawyer as advisory assistant [*asesor*], who is the judge of the next province. In those provinces where no department of the public treasury exists, they are also directors of economic matters.

A governor and captain-general exercises the supreme authority in Filipinas. In his charge is the direction of all civil and military matters, and even the direction of ecclesiastical matters in so far as they touch the royal patronage. Until 1861, when the council of administration was created, he also

¹⁰⁶ The tobacco monopoly was arranged by Governor Basco y Vargas in pursuance of a royal order of February 9, 1780. Although opposed by certain classes, especially the friars, the monopoly was organized by March 1, 1782, and approved by royal order May 15, 1784. Under the monopoly, however, quantities of tobacco always escaped the vigilance of the government, and could be bought at much cheaper rates than the government tobacco. The monopoly was repealed in the province of Unión October 25, 1852; and in all the archipelago, by a royal order in 1881. The order was applied in the islands in 1882, and the suppression of the monopoly was completed in 1884.

Tobacco was introduced into the islands by missionaries in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. The best brands come from the provinces of Isabela and Cagayán. Its cultivation and export has been, and is, of great importance, immense quantities both of cigars and leaf tobacco being shipped chiefly to China, Japan, the East Indies, the United Kingdom, Spain, and Australasia. About

had charge of the presidency of the royal Audiencia and Chancillería there.

The authority, then, of the governor-general is complete, and such a number of attributes conferred on one functionary (incompetent, as a general rule, for everything outside of military matters), is certainly prejudicial to the right exercise of his duty.

Until the year 1822, private gentlemen, magistrates, military men, sailors, and ecclesiastics, without any distinction, were appointed to fill so lofty a post; and they have borne the title and exercised the functions of captain-general to suit their own convenience.

During the vacancies, political authority resided in the royal assembly – the Audiencia in full;¹⁰⁷ and the military authority in an auditor (magistrate), with the title of captain-general *ad interim*.

From the said year of 1822, the government has always devolved upon an official, a general; in case of his death, the *segundo cabo*, a general, is substituted for him; and in case of the death of the latter, the commandant-general of the naval station.

The captain-general is, as we have indicated, supreme chief of all departments, and the sum total of his pay amounts to forty thousand pesos annually.

thirty thousand people were employed in making cigars and cigarettes in the province of Manila, most of them women. See Montero y Vidal, ii, pp. 295, 296, iii, p. 165; Bowring, pp. 309, 310; Sawyer, pp. 131-133, 158; *Report of Philippine Commission* (1901), iii, pp. 267-269; and *U. S. Philippine Gazetteer*, pp. 75, 76.

¹⁰⁷ The royal assembly was the council whom the governor-general had to assist him in his decisions, and they shared with him, to a certain point, the authority. They counterbalanced his powers, and, during the vacancy, took his place in the command.—
MONTERO Y VIDAL.

A command of so great importance, superior to the viceroalties of our former American colonies, ought not to be given exclusively to one specified class; and the election of governor should be free, although with the limitation that only ex-ministers and high dignitaries of the army or of any other institution, who merit through their lofty talents, known competence, and proved morality, that España should entrust to them its representation and the exercise of its sovereignty in so precious a portion of its domains, should be eligible to it. Thus jointly do the prestige of the Spanish name, the complications of political life in modern society, and the progress and welfare of eight millions of Spanish Indians – worthy under all concepts on which governments now fix their attention more than they have hitherto done, in a matter of so transcendent importance – demand this with urgency.

It is also advisable to change the vicious, anomalous, and unsuitable organization of the provinces of Filipinas, assimilating them, so far as possible, to those of España. The separation of the gubernatorial and judicial duties, the suppression of politico-military commands, and the appointment of civil governors, under excellent conditions and unremovable for six years, are urgent; all these are measures that will positively redound to the benefit of the country.

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