

PHILIPPINIANA RECORDS

MEMORIAL DE LAS COSAS QUE EN ESTAS ISLAS FILIPINAS DE PONIENTE PASAN Y DEL ESTADO DE ELLAS, Y DE LO QUE HAY QUE REMEDIAR. HECHO POR FRAY DOMINGO DE SALAZAR, OBISPO DE LAS DICHAS ISLAS, PARA QUE LO VEA SU Magestad y los señores de su REAL CONSEJO DE INDIAS*

*Relación de lo que toca a los sangleyes.*¹⁰⁷

La contratación¹⁰⁸ de los sangleyes siempre se ha tenido por cosa muy importante, así para la provisión¹⁰⁹ y contrato de esta ciudad y de los que a ella vienen a emplear sus dineros, como para lo que adelante se espera, pues podría ser que, por esta vía, viniésemos entrar en aquel gran reino, que tanto de todos es deseado.¹¹⁰ Esto se ha estragado y dañado tanto este año que estamos con gran recelo que el que viene no han de volver, o no tantos, o que no han de querer dar sus mercaderías a los precios que de antes, por el mal trato que con ellos se ha tenido, y el mal orden que ha habido.

El año pasado y éste se les acrecentaron los derechos,¹¹¹ porque al principio no pagaban nada. Después se les impuso el anclaje,

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MEMORIAL REGARDING OCCURRENCES IN THESE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS OF THE WEST AND THEIR STATUS, ALSO THEIR CONDITION, AND MATTERS WHICH REQUIRE CORRECTIONS DONE BY FRAY DOMINGO DE SALÁZAR, BISHOP OF THE SAID ISLANDS, TO BE SEEN BY HIS MAJESTY AND THE PERSONS OF THE ROYAL COUNCIL OF THE INDIES.

Relation of the things pertaining to the Sangleyes

The trade with the sangleyes has always been considered very important for the supplies and trade not only of this city but also of those who come here to invest their money, and for what we expect to gain for the future. It might be that through this means we shall be able to enter into that great realm, something so highly desired by all. All this had been so spoiled and injured this very year that we are afraid this coming year they will not return, or at least not so many or that they will not be willing to sell their merchandise at former prices because of the bad treatment they have received and the lack of order here.

During the past year and the present one they imposed upon them some taxes. At the beginning they paid nothing. After-

más por vía de reconocimiento que de interés. El año pasado y éste les mandaron pagar tres por ciento, de lo cual se les han seguido muchos agravios. El primero que los mandaron recoger¹¹² todos a una casa cerrada¹¹³ que se hizo ogaño,¹¹⁴ adonde fueron muy contra su voluntad, y allí les hacían pagar las tiendas en más subidos precios que fuera de allí les cobraban. Y les pusieron un alcalde con autoridad de justicia para los poder castigar. Y allí, según dicen, les hacían muchos agravios y molestias, porque por causas muy livianas los echaban en el cepo y les llevaban penas pecuniarias. Y acontecía penarlos porque salían de noche a proveerse, o porque no tenían limpia su pertenencia.

So color de que pagasen los derechos a Vuestra Magestad les pusieron pena que nadie vendiese sin primero registrarlo.¹¹⁵ Y porque al tiempo del registro les tomaban lo mejor que traían, y a los precios que querían el que los visitaba, o a quien él lo enviaba,¹¹⁶ escondían algunas piezas de seda¹¹⁷ para venderlas mejor, o para darlas a quien las habían prometido, los penaban con tanto rigor como si hubiera muchos años que les estaba ésto mandado, con ser ésta la primera o segunda vez que lo oían. Entre otros sé yo de una que porque un chino mercader escondió ciertas piezas de seda, le mandó prender el tesorero don Antonio Jofre,¹¹⁸ y le sentenció a cien azotes y setenta y cinco tostones. Y un hermano suyo me vino a rogar que le favoreciese, y a mi ruego¹¹⁹ le perdonaron los azotes, pero los tostones, antes que saliese de la carcel, los pagó. De éstos y de otros agravios particulares pasan tantos que a mi me tenían afligido, porque unos les quitan las mercaderías por fuerza y se quedaban con ellas; otros no les daban lo que valían, otros les hacían cédulas,¹²⁰ que es cosa que entre ellos se usa mucho,

wards they were asked to pay anchorage dues, more as a sign of acceptance of authority rather than interest. During the past year and the present one they have been asked to pay a three per cent tax from which serious abuses have followed. The first is that they have been ordered to live apart in a closed compound, built this year, against their will, and there they have been ordered to pay more for the shop than they paid outside. An alcalde has been appointed for them, with judicial authority to punish them. And there, I am told, they are subjected to many abuses and vexations. For trivial causes they are put in the stocks, and fines are imposed on them. Sometimes they have been punished for coming out at night for supplies, or because their place was not clean.

Under the pretext of having to pay the taxes to your Majesty they prohibited them to sell their goods without first registering them. Since at the time of the registration they took away from them the best things they had, and at the price willed by the one visiting them, or of the one they had sent, the Sangleyes hid some pieces of silk to sell them at a higher price, or to give them to persons to whom the goods had been promised. For this, they were punished with as much severity as if this had been statutory for many years, when in reality this was the first or second time they had heard of it.

Among the many cases, I know of one: when a Chinese merchant hid certain pieces of silk, the treasurer, Don Antonio Jofre, ordered his apprehension. He sentenced him to one hundred lashes and a fine of seventy five *tostones*. A brother of his came to me pleading for help. Due to my plea they remitted the lashes, but he paid the *tostones* before he could leave the jail.

Of these and other wrongs to individuals so many cases occurred that they make me suffer, because some of them take the goods from them by force and keep them. Others do not pay for what they are worth; others issue cedulas, something very much

y después se las negaban, con las cuales acudían a mi. Y como yo no les podía dar remedio, cierto estaba muy penado.

El desconcierto y mal orden que hubo en tomarles las mercadurías fue tan grande, que por haber lo mejor y más barato los que en ésto tenían mano, no les dejaban libertad a los sangleyes para vender a quien quisiesen, sino éstos que digo lo toman todo, y después de haber tomado lo que ellos querían, y al precio que querían, daban lo demás a sus criados y amigos y allegados, de manera que, con haber venido veinte navíos de la China, —que nunca tantos en este puerto¹²¹ se han visto— ninguna cosa de cuantas vinieron de la China han parecido este año, antes se han encarecido en tan excesivos precios, que una pieza de raso, que solía valer aquí diez o doce tostones, se han vendido a cuarenta y cuarenta y cinco, y no se han podido hallar; que aún para la iglesia, que tan necesitada está, no se ha podido haber seda para hacer un ornamento. Y lo mismo de todas las otras cosas de la China, que solían andar por las calles rogando con ellas de balde. Quién haya sido la causa de ésto, o qué se hayan hecho estas mercadurías, o dónde hayan ido, no me incumbe a mi decirlo. Lo que a mi me toca es representar a Vuestra Magestad el estado en que está esta república y que tratándola de esta manera no puede durar mucho. Lo demás Vuestra Magestad mandará saber cuya es la culpa y pondrá remedio en sus vasallos que tan necesitados están de él.

De aquí se ha seguido un daño muy grande, que ha de ser causa que cese la contratación de esta ciudad. Y es que como todas las mercadurías entraron este año en poder de pocos, los mercaderes que habían venido a la fama de la buena contratación de esta tierra, hánse quedado sin emplear su dinero, y los que lo emplearon fue poco y a tan subidos precios, que no harán poco si sacan su dinero. Y no paró aquí el negocio, porque tam-

in use among them, and later do not honor them. They have come to me with them, and since I could be of no help, I became greatly afflicted.

The confusion and disorder found in taking the goods from them has been so great that, in the eagerness of those in authority to take the best and cheapest for them, they have not left the sangleyes free to sell to those whom they might prefer. These of whom I speak have taken everything, and after having taken for them what they desired, and at the price they wished, they have given the rest to their servants, friends and relatives. In consequence, in spite of the fact that twenty ships have come from China—so many we had never seen in this port—none of the things that came from China has come into the open. On the contrary they command so excessive a price, that a piece of satin—which before used to cost here ten or twelve *tostones*—has been sold at forty and forty-five, and yet these things are not to be found, for even for the church, which is in great need, we have not been able to find silk to make a single ornament. And the same has happened with the other things of China which used to be sold in the streets for almost nothing. Who may be the cause of this, or what has become of these goods, or where have they gone, it is not my responsibility to say. My obligation is to represent to your Majesty the state of affairs of this commonwealth. By dealing with her in such a manner, she cannot last long. About the rest, your Majesty will order to investigate whose fault it is, and provide a remedy for your vassals who are so greatly in need of it.

Due to this great evils have followed. These evils will be the cause for the trade of this city to come to an end. And one evil is this, since all the goods have this year fallen into the hands of a few, the merchants who have moved to this land by the fame of the good possibilities of trade have not been able to invest their money. Those who have, invested little and at so high interest, that hardly will they be able to regain their money.

bién a ellos, como a los soldados, les echan de centinela; y por no dejar sus haciendas que se las roben, pagan a un soldado que la haga por el que le cabía,¹²² y así de ocho a ocho días tienen de costa un tostón, que son cuatro reales para la centinela.

Apercibieron a los mismos mercaderes para una jornada que iban al Japón,¹²³ que se hizo armada para salir a él, y por no ir allá pagaron a treinta y cuarenta pesos; de manera que por muchas partes ha sido desgraciada la contratación de este año. El postrer agravio que más molestó los chinos, y los acabó de irritar, fue que enviando una galera a la jornada que dije del Japón, tomaron veinte o treinta sangleyes de los que habían venido este año a quedarse acá, y los metieron por fuerza al remo. A mi me vinieron muchos a quejar, diciendo que ellos habían venido acá por ganar de comer para sus hijos. Y pues no los dejaban hacer a lo que venían, los dejasen volver a su tierra. Pero ni a ellos ni a mi nos aprovechó decir ésto, que allá fueron y no son vueltos.¹²⁴ De aquí nos vino a todos otro daño, que como los que fueron en la galera, y otros que después enviaron, eran pescadores, y el pescado que andaba por estas calles a rodo y de valde, ahora no se halla por mucho dinero.

Después enviaron otro navío cargado de arroz para provisión de la armada, y mandaron ir en él otros tantos sangleyes.¹²⁵ Y por no ir buscaron quien fuese,¹²⁶ y el que no tuvo esclavo que enviar, dió siete pesos a uno¹²⁷ que fuese por él.

Estos y otros agravios han sido causa que doscientos sangleyes que este año venían a poblar acá se hayan vuelto, y de los que acá habían se han ido más de otros doscientos, que solía haber una muy buena población de ellos de la otra parte del río¹²⁸ y ya casi no parece ninguno, como Vuestra Magestad verá por la carta que me escribió el vicario de los sangleyes, que es fraile agustino.¹²⁹

Otro agravio se hace a los indios, no a todos en general sino a muchos, que es tenerlos por esclavos. Y este capítulo también

The evil does not stop here for, as if they were soldiers, they are forced to stand sentry. In order not to leave their properties to be stolen, they pay a soldier to stand sentry for them. This costs them one *tostón* every eight days, which means four *reales* for the services of the sentinel.

They also summoned the same merchants for an expedition to be sent to Japan [Cagayan] and a fleet was prepared to sail. In order to avoid going there they paid as much as thirty and forty pesos each. Thus the trade has been terrible this year. The latest injury that has offended the Chinese most—and finally irritated them—has been that, in sending a galley on the expedition to Japan, of which mention has been made, twenty or thirty sangleyes of those who have come this year to settle down here have been seized, and forced to row. Many of them have come to me to complain, telling me they have come here to earn a living for their children. Since they have not been given the freedom to accomplish what they have come for, they have begged to be permitted to return to their country. But it profitted neither them nor me to complain, for they went on that expedition and have not yet returned.

Another evil has come to all of us. Since those who went in the galley and others sent afterwards were fishermen, the fish that used to be found in the street in large quantities, and almost free, cannot be found now, even with a lot of money. Next, they sent another ship loaded with rice, as provision for the fleet, and ordered a like number of sangleyes to go with it. In order to avoid going there they looked for others who could be ready to go for them. Those who had no slave to send gave seven pesos to another man to go for him.

These and other abuses have been the cause for two hundred sangleyes who came this year to settle down to return home. Of those already staying here, more than two hundred have also left. They used to have a very good town at the other side of the river. Now practically nobody is to be found there as your Majesty will see from the letter written to me by the vicar of the sangleyes, who is an Augustinian friar.

Another wrong is done to the Indians, although not to all of them, but to many, and this is to hold them as slaves. This clause

pertenece a la materia de no obedecer los gobernadores las cédulas y provisiones de Vuestra Magestad, pues tantas están dadas y proveídas en que se manda que, en todas las Indias e islas ni tierra firme, descubiertas y por descubrir, no puedan haber indios esclavos de los españoles, como quiera que los hayan habido, ahora sea en guerra justa, ahora sea que los mismos indios se se los hayan vendido, diciendo que son esclavos,¹³⁰ y aunque realmente entre ellos los sean, ni por otra obra ni manera alguna.¹³¹

Y en el navío¹³² que yo vine trajeron los padres de San Agustín¹³³ una cédula nueva¹³⁴ de Vuestra Magestad en que, con mucho rigor y palabras muy encarecidas, manda que luego den libertad a los esclavos que tuvieren los españoles, como quiera que los hayan habido. Esta se presentó al gobernador, porque hablaba con él. Y porque sea verdad lo que arriba digo, que cédula que sea en favor de los indios nunca se ejecuta,¹³⁵ después de haber presentado esta cédula, están hoy los indios en la misma servidumbre que antes, y aún de algunos son hoy más mal tratados que hasta aquí. No tardó tanto en ejecutar la cédula de quintar el oro, si hay, porque lo primero que hizo en entrando fué mandarlo. Y la cédula de libertad hoy está por ejecutar.¹³⁶

Han pasado sobre ésto muchas cosas que sería pesadumbre para Vuestra Magestad ponerlas aquí. Y allá va hecha una información por parte de la ciudad en que prueban la mucha necesidad que hay en esta tierra de servicio, y que los españoles¹³⁷ sin ellos no se podían sustentar. Yo confieso que los españoles pasan muchos trabajos, y los más de ellos están muy pobres, y hay mucha necesidad que Vuestra Magestad los favorezca y haga merced, pero que ésta sea con mandar que haya esclavos, Vuestra Magestad lo mandará mirar bien, porque es cosa ciertísima y acá muy averiguada y confesada por los mismos que los tienen y pretenden quedarse con ellos, que aunque entre los indios hay algunos que realmente son esclavos, pero éstos son pocos, y que no¹³⁸ los venderán ya más, antes venderán un hijo. Todos los demás

also concerns the failure of the governors to obey the *cédulas* and provisions of your Majesty, for many of these are given and provided, ordering that Indians must not be held as slaves of the Spaniards anywhere in the Indies and islands of *Tierra Firme*, discovered or to be discovered. This applies in whatever manner they may have obtained them, whether they obtained them in just war, or if the Indians themselves may have sold them to the Spaniards, saying that they are slaves, or even if among them they are slaves. Whether by this means or any other, they cannot be made slaves.

By the ship in which I came, the fathers of Saint Augustine brought a new royal *cédula* from your Majesty ordering with extreme rigor and in very strong words, that the Spaniards should at once grant freedom to the slaves they might hold under whatever manner they might have obtained them. This was presented to the governor, for it was addressed to him. And to confirm what I have said above, that no *cédula* in favour of the Indians has ever been executed, after having presented this *cédula*, the Indians are still today in the same servitude as before. Some of them are even worse treated by some people than in the past. [The governor did not so long delay to execute the *cédula* —if there be one— relative to paying the fifth of gold. For the first thing he did, as soon as he came here, was to demand the fifth. The *cédula* about the freedom of the Indians is yet to be executed.

Many things have happened regarding this matter and it would be painful to write them here for your Majesty. An information in behalf of the city is being sent there which proves the great necessity in this country for servitude and that the Spaniards experience great hardships, and that most of them are very poor, and that there is a great need for your Majesty to help and favour them, but that this be done by ordering to hold the Indians as slaves, your Majesty will order this to be carefully studied, for it is a certain, and a well-known fact and accepted by those who have slaves and try to keep them, that although among the Indians there are some who are really slaves, these are few, and that rather than sell these now, they will sell a son instead. All the others here are wrongfully obtained and

son mal habidos y hechos contra justicia, como lo harían gente tan bárbara como ésta, y lo hacen hoy día que por interés, venden el pariente a el pariente,¹³⁹ y los que más pueden a los que menos. Y de éstos son los más que hoy están en Manila por esclavos en poder de españoles.

Luego que le presentaron esta cédula me pidió parecer el gobernador de lo que haría. Yo junté sobre ello los prelados de las órdenes y religiosos antiguos de ellos, con algunos muy doctos que vinieron conmigo, y todos, sin faltar en uno, fueron de un parecer, que Vuestra Magestad será servido mandar ver, cuyo traslado va con ésta,¹⁴⁰ aunque aprovecha poco, porque hasta marzo de este año no se pregonó la cédula y se mandó guardar. Y pluguiere a Dios no se hubiera pregonado, porque antes estaban con temor los amos, y andaban ya por darles libertad, viendo que en las confesiones les apretaban,¹⁴¹ pero pregonada la cédula y admitida la suplicación que para Vuestra Magestad interpuso la ciudad, todos tornaron a su porfía. Y como yo ví ésto, junté otra vez los padres y sacerdotes, y acordamos de admitir las confesiones a los dueños de los esclavos, pero habiendo de estar y pasar sin réplica por lo que Vuestra Magestad mandare, o que dentro de dos años que se les dió de término, que corren desde que esta nao se hiciere a la vela, les darán libertad. Pero yo estoy cierto que si Vuestra Magestad no lo torna a mandar de nuevo, que aunque se pasen dos años y veinte ellos no los dejarán.

Y es muy gran trabajo y escándalo haberse de hacer negándoles las confesiones. Y muchos dicen que hasta que Vuestra Magestad lo mande, que aunque se estén por confesar, no los dejarán. Allá van las diligencias que por parte de esta ciudad y el protector de los indios se hicieron. Vuestra Magestad lo mandará ver y lo que más convenga, y así lo mandará, porque muchos de los religiosos, aunque yo hé sido de parecer que por ahora los absuelvan, ellos no quieren si no dan primero libertad a los esclavos.

Luego de ésto se sigue dar a Vuestra Magestad noticia de lo que acá se hace con los perlados,¹⁴² y es que en viniendo un es-

unjustly kept as slaves, as it would be done by a people so barbarous as this, and they do it still today, so much so that for interest a relative is sold to other relatives, and the more powerful sell the weaker. Most of those to be found in Manila in the hands of the Spaniards are of this class.

As soon as this *cédula* was presented to him, the governor asked my opinion about what he should do. I convened the prelates of the orders, and the religious who had long resided here, together with some very learned men who came with me. All of them, without any exception, were of the same opinion. Your Majesty will please order it to be examined, for the translation goes with this. This will profit little, for up to March of this year, the *cédula* had not been promulgated and ordered to be obeyed. Would to God that it had not been promulgated, because before that, the masters were afraid, and were on the point of granting their slaves freedom, since they were pressed to do so in the confession. But when the *cédula* was promulgated, and the petition interposed for your Majesty by the city was granted, all of them went back to their obstinacy. When I saw this, once again I convened the fathers and priests and we agreed to admit the masters of slaves to confession, with the condition of agreeing and accepting, without any contradiction, your Majesty's decision, or that within two years from the sailing of this ship, —the term given them— they should free the slaves. But I am sure that if your Majesty does not order this again, even if two or twenty years should pass, they will not release them. It is something painful and scandalous to try to achieve this by denying them confession. Many say that they will not free their slaves until your Majesty so orders, even though they remain without confession. The proceedings made by the city and by the protector regarding this matter are being sent there. Your Majesty will order them to be studied and whatever else may be proper, and command accordingly.

Although I have been of the opinion that for the present, the owners may be absolved, many of the religious do not want to absolve them unless they first grant freedom to their slaves.

It is next in order to inform your Majesty of what is done here with the prelates, and it is as follows: as soon as a Span-

pañol a esta tierra, luego le mandan que se asiente debajo de bandera, aunque sea mercader que viene a tratar y contratar, diciendo que por ahora así parece conveniente.

Dejados los mercaderes, que se valen con sus mercaderías, y los encomenderos, que comen de sus encomiendas, todos los demás pasan muy pobre y lacerada vida. Para ellos no les dan cosa alguna¹⁴³ de acostamiento,¹⁴⁴ ni tienen donde lo haber para comer y vestir. Y con todo esto les mandan con tanto rigor acudir a las centinelas y a los demás trabajos de la guerra, como si fuesen muy bien pagados. De aquí vienen las vejaciones y malos tratamientos de los indios, porque acontece tener guisado el indio de comer para sí,¹⁴⁵ y entrar el soldado y tomársela, y aun sobre ello los maltratan y apalean. Y yéndoles yo a la mano, y reprendiéndoles de ello, me dicen que qué¹⁴⁶ han de hacer, si se han de dejar morir.¹⁴⁷ Que certifico a Vuestra Magestad que paso acerca de ésto un tormento intolerable, porque acuden todos a mi con sus necesidades, y yo no tengo con qué ni dónde poderlos remediar. Sólo me duelo de ellos y hago lo que puedo en socorrerlos con mi miseria, mas ni los encomenderos quieren pagar los diezmos, aunque se les ha mandado, ni los oficiales reales me quieren¹⁴⁸ pagar lo que Vuestra Magestad me mandó dar en su real caja, porque dicen que no vienen las cédulas bastantes. Y así estoy sin tener para mi, ni para los pobres.

Solían los gobernadores pasados repartir entre los soldados pobres algún arroz de lo que a Vuestra Magestad tributan, con que paraban¹⁴⁹ su miseria, pero ahora aún esto no se lo dan.¹⁵⁰ Y lo que más les aflige es que no les quieren dar que coman, ni les dan licencia para irlo a buscar, ni para salir de esta isla. Yo dí al gobernador la cédula que sobre ésto Vuestra Magestad mandó despachar, pero no se hizo nada, porque en ella no mandaba Vuestra Magestad más de mandarle que lo vea y haga lo que le pareciere.

Trató conmigo el gobernador¹⁵¹ que quería añadir el tributo de los indios otros dos reales a cada uno, para con estos sustentar

iard arrives to this country, he is at once ordered to serve under the flag, even though he may be a merchant who comes here to trade and sell. He is told that for the moment that is the best for him.

Apart from the traders, who survive because of their goods, and the *encomenderos*, who maintain themselves through their *encomiendas*, all the others live a very poor and miserable life. Nothing is given them as maintenance; they do not possess means to procure food and clothing. In spite of this, they are ordered with great severity to stand sentry and help in the affairs of war, as if they were well-paid. From here follow the vexations and ill-treatment of the Indians, for sometimes it happens to have the Indian his meal already cooked for him and the soldier enters and grabs it, and even ill-treats and beats him on account of this. If I correct and rebuke them, they answer: what else can we do? Must we be left to die?

I assure your Majesty that, on account of this, I suffer an intolerable torment. All come to me in their needs, and I have not the ways and means to help them. I only pity them and do what I can, with my own misery, to help them. The *encomenderos* refuse to pay the tithes, although they have been ordered to do so; nor can the royal officials pay me what your Majesty ordered to be given to me from the royal treasury, because they say the instructions regarding this are not clear enough. Thus I am without means for myself or for the poor.

The former governors used to distribute among the poor soldiers some rice from what was paid as tribute to your Majesty, in order to cushion their misery, but now not even this is given them. What afflicts them most is that neither the authorities give them food nor give them permission to look for it, nor even licence to leave this island. I handed over to the governor the *cédula* issued by your Majesty regarding this, but nothing has been done, for in it your Majesty ordered the governor to study it and do what he might think best.

The governor discussed with me that he wanted to add to the tribute of the Indians two more *reales* apiece to support the

los soldados pobres. Yo junté sobre ello los padres y clérigos, y visto que esta tierra no se puede sustentar sin que en ella haya españoles, y que los encomenderos se sustentan y que cobran con el favor y asistencia de los soldados que aquí están, y los indios pagan el tributo que llevan los encomenderos por amor de la doctrina, determinaron que los encomenderos estaban obligados a sustentar los soldados que eran menester para tener esta tierra segura. Pero por otra parte, consideraron que los encomenderos de estas islas son todos muy pobres, y casados algunos, muy pocos que tienen razonables encomiendas, y que con dificultad se sustentan, cuánto menos podrán sustentar los soldados. Pero que Vuestra Magestad no está obligado a gastar su real patrimonio en ésto de lo demás, sino ésto en cuyo beneficio se hace y están acá los españoles, de manera que si lo que dan de tributo no basta para todos los gastos que se han de tener, para que ellos tengan bastante doctrina y sean defendidos, para lo que ellos y no Vuestra Magestad están obligados a los sustentar, según dice San Pablo y es de derecho divino, por esta razón quería el gobernador añadirles los dos reales ya dichos. Y no faltó entre los padres y clérigos que sobre ésto se juntaron quien fuese de este parecer, y a mí también me pareció que, poniendo los ojos en el derecho divino, éstos están obligados a todos los gastos, pero considerando que la pobreza de la gente común, y que quizá lo que ellos dan de tributo bastaría para todo lo que es menester, si estuviese bien repartido, y otras razones que hacen este negocio dudoso, por lo cual yo no me atreví a dar parecer que se añadiese nada al tributo que ahora dan los indios hasta que Vuestra Magestad sea informado y mande lo que se debe hacer.

En estas islas están muchos soldados casados en México y en España, y en otras partes, y muchos de ellos ha veinte y cinco años que se vinieron de con sus mujeres, y otros diez, quince o veinte años, y algunos más o menos. Y he hecho todas mis diligencias porque vayan a hacer vida con sus mujeres, o las traigan acá y no me ha aprovechado. Vuestra Magestad, siendo servido, mande se guarde lo que también tiene proveído, porque no se hace, ni los gobernadores quieren venir en ello, diciendo que son

poor soldiers. I convened the fathers and the clergy to discuss this. Seeing that this land cannot be maintained without the presence of Spaniards, and that the *encomenderos* are supported and collect with the favour and assistance of soldiers who are here, and that the Indians pay the tribute collected by the *encomenderos* for the love of the doctrine, they have concluded that the *encomenderos* are obliged to support the soldiers who are necessary to render the country safe. But, on the other hand, they have considered that as the *encomenderos* of this country are all very poor, and some of them are married, and very few have sizeable *encomiendas*, and they can support themselves with much difficulty, much less will they be able to support the soldiers; they have concluded that your Majesty is not obliged to use of your royal patrimony for this purpose from any other income, but the obligation lies on those in whose service this is done, and for whose service the Spaniards are here. Accordingly, if what they give as tribute is not enough for all the expenses necessary in order that they may have suitable doctrine and may be defended, they and not your Majesty must bear these, as St. Paul says and as divine law commands. For this reason the governor wished to add the two *reales* before mentioned. And there were some among the convened fathers and clerics who concurred with this opinion. It seemed to me that based on divine right, these Indians are obliged to pay all the expenses. But considering the poverty of the common people, and considering perhaps that what they give is enough for the present needs, if it were well distributed, and for other reasons that make this problem doubtful, based on all this, I have not dared to support the attempt to add anything to the tribute which the Indians now give, until your Majesty will be informed and will order what action should be taken.

In these islands there are many soldiers who were married in Mexico, Spain and other parts. Many of them left their wives five, others ten, fifteen or twenty years ago, and others more or less. I have tried my best to convince them to return to live with their wives, or to bring them here, but to no avail. Will your Majesty please order to observe what has been decreed, for this is not observed, and the governors do not wish to fulfill this, because they say the soldiers are needed here! Thus they spend

menester. Y así pasan tantos años en ofensa de Dios y del santo matrimonio. Suplico a Vuestra Magestad sea servido de poner en ésto remedio, que si Vuestra Magestad no lo manda, no habrá quien de acá los eche.

La cosa más necesaria para la conservación de estos indios, hasta que entiendan más de nuestras cosas, es que haya un protector que mire por ellos y los defienda de mil agravios que les hacen.¹⁵² El gobernador tiene nombrado uno,¹⁵³ que a mi parecer lo hace bien y con cuidado y diligencia, pero como es de prestado no osa hacer su oficio con tanta libertad como lo hiciera si estuviera por Vuestra Magestad. Suplico a Vuestra Magestad mande proveer en ésto de manera que sea en provecho y no en daño de los indios, lo cual sería si este cargo se diese por favor o negociación sino a persona libre y muy celosa del servicio de Vuestra Magestad y del bien de los indios, de que habrá muy pocos. El que ahora es, si persevera, bien podría ser nombrado; y se llama Benito de Mendiola, pero podría faltar éste; y para adelante, si Vuestra Magestad fuere servido, porque esto se hiciese bien, —que es cierto cosa que mucho importa, y los obispos de derecho son padres de miserables— podría cometérselo a él que lo nombre, nombrándole Vuestra Magestad salario, o que acá se le tase. Y si Vuestra Magestad es servido, yo haré que los indios se lo paguen, que de muy buena gana lo harán. Y si Vuestra Magestad no confía que haga esto el obispo, podría cometer que él y el gobernador lo nombren, y que juntos, y no de otra manera, lo puedan quitar, porque muchas veces ha de pedir el protector cosas de que no guste el gobernador, y enojarse con él, y quitarle si está en su mano, como yo he visto después que vine más de una vez.

Los vecinos de esta ciudad son de los más leales vasallos que Vuestra Magestad en todos sus estados¹⁵⁴ tiene, y los soldados, con padecer tantos trabajos como he dicho, y muchos más que no se puede decir, están tan obedientes a lo que se les manda al servicio de Vuestra Magestad, que cierto es para dar gracias a Dios

so many years breaking the law of God and that of holy matrimony. I beg your Majesty to please put a remedy to this, for if your Majesty does not order it, never will they be sent out of here.

The things most necessary for the conservation of these Indians, until they shall learn more about our ways, is to have a protector who should look after them and defend them from the innumerable injuries inflicted upon them. The governor has named one who, in my opinion, is doing this well and with care and diligence. But as he is there by invitation, he dare not exercise his office with the same liberty as if he were appointed by your Majesty. I beg your Majesty to provide for this matter in such a way that it will be for the advantage and not to the prejudice of the Indians, which will be if this office were given through favor or sale. It should be given to a free person, very zealous of your Majesty's service and the welfare of the Indians. Of such, few will be found. The present one, if he perseveres doing his office heretofore, could very well be appointed. His name is Benito de Mendiola, but he may have to leave. For the future, if it shall please you that this should be well done—for surely this thing is of great importance, and the bishops are by right fathers of the poor—it might be entrusted to the bishop to appoint him, if your Majesty grants this right to him, and he be paid for it here. If it pleases your Majesty, I will see that the Indians pay him, which they will do very willingly. If your Majesty does not commit this to the bishop, it could be entrusted to him and to the governor to appoint one, it be provided that together, and in no other way, may they remove him, for many times the protector must ask things which the governor will dislike. This will annoy him, and he will have him removed, if it will be in his power, as I have seen done more than once since I came here.

The citizens of this city are among the most faithful vassals your Majesty has in his dominions; and the soldiers, although suffering so many toils, as I have stated above, and many more which I do not mention, are so obedient in everything they are ordered, related to your Majesty's service, that it is indeed a

que, en tanta distancia de tierra, sea un príncipe tan obedecido y temido, amado y reverenciado como Vuestra Magestad lo es en estas partes. Y pues esto se conserva conociendo los vasallos agradecimiento en sus reyes y príncipes, y que por ello les hace merced, a Vuestra Magestad humildemente suplico sea servido tener atención a lo dicho, que sin duda es verdad y les mande hacer mercedes; y que entiendan que Vuestra Magestad está satisfecho de su lealtad.

En lo que yo entiendo que ellos piden es que Vuestra Magestad les mande guardar los límites de su jurisdicción, que son cinco lenguas, y les haga merced de algunos propios, que no tienen ningunos, sin los cuales ninguna república se puede sustentar ni conservar. El cabildo de Mexico, con tener otros aprovechamientos, tiene encomienda; ahí está Palapa,¹⁵⁵ un buen pueblo junto a México. Acá ninguna cosa hay de que poder por ahora hacer nada, sino es siendo Vuestra Magestad servido que les encomienden algún pueblo para que, de los tributos, haya con que acudir a las necesidades y negocios públicos, de la manera que Vuestra Magestad mandare, que de ello serán ellos muy contentos.

El gobernador despachó un soldado¹⁵⁶ al Maluco para saber en la determinación que estaban los portugueses de aquellas islas. Vino de allá casi a una con la nao¹⁵⁷ de la Nueva España, y trajo las nuevas¹⁵⁸ que a Vuestra Magestad escribirá el gobernador. Fueron para todos los de estas islas de mucho contento, porque Vuestra Magestad ha de ser servido con ellas, pues nuestro Señor ha puesto en las manos de Vuestra Magestad la especiería del Maluco, cosa de sus progenitores tan deseada. Ahí envió la carta que el capitán del Maluco me escribió, para que Vuestra Magestad sea servido hacer crecidas mercedes a tan buen portugués como éste. Por cierto se ha mostrado gran servidor de Vuestra Magestad, no olvidando al que llevó y trajo la nueva, que se llama el alférez Francisco de Dueñas, que por su buena diligencia, y ser hombre de bien, entendido y asentado en sus cosas, salió con esta empresa, que otros erraran. Es soldado antiguo en estas islas, y ha servido muy bien a Vuestra Magestad en los casos de guerra.

matter for giving thanks to God that, in so far away a land there should be a prince so obeyed and respected, loved and revered as is your Majesty in this country. And since this condition of affairs is conserved by vassals perceiving gratitude in their kings and princes, and knowing that, through this, your Majesty rewards them for their service, I humbly beg your Majesty to give attention to what I have said above—which is very true—and command that rewards be granted to them, in order that they may understand that your Majesty is satisfied with their loyalty.

I understand that what they are asking is that your Majesty should order that the limits of the jurisdiction of the city, which is five leagues, be maintained, and that some lands, as they have none, be donated to them for without them no commonwealth can be maintained or conserved. The *cabildo* of Mexico has, besides other sources of income, an *encomienda*, that of Palapa; a prosperous town near Mexico. Here there is nothing, at the moment, with which to undertake any enterprise unless your Majesty is pleased to give a village in *encomienda*, so that from the tributes obtained they may attend to their needs and public business, in such a manner as your Majesty shall order. With that they will feel very happy.

The governor sent a soldier to Maluco to know what resolution the Portuguese of those islands had taken. He returned from there almost at the same time as the ship from Nueva España and brought the news which the governor will write your Majesty. All this gave a great satisfaction to the people here, because your Majesty's interests will be promoted, since our Lord has placed in the hands of your Majesty the spice trade of Maluco, something so greatly desired by your ancestors. I am sending the letter the captain of Maluco wrote me, in order that it may please your Majesty to grant honors to so good a Portuguese as this man is. Surely, he has displayed a great zeal for your Majesty, not forgetting the man who went there and brought the good news, the Ensign Francisco de Dueñas, a very intelligent man, and very reliable in everything, who by his energy and diligence succeeded in this interprise, which others had failed. He is an old soldier in these islands, and has served diligently your Majesty in

Y de todos cuantos hay en esta ciudad es amado y tiene muy buen nombre, por las buenas partes que tiene, y es persona que se le puede encomendar cualquier cosa, y es muy fiel y muy buen cristiano. Su Magestad sea servido mandarle hacer alguna merced, porque la merece y otros se animen, y también en que sean remunerados los soldados portugueses del Maluco, por el amor con que piden a Vuestra Magestad por su rey y su señor.

En la carta que el capitán me escribió se quejaba que yo no le escribí.¹⁵⁹ Y tiene razón, aunque en mí no estuvo la culpa, porque el gobernador le despachó sin decirme nada, como ha despachado para otras jornadas. No digo esto por decir mal de él, sino porque Vuestra Magestad sepa cómo pasan acá las cosas, y el caso que se hacen de los obispos.

En esto del Maluco Vuestra Magestad tendrá allá quien lo entienda bien. Lo que acá ha parecido a los que entienden las negaciones, que el clavo y otras especias irán por la Nueva España a menos costa, sin tanto riesgo y con más brevedad que por la India. Y que para conservar el clavo, que no se acabe, es necesario que Vuestra Magestad no permita que los indios de aquellas islas sean encomendados, sino que se estén en cabeza de Vuestra Magestad, y que se haga con ellos como lo hacía el rey de Portugal, porque si los quieren sujetar y mandar que paguen tributo, vendráse todo a perder, especialmente con los malos tratamientos que los castellanos les harán si se les encomienda la conquista, aunque sea con nombre de pacificación, como hemos visto que lo han hecho en cuantas tierras han estado. Y podría ser recibir los indios tanto daño de la primera entrada, que en muchos años no se reparase. Vuestra Magestad perdone mi atrevimiento y recibir mi voluntad, que es muy cumplida, de servir a Vuestra Magestad, diciendo lo que siento y lo que sienten muchos que acá están de buen pecho. Vuestra Magestad hará lo que fuere servido.

Habrá tres años¹⁶⁰ que salieron de esta isla ciertos religiosos franciscos para ir a la China, como Vuestra Magestad habrá ya sabido, sin dar parte al gobernador.¹⁶¹ Ahora determinaron hacer

matters of war. He is loved by all in this city and has a high reputation on account of his good qualities. He is a person whom anything can be entrusted. He is very faithful and a very good Christian. May it please your Majesty to honor him because he deserves it and because others may thereby be encouraged. The Portuguese soldiers of Maluco should also be rewarded with something for the affection with which they have accepted your Majesty as their king and lord.

In the letter the captain wrote me he complained that I had not written him. He is right, although the guilt is not mine, for the governor wrote him without telling me about it, as he has done with other expeditions. I do not mention this to speak ill of the governor, but rather for your Majesty to know how affairs happen here, and what regard they have for the bishops.

In regard to Maluco, your Majesty will send some one there who will understand the problem well. To those here who understand about navigation, it has appeared that the cloves and other spices could go by way of Nueva España at less cost, with less risk and faster than by way of India. In order to keep the trade of the cloves and not to have destroyed, it is necessary that your Majesty should not allow the Indians of those islands to be given in *encomiendas*, but rather they should be maintained under the direct obedience of your Majesty, and to deal with them as the king of Portugal used to do. If they try to subjugate them, and order them to pay tribute everything will be lost especially in view of the ill-treatment which the Spaniards will inflict on them if they will be given the responsibility of conquest, even though it be under the name of pacification, as we have seen they have done in all other countries where they have been. It might happen that the Indians would receive such harm at the first expedition, that it would not be repaired in many years. Your Majesty will forgive my boldness and accept my will, which is very sincere, to serve your Majesty, in stating what I feel, and many people of good conscience feel here. Your Majesty will do what will be more pleasing to you.

It is now three years since some Franciscan religious left this island to go to China, as your Majesty will already know, without the knowledge of the governor. Now they have decided to do

otro tanto. El custodio, que se llama Fray Pablo de Jesús, se fue con seis compañeros sin decir al gobernador ni a mi¹⁶² nada, de que me pesó mucho por la falta que acá hacían, que dejaban muchos indios ya cristianos sin doctrina, que lo tengo yo por muy gran inconveniente; pero sabiendo que Dios mueve los corazones de los hombres a cosas que nosotros no alcanzamos, pasé por ello. El gobernador tomó ésto con más aspereza de lo que yo quisiera, porque envió trás de ellos, y el que fué los trató muy descomedidamente; y al fin quiso Dios que arribasen a esta isla.

El gobernador mandó pregonar lo que por el traslado del auto que a Vuestra Magestad envió se verá,¹⁶³ que a mi me pareció cosa muy áspera para con una orden de tanta calidad y observancia, como es la de los descalzos de San Francisco. Yo avisé al gobernador que no lo llevase por tanto rigor, y no quiso admitir mi ruego. Después he sabido que el mismo que fué por ellos los ha tratado muy mal en Pangasinan e Ilocos, haciéndoles muchas vejaciones, quitándoles su navío y no consintiéndoles que nadie les acompañe, de que no poco escándalo recibieron los indios. Entre otras razones que me han dado para justificar su ida de aquí, es ver los malos tratamientos que los naturales de estas islas reciben de los españoles,¹⁶⁴ y más de los que tienen cargo de justicia, y que todos son a estorbar y ninguno a ayudar, por lo cual no se puede hacer fruto. Y así iban a buscar donde lo hacer.

Y cierto no van fuera de camino, porque las cosas que acá pasan, y los impedimentos que nos ponen los que habían de ayudar, son tantos que muchas veces querría dejarlo todo e irme a los montes,¹⁶⁵ mas el cargo que tengo me hace estar a raya.

Tiénese muy poco respeto a los ministros del evangelio, y no pueden hacer su oficio sin estar pendientes de los que tienen más cuidado de sus aprovechamientos que de la doctrina de los indios.

También se despachó a la isla de Macán, donde viven los portugueses, que está junto a la ciudad de Canton, en la China, un padre de la Compañía de Jesús¹⁶⁶ y con él dos¹⁶⁷ religiosos de

the same. The Custodian, called Fray Pablo de Jesús, went with six companions without saying anything to the governor and to me, for which I was very sorry, for they are very necessary here, because they left many Indians already Christians without doctrine, something which I consider a great inconvenience. Yet knowing that God moves the hearts of men to do things hidden from us, I will overlook it. The governor took this with greater severity than I desired, because he issued orders to go after them; and the person who went there treated them with great discourtesy. In the end, God allowed them to return back to this island. The governor ordered a promulgation to be made which will be seen in the proceedings I am sending your Majesty. I thought that was something very harsh for a religious order of so high a reputation and observance as the order of the discalzed friars of St. Francis. I told the governor not to act with so much severity, but he did not accept my plea. Afterwards I came to know that the person sent to get them, treated them harshly in Pangasinan and Ilocos, subjecting them to many abuses, taking away their ship and not allowing anyone to accompany them, to the great scandal of the Indians.

Among other reasons they gave me to justify their departure from here was not to see the ill-treatment the natives of these islands receive from the Spaniards, and especially from those who have the administration of justice, for all of them hinder and no one helps on this, thus nothing can be achieved. They went where they would be of greater advantage. And surely, they are not far from the truth, for the things that happen here, and the obstacles opposed by those who ought to help us, are so numerous that many times I have wanted to abandon everything and flee to the mountains, but the office I hold forces me to stay put.

Little respect is paid to the ministers of the Gospel. They cannot fulfill their offices without depending more upon those who have greater care for their profits than for the doctrine of the Indians.

A father of the Society of Jesus, and with him two religious of St. Francis, were also dispatched to the island of Macao, near

San Francisco, a tratar de lo mismo que con los del Maluco, con los portugueses que allí están. Yo escribí al obispo y gobernador portugués¹⁶⁸ y también al gobernador chino de Cantón. Ahí va el traslado de la carta para que allá se vea lo que se le pide, y con qué estilo, porque así me dijeron los chinos que entonces estaban aquí que convenía escribirle, porque él se informará allá del estilo que nosotros tenemos, y que holgará que le escribamos, como entre nosotros nos escribimos.

Para cumplir con mi obligación, y cerrar esta narración tan larga, no dejaré, como servidor y capellán de Vuestra Magestad, de decir que, pues estas tierras son de vuestra Magestad y tiene en ellas tantos y tan obedientes vasallos, así de españoles como de indios, sea servido mandar que se mire por ellos, y sean bien tratados, y que los gobernadores les guarden sus libertades, y no conviertan el gobierno en provecho de los que gobiernan,¹⁶⁹ como se ha hecho hasta aquí, en gran daño y menoscabo de las repúblicas. Para remedio de ésto Vuestra Magestad debería enviar a gobernarlas no los que lo pretenden, sino lo que Vuestra Magestad buscare, hombres cristianos y sin codicia, porque ésto es lo que desean, y a ellos y a nosotros conviene, sino que envíe Vuestra Magestad acá hombre que venga sólo y sin obligación de parientes ni allegados, que por cumplir con éstos quitan lo que se debe a los antiguos,¹⁷⁰ que les ha costado su sangre, y que se contente con el salario que Vuestra Magestad les señalare, que siempre es muy bastante, y espere ser de Vuestra Magestad acrecentado por los servicios, y no por hacerse rico en dos años destruya esta tierra, y no deje que otros gocen de ella, ni ganen de comer. Haciéndose esto Vuestra Magestad tendrá una de las mejores cosas que haya en las Indias. Y si va como hasta aquí no hay que hacer caso de ella, que no puede tirar mucho. Y si Vuestra Magestad fuere servido encomendar el gobierno a los que están por acá, hombres hay que lo podrían muy bien hacer y excusarse muchos inconvenientes que traen consigo los que de allá vienen.

the city of Canton, in China, where the Portuguese live, to deal with the Portuguese there about the same problem as with those of Maluco. I wrote to the bishop and Portuguese governor and also to the Chinese governor of Canton. A copy of the letter is sent to your Majesty in order that it may be seen there what is asked from him, and in what manner, for this was the way I was advised by the Chinese who were then here. They said that the governor would thus learn the style we have, and that he would be happy if we would write him as we do to one another.

To fulfill my obligation, and to bring to a close this long report, I will not omit, as a servant and chaplain of your Majesty, to say that since these lands belong to your Majesty, and your Majesty has here so many obedient vassals, both Spaniards and Indians, you should please see to it that the people are cared for and well treated, and that the governors preserve their liberties, and will not turn the government to the profit of those who govern, as has been done heretofore, to the loss and detriment of this commonwealth. As a solution to this, your Majesty should send to govern this commonwealth not those who solicit the office but rather those chosen by your Majesty, Christian men, without greed, for this is what the people wish and is convenient to them and to us. Your Majesty should rather send here a man that comes alone, and without obligation to relatives and friends, for in order to fulfill his obligation to these people, he takes away what is due to the old residents here, who have obtained what they have by sweating it out; a man who will feel content with the salary assigned him by your Majesty, which is always quite sufficient and who hopes to be rewarded by your Majesty for his services, and who will not, by making himself rich in two years, destroy this land, and prevent others from enjoying it, and gaining a livelihood. If this is done, your Majesty will have one of the best possessions in the Indies. If things continue heretofore, then it would be better not to take any care of it anymore, for it would not last much longer. If it shall please your Majesty to entrust the government to men who are here,

Esto es de lo que por acá he podido dar noticia a Vuestra Magestad, así de la guarda y transgresión de los mandatos, leyes y provisiones reales como del estado en que ésta tierra está y de los males que en ella pasan, y de las cosas que deben ser remediadas.

Por la prisa con que el navío se parte no va todo tan limado¹⁷¹ como para parescer ante Vuestra Magestad convenía. Si alguna falta lleva esta relación, que no puede ser menos, no la lleva en la verdad ni en el deseo de servir a Vuestra Magestad y procurar el bien de estas ánimas, que por sus pecados y los míos tengo a cargo. Si algo hubiere que a Vuestra Magestad parezca digno de remedio, humildemente suplico por él; y si hubiere dicho algo que a Vuestra Magestad parezca que yo debiera callar, también suplico humildemente sea perdonado. Y que Vuestra Magestad avise de que quedo cinco mil leguas de esa corte, cercado de tantas angustias y aflicciones, que no se espantará Vuestra Magestad de lo que digo, sino de lo que dejo de decir, y aún de cómo yo mismo no fui a dar noticia de esto y suplicar por el remedio, porque otra cosa es cierto verlo y pasarlo acá que oirlo referir allá.

Fr. Domingo, obispo de las Filipinas.

there are people who could do it well, and accept it, and this without the many disadvantages which accompany those who come from there.

The foregoing is so far the information I can send your Majesty regarding the observance or transgression of the royal ordinances, laws and provisions, or of the status of this land, and of the wrongs that happen here, and of the things in need of remedy. Due to the haste with which the ship has to depart, not all of this letter is so polished as to be fit to be presented before your Majesty. If any deficiency is found in this report, as I am sure will be, there is no deficiency in the truth, and in the desire of serving your Majesty and procuring the welfare of these souls, whom, because of their sins and my own, are under my care. If there is anything found by your Majesty worthy to be corrected, I humbly ask that it be done, and if I were to have said something that your Majesty would think I ought not to have mentioned, I also humbly ask to be forgiven. Since your Majesty knows that I am five thousand leagues distant from that court, surrounded by so many griefs and afflictions, you will not be shocked about the things I say, but about the things I do not mention, and even why I almost decided to go there to inform you of everything, and beg for a remedy, for surely one thing is to see and experience this here, and another to hear it described there.

Fr. Domingo, bishop of the Philippines

FOOTNOTES

¹⁰⁷ The word "*Sangley*" (plural *Sangleyes*) probably comes from *hiang* (xiang) and *ley*; it means "travelling merchant". It was the name given to Chinese traders coming to the Philippines. *Mestizo Sangley* came to mean the son of a Chinese father and a Filipino mother or vice versa.

¹⁰⁸ Trade relations between China and the Philippines antedated the Spanish arrival. For how long they had been going on, and how extensive and brisk those trade relations were are matters quite difficult to ascertain. Martin de Goiti, the *maestre de campo* of Legazpi, found Chinese families living in Manila in 1570, when the city was taken by him. Commercial relations between the Spaniards and the Chinese increased as the years went by. The Chinese were eager to get the silver from Mexico, for in China there were no silver mines. The prospects for enrichment for both sides were bright. Hernando Riquel, a Spanish official, wrote: "A year ago there came to the port of this city three ships from China and to the neighboring islands five more. Those which came here brought merchandise such as is used among the Chinese and such as they bring here ordinarily..."

"They brought some trifles although but a small quantity, as the natives, with whom they principally came to trade, commonly use, and for them are brought only large earthen jars, common crockery, iron, copper, tin and other things of that kind. For the chiefs they brought a few pieces of silk and porcelain; but these goods are not especially out of the common. For the Spaniards they brought some fine ware and other articles, which they readily sold, since we who are here have plenty of money and the Chinese need it. They are so delighted that they will surely return in six or seven months, and will bring a great abundance of many very rare articles", *News from the Western Islands by Hernando Riquel and others*, Manila, July, 1573, in: BRPI, 3, 243-245.

Chinese trade with Manila became more stabilized with governor Francisco Sande (1575-1580).

¹⁰⁹ When this report of Salazar was penned in 1582 trade between China and Manila was flourishing. The city had come to depend upon this trade for necessary supplies, most of them coming from China.

¹¹⁰ One of the main reasons that moved Salazar to accept his appointment as Bishop of the Philippines was the proximity of China to the Philippines, and the hope of establishing contacts with the Chinese rulers, all in view of being allowed to enter China to preach the Gospel. Even before his arrival to the Philippines, the Franciscans had escaped to China, in the hope of unveiling the mystery of this fabulous realm. The Jesuit Alonso Sanchez had just been sent to China in March of 1582 as Salazar's and the governor's representative and ambassador.

China, with its millions of people, its millennial civilization and reported wealth, lured many missionaries to abandon Europe and the mission fields of America. As early as 1545 the great Bishop of Mexico Juan de Zumárraga, the Dominican missionary Domingo de Betanzos and others, under the leadership, *caudillaje*, of Bartolomé de Las Casas, had planned and tried to leave Mexico and set sail for the realm of China. *Letter of Juan de Zumárraga and Domingo de Betanzos to Prince Philip*, February 21, 1545, in: *Documentos inéditos de América*, XIII, 531-537. The Philippines was looked upon as a jumping point, a kind of missionary spring-board to the mysterious Grand Cathay of Marco Polo. Salazar shared these dreams, for dreams they were, and no more. The harsh reality of China, and their rulers opposition to Christian preaching and evangelization, partially helped to shatter these dreams. Luckily the missionaries of the second generation realized the foolishness of these dreams and consecrated their energy to consolidate Christianity in the Philippine archipelago. The results were marvelous.

¹¹¹ In Retana: *disgustos*. The word was given in abbreviation and the logical reading is *derechos*; in English taxes.

These taxes were imposed by Governor Gonzalo Ronquillo. In a letter of 1582, addressed to king Philip II, he wrote: "By other letters I have already given advices of the imposition of three per cent as duties on both importations and exportations of the merchandise of both Spaniards and Chinese. A freight charge of twelve pesos per tonelada is also imposed. Considering their large profits, these duties are very moderate. For this reason, and because the instructions brought by the adelantado Legazpi decreed the collection of five per cent from the people of this country and seven from the merchants of Mexico, and as the collection, at that rate, cannot in good conscience, be too long delayed, I have decided to enforce it. Your Majesty will provide accordingly to the royal pleasure. In my opinion, the regulations made are moderate, just, and desirable for the royal service", *Letter of Governor Ronquillo de Peñalosa to Philip II*, Manila, June 16, 1582, in: BRPI, 5, 29-30.

¹¹² Once the Spaniards secured a foothold in the Philippines, the Chinese started to arrive in larger numbers every year. Unable to sell their goods, some of them stayed behind until they could sail back to China during the next monsoon. Still others decided to settle down in Manila. For years they lived scattered in Manila, together with the Spaniards and in the *arrabales*, or suburbs, most especially in Tondo. As their numbers increased, the Augustinians, who had a convent in Tondo, tried to bring them to the knowledge of the Christian religion. They consulted with Governor Ronquillo, and it was decided to settle them down in a village called Miton. Not too many seemed to have transferred, but still some did. This happened just before Salazar's arrival to the Philippines, perhaps during the year 1581.

¹¹³ This closed compound was different from Miton. It was called in Spanish *alcaicería*, and in the language of the natives, *Parian*. This was the first *Parian* of the eight *Parians* built in Manila during the first two hundred years of Spanish rule.

Scholars and writers of Philippine history do not agree as to the origin and meaning of the word *Parian*. Some people say it is of Chinese origin, others say it is Mexican in origin. Probably *Parian* is a Tagalog word, which will stand for the Spanish word *alcaicería*, or market (Cfr. SANTA-MARIA, Alberto, O.P., *The Chinese Parian (El Parian de los Sangleyes)*, in: *The Chinese in the Philippines, 1570-1770*, ed. Alfonso Felix, Historical Conservation Society, IX, Manila, 1966, vol. I, pp. 70-71.

Alcaicería is a Spanish word coming from the Arabic word *Al-gaiysariya*, meaning silk-market. This was in fact the original meaning, but when the Spaniards reconquered some of the cities of southern Spain they called the

market by the Arabic name of *Algaysariya*, hispanized into *Alcaiceria*. Writers and scholars translate the Spanish word *alcaiceria* when used in the Filipino context, as *silk-market*. This was the original name, but *alcaiceria* in Spanish simply meant market. When the Spaniards in the Philippines decided to use a word to signify the Spanish word *alcaiceria* they used the word *Parian*, later on extended exclusively for the Chinese market. Both *alcaiceria* and *Parian* meant market, where all wares and goods were available, and not only silk.

¹¹⁴ This first *Parian* was built, as Salazar says, 'this year', that is, in 1582. And it was built within the boundaries of the city of Manila. We must repeat again, this *Parian* was very distinct from Miton, the village built before the arrival of Salazar, at the other side of the river. Due to the expeditions to Cagayan, when some Chinese were compelled to go as rowers, many of these Chinese abandoned Miton. Also not too many people had moved to the place by the time of Salazar's arrival. Most Chinese were still in Tondo and other *arrabales*. Hence the need for the establishment of the *Parian* or "*alcaiceria*."

Salazar wrote: "When I came to this country, I saw a great number of Chinese in a town called Tondo, near Manila but divided by a river from this city. Some of them were Christians, but the majority were pagan. There were also some stores ran by Chinese who had stayed in order to sell the excess merchandise they had brought. These Chinese were spread all over our town without having a place to themselves, till Don Gonzalo Ronquillo gave them a place which they could use as a silk-market and which we here call *Parian*... When I came, the Chinese were ignored and forgotten and I regretted that such an illustrious nation should have no priests who could preach to them in their own tongue. I spoke to Don Gonzalo Ronquillo on this matter to allow them to have a place of their own and priests who would learn their tongue to preach to them..." Cfr. A. SANTAMARIA, *op. cit.*, 84.

¹¹⁵ In Retana: *de registrallo*.

¹¹⁶ In Retana: *entrava*.

¹¹⁷ Silk was one of the chief products brought to Manila by the Chinese.

¹¹⁸ Governor Gonzalo Ronquillo writes:

"I appointed to the said office [treasurer] Don Antonio Jofre, my step-son. He came with me to serve your Majesty in these islands, and I consider that he possesses the necessary qualifications for the requirement of the office. He has fulfilled its duties thus far: and now he has gone to the settlement of the city of Segovia as treasurer and purveyor of the fleet," *Letter of Governor Don Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa to Philip II Manila*, June 16, 1582, in: BRPI, 5, 33.

¹¹⁹ Salazar conducted an investigation regarding the decision passed by Don Antonio Jofre against this sangley. Cfr. *Proceedings against a Sangley and Petition of Bishop Salazar in his defense*, Manila, June 15, 1582, in: AGI, Filipinas 84,

¹²⁰ Probably, by *cédulas* is meant a kind of promissory notes, "very much in use among them."

¹²¹ In Retana: *tiempo*.

¹²² In Retana: *que la haga por él, que le cobra*.

¹²³ The expedition was the one under Juan Pablo Carrión, one of the most famous *conquistadores* since the time of Legazpi, and organized by Don

Gonzalo Ronquillo with the consent of the bishop. It was not sent against Japan, but against some Japanese —*wako* pirates— who had come to northern Luzon, in the province of Cagayan, and who were planning to settle down there as colonists. Don Gonzalo Ronquillo refers to this problem when he writes:

"In the years 80 and 81 there came to these islands some pirate ships from Japan, which is located about four hundred leagues from here. They did some injury to the natives. This year as warning was received that ten ships were being prepared to come to these islands, I have sent a fleet to the place where they are accustomed to come. This fleet is composed of six vessels, among them a ship and a galley well supplied with guns. I will send later advice of the outcome. The Japanese are the most warlike people in this part of the world. They have artillery and many arquebuses and lances. They use defensive armor for the body, made of iron, which they have owing to the subtlety of the Portuguese, who have displayed that trait to the injury of their own souls", *Letter of Governor Gonzalo Ronquillo to Philip II*, Manila, June 16, 1582, in: BRPI, 5, 27.

¹²⁴ Salazar is referring here to the first group of Chinese who were forced to go with Juan Pablo Carrión early in 1582. Salazar received the complaints from the Chinese and asked his vicar to start an investigation regarding the abuses committed in pressing men to join the expedition. Cfr. *Letter of the Vicar of Miton to Salazar*, Miton, March, 1582, in: AGI, Filipinas 84.

¹²⁵ Governor Ronquillo, and other Spanish officials, received terrible news from Cagayan just before the galleon was due to depart from Cavite towards the end of June. Some Spaniards had escaped from the battle scene against the Japanese in Cagayan, and rushed to Manila to tell the governor the news of the clash with the Japanese. There was a need for urgent help and provisions. Men had to be pressed to go once more to Cagayan to relieve the hardly pressed Spaniards there.

Don Gonzalo wrote to the king:

"The news [battle with the Japanese] came yesterday and with all possible dispatch I am sending reinforcements, boats, ammunition and the provisions necessary. I considered it so needful to employ the soldiers for this purpose because too small a force remains to me for the aid of Maluco... For I suffer a great lack of men and other things because no reinforcements have been sent me from Nueva España, although I have implored them. This land suffers from a constant and pressing need of reinforcements on account not only of its unhealthy climate, but of the many emergencies which arise when I must send aid. These occasions now are not so much a matter of jest as they have been hitherto; for the Chinese and Japanese are not Indians, but people as valiant as many of the inhabitants of Berberia [Barbary] and even more so. I entreat your Majesty to give careful attention to this, and to order that in all vessels as many men as possible be sent, for it is the key to what is necessary for the preservation of this camp", *Letter of Don Gonzalo Ronquillo to Philip II*, Manila, July 1 1582, in: BRPI, 5, 197.

¹²⁶ The fear and apprehension were felt by all the Spanish officials in the Philippines. The situation was most grave and desperate and thus the means used, unjust no doubt, were imposed by the circumstances. The factor Juan Román, rushed to Cavite to send the latest information to Nueva España and Spain. Apart from this, he forced some Spanish merchants who were returning to Mexico, to stay behind, in view of the gravity of the

situation. They were not soldiers, but merchants, who had come to trade in the Philippines, but they were also compelled and pressed to stay behind and fight for the survival of the colony. Everybody was pressed to do military service. Román asked for one thousand soldiers to defend the country. He recognized that the enemy they faced now was very dangerous and brave. The Japanese fought ferociously and could beat the Spaniards in open battle. He tried to make people realize in Nueva España and Spain that the Japanese were great warriors and with the resources found in the Philippines, the Spaniards could not resist much longer.

In a letter addressed to the viceroy of Mexico, Román wrote:

"The Chinese who had been forced to go with the fleet revolted and killed some Spaniards... The six soldiers came with the news, and on the way they met a sailor who had escaped from a sangley ship which had sailed from here, with supplies of rice for Juan Pablo. He says that the sangleys mutinied at midnight and killed ten soldiers who had gone with it as an escort, who had no sentinel. This one escaped by swimming", *Letter of Juan Bautista Román to the Viceroy Cavite*, June 15, 1582, in: BRPI, 5,194.

¹²⁷ In Retana: *otro*.

¹²⁸ Salazar is referring here to the village of Miton, situated "at the other side of the river", that is, on the right bank of the Pasig river, almost opposite Manila, or what later on would be known as the walled city, or *Intramuros*. This village desintegrated on account of the people being forced to go to the expedition, or in order to avoid this they returned home to China.

¹²⁹ This Augustinian Friar was Fr. Juan Bautista. The letter was addressed to Salazar in answer to the latter's inquiry about what had happened in Miton after the *sangleys* were pressed to go to the expedition to Cagayan. The letter is found in AGI, Fil. 84.

¹³⁰ As soon as the Spaniards reached the Philippines, they started to acquire a few slaves for their own personal use. Slavery was rampant among the natives, and trade in slaves was common in the Philippines and other nations of Southeast Asia. The *adelantado* Legazpi closed, in part, his eyes to this fact, contrary to the laws of the Indies, although as he testifies, he punished some soldiers for it:

"In regard to the Indians taken by the soldiers, it is true that some of them have taken some Indians in some places, and bought some sold to them in the villages by their own relatives and kinsmen. They did so in order to alleviate their needs. I rebuked them for this, and I even punished some of them. I have sent back to their own places all those I have come to know of, and all those brought to this royal camp. We have taken good care of these, except those taken from some junks and ships in the sea, for they fought against the Spaniards and wounded or killed some, or when they are corsairs who come to rob in these lands of our friends, as they do as a matter of fact, especially those coming from Burney, Jolo and other provinces which are at war with these Indians. If the Spaniards get hold of them, they help themselves and keep them as slaves, although they take little advantage from them, for easily they escape and return to their own lands.

Those taken by the soldiers of this camp, and of whom they serve themselves, are those bought with their own money from friendly Indians who have peaceful relations with us and who have slaves of their own and sell them, as they have been doing from time immemorial. Among these slaves there are [negritos] with whom the Indians are at war, and they are [negritos] captured

and reduced to slavery among themselves. Of this type, some have been brought to this camp, as they have been bought by the Indians to sell them to China, Burney and other parts, for the Indians appreciate a negro slave less than an Indian slave and sold him at lesser prices, but after they have seen that the Spaniards preferred them and gave more money for the negroes than for the Indians, they have become more expensive . . .", *Copy of some Chapters of a Letter of Legazpi to the Viceroy of Nueva España*, Panay, July 25, 1570, in: RODRIGUEZ, *Historia*, XIV, 51-52.

¹³¹ The Royal Cedula of Philip II, of 1572, read like this:

"I, the king. Our governor of the Philippine Islands. I have been informed that the Spaniards living in those islands are trying to keep as slaves the Indians of the said Islands. My will is that the Indians must not be made slaves. Thus I command you that no Spaniard shall have any Indian as slave in any manner whatsoever, even if the said Indian may have been made slave by other Indians and captured in just war. If the Spaniards have some slaves of this or similar nature, you have to grant them freedom, as we grant them freedom by these presents and declare them free. I command that this be kept and obeyed and that in no way it be disobeyed and bypassed.

Given at Madrid, November 7, 1574. I, the king. By command of his Majesty, Antonio de Eraso. Countersigned by the members of the council. In: AGI, Patronato 25, 2, fol. 27.

¹³² Salazar came to the Philippines in the galleon *San Martín* that had left Acapulco on March 27, 1581. There was another ship with the *San Martín*, called the *San José*. The two of them reached the Philippines by the beginning of July. The *San Martín*, unable to make any headway for Manila, took shelter in Ibalon Bay (Sorsogon). The *San José* was able to reach Mindoro. Governor Ronquillo dispatched to Acapulco at the end of July the galleon *Espíritu Santo*, without waiting for the arrival to Manila of the two ships. Thus, no answer was given to the correspondence brought by the galleon *San Martín* and the ship *San José*. But the galleon *Espíritu Santo*, in which Doctor Francisco Sande, past governor of the Philippines, and Gabriel de Rivera, official representative of Manila travelled came to know the whereabouts of the two ships come from Acapulco before it left Philippine waters. The good news of the safe arrival of the two ships was brought to Mexico by the *Espíritu Santo*. The Viceroy of Nueva España, as soon as he received the good news, wrote that:

"The two ships, the galleon *San Martín* and *San José*, which I dispatched last year, as I wrote your Majesty, reached port. The ship *San Jose* reached the island of Mindoro, which is twenty-five leagues from Manila; the galleon *San Martín* the bay of Ibalon, around fifty leagues from Manila . . ." *Letter of the Viceroy of Nueva España to Philip II*, in: AGI, Mexico 20; Fil. 6; Cfr. RODRIGUEZ, *Historia*, XIV, 44, footnote 201.

¹³³ According to a document in the Archives of Indies of Sevilla there came 17 Augustinians under the leadership of Fr. Juan Pimentel; five Franciscans under Fr. Antonio de Villanueva; three Jesuits under Fr. Antonio Sedefio; five clerics and one Dominican, Fr. Cristobal de Salvatierra, under Salazar and some other passengers and members of the crew. Cfr. AGI, Patronato 23, no. 5.

¹³⁴ The royal *cédula* was dated April 1, 1580, addressed to the governor of the Philippines. The original is found in, AGI, Filipinas 339, Lib. I, part 1, fols. 175-176; 181 vto.; 183.

¹³⁵ The discussion about granting freedom to the slaves started right after the conquest. The Augustinians opposed this practice from the very

beginning and denounced the Spaniards as violators of the laws of Indies. Fr. Diego de Herrera left the Philippines in 1573 with a *Memorial* by all the other Augustinians, where they strongly protested against the Spaniards who disobeyed the royal commands regarding slavery. By September of 1574 Herrera was in the royal court. Probably he presented his *Memorial* to the king, or at least to the Council of Indies. As a result of this, five royal decrees were issued favouring the Filipinos, two of them touched directly on slavery. The first was addressed to the governor, commanding him to free the slaves held by the Spaniards; the second was addressed to the Augustinians, enjoining them to see to it that the governor obeyed the royal decree. The royal decrees were being brought to the Philippines by Fr. Diego de Herrera; Herrera unfortunately drowned in Catanduanes in 1576 and the papers he was bringing with him were lost. Hence the need to petition the Spanish king and the Council of Indies to reissue the royal decrees. The officials and missionaries of the Philippines had no inkling what those royal decrees were saying since they all got lost in the sea. Cfr. RODRIGUEZ, *The Augustinian Monastery of Intramuros*, Makati, 1976, 200.

¹³⁶ Governor Ronquillo was very reluctant to act on this regard. He passed the ball on to Bishop Salazar. He wrote to the king:

"This kingdom was thrown into great confusion by a decree in which your Majesty ordered the liberation of all Indians slaves held by the Spaniards. This affair has caused me much anxiety, for if it should be immediately complied with and put into execution without allowing any term of grace, this kingdom would be placed in a sad state for many good and forcible reasons. Of these and of the measures which I took in regard to this, your Majesty will be informed at greater length. Accordingly, I refer to that report, and beseech your Majesty that the decree be greatly amended, since this is a very important matter", *Letter of Governor Ronquillo de Peñalosa to Philip II*, Manila, June 16, 1582, in: BRPI, 5, 32.

¹³⁷ Retana left out after the word *españoles*: *sin ellos no se podían sustentar. Yo confieso que los españoles.*

¹³⁸ In Retana: *no* is left out.

¹³⁹ In Retana: instead of *pariente* he writes *del presente*.

¹⁴⁰ Salazar is referring here to the famous *Meeting Regarding Slaves*, convoked and presided over by him on October 16, 1581. The original is found in AGI, Fil. 74; Fil. 84. An English translation in: BRPI, 34, 325-331; Cfr. TORRES LANZAS-PASTELLS, *Catálogo*, II, pp. CXLIV-CXLV.

¹⁴¹ This statement of Salazar may sound bizarre and hypocritical to modern readers and to those who do not belong to the Spanish tradition. Let us go back to 16th century Europe, and more specially to Spain, and then and there the statement makes perfect sense. The Europeans were still living in the age of faith. The Spaniards, who had passionately fought against the Moros and the Protestants in Europe, were very proud of their Catholicism. The men who came to the Philippines, whether officials, encomenderos or soldiers, were no exception. Denial of absolution in confession meant inability to receive the sacraments of the Church, for them essential means of everlasting salvation. This was a worse punishment than death.

After the October meeting and decision of Salazar regarding slaves in the Philippines, the masters of slaves, precisely due to the pressure from the religious in the confessions, were at the point of granting them freedom. The petition interposed by the masters, and accepted by the governor, and by Salazar himself, brought to a standstill the liberating movement of the slaves.

¹⁴² Salazar used here the word *perlados*. This word was used for superiors of religious orders and for bishops. Here, however, *perlados* stands for secular superiors.

¹⁴³ The early Augustinians complained that little was given to the soldiers for their maintenance. Oftentimes they received nothing. Fr. Juan de Alva wrote.

"What I have noticed and seen is this; that up to now nothing has been done in the service of our Lord, because, since the soldiers and captains have been standing on one leg, like the crane, hoping to return home, all their efforts have gone to rob in order to eat, for the governor gives them nothing of the tributes collected to maintain themselves..." *Letter of Fr. Juan de Alva to the Viceroy of Nueva España*, Panay, July 28, 1570, in: RODRIGUEZ, *Historia*, XIV, 60.

¹⁴⁴ In Retana: *avastecimiento*.

¹⁴⁵ Salazar was denouncing something that had been denounced before by the Augustinians. In a letter addressed to Philip II, they said:

"One of the main reasons that account for the abuses and injuries inflicted upon the Indians of these islands is the extreme poverty of the soldiers and the fact of not granting them any help, as the adelantado —may he rest in peace— used to do, according to his possibilities, and out of his own property... Due to their extreme poverty, it follows that they go through the land and seize from the Indians their own misery, and make violence on them and inflict so many injuries that we cannot decry them enough. From the fact of living too thinly spread in the land, and out of control, looking for food, it has followed and still follows another great evil, which is for many of them to die miserably. The majority die in this manner. If it will please your Majesty to command that certain help and maintenance be given to them, to cover their ordinary needs, many offenses and abuses against these poor Indians will be avoided". *Letter of Andrés de Aguirre and Francisco Manrique to Philip II*, Manila, July 20, 1581, in: RODRIGUEZ, *Historia*, XIV, 21-22.

¹⁴⁶ In Retana: *que* is left out.

¹⁴⁷ The poverty of the soldiers was something that also worried the governors. We must take these denunciations of the Augustinians as motivated by their love for the Filipinos, and the desire to set things along the path of justice. The governors themselves took pity on the soldiers, but they definitely lacked the resources to do anything about. Hence the natives suffered the consequences of the poverty and misery of the soldiers and encomenderos.

Governor Sande had written:

"As the soldiers suffer so many hardships, they became sick; and although many even die, they are all so poor that they cannot leave anything. They have no medicines, and are always ready to beg them, as they have no other resource", *Relation of Governor Francisco Sande to the King*, Manila, June 7, 1576 in: BRPI, 4,78-79.

¹⁴⁸ In Retana: *pueden*.

¹⁴⁹ In Retana: *pasavan*.

¹⁵⁰ Legazpi, Lavezaris and Sande used to give a little help to the soldiers. That amounted to very little, but at least it was something. Ron-

quillo seemed to have forgotten them entirely. The problem was compounded by the fact that the colony was extremely poor. Practically everything had to come from Mexico and Spain, especially things pertaining to military matters.

From the time of Legazpi to the very time Salazar penned his *Report*, the Philippines was beset by internal and external enemies. All the resources available had to be channelled towards the defense of the country. The soldiers had to be fed. The ships for the navy had to be built. All this demanded money and people. Hence those who suffered most were the natives, who unable to provide the necessary things, due to the fact that their economy was of a subsistence nature, were pressed by the authorities to give for the maintenance of the army. Oftentimes they were forced to help in the struggle for survival. In 1574 it was the dangerous attack of the Chinese pirate Li-ma-hong; in 1578 and 1579 the expeditions to Borneo; now, in the early 80's, the danger from the Japanese *wako* pirates. The pressures on the Spaniards were enormous. In turn, the natives suffered the consequences. The vexations and abuses against them find their intelligibility in the terrible political situation through which the country was passing. Even the soldiers and the encomenderos, in order to simply survive, were "forced", as they said, and Salazar accepted, to rob the natives. Herrera had written in 1570:

"I came to this New Spain to notify your Majesty of the great needs experienced in the Philippines, and of the great vexations committed against the natives, due to the needs of the soldiers", *Letter of Diego de Herrera to Philip II*, Mexico, January 16, 1570, in: RODRIGUEZ, *Historia*, XIV, 39.

¹⁵¹ This text is a proof of the continuous dialogue that was going on in Spanish America and the Philippines between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. In spite of the struggles between the two, the frank, open and, at times, mordant dialogue never came to an end. Legazpi was in continuous communication with the Augustinians Urdaneta and Martin de Rada. Governor Lavezaris and Rada and Herrera discussed the problems affecting them. Rada advised and counselled Governor Sande regularly. We see now, in Salazar's *Memorial*, how often Ronquillo sought the advice of Salazar. All of them came together to thresh out the problems affecting them. All this manifests a sincere effort from every part to find a just solution to the burning problems they were confronted with, especially during the first two decades of the conquest and evangelization.

¹⁵² Gabriel de Rivera, in a *Report* addressed to the king while in Spain, advocated for the post of a defender ex officio of the natives:

"...because the natives of these islands are newly converted and pacified people, and they lack understanding and capacity to defend themselves against the injuries committed against them, by the authorities of justice and by other people, —for they are very abused, and they do not dare to ask what the governor can do for them; powerful people take advantage of them. They are not paid for their work; their properties are seized in suits that they regularly have. Due to all these it is most necessary and important that a person be appointed by your Highness, who will have special charge of the defense of the natives, so that they will not be abused..." In: RODRIGUEZ, *Historia*, XIV, 16, footnote 16.

¹⁵³ The person named by the governor was Benito de Mendiola. Ronquillo simply re-appointed him to that post, for Mendiola had been named

Protector by his predecessor, Don Francisco de Sande, as we read in a letter of the Augustinians:

"As it was seen as something necessary for the Indians to have a protector, Benito de Mendiola, a citizen of this city, was appointed during the governorship of Doctor Francisco Sande. He is married, a man of exemplary life, capable and fitted for the job. He has done it with good zeal and care, but as he is poor and the salary given him, which is one hundred pesos, is small, he has to attend to other matters. Thus he might not be available when the Indians need him. If your Majesty is pleased to appoint and confirm him to this most necessary office, and give him a salary good enough to maintain his house without his attending to other affairs, we understand God shall be pleased, your Majesty will discharge your royal conscience and these unfortunate Indians will not be abused", *Letter of Fr. Andrés de Aguirre and Fr. Francisco Manrique to Philip II*, Manila, July 20, 1581, in: RODRIGUEZ, *Historia*, XIV, 16-17.

¹⁵⁴ In Retana: *yslas*.

¹⁵⁵ In Retana: *Jalapa*.

¹⁵⁶ We read in a letter of Ronquillo to the king:

"The sub-lieutenant Francisco de Dueñas who, as I have explained in another letter, was sent as envoy to Maluco, came to this city on the twenty-second current. He brought very good returns, which have given us great satisfaction, as your Majesty will see by the letters of the chief captain and other private persons, which I am sending through your Viceroy of Nueva España. There is also remitted an account of the voyage and events", *Letter of governor Ronquillo de Peñalosa to Philip II*, Manila, June 15, 1582; in: BRPI, 4, 312.

¹⁵⁷ This ship of about one hundred and twenty tons arrived on May twenty-fourth, 1582, sent by the Viceroy of Nueva España. It brought, as Ronquillo said, many decrees from the Audiencia, but no provisions for the royal camp. Cfr. *Ibid.* 321.

¹⁵⁸ Cfr. *Relation of the Voyage of Francisco de Dueñas to Maluco*, March, 1582, in: AGI, Patronato 13, 14.

¹⁵⁹ In Retana: *e escrito*.

¹⁶⁰ The Franciscans arrived in the Philippines in 1578. One year later, on June 14, 1579, Trinity Sunday, without the permission of Governor Francisco Sande secretly they left Vigan for China, where they arrived by the 19th of the same month of June. The leader of the group was Fr. Pedro de Alfaro together with Fr. Juan Bautista Lucharelli de Pesaro, Fr. Sebastian de Baeza and Fr. Agustin de Tordesillas. Three Spanish soldiers accompanied them: Captain Juan Díaz Pardo, Francisco de Dueñas and a soldier known as Villarroel. There were four Filipinos with them. The religious, once in Canton, were deceived by the Chinese interpreter, a Christian apostate called Simón Rodríguez, who was an expert in Portuguese. Nothing was achieved through this mission. Fr. Alfaro got drowned a few years later in the gulf of Hainan, Fr. Baeza died on the way back from Macao to Manila at the beginning of 1580. Fr. Bautista Lucharelli was initially deported to Malacca. Fr. Tordesillas, together with Captain Juan Pardo, Francisco Dueñas, Villarroel and the Filipinos arrived in Manila on February of 1580. They carried a letter from Fr. Alfaro addressed to the governor of the Philippines, Don Gonzalo Ronquillo asking forgiveness from him:

"The couriers, Fr. Agustin and Brothers Francisco Dueñas, Juan Díaz Pardo and Villarroel can testify before God and the pope, if

need be, that everything that could be done was done. But the Lord was not pleased to open the door [of China to the Gospel]. When He will open, He alone knows. These brothers of ours feel apprehensive that some injuries and offenses might be done to them for having come to this enterprise without permission. The responsibility is all mine, for I was the cause of their following me..." TORRES LANZAS-PASTELLS, *Catálogo*, II, CXXIII.

Fr. Agustín de Tordesillas wrote a detailed account of their journey and experiences in China up to November 15, of 1579. This relation is found in MENDOZA'S *Historia de las cosas más notables, ritos y costumbres del Gran Reino de la China*, ed. FELIX GARCIA, O.S.A., Madrid, 1944, pp. 239-299.

¹⁶¹ Governor Ronquillo complained to his Majesty about the conduct of the Franciscans. He could not understand their desire to abandon their ministry in the Philippines and the eagerness to go to China. He wrote:

In April of this year, the Custodian of the Order of St. Francis, together with other seven friars, left this city in a frigate that he had secretly prepared without my permission. Three years ago they did the same. Four friars of the same order left without the permission of the governor then. Nobody can put a stop to them, if the prelates of the order do not offer a solution". *Letter of Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa to Philip II*, Manila, June 16, 1582, in: TORRES LANZAS-PASTELLS, *Catálogo*, II, CXLVII.

¹⁶² In Retana: *se fue con sus compañeros sin decir nada al gobernador, de que me pesó mucho.*

Fr. Alonso Sánchez, who left for China as an ambassador of Don Gonzalo Ronquillo and of Salazar, caught up with them in Pangasinan. The alcalde mayor, for whom Sánchez carried a message from Don Gonzalo ordering him to stop the trip of the Franciscans to China, confronted them and took away their ship. In view of this, they returned to Manila, except two who went with Sánchez to China and Macao. Cfr. *Ibid.* CXLVIII-CXLIX.

¹⁶³ Cfr. *Ordinance restricting departure from the islands*, Manila, March 2, 1582, in: BRPI, 4, 308-309.

¹⁶⁴ As it may be seen from our notes, and from Salazar's *Memorial*, the abuses were serious and real. Nobody could deny them, but the reason why the Franciscans left their ministry in the Philippines to go to China had nothing to do with the abuses and vexations inflicted upon the natives of the Philippines. Well before they came to the Philippines, as it may be gathered from the notes to this *Memorial*, and from contemporary documents, all the missionaries who came to the Philippines came with the idea of going to China. The Philippines became a spring board, a jumping-point, or a waiting station for the missionaries to continue to China. Even Salazar, as we have already remarked, was overtaken by this desire to go to China and open the door of that mysterious realm. The missionaries longed for the greener pastures of China, to the detriment of the evangelization of the natives of the Philippines.

¹⁶⁵ In the year 1585, under the governorship of Santiago de Vera, Salazar abandoned Manila and "escaped" to the provinces. The situation in Manila had become so untenable that Salazar left the city. He was accused of abandoning his duty. He appointed as governor of the diocese his dean Don Diego Vázquez de Mercado. Due to this fact, we have no correspondence from Salazar to the king for 1585. He had lost all trust in men.

¹⁶⁶ Fr. Alonso Sánchez, S.J.

¹⁶⁷ I have been able to identify only one of the two Franciscan friars who went with Sánchez to China. He is Fr. Juan Pobre. This Fr. Juan

Pobre, who was to become famous in the annals of the missions in Japan, had been an encomendero and a captain of infantry in the Philippines. His name was Juan Díaz Pardo, who had accompanied Fr. Pedro de Alfaro to China and Canton in 1579. Though still a layman at that time, he put himself at the service of the Franciscans and was ready for any sacrifice demanded from him. Cfr. TORRES-LANZAS-PASTELLS, *Catálogo*, II, XLXIII.

¹⁶⁸ I have not been able to find the two letters Salazar addressed to the bishop and the governor of Macao respectively. Fortunately we have the copy of the letter he wrote to the governor of Canton.

¹⁶⁹ Just one year before Salazar penned this *Memorial*, some Spanish soldiers sent to the Spanish king, through their delegate and procurator, Gabriel de Rivera, a Report where they bitterly complained of being forgotten and by-passed in everything, in spite of having helped in the conquest from the beginning:

"... When these natives were given in "encomiendas," we entertained the same hope; at the moment we have almost lost it, since the remedy is so far, and we see that cupidity is moving all men to action. Thus, in the encomiendas left vacant, as in the provision of offices left vacant, the new arrivals are preferred, pushing against the corner those who have served your Majesty...". *Letter of some Spanish soldiers to Philip II*, Manila, July 18, 1581, in: RODRIGUEZ, *Historia*, XV, 22, footnote 86.

¹⁷⁰ Salazar was voicing out the sentiments of old soldiers in the Philippines, who had helped in the conquest and evangelization of the country, but were bypassed in the distribution of encomiendas and other offices left vacant. The hangers-on of Governor Ronquillo took the lion's share. The Augustinians had also clamored for these poor and deserving servants of the crown:

"Most of the old soldiers who have faithfully served your Majesty in these islands for many years with great wars and dangers, are very poor and suffer extreme need, because nothing is given them as help and because they have spent the much or the little they had. Since the governors appointed by your Majesty bring with them too many relatives, friends and servants, and grant them the offices and appointments of honour and advantage... the unfortunate soldiers feel offended, because the new ones enjoy what they have worked for and pacified. We beg your Majesty to please console them and provide for them in their great and grave necessities", *Letter of Andrés de Aguirre and Fr. Francisco Manrique to Philip II*, Manila, July 20, 1581, in: RODRIGUEZ, *Historia*, XV, 20.

¹⁷¹ This *Memorial* of Salazar was written in a rush. We have to accept that it is not polished. It is forceful, courageous and at times pathetic, but as the ship was on the point of departure, Salazar had no time to polish it any more. Unfortunately for us, it is difficult to understand and, at times, I have been puzzled by what he meant. Most probably he wrote it during the month of June, when the galleon was ready to sail from Cavite to Acapulco. But when news arrived to Manila of the encounter of the Spaniards with the Japanese in Cagayan, the galleon stayed in Cavite. Governor Ronquillo sent a letter to the king dated July 1, 1582. Cfr. *Letter of Governor Ronquillo to Philip II*, Manila, July 1, 1582, in: BRPI, 5, 197.