

From Prisoner To Governor. Historical Sources On The Assassination of Don Fernando Bustillo de Bustamante, Governor General of the Philippines (1717-1719)

INTRODUCTION

Some months ago we contributed to *PHILIPPINIANA SACRA** a Relation, till then unpublished and entirely unknown, about the assassination of the Governor of the Philippines, Field Marshal Don Fernando de Bustamante (1717-1719), in which were clearly pinpointed the real perpetrators of this tragedy, unique in the whole history of the Philippines.

For the present we offer to our benevolent readers a new Relation. It will not clarify points already obvious in the previous one, but will add some new details to those already known. This present Relation will serve mainly to place in its proper perspective the prudent conduct of the Archbishop of Manila, Don Francisco de la Cuesta (1707-1723) during those tragic days. He was imprisoned in Fort Santiago by order of Bustamante. In deference to the popular will he had to assume the government

* Vol. XI, Number 31, January-April, 1976, pp. 154-189. In the same issue Kantius J. Kobak, O.F.M. published a scholarly article about the assassination of Don Fernando de Bustamante, governor general of the Philippines (1717-1719).

of these Islands in the very moment when the one who had committed him to jail was hovering in agony between life and death, torn between the ill-will of both gentry and peasantry and the solicitous concern for his soul by one or another priest who attended to his spiritual needs during his supreme hour.

Any historian who dabbles in these and similar Relations about the events of October 11, 1719, related to the assassination of Bustamante, at once grasps with a mild shock that there had been no love lost between all the writers of that period on such happenings on the one hand, and, on the other, Governor Bustamante. They all describe him as a tyrant and despot. When wounded and agonizing to death, far from arousing in them the sentiments of commiseration, he rather excites in them a delight and a clap in triumph and a heave of deep relief on their liberation from the onerous and oppressive regime of the "tyrant".

All this was due to the Governor's penchant of following his inflexibly upright temper, which did not condescend to a degenerate society wallowing in moral decay, the wounds of which could perchance have been healed not with the salt of severity, but rather with the balm of exquisite prudence.

Archbishop Cuesta was the antithesis of the Marshal. Exemplary in his private life, firm and yet without harshness in the fulfillment of his priestly and civic duties, mild, prudent and reposeful; free from the tantrums of anger and incapable of giving room to hatred in his heart, he managed to acquit himself with magnanimity and discretion amidst so trying circumstances, during which he accepted the office of governor of these Islands without any semblance of ambition or pride, but solely for the love of peace and for the purpose of extricating the country from the quagmire into which the Governor's mistakes had plunged it.

Presently we offer our readers two Relations about this turbulent period in the history of the Philippines, the first of which deals with the death of Marshal Bustamante, and the second with the imprisonment of Archbishop Cuesta. While we had no qualms ever in editing the second Relation which we regard as unpublished so far; however, we had for some time our misgivings on whether we could in justice also publish the first Relation, for

the reason that it is not an unpublished or rare document, inasmuch as, beside a copy which is extant in the British Museum and another in the erstwhile "Vindel" Library, it was edited and published again at the turn of the past century by the well-known writer Wenceslao Retana in the *Archivo del Bibliófilo Filipino*, vol. V. No. III. But on second thought we proceeded with sending it to press again due to its great importance and due to our manuscript being older than Retana's original printed copy in which there were some inaccuracies possibly due to the ignorance of the copyists or the type compositors, though it must be acknowledged that Retana's edition added some valuable details. As a sample of the mistakes we'll quote just one: Retana's edition, on page 15, reads: "¡Malvado, a un niño has muerto..." (Wicked one, you've murdered a child!) Such words are obviously incongruous, because there had been no evidence or even suspicion that Bustamante had ever murdered a child. In the manuscript in our hands those words are thus correctly transcribed: "¡Malvado, aun no has muerto..." (Wicked one, aren't you already dead!)

The original manuscript of the Relation on the imprisonment of Archbishop Cuesta is considerably impaired, and thus we tried our best to restore it, filling up many portions eaten out by the moths or damaged by the inclemency of the elements during the long and swift course of time. We flatter ourselves more often than not of having filled up most of the moth-eaten lacunae with the very same words as in the original, as often as the manuscript provided us still with the beginning and end of the words or sentences. At times, as when the damage was sizable, we resorted to guesswork with the context as our main clue, and in such cases, when we were not entirely sure of having hit on the exact words, we supplied what we thought best and such we enclosed inside brackets. We are thankful in this respect to a 19th century copy of the document in which the amanuensis had supplied the missing words with considerable success, either because his original manuscript was not so deteriorated as ours or because he was specially gifted for this task which he took all pains to perform well.

Now, in order to introduce to our readers the personality of Archbishop Cuesta, the hero as it were of the second document,

we offer, with an English translation, the salient features of the brief biographical sketch written about him by his contemporary, the Franciscan historian, Fr. Juan Francisco de San Antonio.

"The Most Rev. Monsignor Fray Francisco de la Cuesta was born in Colmenar de Oreja, near Madrid. He belonged to the Order of St. Jerome, and was a Master of Theology and Preacher to His Majesty. He was consecrated in 1706 in Mexico City as Archbishop of this Holy Metropolitan Church of which he took possession on August 12, 1707. He administered this Archdiocese during 16 years in peace and concord with the satisfaction from all quarters and people of all states and walks of life. Simultaneously he served as acting Bishop of three suffragan dioceses due to their being vacant then... He was very zealous in the wise administration of his archdiocese, and after so many years was so much loved by all, that during that dismal day when there occurred in these Islands the mutiny and riot which violently ended the life of the incumbent Governor, Marshal Don Fernando de Bustamante, as well as that of the Mayor Sergeant his son, on October 11, 1719, during which His Illustrious Lordship together with many other ecclesiastics were still held prisoners, by order of the same rash Governor, killed and lying in state on that day, the whole citizenry clamored for the Archbishop, and marching to the Fort where he was imprisoned, they urged him to take the staff of command for the sake of peace, to which request he acceded, and served until July 24, 1721, when his office was transferred to the duly appointed successor in the person of Marquis de la Torre. During his stint he wielded ambidextrously the ecclesiastical together with the civil command in perfect peace and wisdom that his term could well have been lifelong. At any rate his memory will be held in veneration forever.

He gave back to the royal exchequer, as a voluntary donation, the salary due him as Captain-General; and at the end of his office he devoutly offered his staff of command as a present to Our Lady of the Abandoned, which is held in veneration in Santa Ana de Sapa... While enjoying thereafter a tranquil and reposeful life, he received his promotion to the episcopal see of Michoacan in México, and sailed thereto amidst the general sorrow of the people of these Islands on July 4, 1723, arriving at Acapulco on January

11, 1724.... Before his arrival his proxy Doctor (in Theology) Don Mateo de Aypar, dean of the Holy Cathedral of Valladolid, took possession of the see in his name, on April 18, the Tuesday after Resurrection Sunday of the same year 1724. He sat during only 42 days, having died on May 30, 1724, at the age of 63 years.

— *Chronicles of the Apostolic Province of the Discalced Friars of Our Holy Father St. Francis, in the Philippine Islands, China, Japan, etc.*, by Fray Juan Francisco de San Antonio, Manila, 1744, Vol. I. pages 187-188.

Noticia Verídica de lo que Sucedió en esta Ciudad de Manila el día 11 de octubre de 1719*

Guiado de su espíritu inquieto Don Fernando Manuel de Bustillo, Gobernador de estas Islas, determinó hacer la última prueba del despótico dominio con que a todos avasallara, expendiendo el día 1 de octubre una Provisión Real para el Sr. Arzobispo con el pretexto de que Don Antonio Osejo, escribano de la Ciudad y retraído en la Catedral, entregase los Protocolos, que para diligencia había podido llevar consigo.

No era intento que fuese fundado en el aire, pues en esta idea encerraba grandes máquinas, dirigidas a sacar de sagrado los españoles retraídos, una vez que se obedeciese esta Provisión Real. Y, como se conociese el fin a que se encaminaba el Mariscal por estos medios, pareció, no sólo conveniente, sino acertado y necesario consultar a los Doctores y Universidades para que estas informasen si la Audiencia, formada del Oidor Torralba, preso por muy justas causas, con el Dr. Correa, quien asimismo era asesor y conjuer, era Audiencia conforme a derecho, a lo cual respondieron que de ninguna manera debía ser obedecida aquella Audiencia, pues era nula por muchas leyes y, por consiguiente, nulos y de ningún valor sus actos. Lo cual, visto por el Sr. Arzobispo, respondió al Sr. Mariscal con una Carta pastoral, en la que le aconsejaba extinguiese semejante Audiencia, dándole las razones que tenía para refutarla y por donde no obedecía a la Provisión Real, pues no

* BIBLIOTECA DE LA UNIVERSIDAD DE SANTO TOMÁS, Sección de "Microfilms", Índice (A), Rollo 62, Documento 4, Fols. 11-18.

A Veracious Account of What Happened in this City of Manila, 11th Day of October of the Year 1719

Led on by his restless spirit, Don Fernando Manuel Bustillo, Governor of these Islands, decided to make a final test of his domineering despotism, to which he would subject all. On 1 October, he issued a royal decree for the Lord Archbishop, with the pretension that Don Antonio Osejo, Scribe of the City and a refugee in the Cathedral, surrender the protocols of the judicial proceedings which he had been able to take along with him.

It was not a plan such as one (would say was) based on air, for he had included in this idea elaborate mechanisms directed to bring out of sanctuary those Spaniards who had gone into hiding, once this royal decree was carried out. And since this aim of the Marshall was known through these means, it seemed not only right but also necessary to consult the Doctors and the Universities for their opinions, whether the Audiencia, formed by the Oidor Torralba, imprisoned for just cause, and by Doctor Correa who, at the same time was Assessor and Associate Judge, was a true Audiencia according to the law. And they answered that the Audiencia should in no way be obeyed, since it was null and void. In view thereof, the Lord Archbishop answered the Marshall with a Pastoral Letter in which he urged the dissolution of the Audiencia, giving him the reasons he had for refusing to recognize it, and why he did not comply with the royal decree, since he

podía hacer semejantes Provisiones con Audiencia por derecho nula.

No sirvió de freno a su precipitado curso esta Monitoria del Pastor de la Iglesia, antes por respuesta, le envió segunda Real Provisión, lo cual, visto por el Sr. Arzobispo, hizo Junta de Prelados, los cuales, todos a una voz, respondieron que "primero convenía perder la vida que reconocer aquella Audiencia, pues era opuesta a leyes divinas y humanas".

Con este parecer le volvió a enviar el Sr. Arzobispo otra Carta pastoral en la que le pedía, de parte del estado eclesiástico, y le ordenaba, como su Prelado espiritual, no inquietase con tantas perturbaciones esta Ciudad, pues se podían originar grandes daños; y que, en lo que miraba a obedecer la Audiencia, estuviese cierto que no lo haría ni por miedo de la muerte, ni por deseo de conveniencia.

Viendo el Mariscal que se iban frustrando sus intentos, trató de valerse de las armas para aterrorizar al Sr. Arzobispo y así, viéndose falto de soldados, publicó un bando en que mandaba, pena de la vida, a todas y cualesquiera personas, de cualquier condición o calidad que fuesen, que se presentasen en la Contaduría para ser alistados por soldados. Con el cual bando admitió debajo de sus banderas el día 1 quinientos hombres, de los cuales escogió los más alentados para caballería, dándoles pistolas, carabinas y alfanjes, y a los de a pie espadas, mosquetes; mandó llevar a la fuerza de Santiago provisión de pólvora y balas y arroz, prevenciones todas que causaron no pequeño temor, considerando la poca resistencia que se le podía hacer. Y, procurando atajar este fuego el Sr. Arzobispo, viendo que sin Audiencia no se atrevería a la menor ejecución el Sr. Mariscal, envió al Doctoral Osio y al canónigo Fuentes para que intimasen un Auto al Oidor Torralba y al Dr. Correa, en que, pena de excomunión, los mandaba no asistiesen a la Audiencia. Luego que el Doctor Osio empezó a leer el Auto, se levantó Torralba y, quitándole el papel, le hizo pedazos, injuriando de palabra a los dos sacerdotes. Y, viendo que proseguía el Dr. Osio de memoria, salió dando voces "¡Viva el Rey!" y "¡Mueran los traidores!", a cuyas voces acudió el Sargento mayor

could not formulate such decrees with an Audiencia that was non-existent by law.

This monitorium of the Shepherd of the Church failed to put a break to his precipitate course; rather, in answer, the Governor sent him a second decree in view of which the Archbishop called the prelates to a meeting. These answered in one voice that it was "better first to lose one's life than recognize that Audiencia, for it was opposed to divine and human laws."

With this opinion, the Archbishop again sent another Pastoral Letter, asking in the name of the ecclesiastical estate, and ordering, as his spiritual head, that he disturb not the City by his outrageous actions, since grave harm could follow; and that, in regards to obeying the Audiencia, he could be sure that he, the Archbishop, would not do so, either for fear of death or out of convenience.

Seeing that his attempts were being frustrated, the Marshall tried to make use of force to intimidate the Archbishop. But lacking soldiers, he issued a summons, ordering that, on pain of death, all persons of whatever situation, condition, or qualifications, should present themselves to the Contaduría to enlist as soldiers. With this proclamation, he admitted under his colors, 500 men on the first (of the month). From them he chose the better trained for the cavalry, supplying them with pistols, carbines and cutlasses; and to the foot soldiers, swords and muskets. He ordered powder and bullets and rice stored at Fort Santiago. All these preparations caused no small fear, it being known that very little resistance could be put up against him. And, in an effort to extinguish this fire, the Lord Archbishop, knowing that the Marshall would not act without his Audiencia, sent Doctor Osio and Canon Fuentes to execute on the Oidor Torralba and Doctor Correa, forbidding them under pain of excommunication to assist at the Audiencia. After Doctor Osio started to read the citation, Torralba stood up and snatched the paper, and tore it to pieces, while verbally upbraiding the two priests. Because Doctor Osio continued reciting the citation from memory, the Oidor went out shouting "Long live the King!" and "Death to the traitors!" At these words, the Governor's son, Sergeant-Major

Don Fernando de Bustillo, hijo del Gobernador, quien acompañado con el Ayudante real Torres, acometió a los eclesiásticos con la espada desnuda y los mandó encarcelar hasta que, de orden del Gobernador, fueron trasladados a la fuerza de Santiago y adonde fueron amenazados de muerte por dos veces.

Esperábalos el Sr. Arzobispo y, viendo ser las nueve de la noche y que no habían llegado, envió al canónigo Grimaldos con otro sacerdote para que supiesen lo que había sucedido, a los cuales prendieron también y pusieron con ignomina en el Cuerpo de Guardia.

Hízose el último esfuerzo enviando al Maestro Rico, en quien se confiaba por la mucha introducción que con el Gobernador tenía; mas en aquella ocasión no le aprovechó, pues le prendieron, como a los primeros y segundos.

Pasóse con esta confusión la noche, teniendo el Gobernador puestos en armas sus soldados, sin dejar pasar alguno por las bocacalles de Palacio.

Llegóse el día 11, digno de memoria por tan funesto, y al punto de amanecer mandó disparar pieza con bala y tocar los tambores a rebato, convocando toda la soldadesca.

El Sr. Arzobispo, temeroso de lo que sucedió, mandó llamar Prelados de las Religiones, con los cuales fueron los religiosos de más autoridad, y, juntos en su presencia, los dio noticia de lo que había ejecutado con los canónigos, por haber recibido carta de Don Osio, quien desde la cárcel tuvo forma de avisar cómo los había citado para la excomunión y todos los actos subsiguientes; con que, habiendo quitado el escrúpulo que se podía temer, por no saber si estaban citados, fueron puestos en tablillas por "excomulgados vitandos", tanto el Oidor Torralba, el asesor Correa, el Sargento mayor y el Ayudante real, reservando la persona del Gobernador en atención al oficio que ejercitaba; pero, cuando estas armas eclesiásticas habían de atemorizar los pechos católicos, no sirvieron de otra cosa que precipitar el ánimo perverso y contumaz del Gobernador, el cual envió a prender al Sr. Arzobispo con doscientos soldados, los cuales cercaron de improviso el Palacio arzobispal, sin permitir que alguno entrase ni saliese; subieron dos compañías al salón, capitaneadas de Pedro Velasco, del Ayudante real y dos

Fernando Bustillo rushed in, accompanied by the Royal Adjutant Torres, and attacked the clerics with his bare sword and ordered them brought to the prison, until on the Governor's order, they were transferred to Fort Santiago, where they were twice threatened with death.

The Archbishop had been waiting for them, and when he realized that they did not yet return by 9:00 in the evening, he sent Canon Grimaldos and another priest to learn what had happened. These they also apprehended and ignominiously cast into the Guard Room.

A last effort was made by sending Master Rico, in whom the Archbishop had much confidence because the Master had frequent access to the Governor. But, on that occasion, he was of no help, for they also detained him, like the first and second group of ecclesiastics.

The night wore on with this confusing pattern of events, the Governor keeping his soldiers in arms, permitting no one to pass through the streets into the Palace.

The 11th of the month arrived, a properly unforgettable calamitous day. At daybreak, the Governor ordered the firing of a shot and of the warning signal to alert the entire soldiery. Taught by what had happened, the Lord Archbishop had the superiors of the religious orders summoned, who came with members of their institutes who enjoyed greater authority. When these had gathered in the presence of the Archbishop, he explained what had happened to the canons, from what he had learned through a letter of Don Osio who from his prison had found a way to report how he had cited the royal officials for excommunication, and for the other subsequent acts, having thus settled the scruple that could arise if the persons concerned had not known they were so cited, but that they were publicly declared as "excomulgados vitandos". Cited were the Oidor Torralba, the Assessor Correa, the Sergeant-Major, and the Adjutant Velasco. In view, however, of the office that the Governor was exercising he was exempted from these penalties. To the degree that these ecclesiastical weapons should instill fear into the hearts of Catholics, they served no other purpose than to push on the perverse and

Capitanes, quedándose el Sargento mayor, con lo restante de la gente, guardando calles. Hizo el papel de arriano Don Pedro Velasco con mucho garbo, aunque con poca cortesía, entrándose en el dormitorio donde estaba la Junta de religiosos, con las pistolas en cinta, sin más razones que las de que el Rey mandaba llevar al Sr. Arzobispo. Quedáronse todos confusos viendo el desacato, y no faltó quien no le previniese para enseñarle cortesía al dicho Capitán, mas el decoro al Sr. Arzobispo le contuvo.

Súpase por los soldados cómo las piezas del baluarte del Postigo estaban cargadas para derribar el Palacio, en caso que no se entregase el Sr. Arzobispo, el cual, por evitar semejante daño, previendo tantos como habían de morir allí dentro, se determinó a seguir al Capitán, haciendo sus protestas; y, puesto el roquete, hizo una peroración (sic) a la Virgen, en que prometió morir por defensa de la inmunidad eclesiástica; y, acabada, tomó el camino, acompañado de los religiosos que le asistían y demás sacerdotes todos resueltos a no desampararle, mas no permitió semejante caridad el Gobernador, pues mandó que a ninguno dejasen salir, sino al Sr. Arzobispo, con que se multiplicó el llanto, viendo ir a su Prelado solo a entregarse en manos de lobo tan carnicero. Despidióse de todos exhortándolos a morir en defensa de la Iglesia, lo cual prometieron todos hacer. Y con gran ternura de todos los circunstantes se entró en la silla de manos diciendo las palabras de David: *Si consistant adversum me castra, non timebit cor meum*, y, prosiguiendo el Salmo, fué llevado, dejando el rebaño sin Pastor desconsolado, aunque con ánimo y valor.

Luego que llegó a la puerta del Palacio el Sr. Arzobispo, mandó parar la silla, juzgando le daría audiencia, pero no sucedió así, pues llegó el Sargento mayor y le dijo que se perdía tiempo, a que exclamó el Sr. Arzobispo: "Pues, ¿cómo me han faltado a la palabra?" "No decía que me llamaba?" "Sí, Señor, respondió; pero ordena que le pasemos a V. S. Ilustrísima a la Fuerza". Y, viendo que no había a quien volver los ojos, se dejó llevar; y, luego que entró, se alzó el puntón (sic) para asegurarle más.

Con esta noticia y carta que llevó el Procurador de San Agustín, se empezó a tocar a entredicho y, de allí a media hora, cesación "a divinis". Lloraba el cielo el desacato con que se trataba la Iglesia con aguas tan espesas, que estaban las calles hechas

contumacious spirit of the Governor, who ordered that the Archbishop be apprehended by a force of 200 soldiers.

These suddenly surrounded the archiepiscopal palace, permitting no one to enter or to leave it. Two companies commanded by Pedro Velasco, the royal Adjutant and two other Captains, went up to the hall, while the Sergeant Major and the rest of the soldiers guarded the streets. Don Pedro Velasco played the role of an Arian with great mettle, but with little courtesy, entering the dormitory where the religious were holding their meeting, pistols hanging from his belt, with no other excuses than that the King was ordering the abduction of the Archbishop. All were taken aback at such disrespect, and someone did not fail to remind the Captain to show some respect; but he was held back by his respect for the Archbishop.

It was known among the soldiers that the guns along the bulwark of the Postigo were loaded and aimed at the palace, in case the Lord Archbishop did not give himself up. But, to avoid such a disaster, and considering how many would have to die inside, he decided to follow the Captain, after making the proper protests. Putting on his surplice, he recited a prayer to the Virgin, promising to die in defense of ecclesiastical immunity. On ending, he took the road, accompanied by the religious who were assisting him and by the other priests, all resolved to stay with him. But the Governor did not permit such a charitable deed, for he ordered that no one be allowed to leave except the Lord Archbishop. At this, their tears multiplied, watching their prelate leave and surrender himself all alone into the hands of such a carnivorous wolf. The Archbishop bade farewell to all, exhorting them to die in defense of the Church, which everyone promised to do. And, amid the great sorrow of all those standing around, he sat on the sedan-chair, reciting the words of David: "Though armies surround me, my heart will not fear". He was borne away as he was reciting the rest of the psalm, leaving the flock without its shepherd, disconsolate, but with spirit and courage.

When they reached the gate of the Governor's palace, the Lord Archbishop ordered the chair put down, thinking that he would be granted an audience; but no, the Sergeant Major instead came and told him that he was wasting his time, to which the Arch-

arroyos, con que, ayudadas las campanas de la tristeza del tiempo, ocasionaron tales lágrimas en todos los vecinos; asomadas mujeres y niños a las ventanas pedían al cielo justicia. Todo era horror y confusión: las puertas de la Ciudad cerradas, los soldados de a caballo rondando las calles, la Infantería puesta en arma en la Plaza de Palacio (que entre todos eran ochocientos soldados), las mujeres llorando, los religiosos corriendo de unas partes a otras, metidos en el lodo hasta las rodillas, y todo esto no era bastante a ablandar el corazón del Gobernador, el cual mandó prender al Dr. Rayo, al Dr. Molina, al Dr. Campaña y al Dr. Albarrán; los religiosos, al P. Maestro Avina, de la Compañía de Jesús, al P. Prior de San Agustín, al P. Rector del Colegio de la Compañía, al P. Comisario de la santa Inquisición, a los dos Lectores de Teología del Colegio de Santo Tomás, los cuales estaban en el Palacio arzobispal con guardias, y de allí los fueron sacando uno a uno para la Contaduría y pusieron a cada uno en su cuarto aparte, para que no se comunicasen.

Los desacatos que se ejecutaron, así en estos como en más de 20 religiosos que estaban en el Palacio arzobispal, mas son para llorados que para referidos, pues la mejor acción era ponerles la espada a los pechos y decirlos: "Ahora pagaréis vuestras maldades, perturbadores de la paz, enemigos del Rey, ignorantes, hipócritas", y otras cosas a este tenor, lo que los sacerdotes y religiosos ofrecían con gran resignación a Dios. Pero se ha de suponer que estos oprobios de los capitanes se convertirían en sumisiones en los pobres soldados, los cuales, cuando no los veían los Cabos, se hincaban de rodillas a besar los pies a los sacerdotes.

Acabada la prisión de los sacerdotes y religiosos, se seguía, según fueron avisados, sacar los retraídos de los conventos so pena de que, si no se entregaban, los matasen y demoliesen los conventos; pero Dios, que quiso volver por su causa, infundió tal ánimo a los religiosos que habían quedado en los conventos que, juntos todos en el convento de San Agustín, salieron con Crucifijo en las manos ciamando "¡Viva la fe de Dios!"; ¡Viva Jesús!"; y a su sombra iban acogidos todos los españoles con multitud de indios, armados de lanzas y todas las armas. Llegaron a la Misericordia y, por

bishop retorted, "Well, how could they have failed in their words? Did he not say that he was summoning me?" "Yes, my Lord," he answered, "but he commands that we bring Your Illustrious Lordship to the Fort." Realizing that he had no one to turn his eyes to, the Archbishop allowed himself to be carried there. After he had been brought in, the drawbridge (*ponton*) was raised to ensure his captivity even more.

On receipt of this news and the letter which the Procurator of San Agustín carried, they began to toll the interdict, and, a half hour later, the *cessatio a divinis*. The heavens were mourning such an outrage with which the Church was treated, the heavy downpour turning the streets into torrents, adding to the lugubrious weather the tears of the people. Women and children crowding their windows prayed to the skies for justice. Everything was horror and confusion. The city gates closed, the soldiers on horses patrolling the streets, the Infantry armed and posted in the courtyard of the palace (all of whom totalled 800 men), the women weeping, the friars scurrying from one place to the other, wallowing in mud up to their knees; but all of these things were not enough to soften the Governor's heart, who ordered the apprehension of Doctor Rayo, Doctor Molina, Doctor Campaña, Doctor Albarrán; the friars, Master Avina of the Society of Jesus, the Reverend Prior of San Agustín, the Father Rector of the College of the Society of Jesus, the Father Commissar of the Holy Inquisition, the two Lecturers in theology of the College of Santo Tomás — all of whom were in the archiepiscopal palace, guarded, and removed one by one to the Contaduría, and detained in a room separately, in order that they could not communicate with one another.

These outrages, committed both on these people as well as on more than 20 friars who were in the Archbishop's palace, are better mourned than recounted; for the best action was to point the sword against their breasts and tell them, "Now you will pay for your evil deeds, you disturbers of peace, you enemies of the King, you ignorant, you hypocrites," and many other epithets of the same tenor, which the priests and religious offered to God in great resignation. But one has to suppose that these insults from the Captains would be changed to submissive respect from

huir la batería de la Fuerza, quedando algunos en la esquina, haciendo cara a los soldados, los demás dieron la vuelta a la Catedral y, entrando por la Puerta del Sagrario, salieron por la Capilla de los Morenos. Luego que los soldados vieron junto a sí a los religiosos, arrojaron las armas y se pusieron en huida. La Caballería hacía entender hacía cara, pero apenas los muchachos los comenzaron a tirar piedras, huyeron dejando la plaza desembarazada a los españoles.

Mandó en este tiempo el Castellano de la Fuerza disparar las piezas que estaban abocadas a la Calle Real, pero los artilleros quitaron las cuñas y subieron el punto tanto que, pasando las balas por encima de la Ciudad, fueron a dar a la Ermita, y, viendo que no habían hecho el estrago que él intentaba, mandó disparar un mortero cargado de granadas, al cual bajaron de punto y dio en la Plaza de la Capilla Real sin hacer daño alguno.

Viendo la gente del tumulto irse disponiendo las cosas a su favor, se determinaron a romper el Cuerpo de Guardia, lo cual pudieron conseguir sin disparar un arma de fuego, porque los soldados no esperaban otra cosa que el acometimiento para huir. Subieron la escalera adonde estaban cuatro pedreros cargados y aunque los dispararon uno, no hizo mal a persona alguna, y por no dar lugar a los demás tiros, subieron corriendo, con lo cual se pusieron en huida los artilleros. Luego que asomaron al salón, los disparó el Mariscal un trabucazo y con él mató a un indio. Acometió la turba a tres filas de españoles que había guardándole, pero estos hicieron lugar para que pasasen adonde con increíble valor los esperaba el Gobernador con su alfanje; pero fue alcanzado de una estocada que le derribó en tierra, y allí le dieron algunas cuchilladas en la cabeza y brazo izquierdo; en esta refriega murió un soldado, que los acometió con el chuzo, a quien de un tiro de "bracamarte" le hicieron pedazos. Dejéronle por muerto al Gobernador, aunque no lo estaba, y pasaron a buscar al Oidor Torralba, Correa y Arquijo; pero como era disposición divina el evitar la ruina de la Ciudad, quintando solo la cabeza, movió los corazones de estos para que no ejecutasen más muertes; y así, sin esgrimir más las armas, fueron prendiendo a los dichos, como a algunos de la familia.

Llegó noticia de esto a su hijo el Sargento mayor, y bárbaramente corrió desde la Fuerza con el caballo a entregarse a la

the poor soldiers, who, when their Corporals were not looking, knelt down to kiss the feet of the priests.

After depositing the priests and the friars in their prison cells, they next proceeded to the abduction of those who had retired in their convents, under pain of death and the destruction of their convents, if they did not give themselves up. But God, who wanted to return to defend His cause, gave such a spirit to the friars who had remained in their convents that, gathering together in the convent of San Agustin, they marched out carrying a Crucifix in their hands and shouting "Long live the faith of God! Long live Jesus!" Following close on their heels were all the Spaniards and a crowd of natives armed with lances and all sorts of weapons. They arrived at the Misericordia, and, in order to escape the battery of the Fort, because some soldiers were stationed at the corner, while some faced the soldiers, others turned around to the Cathedral, entered through the gate of the Sagrario, and went out through the chapel of the Morenos. When the soldiers saw the friars close by, they threw down their arms and fled. The Cavalry tried to stop them, but hardly had the boys begun to throw stones than they, too, fled, leaving the plaza free for the Spaniards to occupy.

At this moment, the Castellan of the Fort ordered the firing of the arms that had been aimed at the street opening toward the Calle Real, but the artillery men removed the gun-quoins and raised the aim so that the shots went over the City and landed in Ermita. Seeing that he had not inflicted the damage he wanted, he ordered the firing of a mortar loaded with grenades; but they lowered also its range and it hit the plaza of the royal chapel without causing any harm.

The people seeing that things were turning in their favour, decided to break into the Guard Room, which they succeeded in doing without firing a single firearm, because the soldiers were awaiting just that attack in order to flee. They climbed the stairs, where there were four loaded swivel guns, and although they fired one, nobody was harmed. And in order to give no place to other shots, they ran up, at which the artillery men fled. When they arrived at the hall, the Marshall fired a blunderbuss at the people and killed a native. The mob attacked three lines of

muerte; llegó al Cuerpo de Guardia y, ciego hirió a algunos españoles, los cuales querían prenderle y no matarle; pero, viendo que causaba notable daño, le dispararon un trabucazo a la cabeza, y luego le dieron mortales heridas con los alfanjes. Cayó del caballo, y acudieron los religiosos a ver si daba muestras de dolor, las cuales fueron tan dudosas que le absolvieron "sub conditione". Llegaron entonces los soldados y, acometiendo al cuerpo ya difunto, se vengaban de las injurias que habían recibido de él, diciéndole mil oprobios, y, arrastrándole por una pierna, le llevaron a la cabailleriza, adonde le desnudaron y dejaron en camisa y calzoncillos.

Divulgóse por la Ciudad la muerte del Gobernador y, juntándose segunda vez los soldados en Compañía, se corrieron todas las calles con los tambores y pífanos cantando "¡Victoria por la Iglesia, que nos ha librado de este tirano!".

Abriéronse las puertas de la Ciudad, y fue tal el concurso de gente que entró, que no se podía andar por las calles. Trocóse todo en un instante: de Ciudad desamparada y sola pasó a ser ciudad muy populosa; de ciudad triste y melancólica a ciudad alegre y regocijada; los soldados que estaban armados contra ella, se convirtieron soldados de su guardia; los tambores que tocaron arrebatado, fueron tambores que cantaron victoria; las piezas que estaban cargadas para demolerla, se dispararon para alegrarla; las campanas que estaban clamoreando la viudez de la Iglesia, fueron con sus repiques las que publicaron gozo. Y en fin, no fue tan celebrada en Betulia la muerte de Holofernes, cuanto lo fue en Manila la de este Gobernador, pues allí los soldados del ejército se lamentaban de su muerte, pero aquí los mismos soldados de su guardia fueron los que más se alegraron. Tan hostigados los tenía a todos que, cuando la muerte hace olvidar los agravios, moviendo a compasión los corazones, aquí no hizo este efecto, antes parece que renovaba las memorias para que se empleasen en decirle vituperios, pues aun estaba vivo y con los sentidos despiertos y no hubo quien, compadecido, le pusiese en una cama, antes bien ensangrentados le asieron de un brazo y le arrastraron por el salón, diciéndole: "Ah, malvado, ¿aun no has muerto? ¡Muere, traidor, perseguidor del género humano!", siendo los que ejecutaban y decían esto sus soldados, acompañados de indios y negros.

Llegaron en esta ocasión los religiosos y no pudieron sofrenar la muchedumbre hasta que el P. Otazo, de la Compañía de Jesús,

Spanish guards around him, and these gave way before the onrush of the people, whom with incredible valor the Governor awaited with his cutlass. But he was hit by a dagger, which felled him to the ground and, while fallen, they slashed at his head and left arm a few times. In this skirmish, a soldier who attacked the people with a pike lost his life, a "bracamarte's" shot tearing him to pieces. They left the Governor for dead, although he was still breathing, and went on in search of Oidor Torralba, Correa, and Arquijo. But it was not the divine will that the City be ruined, permitting only the removal of its head, God moved the hearts of the people not to cause more deaths, and, in this way, without further clash of arms, they apprehended the above-mentioned officials, as others of the family.

News of all this reached the Sergeant-Major, the Governor's son, and he wildly rode down his horse from the Fort to give himself up to death. He arrived at the Guard Room and blindly lacerated some Spaniards, who wanted to capture him without killing him; but since he was causing serious injury, they aimed a blunderbuss at his head and later wounded him fatally with cutlasses. He fell from his horse, and the friars approached to see if he gave signs of sorrow, which were rather dubious, and so they gave him conditional absolution. Then soldiers arrived and attacked his now lifeless body, avenging the injuries they had been receiving from him, uttering a thousand insults against him. Dragging him by one leg, they pulled him to the stable where they undressed him, leaving him in his shirt and underpants only.

News of the Governor's death spread throughout the city, and, coming together once more, the soldiers in Company rushed around the city streets with drums and fifes, singing "Victory for the Church which had freed us from this tyrant."

The city gates were opened and so thick was the crowd that came in that no one could walk through the streets. In just one moment, the abandoned city, was transformed, and in just a single step, it became a populous one. From a sad and melancholy city to a joyful and happy one. The soldiers who were armed against it became its very guards; the drums which at first beat the danger of sudden attack now were booming the rat-a-tat of victory; the cannons loaded and ready to demolish it fired their shots to

se arrojó en el suelo junto a él para confesarle. Entonces se contuvieron, y el Dr. Rayo le absolvió de la excomunión, oyéndole pedir misericordia; después prosiguió confesándose con el dicho Padre de la Compañía. Acudieron a llamar al Teniente de la Parroquia para que trajese los Santos Oleos, y no hubo persona que quisiese obedecer hasta que un religioso fue por ellos. Luego que vieron que le habían oleado, le cargaron y le llevaron a un calabozo, adonde le pusieron encima de un cepo, y allí le estuvo asistiendo el P. Otazo hasta que expiró.

Mientras pasaban estas cosas en Palacio, los religiosos que no atendían a otra cosa que a su Pastor, acudieron a la Fuerza a pedir al Castellano que se le entregase; pero este, temeroso de que le quitasen la vida, respondió que, en aquietándose el tumulto, le daría. Y, para satisfacerles, le suplicó a su Ilustrísima se asomase al muro, el cual lo hizo para sosegar los ánimos, levantando desde allí la cesación "a divinis". Luego que le vieron, le vitorearon, echando por alto los sombreros, y no se quisieron apartar hasta que no saliese, lo cual, visto por el Castellano, le pidió a su Ilustrísima le amparase, el cual prometió hacerlo, y con este así lo abrió la Fuerza sin que nadie osase ofenderle.

Trajeron allí el coche de su Ilustrísima, y, para que se vea como Dios volvió por este Príncipe, contaré lo que sucedió con su ayudante de Campo, el cual por la mañana se había deslizado en decir algunas palabras malsonantes, diciendo cómo el Sr. Arzobispo merecía la prisión, pues tenía la culpa de todo. Este se arrimó a la carroza cuando salió de la Fuerza, y, levantando un caballo las manos, le quebró la boca, para que escarmienten los que en los ministros de Cristo ponen dolo sin fundamento.

Llegó el Sr. Arzobispo al Palacio, adonde por común voz recibió, aunque con repugnancia, el bastón de Gobernador de estas islas, y de allí pasó a su Casa arzobispal a descansar de los pasados trabajos; mas no le dieron lugar a ello las ocupaciones de visitas y disposiciones que tuvo que dar, entre las cuales fue que le pusiesen en cama al Gobernador, y le disparasen la artillería, como se acostumbra, dando orden al General Carrasco, para que corriese por su cuenta el entierro.

gladden it. The bells which were tolling the widowhood of the Church were the same ones that, through their ringing, proclaimed joy. And finally, Holofernes' death was not as celebrated in Bethula as was that of this Governor. There the soldiers of the army bewailed his death; here the very soldiers of his guard were those who rejoiced the most. So harassed did he keep everyone that, although death makes one forget injuries, moves the heart to pity, here it occasioned no such effect. Instead, it revived memories which could be used to utter vituperations against him. For even when he still had life in him, with all his senses active, there was no one who felt pity for him and stretched him out on his bed rather, stained in his blood, they grabbed hold of his arm and pulled him around the hall, uttering "Malevolent man! You haven't died yet? Die, you traitor, persecutor of the human race!" And those who carried this out and mouthed those words were his soldiers, accompanied by some natives and negroes.

At this moment, the friars arrived, but they could not stop the mob, until Father Otazo of the Society of Jesus threw himself on the floor beside the Governor to hear his confession. Then they held back, and Doctor Rayo absolved him from the sentence of excommunication, for he heard his plea for mercy. Then, the Governor continued his confession to the same Jesuit father. They agreed to call the Deputy of the Parish that he might bring the holy oils, but there was no one who wanted to obey, until finally a friar went to get them. Then they placed him on a block, and there Father Otazo stood by to assist him until he expired.

While these things were happening in the Palace, the friars who were waiting only for their Pastor went to the Fort to petition the Castellan that he release him to them; but fearful that they would kill him, the latter answered that, as soon as the mob quieted down, he would release the prelate to them. And to satisfy them, he begged His Most Illustrious Lordship to appear at the wall to calm down the people, and lift from there the *cessatio a divinis*. When they saw him, they cheered him loudly through the darkening shadows, tossing their hats high into the air, and did not withdraw until he had come out. Seeing this the Castellan entreated the protection of His Most Illustrious Lordship, who indeed promised it, and thus he opened the Fortress, without anyone daring to offend him.

Día 12 por la mañana se enterró el Sargento mayor, habiendo estado toda tarde en la caballeriza, y de allí le llevaron al pasadizo de Secretaría, en donde estuvo con cuatro velas en el suelo. . . Asistieron todas las Comunidades y republicanos al entierro, y el mismo día por la tarde se enterró el Gobernador con grande pompa.

Este fue el fin que tuvo el Mariscal de Campo, D. Fernando Manuel de Bustillo Bustamante y Rueda, Gobernador, Capitán General de estas Islas, quien, por haber querido dominar y no gobernar, ni gobernó ni dominó. Dios le haya dado su gloria.

The carriage of His Most Illustrious Lordship was brought to the spot, and, so it be shown that God was at the side of this Prince I shall relate what happened to an aide-de-camp, who in the morning of that same day unfittingly remarked that the Archbishop deserved to be imprisoned for being the culprit of everything. This aide-de-camp got close to the coach as it was leaving the Fort, when one of the draught-horses capared on its hind legs and with its front legs caught him and broke his mouth — so that whosoever would think to slander or defame without right or reason the ministers of Christ be forewarned.

The Archbishop reached the Palace, where by unanimous acclamation he was prevailed upon, though reluctant, to accept the staff of command of the government of these Islands. From there he repaired to his archiepiscopal residence to take a little respite from the past labors. But it would not be so, for the pressing business of receiving callers and issuing orders called for by his new position, one of which was to the effect that the dying Governor be put on a bed, and that he be honored with the customary gun salute, and to General Carrasco that he the Archbishop would defray the costs of the forthcoming burial.

In the morning of the 12th the Sergeant-Mayor was buried, after his remains had lain during the whole afternoon of the day before in the horses' stable, from where they were brought to the passage way of the office of the Secretary, where they were laid on the floor amidst four lighted candles... His funeral was attended by the Religious communities and the general public. In the afternoon of that same day the Governor was laid to rest amidst great pomp.

This was the demise of the Field-Marshal, Don Fernando Manuel de Bustillo Bustamante y Rueda, Governor, Captain General of these Islands, who, for having tried to lord it over instead of governing his subjects, neither governed nor lorded it over them. May God have him in his glory!

A. 20

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33

Noticia Noticia de lo que
dijo en esta Ciudad de Man.
dia. 11 de Octu de MD

Curado de un espíritu inquieto D. Juan de Manuel
de Bustillos con. de esta Isla determino hacer la corte
maguora del espouico dominio con que atodo arassala
ra exandien. el dia 1.º de octubre una gloriosion real p.
el s.º heronzo con el pretorio de que D. Ant.º de sep.º
de la Ciudad, y traído en la Cathedral entregarse lo ho
to colap.º diligencia hauna podido llevar consigo. No era
intento q. fuere fundado en la que, pues en esta dia encieria
ra grandes máquinas de q.ª afacer de las la repónles
traído, mas por q. se o bedecue esta promision de al
v como se conociese el fin a que se encaminaba el finis
cal q. esta media, parecia no solo conven. sino aseruido
y necesal. consulto a los Doctores de la Universidad para q.
estas informasen si la Audiencia formada del D.º don
Joaquina (pues q. muy Justas causas) con el D.º Correa
quien en mismo tpo era Alferax, y Conquez. Era Audien.
conforme a derecho, a lo qual Respondieron q. Don Juan
na duxte devia ser o bedecida a quella Audiencia,

22 #
Relacion dello acaezido en estas Islas Philipinas d'ano 1718.

Para proceder con mas fundamento y Claridad en este Caso, supongo el que quando llegamos mi Misión en la flota del General Antada, Comueta de 18 Naves lo que el día primero de Noviembre del año 1715, dimos fondo en el Puerto de la Veracruz: passamos a la Ciudad de Mexico, y era su Virrey el Duque de Sinaxer, y su Alzapo el Sr. Martin Diego, Monge Benedictino. A pocos días de estar en Nra. Capricia de S. Aug. de las Cuevas, parte a Mexico, y por ser mi Religioso Nro. del Con. de S. Diego Fr. Jhn. Gaspar Con. de la S. Mariscal, Eporra del Mariscal de Campo D. Fernando Ruiz Los Ruitam. y queda, y se esta Sr. Sevilla, me llevo dho. Mencionado Religioso a su Casa muchas veces con la qual Ocazion frequente la Casa, y Conoció al Sr. Mariscal Nro. y familia. Entre estos años en D. Andres Aguirre, el qual leavia embiado a estas Islas el año antecedente su Amo, con cartas de Cencia, sabiendo como andaban las Islas, y Gobierno del Oidor de Omo D. Jph. Forcalban, quexera el que gobernaba por muerte del Sr. Conde de Lizarraga. En el año 1716 hubo arribado por cuya Carta me se embarco el Sr. Mariscal en las Misiones quexan dos Cacidas, una de Religiosos de N. P. S. Domingo de So, y la otra Muerta de otros So, dicho año de 16, en que estabam en la Nueva España llego por Virrey el Marques de Salero, y este tomo por su Alzapo al Lic. D. Julian de Velasco, quien venia a estas Islas para fonder la Mision: dad con el Sr. D. Fran. Fernandez Forcia, y el Sr. D. Ocio, que de esou de Canonigo de esta S. Iglesia fue Paresor y Vicario Gen. de este Alzapo y Obispo de Tab. los dos antezentes trayan gafe de Oydores y justas, y D. Julian de Velasco traya la residencia del Sr. Conde de Lizarraga D. Jph. y como supo el Sr. Mariscal Gobernador de estas Islas en Mexico el que la traya, paterdio el que a e. passare: lo que dho. Sr. Velasco no permitio.

Llego el Galeon de estas Islas S. Xpo. de Burgos al Puerto de Acapulco a 8 de Diciembre del dho. año de 16, al Comando del Sen. D. Fernando Anub, en el qual dho. Galeon que sedio ala Vela a primero de Abril del año 1717. Vino el dho. Sr. Mariscal de Campo su Eporra, sus Hijos que eran Cinco, y dos Hijos naturales mcho, y habia q. se lo buno llamado D. Gregorio Ruitamante, el que vino con el Sr. Marques de Salero ala Nueva España, y el dho. D. Andres Aguirre, siendo la familia.

*** RELACIÓN DEL HECHO VIOLENTO DE LA PRISIÓN
DEL ILMO. Y REVMO. SR. MAESTRO
D. FRANCISCO DE LA CUESTA
ARZOBISPO DE ESTA SANTA IGLESIA**

ejecutada de mandato del Sr. Gobernador de estas Islas,

**EL MARISCAL DE CAMPO
D. FERNANDO MANUEL DE BUSTILLO
BUSTAMANTE Y RUEDA ***

El día 26 de septiembre de 1719 años, el Ilmo. y Revmo. Sr. Maestro Don Fr. Francisco de la Cuesta, meritísimo Arzobispo de esta santa Iglesia Metropolitana de estas Islas, y Gobernador Apostólico de los obispados sufragáneos de Nueva Segovia y Nueva Cáceres, del Consejo de Su Majestad y su Predicador, recibió una Real Provisión firmada del muy ilustre Señor Mariscal de Campo, Don Fernando Manuel de Bustillo Bustamante y Rueda, Gobernador y Capitán General de estas Islas y Presidente de la Audiencia y Cancillería Real de ellas, y del Sr. Oidor Dr. Don José Correa y Villarreal, conjuuez de la Real Audiencia, en la que se le rogaba y encargaba a su Señoría Ilustrísima que diese providencia para que el Capitán Don Antonio de Osejo y Vásquez, escribano público e interino del Superior Gobierno, que se hallaba refugiado en esta santa Iglesia, entregase los Protocolos que faltaban de su archivo de escribano público. Su Señoría Ilustrísima respondió a la notoriedad que daría las providencias que hubiese lugar en derecho.

“Incontinenti” convocó a los Sres. Chantre de esta Iglesia, Dr. Don Francisco Rayo Doria, examinador sinodal de este Arzobis-

* BIBLIOTECA DE LA UNIVERSIDAD DE SANTO TOMAS, Sección de “Microfilms”, Índice (A), Rollo 62, Documento 4, Fols. 11-18. El original se halla en el archivo de los PP. Dominicos, Manila, Filipinas, División de MSS, Sección “Historia Eclesiástica de Filipinas”, Vol. 4, Documento 4, Fols. 472-482. Hay una copia moderna en el mismo archivo, hecha en la segunda mitad del siglo pasado, en la División de MSS, Sección “Historia Civil de Filipinas”, Vol. 2, Documento 16, Fols. 392-400.

A REPORT ON THE VIOLENT DEED IN THE IMPRISONMENT OF HIS GRACE THE MOST REVEREND FRANCISCO DE LA CUESTA, ARCHBISHOP OF THIS HOLY CHURCH, PERPETRATED BY THE GOVERNOR OF THE ISLANDS, THE FIELD MARSHALL DON FERNANDO MANUEL BUSTILLO BUSTAMANTE Y RUEDA

On the 26th of September of the year 1719, His Grace, the Most Reverend Master Francisco de la Cuesta, worthy Archbishop of this Holy Metropolitan Church of these Islands and Apostolic Governor of the Suffragan Sees of Nueva Segovia and of Nueva Cáceres, member of His Majesty's Council and its Preacher, received a royal decree signed by the Honorable Field Marshall, Don Fernando Manuel Bustillo Bustamante y Rueda, Governor and Captain General of these Islands and President of the Audiencia and Royal Chancery and by the Oidor Doctor Don José de Torralba, with the vote and opinion of Doctor Don José Correa y Villarreal, Associate Judge of the Audiencia, requesting and enjoining upon His Most Illustrious Lordship that he issue an order that the Captain, Don Antonio de Osejo y Vázquez, acting public scribe of the Superior Government, and in sanctuary in this Holy Church, deliver the Protocols missing from the Archive of the Public Scribe. His Grace answered to the public announcement that he would issue the proper measures as the law provided.

Immediately after, he convoked the Reverend Precentor of this Holy Church, Doctor Don Francisco Rayo y Doria, Synodal Examiner of this Archdiocese, Deputy Commissioner of the Holy Crusade and Special Commissioner of the Holy Office; the Reverend

pado y Comisario subdelegado de la Santa Cruzada y Comisario privativo del Santo Oficio; Maestrescuela Don Luis de Campaña, consultor del Santo Oficio y examinador sinodal del dicho Arzobispado, y Dr. Don Manuel de Osio y Ocampo, Canónigo doctoral de la santa Iglesia, examinador sinodal y catedrático de Prima de sagrados Cánones, y les propuso a los dichos tres señores, cómo sin embargo de haber su Señoría Ilustrísima recibido pocos días antes una Real Provisión, firmada de los sobredichos señores y el dicho conjuéz, dirigida a que proveyese del gobierno eclesiástico de los obispados vacantes: el de Nueva Segovia, por muerte del Ilustrísimo y Rvmo. Sr. Maestro Don Fr. Pedro Mejorada, obispo electo de dicho Obispado, y el de Nueva Cáceres, por muerte del Ilmo. Sr. Dr. Don Domingo de Valencia, y a ella había dado obediencia por estar en inteligencia de que el Sr. Oidor Dr. José de Torralba se hallaba libre de la prisión en que estuvo. Después tuvo noticia cierta del Decreto del dicho Superior Gobierno, en cuya virtud fue habilitado el dicho Sr. Oidor para despachar la Real Audiencia y por él constaba que se hallaba actualmente preso en la sala de la Real Audiencia, con caución jurativa que hizo de no quebrantar la prisión y con pena de caer en mal caso y perdimiento de bienes, si la quebrantase. Y esta noticia dudaba su Señoría Ilustrísima [si] dicha Real Provisión despachada por un Sr. Oidor [preso] debía ser tenida por tal. 2º. Si el dicho Sr. Oidor, estando actualmente preso, podía ser [juez] y representar la Real Audiencia, no habiendo en [ella,] como de hecho no había, otro señor ministro. 3º. Si en virtud de la dicha Real Provisión [debería] su Señoría Ilustrísima proceder a la diligencia, que por ella rogaba y encargaba.

Los dichos tres Señores, oída la propuesta de su Señoría [Ilustrísima], pidieron tiempo para mirar los puntos y responder [por] escrito, y juntamente representaron que sería conveniente deliberar sobre un negocio de tanta entidad y [del] que podían resultar consecuencias de mucha gravedad; que se consultasen las Universidades de Santo Tomás y Sagrada Compañía. Y, habiendo sido del agrado de su Señoría Ilustrísima, se hizo la consulta a las Universidades el día 27 siguiente.

El día 6 de octubre mandó su Señoría Ilustrísima convocar a [los] dichos tres señores y, hallándose presente el Sr. Arcediano,

Chancellor, Don Luis de Campaña, Consultor of the Holy Office and Synodal Examiner of this same Archdiocese; and the Reverend Doctor Don Manuel de Osio y Ocampo, Doctoral Canon of this Holy Church, Synodal Examiner and Prima Professor of Canon Law. He explained that a few days previously he had received a royal rescript signed by the aforementioned royal officials and the Associate Judge, with the injunction to provide for the ecclesiastical government of the vacancies of Nueva Segovia, due to the death of the bishop-elect of that diocese, the Most Reverend Master Fray Pedro Mejorada; and of Nueva Cáceres, due to the death of the Most Reverend Doctor Don Domingo de Valencia. The Archbishop had obeyed the injunction because he had been of the impression that Oidor, Doctor Don José de Torralba, was out of the prison to which he had been condemned. Later, he had received definite information about the decree of the Superior Government in virtue of which the same Oidor was appointed to act as judge in the Royal Audiencia. But, from that decree, it was clear that he was actually a prisoner in the Royal Audiencia hall, with an oath without bail not to escape from prison under pain of incurring the loss of his property, if otherwise he broke his confinement. That is why, on learning about this, His Grace was in doubt whether that royal decree issued by the Oidor should be considered as such; or whether the aforementioned Oidor, while still in confinement could be free to represent the Audiencia; or thirdly, whether, in virtue of the royal decree, His Grace ought to proceed with the judicial formalities he had been requested and enjoined upon to initiate.

The above-mentioned canons requested time to study the issues presented by His Grace and answer them in writing. They answered unanimously that it would be good to take counsel together over such a matter of importance and from which rather serious consequences could follow; that the universities of Santo Tomás and of the Society of Jesus should be consulted. His Most Illustrious Lordship was satisfied with this answer, and a consultation was accordingly made with the universities the following day, the 27th.

On the 6th of October, His Most Illustrious Lordship had the aforementioned canons summoned and, in the presence of the

Juez Provisor y Vicario General de este Arzobispado Dr. Jerónimo de Herrera y López, se leyeron los pareceres de las dos Universidades y de los Sres. Chantre y Maestrescuela; el Sr. Doctoral dijo su sentir, que después remitió por escrito a su Sría. Ilustrísima, y concordaron los cinco pareceres en que el Sr. Oidor Dr. Don José Torralba, estando actualmente preso, como se hallaba, no podía ser Juez y, por consiguiente, no podía representar la Real Audiencia, en cuya consecuencia la sobredicha Real Provisión no debía ser tenida por tal, y que su Señoría Ilustrísima no debía, en fuerza de ella, ejecutar la diligencia que se le rogaba y encargaba.

Y, arbitrando el medio más suave de que podría valerse, se discutió que se consultase al Sr. Gobernador por escrito para que, reparando en la Ley 44, Tit. 16, Lib. 2 de la *Nueva Recopilación*, su Señoría diese providencia de que Su Majestad (que Dios guarde) fuese servido con la más puntual observancia de sus Leyes reales y para que aun la elección de este medio tan racional y suave fuese con más pleno acuerdo y mayor consulta, representaron a su Señoría Ilustrísima los dichos Señores que celebrase una Junta en que concurriesen su muy venerable Deán y Cabildo, y los Prelados de las sagradas Religiones, a quienes se les rogase llevasen consigo, a la Junta, cada uno otro sujeto literato de su sagrada Religión, el que fuese de su mayor satisfacción. Y, habiéndole parecido bien a su Señoría Ilustrísima, quedó acordado que se celebrase la dicha Junta el día siguiente por la mañana.

Reflexionando el Sr. Arzobispo sobre el asunto de la Junta de su muy venerable Deán y Cabildo y sagradas Religiones, le pareció ser conveniente el omitirla, por no dar ocasión al Sr. Gobernador de imaginar que los eclesiásticos con su Ilustrísima se motinaban; y, por excusar aun los más leves motivos que pudiesen servir de fundamento a las maquinaciones del genio cabiloso e inicuo que manifestó siempre el Sr. Gobernador desde el principio de su gobierno, mandó llamar el mismo día, por la tarde, a los dichos cuatro Señores y les significó que había tenido por bien de excusar la Junta que se había acordado por la mañana, solo por que el Sr. Gobernador no imaginase que el estado eclesiástico con su cabeza y Prelado se motinaba. Y, respecto de haber sido tan suave el medio que se había arbitrado para solicitar del Sr. Gobernador que apartase el óbice de la prisión del Sr. Oidor Dr. Don

Archbishop and Doctor Don Jerónimo de Herrera y López, who was also the First Judge and Vicar General of this archdiocese, the opinions from the two universities, from the Precentor, and the Chancellor were read. The Doctoral Canon explained his view and later submitted it in writing to His Grace. The five opinions were unanimous, that the Oidor, Doctor José de Torralba, could not represent the Audiencia since, if he was actually a prisoner — as in fact he was — he could not act as Judge and much less represent the Audiencia. Consequently, the royal decree referred to above could not be considered as binding. His Grace should not in virtue thereof, carry out what was enjoined on him.

Looking for the least offensive way to inform the Governor of this conclusion, they reasoned that a consultation should be presented to him in writing, so that, in compliance with Law 44, Title 16, Book II of the *Nueva Recopilación*, His Excellency might decree that His Majesty (whom God preserve) might be served by the most punctillious observance of the laws. And in order that even this choice of such a reasonable and peaceful means be based on a fuller agreement and a wider consultation, the canons suggested to His Grace that a meeting be held of the most Venerable Dean and Chapter, and the superiors of the religious orders who might be requested to bring along with them a learned member of their respective institutes whom they themselves would choose to attend the meeting. His Grace liked the idea and it was therefore agreed to hold a meeting the following morning.

Thinking over the idea of a meeting attended by the Most Venerable Dean and Chapter, and the superiors of the religious orders, the Archbishop decided it was better not to hold it, lest he provide an occasion for the Governor to suspect that the clergy with the Archbishop were plotting something, and also to remove the least basis for the machinations of his captious and evil temperament, as the Governor had always shown since the beginning of his term. The prelate therefore had the four church dignitaries summoned in the afternoon of that same day and signified that he decided not to call the meeting as decided on earlier that morning, only so that the Governor might not imagine that the clerical estate, with its prelate and head, was scheming against him. With regards to the non-violent means they had agreed on to petition

José de Torralba; y los demás vicios que anularan la formación de la Audiencia que pretendía restablecer, era de sentir que se suspendiese la dicha Junta por entonces y se hiciese consulta al Sr. Gobernador, como estaba premeditado. Y así quedó determinado.

El día 8 por la mañana, mandó convocar a este su muy venerable Deán y Cabildo, y estando en su Palacio arzobispal, mandó leer los cinco pareceres, y asimismo la consulta para el Sr. Gobernador, que fue muy suave, política y atenta. Y, enterados los Señores de todo, fueron de unánime sentir que se llevase el negocio por este medio de suavidad, blandura y buena correspondencia, hasta tercera consulta, si fuese necesaria. Y, si no aprovecharen estas consultas para que el Sr. Gobernador sobreseyese, después se confiriese qué medio sería mejor para componer el negocio sin romper la paz y buena correspondencia con la potestad secular.

Después de todas estas conferencias y premeditaciones nacidas del amor de la paz y quietud que siempre ha procurado el Sr. Arzobispo, se remitió al Sr. Gobernador la dicha consulta, a la que no respondió. Y al día siguiente de su remisión se le hizo notoria a su Ilustrísima segunda Real Provisión, a que respondió que había consultado al Sr. Presidente y esperaba su respuesta para [determinar,] según ella, las diligencias que debiese, según derecho, y [después de] pasado un día; el día nueve, repitió segunda consulta al Sr. Gobernador, a la que tampoco dio respuesta. [En el] intermedio convocó el Sr. Arzobispo una Junta [de los] Prelados de las sagradas Religiones y en ella [se confirió] este negocio, y fue de común sentir [seguir] el medio elegido por su Señoría Ilustrísima por ser [el más suave] y pacífico, correspondiente al bien de la paz pública y servicio del Rey nuestro señor.

El día 9 corrió voz en la Ciudad que el Sr. Gobernador alzaba la prisión del Sr. Dr. Don José de Torralba; pero presto se desvaneció con otra contraria de que se estaba disponiendo tercera Real Provisión, y con esta confusión de noticias se pasó todo aquel día sin poderse averiguar cosa cierta. Por lo cual el Sr. Arzobispo acordó buscar medio de contener al Sr. Oidor Don José de Torralba y al Conjuuez Dr. José Correa, y el medio que se discurrió ser más oportuno fueron dar monitorios, para cada uno el suyo,

the Governor to recall the provision communicated by the Oidor Don José de Torralba, as well as the other legal defects that could nullify the formation of the Audiencia which the Governor had intended to reestablish, the Archbishop was of the opinion that the meeting should not be held as scheduled; but, as planned previously, a representation would be formally made before the Governor. Thus, finally, the matter was decided.

In the morning of the 8th, the Archbishop had the Venerable Dean and the Chapter summoned. On their arrival at the palace, the prelate had the five opinions read, as well as the representation to be made before the Governor, which was rather moderately phrased, tactful and respectful. The canons, weighing and studying everything, concluded unanimously that the matter should be settled in this conciliatory manner, without violence, seeking to preserve their good relations, and, if needed, even presenting a third representation. If such representation served to no avail, and the Governor did not desist from his purpose, they would again confer with one another as to what means to take in order to settle the matter without breaking the peace and friendly relations with the secular power.

Following all these discussions and consultations occasioned by the love of peace and quiet which the Archbishop had always sought, the representation was presented to the Governor. No answer was given. The day after it was presented, a second royal decree was formally communicated to His Grace, in which the Governor answered that he had consulted the President and was awaiting the response in order to determine what steps to take in accord with the law.

A day later, the 9th, a second representation was submitted to the Governor. Neither was there a reply this time. In the meantime, the Archbishop held a meeting with the superiors of the religious orders, at which the matter was discussed, and it was their common opinion that the means chosen by His Grace should be pursued as being quite conciliatory and peaceful, in keeping with the public good and peace and conducive to the service of our Lord, the King.

On the 9th, the rumor spread around the city that the Governor was lifting the sentence against Sr. José de Torralba;

dirigidos a que se contuviesen, sin atropellar diligencias y, [elegido] este medio, se dejó su ejecución hasta el día 10 por la tarde.

El día 10 por la tarde despachó el Sr. Arzobispo al Sr. Canónigo Doctoral con los dichos dos monitorios para que los hiciesen notorios a los dichos Sr. Oidor y su Conjuez, y como a horas de las 6 de la tarde pasó el dicho Sr. Canónigo a la sala de la Real Audiencia, donde estaba preso el dicho Sr. Oidor, llevando en su compañía al Sr. Racionero Dr. Don Juan de la Fuente. El Sr. Arzobispo le estuvo esperando con la respuesta de la diligencia que se le había encomendado, hasta las ocho de la noche; y, viendo que no volvía y, por otra parte, le llegaban noticias de grande conmoción de armas que había en Palacio, y que sus esquinas estaban guarnecidas de soldados de a pie y de caballo, y en el Campo de Guardia dobladas las guardias y cerrada la puerta de la Audiencia, sin permitir que entrase por ella ni aun la cena de los presos de la Cárcel de Corte, entró su Ilustrísima en cuidado si acaso a los dichos Sres. Doctoral y su compañero habían hecho en Palacio alguna violencia. Y, para deliberar la providencia que podría dar por entonces, convocó a este muy venerable Deán y Cabildo, y concurrieron a su Palacio arzobispal los Sres. Deán, Chantre, Maestrescuela, Tesorero, canónigo de gracia y venerable Sr. Racionero, con los cuales confirió la materia debajo de la duda y confusa noticia que había tenido su Señoría Ilustrísima hasta entonces. Y, asimismo, fue consultado por escrito el R. P. Mtro. Lorenzo de Avina, de la sagrada Compañía de Jesús. Todos convinieron en que, sin embargo de aquella confusa conmoción de armas y guarniciones que había en Palacio, porque podría ser motivada de otro principio, que al Sr. Gobernador hubiese dado ocasión de guardar su palacio con más vigilancia que la ordinaria, era necesario recibir información por donde constase todas aquellas prevenciones eran ordenadas al fin de la violencia que se presumía.

Hasta las 10 de la noche no se pudo tener noticia cierta del motivo de aquella conmoción de armas que había en Palacio; sólo se decía en confuso que estaban presos los dos señores Doctoral y Racionero; por lo cual el Sr. Arzobispo mandó al Sr. Arcediano, su Provisor y Vicario General de este Arzobispado, con ánimo de despacharle a Palacio, para que tratase con el Sr. Gobernador y averiguase el hecho de la prisión, que se presumía, de los dichos dos Señores y de los motivos de ella, en caso de ser cierta, y junta-

but it was quickly contradicted by another rumor that a third royal decree was being readied. The whole day passed with this confusing mixture of news, nothing definite being known. The Archbishop then sought some way to restrain the Oidor Don José de Torralba and the Associate Judge, Doctor José Correa, and the means considered most opportune was to issue monitions, separately to each of them, requesting them to refrain from acting, without prejudice to the judicial proceedings. This was decided on, but it was not carried out until the afternoon of the 10th.

On this afternoon of the 10th, the Archbishop dispatched the Doctoral Canon with the above-mentioned monitions to present them to the Oidor and the Associate Judge. Around 6:00 in the evening, the Reverend Canon, accompanied by the Prebendary, Doctor Juan de la Fuente, entered the Audiencia hall, where the Oidor was confined. Until 8:00 that evening the Archbishop had been waiting for the answer to the message entrusted to the Canon; but because the latter did not return and, on the other hand, news had come about a serious clash of arms in the Governor's palace; that at the corners foot soldiers and the cavalry had been posted; that in the courtyard of the Guards the sentinels had been doubled and the door to the Audiencia barred, nothing being allowed to enter, not even the supper of the inmates of the Court jail; His Most Illustrious Lordship began to worry lest perchance the above-mentioned Canon and his companion might have been maltreated in the palace. In order to decide what action to take later, the prelate summoned the Venerable Dean and Chapter to his palace. The Reverend Dean, Precentor, Chancellor, Treasurer, Canon of Grace, and the Prebendary came, and he discussed with them the situation in the light of the dubious and confusing reports he had received till then. Likewise, the Reverend Master Lorenzo de Avina of the Society of Jesus was consulted in writing. All of them agreed that, notwithstanding the confusion and excitement of arms and guards in the governor's palace, since it could have been some other cause that led to the posting of more guards to secure the palace than was usual; it was necessary to obtain correct information that would justify all those precautionary measures set up in view of the violence that was expected.

No precise reason for that display of arms was received in the archbishop's palace until 10:00 that evening. It was merely

mente obrase todo lo que por razón de su oficio estuviese obligado, según la disposición en que hallase aquel hecho. Pero, reflexionando después que al dicho Sr. Provisor podía prender o perder el respeto debido a la representación de su dignidad y oficio, dispuso su Señoría Ilustrísima que pasasen a Palacio el Cura de Morenos, Maestro Don Francisco Grimaldos con el Br. Don Francisco Sarabia, clérigo presbítero, y de parte de su Señoría Ilustrísima un recaudo político al Sr. Gobernador, que había llegado a noticia de su Señoría Ilustrísima que el Canónigo Doctoral de su santa Iglesia y un Racionero de ella, que al mandato suyo habían pasado a las 6 de la tarde a la sala de la Audiencia con un despacho para el Sr. Dr. Don Jose Torralba, se hallaban presos o detenidos en Palacio. Y, aunque no habían dado entero crédito a la noticia de tan gran violencia ejecutada contra los dichos eclesiásticos, [exentos] de la jurisdicción secular, con la circunstancia [de haber] pasado a la dicha diligencia, como Ministro de la jurisdicción eclesiástica, a que por la prisión o detención de sus personas se ponía embarazo, suplicaba a su Señoría se le sacase de aquel cuidado, y, siendo cierta la prisión de los dichos dos eclesiásticos, los pusiesen en libertad; y, de haber dado motivos para semejante demostración, los remitiese a su Señoría Ilustrísima, que se hallaba pronto a corregir a los dichos dos clérigos.

Fueron al Palacio los dichos dos clérigos nombrados por el Sr. Arzobispo, llevando consigo dos criados, que disimuladamente [se] pusieron en la puerta de esta santa Iglesia, donde [estuvieron] a la mira observando las operaciones que en Palacio se ejecutasen contra los dichos dos eclesiásticos. Habiendo pasado más de una hora, volvieron los dichos dos criados y dieron cuenta cómo, luego que llegaron los dichos dos eclesiásticos al Cuerpo de Guardia, los soldados tomaron armas; pero tuvieron lugar de entrar, mas no alcanzaron a ver si subieron arriba. Y, después de algún rato, sintieron ruido de gente en el salón del Palacio y voces que llaman al Cabo de Escuadra de Guardia, y no pudieron adquirir más noticia, por lo que, cansados de esperar más de una hora, viendo que no salían los dichos dos clérigos, vinieron ellos a dar este aviso, con el cual mandó el Sr. Arzobispo que se recibiese información del caso, y en ella declararon dos hermanos del dicho Sr. Racionero, Dr. Don Juan de la Fuente, el Sr. Canónigo de gracia y los dichos dos mozos, y de sus declaraciones constó bastante-

reported that the Reverend Doctoral Canon and the Prebendary were in prison. The Archbishop accordingly ordered the Reverend Archdean, his Provisor and Vicar General of the archdiocese, to go and call on the Governor in his palace and verify the truth of the Canons' alleged imprisonment, the reasons for their confinement, if true, and, at the same time, to do all that was incumbent for him to do by reason of his office, and as the situation presented itself. Later, however, fearing that they could also apprehend the Provisor, or that they might not honor the dignity and the office he represented, the Archbishop arranged for the Curate of Morenos, Master Francisco Grimaldos, to go to the Governor's palace, in company with the Bachelor of Arts, Don Francisco Sarabia, a diocesan priest. In the name of his Most Illustrious Lordship, they were to remind the Governor tactfully that it had come to the knowledge of His Grace that the Doctoral Canon of his Holy Church and a Canon of the same, who had on his behalf entered the Audiencia hall at 6:00 in the evening with an expedient for Don José de Torralba, were being held in confinement or detained in the governor's palace; and that, although the Archbishop had not given entire credit to the news of such a drastic crime against ecclesiastics immune to the secular power, besides the fact that as the Minister of ecclesiastical jurisdiction he had issued the expedient to the effect that the detention or imprisonment of his subjects was an act of obstruction; still he was requesting His Excellency to relieve him of that uncertainty, and, if the news of the imprisonment of the ecclesiastics be true, that they be released. If they had given cause for such action, that should be communicated to his Most Illustrious Lordship who was ready to discipline these two ecclesiastics.

The two canons sent by the Archbishop to the Governor's palace had taken along two domestics who unobtrusively stationed themselves by the church door, from where they kept their eyes fixed on the proceedings in the palace against the two dignitaries. After an hour, the two domestics returned to report that, although they had been allowed to enter, they did not see whether their masters had been allowed to go up. After a while, they had heard a commotion in the palace hall, and voices summoning the Corporal of the Guard, but they had learned nothing more. Tired of wait-

mente del hecho de la prisión o detención de cuatro eclesiásticos en el Palacio del Sr. Gobernador.

Acordó el Sr. Arzobispo que, para mayor abundamiento de prueba, pasase el Sr. Canónigo, Maestro Don Luis Rico, por ser del cariño y afecto del Sr. Gobernador y maestro de sus hijos, a verse con su Señoría y facilitase, con toda política y urbanidad, el que a los eclesiásticos detenidos en su Palacio se alzase el embarazo de su libertad, que como exentos de la potestad secular debían gozar, asegurándole que su Señoría Ilustrísima se hallaba pronto a corregirlos, si en algo hubiesen delinquido. Pero con el dicho Sr. Canónigo sucedió lo mismo y fue detenido como los dos antecedentes y, por consiguiente, plenamente averiguado el hecho de la captura los dicho cinco eclesiásticos; mas por ser hora incompetente, acordó el Sr. Arzobispo suspender, hasta haber amanecido, las diligencias que, en cumplimiento de la obligación de su oficio, debía ejecutar hasta que la potestad secular levantase la violencia y le entregase a los eclesiásticos que tenía presos.

Luego que amaneció el día 11, fueron convocados al Palacio arzobispal los Srs. Arcediano, Provisor y Vicario General de este Arzobispado, Chantre y Maestrescuela, y los Prelados de las sagradas Religiones para conferir el caso de inmunidad eclesiástica, que tan impensadamente ocurrió la noche antecedente. En "ínterim" que llegaban los convocados, llegaron al Palacio arzobispal los muchachos, el uno criado del Sr. Doctoral, y el otro criado del Sr. Racionero, y ambos declararon que sus amos habían estado presos y encarcelados la noche antes en uno de los calabozos de la cárcel de Corte, y al amanecer ambos fueron removidos con mucha guardia de soldados al Castillo de la Fuerza de Santiago, donde quedaban detenidos. Y el criado del dicho Sr. Doctoral trajo un papel de su amo escrito al Sr. Arzobispo, en que daba cuenta de lo que había ejecutado, en virtud de su Comisión y de las operaciones del Sr. Oidor Dr. Don José de Torralba y de la violencia que experimentaron hasta llegar a ser reclusos en un calabozo, y que había citado al dicho Sr. Oidor, al Sargento mayor de Campo y al Capitán José de Torres para la Tabilla, y para todos los demás actos y [penas subsiguientes,] impuestas por derecho contra percuores de [clérigos] e impedientes el curso de la jurisdicción eclesiástica, [todo lo cual], visto por el Sr. Arzo-

ing for more than an hour, and seeing that the canons did not reappear, they had come back to make this report.

Thereupon, the Archbishop ordered that information about the incident be gathered. The brother of the above-mentioned Canon, Doctor Juan de la Fuente, the Reverend Canon of Grace, and those same two domestics made statements, from which it was made sufficiently certain that the four ecclesiastics were kept in confinement or detention in the governor's palace.

In order to obtain more than enough proofs, the Archbishop decided that the Reverend Luis Rico, the teacher of the Governor's children and liked by the latter, should go up to His Excellency and politely and with great tact bring about the lifting of the curbs against the freedom of the ecclesiastics confined in the governor's palace, for since they were exempt from the secular arm, they ought to enjoy that freedom. He was to assure the Governor that the Archbishop was ready to correct them if in something, somewhere they might have failed.

But the same thing happened to this Canon, too, who was detained as the clerics before him and, the fact therefore of the captivity of the five ecclesiastics was fully proven. The hour, however, was not the proper time and the Archbishop decided to put off till the next morning the legal proceedings which, in fulfillment of his office, the Archbishop had to carry out, until the secular power should desist from its high-handed action and release to him the clergy in prison.

On the 11th, as soon as day broke, there gathered at the Archbishop's palace the Reverend Archdean, Provisor and Vicar General of this archdiocese, the Precentor, the Chancellor, and the superiors of the religious orders, to discuss the problem of ecclesiastical immunity which had presented itself rather unexpectedly the previous night. While they arrived at the palace, two domestics, one that of the Doctoral Canon's and the other of one of the Prebendaries', came and both reported that their masters had been imprisoned and confined the night before in the dungeon of the Court jail; and at dawn, they had been transferred under heavy guard of soldiers to Fort Santiago, where they were being kept. The servant of the Doctoral Canon brought to the Archbishop a note written by his master, reporting all that the latter

bispo, mandó fijar cédulas en las puertas de las iglesias, en que fueron declarados por excomulgados vitandos el dicho Sr. Oidor, [el] Sargento mayor y el dicho Capitán. Y, asimismo, se mandó fijar en la Catedral un cedulón en que se citase para entredicho, cesación "a divinis" y todas las demás reagravaciones de penas eclesiásticas, si la postestad secular no entregase luego a los eclesiásticos presos.

El mismo día 11, luego que amaneció, se oyó un tiro de pieza de artillería con bala; y señal de armas hicieron las cajas de guerra para convocar la Ciudad y sus arrabales, como estaba prevenido por bando del Sr. Gobernador muchas veces antes, porque su mal obrar y tiranía le tuvo siempre sobresaltado y receloso de algún motín, por cuya razón había prevenido a los militares con el dicho bando, el cual por justos juicios de Dios vino a redundar en su daño y destrucción, porque se llenaron las medidas de su mandar con esta sacrílega invasión del estado eclesiástico. Convocados con la dicha señal de armas, concurrieron a palacio los vecinos, y todo el Tercio se puso en arma, y se cerraron las puertas de la Ciudad y en ellas se dieron órdenes apretados, prohibiendo el paso a los eclesiásticos de cualquiera graduación que fuesen. A los vecinos que concurrieron a Palacio, exhortó el Sr. Gobernador que atendiesen a la defensa de la jurisdicción y potestad Real, que en su Señoría residía, como en Gobernador de estas Islas, la cual el Arzobispo y los eclesiásticos perturbaban. Y, después de haberlos traído muchos ejemplares de casos escandalosos, que han sucedido en diferentes repúblicas, pareciéndole ya tenía los ánimos bien dispuestos y aparejados para cooperar en la maldad, como a las ocho del día mandó a un Capitán de Infantería que, con ocho cabos militares y una Compañía de soldados, pasasen al Palacio arzobispal con recaudo verbal para el Sr. Arzobispo, para que luego, sin dilación alguna, entrase en un arimón y pasase a Palacio, adonde le esperaba el dicho Sr. Gobernador para responderle a un recaudo que le había enviado el Sr. Arzobispo. Y en la misma ocasión se dieron órdenes para que otra Compañía de soldados cercase el Palacio arzobispal por todas partes y se cogiesen las calles, con órdenes apretados que no pasase por ellas eclesiástico alguno.

Llegó el dicho Capitán con la Compañía de soldados y los demás Cabos militares a la puerta del Palacio arzobispal, la cual

had done to carry out his errand, the machinations of Don José de Torralba, as well as the violent treatment accorded them, including their seclusion in a dungeon; that they had cited the Oidor himself, the Sergeant-Major of the Camp, and Captain José de Torres for public denuntiation, and all the other acts and subsequent penalties imposed by the law on those who persecute clerics and impede the course of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Having read the note, the Lord Archbishop ordered bulletins posted on the church doors, declaring as *excommunicated* and *execrate* the above-mentioned Oidor, the Sergeant-Major, and the Captain. Likewise, a lengthy proclamation was posted on the Cathedral, announcing that it would be placed under interdict with *cessatio a divinis*, plus the imposition of other aggravating penalties of the Church, if the secular power did not release the imprisoned clergy subsequently.

That same day, the 11th, as soon as it was day, there was heard the sound of artillery, with a rifle shot and the signal to arms, to alert the City and its suburbs, as was ordered by proclamation of the Governor many times before, because by his misdeeds and despotism, he had always felt menaced and suspicious of some mutiny, for which reason he had imposed that order on the soldiers, but which, through God's just judgments, worked to his ruin and destruction, because the edicts of his command reached their culmination in this sacrilegious violation of the ecclesiastical estate.

Summoned by the said signal of arms, all the citizens assembled before the Governor's palace, and the Tercio all armed themselves. The city gates were closed, and there were strict orders forbidding the clergy, the citizens who had flocked to his palace to look to the defense of the royal jurisdiction and power, which was vested in His Excellency, as Governor of these Islands, and which the Archbishop and the churchmen were trying to undermine. And after adducing many examples of scandalous incidents which had happened in different republics, believing that he had now won their minds and disposed them properly to cooperate in evil, at about 8:00 in the morning, he ordered the Captain of the Infantry to march with eight army corporals and a company of soldiers to the Archbishop's palace, with a verbal

estaba cerrada precisamente para estorbar la entrada de seculares y bullicio de gente, que pudiese dar motivo a la más leve presunción de motín. Pero luego que llamaron a la puerta, mandó el Sr. Arzobispo que la abriesen, y que ninguno se descompusiese con los soldados, y dejasen entrar al dicho Capitán con la comitiva, el cual llegó a la presencia de su Señoría Ilustrísima armado con dos pistolas en la cinta, por lo que el Sr. Arzobispo le reprendió; pero admitiéndole la disculpa que dio de ser militar y que, como tal estaba obligado a tener sus armas en pronto por la señal de arma que había oído aquella mañana. Y deseando su Señoría Ilustrísima excusar altercaciones, consintió que así armado dijese la razón de su venida con tanto estrépito de gente armada y escándalo con que habían llegado a ocupar su Palacio, hasta el mismo cuarto principal, en que se hallaba su sacratísima persona.

El dicho Capitán dio el recaudo del Sr. Gobernador en presencia de todos los eclesiásticos que se hallaban en compañía de su Señoría Ilustrísima, que fueron los Sres. Provisor, Chantre, Maestrescuela, Racioneros, Dr. Don Manuel de Albarrán, y los RR. PP. Prior de Santo Domingo, Guardián de San Francisco, Prior de San Agustín, Rector del Colegio de San Ignacio, Prior de los Recoletos, Rector del Colegio de Santo Tomás, Lectores de Prima, Vísperas y Artes, del dicho Colegio; Maestro Lorenzo de Avina, de la sagrada Compañía de Jesús, y tres religiosos Recoletos, presente el Secretario del Sr. Arzobispo y su familia, sobre sí el Sr. Arzobispo había de salir o no de su Palacio, habiendo sido llamado del Sr. Gobernador con aquel estilo tan violento e indecoroso a su dignidad y representación, hubo alguna altercación; pero, reconociendo que el Sr. Capitán y su comitiva se hallaban en determinación de ejecutar ciegamente las órdenes del Sr. Capitán General, sin reducirse a la razón y exhortación de su Prelado y Pastor, se vistió su Señoría Ilustrísima y entróse en su silla de mano, salió de su palacio arzobispal con determinación de pasar al Real Palacio y habitaciones del Sr. Gobernador, para saber de su Señoría el motivo de su llamada.

Los Cabos militares, con grande número de soldados cercaron dicha silla de manos del Sr. Arzobispo sin permitir que a ella se llegase persona alguna. Y, habiendo llegado a la Puerta menor, principal del Real Palacio del Sr. Gobernador, se la negó la entrada

message for His Grace, that without delay he should enter through a side gate and pass into the palace where the Governor was waiting for him to answer a message which the Archbishop had sent him. At the same time, orders were given that another company of soldiers should completely surround the Archbishop's palace and secure the streets, strictly ordering them to allow no clergy to pass.

The said captain with the company of soldiers and the other military corporals reached the gate of the Archbishop's palace, which had been purposely closed to block the entrance to the people and silence the uproar which could occasion the slightest appearance of a mutiny. But as soon as the soldiers called at the gate, the Archbishop had it opened and ordered that nobody should meddle with the soldiers, and that the Captain should be allowed to enter with his retinue. That man came into the presence of the Archbishop, with two pistols hanging from his belt, for which the Archbishop chided him, but his apology was accepted that, as a military man, he was obliged to carry his arms because of the signal to arms heard that morning. In his desire to avoid altercations, His Most Illustrious Lordship allowed him thus armed to explain the purpose of his coming with such a great show of armed men and causing such a great uproar by their occupation of the Archbishop's palace, including the main room where His Most Sacred Person was.

The same captain gave the Governor's message in the presence of all the clergy who were in the company of His Most Illustrious Lordship, namely, the Reverend Provisor, Prebendary, Chancellor, Canons, Doctor Manuel de Albarrán, and the Reverend Fathers, the Prior of Santo Domingo, the Custodian of San Francisco, the Prior of San Agustín, the Rector of the College of San Ignacio, the Prior of the Recollects, the Rector of the College of Santo Tomás, the Prima and Vespers Lecturers in the Arts in the same College; Master Lorenzo de Avina of the holy Society of Jesus, three Recollect friars, and the Archbishop's secretary and household. Whether His Grace, the Archbishop ought to leave his palace or not, summoned in such an insulting and degrading manner to his dignity and what he represented, there was a difference of opinion; but realizing that the Captain and his retinue

y bajó orden de arriba para que fuese llevado el Sr. Arzobispo al Castillo de la Fuerza de Santiago y allí fue entregado al Castellano de él, para que le tuviese en buena guarda.

El Sr. Arzobispo descomulgó a los Cabos militares que le violentaron y puso "entredicho" en la Ciudad con mandato expreso de que, pasadas dos horas, sino estuviese levantanda la violencia de su sacratísima persona y de los cinco eclesiásticos que tenía presos el Sr. Gobernador, dos en el Castillo y Fuerza de Santiago y tres en un cuarto de su Palacio, se pasase a cesación "a divinis".

Y, aunque al tiempo que llevaban preso al Sr. Arzobispo, ya habían comenzado las campanas a dar señal de "entredicho", se llegaron a su Señoría Ilustrísima un Alcalde Ordinario y un Regidor a representarle la conmoción del pueblo que podría resultar del "entredicho", el Sr. Arzobispo no le quiso suspender, porque había llegado el caso de usar la Iglesia de sus armas en defensa de la inmunidad eclesiástica; y el escándalo con todos los demás daños que de allí se siguiesen, no podrían ser de su cuenta, sino de cuenta del Sr. Gobernador, invasor violento de la inmunidad eclesiástica.

Estando ya el Sr. Arzobispo preso en el Castillo de Santiago, fue requerido del Provisor para que suspendiese el entredicho; pero tampoco quiso convenir en ello, y experimentó la violencia del Sr. Gobernador, que mandó que fuese llevado preso al Cuartel de Banderas, donde estuvo detenido con guardias de mosqueteros, y el Secretario del Sr. Arzobispo fue llevado al Castillo de Santiago, donde estuvo detenido en el Cuerpo de Guardia.

Luego que sacaron al Sr. Arzobispo de su Palacio, se dio orden a las guardias que no permitiesen salir de él a persona alguna eclesiástica. Y, estando así detenidos todos los que habían concurrido al Palacio arzobispal, entró en él el Sargento mayor del Campo, hijo del Sr. Gobernador, y fue enviando presos al Cuartel de Banderas y Casas de la Real Contaduría, con guardia competente, a los Sres. Chantre, Maestrescuela, y Racionero Dr. Don Manuel de Albarrán; y a los RR. PP. Comisarios del Santo Oficio y Rector del Colegio de Santo Tomás, Fr. Cristóbal Alonso; Fr. José Pérez, Lector de Vísperas de dicho Colegio; Fr. Bernardo Basco, Lector de Artes de dicho Colegio y Notario del Santo Oficio, P. Francisco Alonso, Rector del Colegio de San Ignacio, de la

were determined to carry out blindly the Captain General's order without listening to reason and to the advice of their prelate and pastor, His Most Illustrious Lordship put on his vestments and sat on his sedan-chair, left the palace, determined to go to the royal palace and the room of the Lord Governor to find out from His Excellency the reason for the summons.

With a great number of soldiers, the military corporals surrounded the sedan-chair of the Archbishop, permitting no one to come near it. On arrival at the Puerta Menor, the main entrance to the Governor's palace, they were halted and orders came from above that the Archbishop should be brought to Fort Santiago, and there he was handed over to the castellan who would keep strict guard over him.

The Archbishop excommunicated the military corporals who had employed force against his person and laid the city under interdict, with the express mandate that if within two hours the indignity against his person and that of the ecclesiastics whom the Governor was detaining in prison — two at Fort Santiago and three in a room in the Governor's palace — he would then declare a *cessatio a divinis*.

And while they were carrying the imprisoned Archbishop and the bells had begun to toll the interdict, an *Alcalde ordinario* and a *Regidor* approached His Most Illustrious Lordship to inform him of the agitation among the populace that could result from the interdict. The prelate refused to suspend it, because the hour had come for the Church to use her arms in defense of ecclesiastical immunity. The scandal, together with all the harm that would follow could not be charged against him, but against the Governor, the violent aggressor of ecclesiastical immunity.

The Lord Archbishop now being a prisoner in Fort Santiago the Provisor was petitioned to suspend the interdict; but he refused no less; and he experienced the Governor's fury, who ordered that he be brought to the prison of the Infantry Barracks, where he was confined under heavy musketeers' guard while the Archbishop's secretary was brought to Fort Santiago where he was detained in the Guard Room.

After they had taken the Archbishop away, an order was issued to the guards to permit no ecclesiastic to leave the archie-

Sagrada Compañía de Jesús, Maestro Lorenzo de Avina, de la sagrada Compañía, Fr. Francisco Sanzano, Prior del convento de San Pablo, de la Orden de San Agustín; y quedaba el dicho Sargento mayor embarazado en esta función, al parecer, hasta acabar de remitir presos a diferentes puestos todos los eclesiásticos que se hallaban en el Palacio arzobispal.

En "ínterim" que el dicho Sargento mayor se ocupaba en las dichas prisiones, su padre, el Sr. Gobernador, despachó al general Don Benito Carrasco con un pliego cerrado a la Fuerza de Santiago con orden de que se le pusiese en manos del Sr. Arzobispo; y ejecutada esta diligencia, por ser ya más de las doce del día, mandó a los vecinos que se hallaban en Palacio que, quedando algunos en él, fuesen los otros a comer y volviesen para mandar a los que hubiesen quedado, lo cual ejecutaron los vecinos con la mayor presteza posible, porque estaban ya deseando verse desahogados y fuera de Palacio para volver por la causa de Dios y su Iglesia, invadida por un tirano; y se dijo que algunos se hallaban tan irritados en el mismo Palacio, que intentaron acometer al Sr. Gobernador y quitarle la vida, para poner con su muerte fin a sus desaciertos y escándalos. Pero la mano de Dios dispuso el castigo de sus delitos por medio más palpable y manifiesto.

Noticiada la plebe del estado en que se hallaban el Palacio y habitación del Sr. Gobernador y que el Tercio estaba dividido y ocupados los soldados en diferente operaciones de guardias y prisiones, comenzó la gritería de la plebe, y en las calles se dieron voces "¡Viva la Iglesia!" y "¡Viva el Rey!", y con esta gritería se conmovió toda la Ciudad, y de improviso se halló toda la Plaza principal de Palacio ocupada de la plebe armada, y acometieron al Palacio, donde no hubo resistencia alguna, porque los soldados guardias, enfadados de ver tan grande escándalo, arrimaron las armas y no se verificó que persona alguna se adelantase en defensa del Sr. Gobernador, antes bien el Tercio con la plebe gritaba "¡Viva la Iglesia!" y "¡Viva el Rey!". El Sr. Gobernador, viéndose perdido y ciego con su mismo pecado, salió como un león a resistir la invasión de la plebe; pero en [breve fue] malherido y caído en el suelo en la puerta principal. Y Dios nuestro Señor, por su infinita misericordia, para que lograrse la salud de su alma, le inspiró que se fingiese totalmente muerto, y así pudo lograr

piscopal palace. While therefore those who had gathered there were held in detention, the Sergeant-Major of the Camp, the Governor's son, went in and began to send as prisoners to the Infantry Barracks and the *Contaduría*, with the competent guards, the Reverend Precentor; Chancellor; the Prebendary, Doctor Don Manuel de Albarrán; and the Reverend Commissars of the Holy Office; the Rector of the College of Santo Tomás, Fray Cristóbal Alonso; Fray José Pérez, Vespers Lecturer of the same college; Fray Bernardo Basco, Lecturer in Arts of the same college and Notary of the Holy Office; Father Francisco Alonso, Rector of the College of San Ignacio of the Society of Jesus; Master Lorenzo de Avina, of the same holy Society; Fray Francisco Sanzano, Prior of the Convento of San Pablo of the Order of San Agustín. The Sergeant-Major was kept busy with these tasks, as it seems, until he had dispatched to their different prisons all the ecclesiastics who were in the archiepiscopal palace.

During the interval that the Sergeant-Major was busy with these prisoners, his father the Governor dispatched General Benito Carrasco with a sealed message to Fort Santiago, ordering him to place it in the hands of the Lord Archbishop. Next, for it was already past twelve o'clock noon, he ordered the people who were in the palace to go and take their meal, while others stayed behind, and then come back so that those who had stayed behind might then go and eat. The people obeyed as fast as they could because they wanted already to be released and be out of the palace, and then return for the sake of God and His Church now being invaded by a tyrant. And it was said that some in the palace were so furious that they attempted to attack the Governor and kill him, so that with his death they could put an end to his misdeeds and scandals. But the hand of God arranged the punishment of his crimes more palpably and more spectacularly.

The ordinary people, informed of the state of affairs in the palace and room of the Governor, and that the Tercio was divided among themselves, and that the soldiers were occupied in various tasks of guarding streets and prisoners, began their outcry, "Long live the Church! Long live the King!" At this uproar, the whole city acted together, and all at once the main courtyard of the Governor's palace was thronged with people bearing arms and they

tiempo de confesarse, porque el tumulto, apenas le vio caído en el suelo y bañado en su sangre, levantó la voz que era muerto el Gobernador, con lo cual comenzó a sosegar la plebe, gritando todos que fuese traído el Sr. Arzobispo, y en su Señoría Ilustrísima quedase el mando y bastón de las Islas, en satisfacción del agravio que había hecho a la Iglesia el mal Gobernador, a quien habían quitado la vida en castigo de su sacrilegio y satisfacción de la honra de su Rey católico; y ganando la torre de esta santa iglesia, sin embargo de que los sacristanes estaban tocando "entre-dicho", le interrumpieron con repique solemne; y el Tercio, en señal de no haber faltado a la fidelidad de su Rey y señor natural, enarboló su Real estandarte en el balcón de Palacio.

Dividióse la plebe y una tropa salió a buscar al Sr. Deán de esta santa Iglesia, a quien llevaron al Palacio, para que tuviese en depósito el bastón del Gobernador hasta que llegase el Sr. Arzobispo. Otra tropa se ocupó en prender al Sr. Oidor Dr. Don José Torralba, a quien pusieron en un calabozo con dos pares de grillos, y, en su compañía, al Conjuez Dr. Don José Correa, también asegurado con prisiones; y en otros calabozos aseguraron al - Secretario de cuentas Don Andrés de Arquijo.

La fuerza principal de la plebe se mantuvo en la Plaza y, extendiéndose hasta el Cuartel de Banderas, dieron libertad a los eclesiásticos que estaban detenidos en ella, y, evacuada esta diligencia, se mantuvieron de mano armada hasta que fuese sacado de la Fuerza de Santiago el Sr. Arzobispo y puesto en la administración del Gobierno de estas Islas.

El Sargento mayor, con la noticia de la muerte de su padre, se arrojó despechado por medio del motín y pereció miserablemente sin alcanzar confesión y sólo pudo ser absuelto "sub conditione" de la descomunión y sacramentalmente. Su padre, el Sr. Gobernador, vivió algún tiempo y pudo alcanzar confesión, con muestra de dolor y arrepentimiento de su sacrilegio.

El Sr. Arzobispo no quiso condescender a los clamores del pueblo en cuanto a recibir el bastón; fue sacado de la Fuerza y restituído a su Palacio arzobispal con general regocijo de todo el

barged into the palace. There was no resistance at all because the soldiers and the guards, angered by such a terrible scandal, laid down their arms. Not a single man stood up in defense of the Governor, nothing being done at all. Instead, the Tercio, with the crowd, was shouting "Long live the church! Long live the king!" The Governor, astounded and blinded by his own sin, went out like a crazed man to stem the attack by the mob; but he was instantly wounded mortally and fell to the ground by the main gate. And God our Lord, in His infinite mercy, that He might win the salvation of his soul, inspired him to pretend that he was totally dead and in this way had some time to confess before the tumult, hardly noticing that he had fallen and was lying in his blood on the ground, raised the outcry that the Governor was dead. At this the crowd began to calm down, everyone shouting that the Archbishop should be brought forth and that his Lordship be vested with the sceptre and command of the Islands, in atonement for the harm that the bad Governor had inflicted on the Church and whose life they had exacted in punishment for his sacrilege, and to satisfy the honor of their Catholic King. Reaching the tower of this Church, although the sacristans were there tolling the interdict, this was interrupted by a solemn ringing of the bells and the Tercio, as a sign that they had not failed in their loyalty to their king and natural lord, raised the royal standard at the balcony of the palace.

The crowd split up and a troop went in search of the Reverend Dean of this Holy Church, brought him to the palace that he might be entrusted with the sceptre and command, until the Archbishop arrived. Another troop took care of apprehending the Oidor Don José de Torralba whom they shackled up in the dungeon, and, with him, the Associate Judge, Doctor Don José de Correa, likewise detained in the prison, and in other dungeons, the Scribe of the Exchequer, Don Andrés de Arquijo.

The main part of the crowd stayed in the courtyard, and spreading out to the Infantry Barracks, released the ecclesiastics confined there. Afterwards, they were kept in alert until the Archbishop was removed from Fort Santiago and installed as the administrator of these Islands.

común; pero, reconociendo su repugnancia a la admisión del bastón del Gobierno, se mantuvo la plebe y el común con mano armada hasta casi las siete de la noche, con resolución de no soltar las armas hasta ver el gobierno de las Islas en manos del Sr. Arzobispo, por lo cual la Ciudad entró en Cabildo y se acordó suplicar a su Señoría Ilustrísima que, en atención de estar el pueblo tan conmovido, la Real Audiencia tan descuadernada y sin cuerpo, y la Ciudad del mismo modo descuadernada y sin Cuerpo de Regimiento, aceptase el bastón, que sería en servicio de Su Majestad, que Dios guarde. El Sr. Arzobispo consultó el caso con los señores de este muy venerable Deán y Cabildo, que en aquella ocasión se hallaban en su Palacio, y los Prelados de las sagradas Religiones, que también habían concurrido a darle la enhorabuena de su libertad, y todos unánimes y conformes le respondieron que el estado de la República pedía breve resolución y su Señoría Ilustrísima debía consentir en el pedimiento de la Ciudad y deseo del pueblo para sosegar la conmoción de armas, cargándole la conciencia. Por lo cual, con las garantías que [juzgó] su Señoría Ilustrísima ser necesarias al gobierno de estas Islas, hizo pleito [roto] su [Gobierno], con lo cual sosegó la conmoción [de armas] y toda la plebe se apaciguó, recogándose todos a sus casas muy alegres y contentos de haber vengado el agravio de la Iglesia y librado las Islas de la tiranía y operación del Sr. Don Fernando Bustamante y Rueda.

Habiéndose certificado el Sr. Arzobispo que el Sr. Gobernador había alcanzado confesión y absolución de la descomunión y “entre-dicho” y que su hijo, habiendo también absuelto, aunque “sub conditione”, mandó que fuesen absueltos sus cuerpos, con la publicidad suficiente, porque el público [llegase] a entender la piedad de la Iglesia, que los perdonaba y restituía a la Comunión de los fieles y participación de sepultura eclesiástica, lo cual así se ejecutó. Y [mandó] su Señoría Ilustrísima que aquellos dos cuerpos fuesen sepultados con toda solemnidad y pompa correspondiente a la representación de los cargos que habían ocupado en estas Islas.

El día siguiente, que fue 12 de octubre, por la mañana, fue sepultado el cuerpo del Sargento mayor, y por la tarde el del Sr.

On learning of his father's death, the Sergeant-Major threw himself recklessly into the thick of the mob, but he was cut short miserably, dying without being able to make his confession, receiving only conditional sacramental absolution from his excommunication. His father, the Governor, lived on for a while and was able to confess, giving signs of sorrow and repentance for his sacrilegious acts.

The Archbishop refused to heed the public demand that he accept the sceptre. He was taken from Fort Santiago and returned to his palace amid great rejoicing, but, aware of his refusal to receive the sceptre of government, the people and the commune continued at arms until about 7:00 in the evening, resolved not to lay down their arms until they saw the government entrusted in the hands of the Archbishop. The City in council, therefore, resolved to petition His Most Illustrious Lordship that, in view of the public demand, the Audiencia being disorganized and without membership, the City likewise so disorganized and without a ruling body, he should accept the sceptre, to the service of His Majesty, whom God preserve. The Archbishop presented the case to the members of his Venerable Dean and Chapter, who at that moment were in the palace, and the prelates of the religious orders, who also had come to felicitate him on his release; and all with one voice and in conformity with one another, answered that the situation of the republic demanded an immediate decision, and His Most Illustrious Lordship ought to accede to the petition of the City and the desire of the people in order to put an end to the violent recourse to arms, charging his conscience if he refused. And so, with the guarantees that His Grace thought were necessary for the government of the Islands, he made the pledge of loyalty of his government, at which the commotion in the city died down and the people were appeased. Everyone returned home quite happy and satisfied that the injury inflicted on the Church had been avenged and the Islands freed from the tyranny and machinations of Don Fernando Manuel Bustillo Bustamante y Rueda.

Having certified that the Governor had been able to confess and receive absolution from the excommunication and interdict, and that his son had also been absolved, although conditionally,

Gobernador, ambos en el altar de Jesús, María y José, colateral de esta santa Iglesia, en las primeras y más eminentes sepulturas de él.

Y, para que haya memoria perpetua de este caso tan singular, acordaron los Sres. de este muy venerable Deán y Cabildo que esta *Relación* quede asentada y firmada de todos en este Libro.

the Archbishop ordered that their corpses be blessed and absolved with the sufficient publicity, so that the people might come to understand the mercy of the Church who pardoned and restored them to the communion of the faithful and a share in ecclesiastical burial. This was done as ordered. His Most Illustrious Lordship also ordered that the two bodies be interred with all the solemnity and pomp due to honor the positions they had occupied in the Islands.

The following day, the 12th, the remains of the Sergeant-Major were buried in the morning, and in the afternoon, those of the Governor, both by the altar of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, collateral to this Holy Church, among the principal and most eminent tombs there.

And that there might be a perpetual memorial of this rather unique incident, the members of this Venerable Deanery and Chapter resolved that this report be ratified and signed by all in this book.

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33.

Relacion del hecho Violento
 de la prision del Illmo y Rmo S^{ro} Alfozo D. Fr.
 de la Cuesta Arzobispo de esta S^{ta} Yglesia,
 Executada de mandato del Sr Gov^o de estas Islas
 el Jfz aziscal de Campo D. FERNANDO MA
 NVEL de Bustillo Bustamante y Rueda. -

El dia 26 de Septiembre de 1719 años, El Illmo y
 Rmo S^{ro} Alfozo D. Fr. Juan de la Cuesta, Montísimo Arzobpo
 de esta S^{ta} Yglesia Metropolitana de estas Islas, y Gov^o App^o
 de los Obpados Supranos de Nueva Segovia y Nueva
 Caceres del Conseq de su M. L. y su Presid^o, Nominó Ma
 Jfz Aziscal de Campo D. Manuel de Bustillo Bustamante y Rueda,
 Gov^o y Cap^o G^oal de estas Islas, y Presid^o de la Aud^z y Chan
 cilleria R^l de ellas, y del S. Ordor D. D. Joseph de Tonal
 ba con voto y parecer del D^o D. Joseph Correa y Villanueva
 Compuez de la R^l Aud^z, en la q^a se le rogava y encargava a su
 S^{ta} Illma. que diese provi^a para que el Cap^o D. Antonio de
 Oso y Pasquez Escrivano Publico e interino del sup^o Gov^o
 que se hallava en el sup^o Gov^o, en el sup^o Gov^o lo Protocola
 que se hallava en el sup^o Gov^o de Escrivano Publico. su Genoria
 Illma. respondio a la Nominada, que daria las providencias que
 hubiese lugar en d^o = Enconveni^a conveio a los S^{ros} Chantre
 de esta S^{ta} Yglesia, D^o D. Juan Rayo Doria, Examinador
 Synodal de este Arzobpado, y Comisi^a Subdelegado de la S^{ta}
 Curzada y Comisi^a Principal del S^o offi^o M^{re} Escuela D.
 D^o Suyo de Campana Comulcor del S^o offi^o, y Examinador
 Synodal del D^o Arzobpado, y D^o D^o Manuel de Oña
 y de Campo Canonigo Doctoral de esta S^{ta} Yglesia, Ex
 minador Synodal, y Cathedratico de prima de sagrados
 Canones, y les propuso a los D^{os} Tres S^{ros}, como sin embargo
 de haver su Genoria Illma. Nominado pocos dias antes otra
 R^l S^{ta} firmada de los Sobred^{os} S^{ros}, y el D^o Compuez,
 dirigida a que proveyese el D^o Gov^o Eccles^o de los Obpados su
 Supranos Vacantes el de Nueva Segovia, por Mueve

46
y sencillamente como lo vide: No dudo el que otros lanzas haria, pero yo no lo h^o ni^o
h^o: Q^uo tomara de ella lo que al caso de su Historia Andina, dexando lo demas. Mas
dame como asi agradecido Pay^o. Herm^o. y Obligado subdito; Quedando V^ogando a D^o
N^{ro} S^{ro} para Vda de N^{ro}. los años que necesito y pido. Santuario de S^{ta} Ana del Monte
13 de Agosto 1760. D.

D. L. P. de N^{ro}. su Menor Hermano y Obligado Pay^o.

Advierto que el día de la función V^ogia y
devorada, el Secretario D^o Andres Aguirre
se escondió en un estano del Palacio entre un
colchón, y aunque lo buscaron para darle Capote,
no dieron con él: y después de pasado de paz
se fue a S^{ta} Ana de Dios, donde dicen que murió.

Para enterrar en Sagrado al S^{to}. M. Schizor
Consultas, q^{ue} sedició Schizor, por haver sido
mandado por su Padre llevarse al S^{ro}. M^o. al Caril.
Me hallé en el entierro, como también en el des
p^o. Mitiendo todas las Sag^{as} Comunidades ad.
Pro, y otros estan enterrados en la Cathedral,
en el Altar M^o. y Capilla que haze testis. =

F. Felipe Esp. Gomez Montano

La Huera de la S^{ta} Marijaca
mando hacerla el S^{ro}. Marques de Torreampo
siendo ya Gov^o. y se enterraron en N^{ra}. V^o. en la
Capilla que es cara de las Laz^{as} de N^{ra}. S^{ta}. P^o.
fue con toda pompa, Arrier^o la Ciudad, y Audi
encia. =