

CAPITULO 23

DE UNA FINEZA QUE USARON LOS PRINCIPALES BISAYAS CON SU MAJESTAD CATÓLICA EN LOS PRINCIPIOS DE SU CONVERSION

Dejando lo demás tocante a los enemigos, y las varias embestidas que han dado y dan, y las repetidas veces que han robado estas islas, para su lugar, en que trataremos en especial de sus tierras y mañas, etc., trataremos en este Capítulo de la fineza con que estos principales, dejando y cediendo a su derecho y posesión inmemorable de estas sus islas y de los naturales de ellas, cedieron liberalmente a su Majestad Católica totalmente, no sólo en el derecho y acción y frutos de que gozaban como señores absolutos de estas sus Islas; y en el siguiente Capítulo trataremos (y con esto daremos fin a este Primer Libro) de la atención, cuidado y solicitud máxima, con que su Majestad del Rey Católico, presente y pasados, han asistido, y ayudado y procurado el adelantamiento de la fe católica en estos naturales, tanto como en cuantos otros de los demás indios.

Y, para que tomemos al agua de su fuente y se entienda con más claridad el intento de este campo, es de saber (para los que lo ignoran) que estas Islas Filipinas, que antiguamente se llamaban Luzonias, o de Luzón (que con este nombre las nombran los escritores portugueses que fueron los que primero tuvieron noticia de ellas, por estar en el paso desde Malaca al Maluco; y haber sido, como dijimos ya, algunas de ellas escala para ellas), se

Loyal Vassals of Provident Kings

CHAPTER 23

CONCERNING THE FINE GESTURES WHICH THE BISAYAN *PRINCIPALES* EXTENDED TO THE CATHOLIC MAJESTY IN THE BEGINNING OF THEIR CONVERSION

Leaving aside other matters concerning the enemies and the various raids which they had made and continue making, and the repeated occasions on which they have plundered these islands, we shall deal in its own proper place and in a special manner with their lands and abilities, etc. Here, in this chapter, we shall speak about the generous acts by which these *principales*, giving up the rights and relinquishing the immemorial possession of these islands and their inhabitants, ceded to His Catholic Majesty everything completely with the right, the action and the fruits which they enjoyed as absolute masters of these, their islands. In the succeeding chapter we shall treat, and with that we shall bring to a close this First Book, the attention, the care and the extreme solicitude with which His Majesty the Catholic King, the present one and also the past ones, have assisted, aided and contributed to the growth of the Catholic Faith among these natives, the same as they have done with other *Indios*.

So that we may draw water from its proper source and that our purpose in this matter may be more clearly understood, it is good to recall (for the benefit of those who are not familiar with it) that these Philippine Islands, which formerly were named *Luzonias* or 'of Luzon' (because they were called so by the Portuguese writers who were the first to discover them while on their way to the Moluccas by way of Malaca; for as we have noted previ-

llamaron con nombre de Filipinas en tiempo del invicto emperador Carlos V, que fue cuando las descubrió Magallanes, y las reconoció (como también al Moluco) pertenecientes a la demarcación que el Sumo Pontífice Alejandro había hecho de ambas Indias, Oriental y Occidental, entre ambos los reyes de Castilla y Portugal, de que tratan otros latamente.

La causa de darles este nombre de Filipinas fue a devoción del señor príncipe entonces, y después ínclito rey de las Españas, Felipe II; porque, aunque tuvo otro primero, nunca le tuviese segundo, como no le ha tenido después acá el mundo. Y, a mi parecer, fue un empeño santo con que quiso el invicto emperador vincular en su hijo el amparo, aumento y conservación de estas Islas, que tan en opiniones ha estado después no pocas veces, y sólo la clemencia, piedad y cristiandad sin igual de los reyes católicos las han conservado y conservan, no atendiendo a otros intereses mayores que al aumento de la cristiandad y extensión de la fe en ellas.

Esto supuesto, y asentado también que estas Islas quedaron sujetas a la Católica Majestad de los reyes de España, en cuyo nombre se tomó primero su posesión y poblaron después, como se han ido conservando hasta hoy, no faltaron hombres doctos en España, y de ciencia y conciencia que solemos decir, que comenzaron a dudar de la justificación con que su Majestad Católica poseía estas Islas.

Pues, puestas como están en los fines del mundo, y tan apartadas de todos los demás señoríos de su Majestad, antiguos y modernos, parecíales que no había razón por qué le perteneciesen, pues la línea que señaló el Pontífice Máximo Alejandro más parece que había sido intelectual, y sin noticias bastantes, que real y divisiva de términos constantes.

Además, decían, aquellos indios no hicieron agravio ni hostilidad alguna a los españoles, ni antes de ellos a los portugueses que navegaron su islas; antes los recibieron a unos y otros con

ously, they were a stop-over for them while sailing there) and were called *Phelippinas* because this occurred during the time of the invincible Emperor Charles V. It was during his reign that Magellan discovered and explored them (as well as the Moluccas) since they fell within the line of demarcation which the Supreme Pontiff, Alexander, had drawn for both Indies, Oriental and Occidental, and between the Kings of Castile and Portugal. About this others have spoken at great length.

The reason why they were given this name 'Filipinas' was to honor the then Lord Prince and later the illustrious King of Spain, Philip II. Although /Spain/ had a /Philip the First/, he /Philip II/ was "second" to none; the world had none such afterwards even till now. And in my opinion, it was a holy endeavour on the part of the never-vanquished Emperor to tie up to the fortunes of his Son the protection, increase and preservation of these Islands. This is something which afterwards has been made a subject of discussion not a few times, but the fact is that only the clemency, the piety and the unequalled Christianity of the Catholic Kings have preserved and still preserve them. They /the kings/ paying no heed to other concerns of great importance, had as their primary interest the fostering of the Faith and the preservation of Christianity in them /people/.

Acknowledging and re-affirming that these Islands were subjected to the Catholic Majesty of the Kings of Spain, in whose name they were taken and later colonized (as they have been conserved until now), there has been no lack of scholarly men in Spain, knowledgeable and conscientious, as we are accustomed to say, who began to question the reasons justifying the right of possessing these Islands by His Catholic Majesty.

Situated as they are at the extremities of the world and so far away from any other dominions of His Majesty, old and new, it seemed to them that there was no justifying reason to claim them because the line /of demarcation/ which the Supreme Pontiff Alexander drew, seemed to have been rather imaginary and without any solid foundation. They were not realistic and well-defined boundaries.

Then too, they maintained that these *Indios* were not guilty of any offense or any act of hostility against the Spaniards, nor even against the Portuguese who sailed to these Islands prior to them. On the contrary, they received the ones and the others

paz, con amistad y benevolencia, y les regalaron con sus comidas y regalos de la tierra; y en la muerte de Magallanes (que fue acá) no parece que tuvieron culpa ellos, sino que fue empeño solo y mal considerado el ofender a uno por defender a otro, a quien ni debía confederación o amistad o cosa que le obligase a tanto.

Y, dado caso que en la muerte de Magallanes hubiese habido culpa, o alguna hostilidad (como la hubo con sus compañeros, muerto él), se les debió pedir satisfacción, no de todos en general, pues, como hemos dicho y sabemos, eran todos, en general, independientes unos de otros, y cada uno en particular señor absoluto de los suyos, sin reconocimiento ni vasallaje al de Cebú (y vióse con la oposición del de Magtán, que es una isleta bien pequeña y miserable), y con estar tan cerca de Cebú, como hemos dicho, tenía su oposición y guerrillas, y con el de Cebú, con ser mayor principal, si miramos a las tierras y vasallos de cada uno.

Luego, si eran independientes y absolutos cada uno, no pudo la culpa de uno, si la tuvo, empecer [envolver] a los demás, pues no fue culpa original (que aun para aquella fue necesario pacto, como dicen los doctores), cuánto y más para esta, que podemos decir eran totalmente diversos y aversos entre sí, sin dependencia, chica ni grande.

Por otra parte (añadían más) aquellos indios han sido, y son, pacíficos, quietos y sin alentarse a cosas mayores ni a más que a su mera conservación y al vivir casi *pecudum more*.

Su modo de vivir era casi en la ley natural, pues, como hemos visto (cuando tratamos de su modo de vivir y costumbres en la Primera Parte) ni tenían sacrificios ni eran inhumanos como otros, ni caribes, ni tenían religion cierta, ni adoraban ídolos, ni de verdad los tuvieron; ni otros vicios contra la naturaleza y feos (que son bastante motivo, como quieren algunos doctores, para

in peace, in friendship and benevolence and showered upon them food-stuffs and produce of the land. Also it does not seem that they were really responsible for the death of Magellan which took place here. It was rather an ill-motivated move to offend one in the process of defending another, to whom he was not bound by any alliance or friendship or anything that would require of him any /such service/. And even though we may grant that there was some guilt or some act of direct hostility (as there was in the case of his /Magellan's/ companions after his death) it would have been proper to seek some satisfaction from them. Of course, not from all of them as a whole people for as we have said and know, all are independent from one another and each one in particular is absolute lord of his subjects without any pledge of loyalty nor of vassalage to the *Principal of Cebu* (this was quite clear in the opposition of the *Principal* of Mactan, which is an islet quite small and rather poor). Notwithstanding the fact that he was so near to Cebu, as we have stated, he showed a defiant attitude and entered into petty warfare with the *Principal* of Cebu, even though the latter had greater prestige, if we take into consideration the lands and the vassals of each one of them.

Therefore, if each one was independent and absolute, all the others could not be made responsible for the guilt of one, because it was not an 'original sin' (that even for this an agreement was necessary, as the doctors say), how much more in this case. We may say, therefore, they /the natives/ were totally separated from and in opposition to each other, without any consequent or inconsequent dependence upon each other.

On the other hand (they further added) that these natives have been and are peaceful, quiet and have no other yearning for greater things than mere self-preservation and to live in a non-civilized /brute-like/ manner.

Their mode of life almost failed to go beyond the natural law because as we have seen (when we treated of their manner of living and their customs in Part One) they neither had sacrifices nor were they inhuman like others or even cannibals. They did not have religion properly so-called or anything worthy of that name; neither did they worship idols or, as a matter of fact, they did not have any. Also, they did not have any ugly vices against nature (which are a sufficient motive, as some doctors

sujetarlos a la razón y a la verdadera ley de Dios), antes vivían casi sin las noticias de los cosas humanas, y sólo algunas supersticiones se les habían pegado, nacidas más de las observaciones noticiosas y de deseo de evitar su daño, que de otro motivo dañado o supersticioso; aunque el demonio no dejaba de inducirlos algo, si bien poco todo para su mucha malicia, porque atemperaba a la llaneza y simplicidad suya.

Ultimamente, por no alargar, estas Islas (fuesen o no sus primeros pobladores los bisayas o los negrillos, como veremos en otra parte), las poseían por muchos siglos y edades con inmemorial posesión y sin oposición de algún otro, que alegase o pretendiese dominio en ellas, pues tengo por muy probable que en las más de nuestras Bisayas no hubo antes moradores algunos, y que ellos lo comenzaron a ser por alguno de los casos que en la Primera Parte, tratando de su origen, dijimos; pues, si una inmemorial, pacífica y continua posesión es el mejor y mayor título para su derecho y acción, ¿cómo se les podía poner estorbo en ella sin causa; cómo quitárselas sin ocasión; cómo despojarlos sin culpa? Pues si no hubo razón, acción, causa o culpa, injusticia se les hizo en quitarles lo suyo y en agregarlos a la corona de Castilla.

Estas, y otras muchas causas que alegarían algunos, con el celo de los buenos, y que deseaban ajustar la conciencia de su Majestad Católica, y otros con el recelo, o envidia de los aumentos de esta monarquía, hicieron caer duda en el ánimo prudente, cristiano y justificado del gran Felipe II, y deseó sanear su parte y solidar con suficientes, y aun sobrados motivos, la posesión y agregación a su corona de estas Islas.

De la mucha justificación con que los Reyes Católicos poseen sus Indias Occidentales, sus islas y mares, etc., (aunque la envidia nunca lo acaba de tragar del todo) trató primero el Padre Alonso Sánchez, de nuestra Compañía, Procurador de estas Islas Filipinas y sus ambos estados eclesiástico y secular, en las cortes Pontificia y Católica, en un papel que presentó a la Majestad de Felipe

wish, to subject them to reason and to the true law of God). They lived, instead, unacquainted with human affairs and were tainted with some superstitions only, which was a result more of curious observations and from a desire to keep themselves free from any harm rather than from some evil or superstitious motivation. However, Satan did not cease enticing them into something like this although this was small in proportion to his great malice, because he saw it fit to accommodate himself to their plain and simple ways.

Finally, not to prolong this (we shall see elsewhere whether or not the first settlers were the Bisayans or Negritos), the *Indios* possessed them for centuries and for ages, since time immemorial, and without any opposition or without anyone alleging or pretending dominion over them. I believe that it is very probable that in most of our Bisayan Islands there were no inhabitants at all and that the Islands began to be populated for reasons which we have noted down in Part One, while speaking about their origin. And so, if an immemorial, peaceful and continued possession is the best and surest title to their right and action, how could anyone question this without reason? How could one take them away without proper motives or despoil them for no fault of theirs? Consequently, if there was no /just/ reason, cause or fault, they were wronged in being deprived of what was theirs and in being placed under the Crown of Castile.

These and many others are the reasons, which some might bring forth, prompted by a well-meant zeal. Others there were too who wished to set free from scruples the conscience of His Catholic Majesty. And still others motivated by jealousies, not to say envy, about the expansion of the Monarchy, brought doubt to the prudent, Christian and righteous mind of the great Philip II, and he wished to straighten matters and base them on sufficient and even on unquestionable arguments /regarding/ the possession and incorporation of these Islands to His Crown.

The sound motives that support the possession of the Western Indies and their islands, seas, etc., by the Catholic Kings (even though the envy of some cannot swallow all this entirely) were presented first by Father Alonso Sánchez¹ of our Society, who was Procurator in the Philippine Islands and /mouthpiece/ of both estates, ecclesiastical and secular, before the Papal and Catholic (Royal) Courts and in a paper presented to His Majesty,

II y a su Real Consejo de Indias, que trae en su *Historia* de esta Provincia el Padre Francisco Colín a la letra. Y de él se colige con cuánto fundamento lo probó dicho Padre, y que poco más sólidas razones se podrán alegar, fuera de las que allí alega.

Después trató de este derecho el señor doctor Solórzano, en la *Política Indiana*, con la erudición que suele todas las cosas que en ella trata, y en especial ésta tan propia de su profesión, y debida a la calificación de las acciones de nuestros grandes Reyes, que nunca obran sin mucho consejo; y, consiguientemente, con mayor acierto, que es a lo que siempre miraron, y miran, en sus reinos y posesión de ellos.

Añadiré a la que dichos traen, y otros que tratan de esta materia, una especial de estos nuestros indios bisayas, que ella sola es tan eficaz y convincente, que bastaba, cuando no sobraran otras, para acallar la más pertinaz pasión y la más rebelde oposición a los aumentos de esta Corona. Y, pues ella fue bastante para sosegar el ánimo de un tan ajustado, prudente y católico rey como Felipe II que lo dispuso; y del santo, y nunca bastantemente alabado, Felipe III, en cuyo tiempo se ejecutó y la admitió, bastante es, sin duda, y lo ha sido para quitar toda duda, para allanar toda dificultad, para sosegar toda conciencia, y más la Real, como más interesada, y para tapar la boca (digámoslo ya) a los que sólo, por lo que ladran, son oídos, y por lo que muerden, deben ser despreciados.

Fue, pues, el caso que dispuso el Segundo Salomón, Felipe, con su mucha y acreditada prudencia, el que, para quitar toda duda y cerrar la puerta, no menos a los escrúpulos de la conciencia que a las estímulos de la envidia, que se les preguntase pública, solemne y espontáneamente a los principales de estas Islas si querían a su Majestad Católica, pacífica y no violentadamente, sin armas, libres y no forzados con apremios, y voluntaria y no forzadamente, por su Rey y Señor natural; y, si tenían gusto, voluntad y deliberación constante de ello, lo dijesen e hiciesen testimonio

Philip II and his Royal Council of the Indies. This, Father Francisco Colín² inserts word for word in his *History* of the Province; from it one may conclude with what sound reasons the said Father supported it, so much so that very few other sound proofs can be added to those which he had brought forward.

Afterwards, Doctor Solórzano³ treated this right in the *Política Indiana*, with an erudition that is typical of him in all matters with which he deals and in particular, this one. And so in line with his profession /as a lawyer/ in which /erudition/ is so necessary when passing judgment on the conduct of our great kings, who never come to a decision without much consultation, and consequently with greater success, because this is what they always look for and demand in the governing of their kingdoms and possessions.

I shall add to the reasons that the said authors adduce and others who treat this matter, another special one which pertains to our Bisayan *Indios*. This one reason is so over-powering and convincing that it alone would be sufficient even if there were not an abundance of others, to silence the most pertinacious passion and the most rebellious opposition in favour of adding them to this Crown. And because this /reason/ was found worthy to set at ease such an upright, prudent and Catholic King as Philip II, who decreed it. /The same may be said/ of the saintly and never sufficiently lauded Philip III, in whose time it was carried out and who sanctioned it. Undoubtedly, it was fine enough so as to set aside all doubts, to minimize any difficulties and to set at ease all consciences; even more so the Royal one, which is of greatest import, and to close the mouths (let us say it already) of those who are heard just because they bark and for whatever they bite into, ought to be held in contempt.

And therefore, it happened that the 'Second Solomon' Philip, with his great and well-known prudence, decreed that in order to remove all doubt and close the doors not only to the qualms of conscience, but also to the sting of envy, the native chiefs of those Islands were to be consulted publicly, solemnly and spontaneously whether they wished to accept His Catholic Majesty peacefully and not violently; without the presence of soldiers; freely without any pressure, without any intervention of force, as their King and natural Lord. Whether they also had a liking, a desire and enough knowledge about the matter so as to make a public and

público y auténtico, con toda la solemnidad de las leyes, de que así lo querían, y que era esta su voluntad; y que, siendo diferente y opuesta, y no teniendo mucho gusto de ser sus vasallos, se declarasen, para que, con esto, su Majestad dispusiese lo que más conveniente fuese y más seguro en razón y justicia, que era sólo a lo que miraba y deseaba en todo ejecutar.

Con este orden de su Majestad (aunque poco después de despachada la Cédula Real, se llevó la divina Majestad a gozar de mejor reino al dicho señor Don Felipe II); en llegando a estas Islas, que fue reinando ya su santo hijo Felipe III, se mandó publicar en todas estas Islas la Cédula de su Majestad, explorar la voluntad de estos naturales y saber decir lo que querían y escogían.

Otros escribirán lo que pasó en otras partes; diré yo aquí lo que me contó uno de los nuestros, hermano coadjutor, que fue Juan de Ballesteros, que, cuando se publicó esta Real Cédula (aunque estaba ya en nuestra casa y servía en ella como donado, no había sido recibido aún en la Compañía), se halló él en la publicación; no en una sino en varias partes, y fue uno de los principales intérpretes, que hablaba muy bien la lengua bisaya, que les declaró a los indios el intento de la Cédula y voluntad de su Majestad, y, para decirlo como me lo contó no una vez sola, pasó de esta manera:

Llegó el corregidor, con su escribano público y demás ministros de justicia, al pueblo de Carigara cabecera de aquesta parte de Leyte (que la de Catbalogan aún no lo era), y con atambores, pífanos y otros instrumentos ruidosos, porque no se dijese que se hacía a la sorda y a cencerros tapados (como dicen) una acción tan pública y que había de ser tan sonada y celebrada.

Juntáronse en dicho pueblo los más de los principales de la jurisdicción, los de dicha cabecera, (y los que no se hallaron en ella, después en otra lo hicieron), y, estando todos agregados, se les leyó la Cédula de su Majestad en voz alta y de pregonero; primero en español, después en lengua bisaya; y la sustancia era saber su Majestad su voluntad y gusto en admitirle por su verda-

genuine testimony that they wanted it so and that this would be their will. And if, per chance, their wish is different and in opposition to it and whether they are not very willing to become His vassals, they should say it clearly so that in view of it, His Majesty may dispose what would seem more convenient and more prudent according to reason and justice. For this was what he was only after and what he wished to carry out.

Such being the will of His Majesty (although shortly after the Royal letter was dispatched, the Divine Majesty was pleased to take the said Lord Don Philip II to the joys of a better kingdom), when the decree reached these Islands, Philip was gone and his holy son, already reigning, ordered that the Royal letter of His Majesty be published in order to explore the will of these natives and so that they may learn the manner of stating what they wished and what choice to make.

Others shall write about what happened elsewhere,⁴ here I shall report what one of ours, a Brother coadjutor, who was Juan de Ballesteros,⁵ related to me. /That is,/ when this royal letter was published (although he was already living with us and rendered his services as a *donado*,⁶ for he had not been as yet received into the Society) he was present at the act of its publication, not only in one but in several places, and was one of the main interpreters, because he spoke well in the Bisayan language. It was he who declared to the natives the purpose of the Order and the will of His Majesty; and to repeat it as he reported it to me, not only once. It happened this way:

The *corregidor* arrived with his scrivener and the other officials of justice to the town of Carigara, the *cabecera* of that area of Leyte (because Catbalogan was not such as yet), and to the accompaniment of drums and fifes and other noise-producing instruments, so that none would say that so public an act and one which was meant to be of such far-reaching consequences, was promulgated in a silent manner and as if by stealth (as they say).

In the above-mentioned town, assembled a majority of the prominent chiefs of the said jurisdiction and *cabecera* (and those who were not present there at the time, did come together on another occasion). And so, when they all were gathered, the Royal Order of His Majesty was read aloud to them by the common crier, first in Spanish and then in the Bisayan language. The gist of it was that His Majesty wished to know their will and

dero señor natural y absoluto, sin coartación ni límite alguno; que, siendo así la voluntad de todos, y de cada uno de por sí, su Majestad Católica los admitiría por sus verdaderos y fieles vasallos y trataría como a tales, amparándolos y defendiéndolos de sus enemigos y de cuantos les quisiesen agraviar; y, admitidos de su real amparo, gozarían de todas las exenciones, libertades, privilegios y demás indultos de que gozan todos los vasallos de su Majestad, y ellos en especial, pues tan libre y voluntariamente le elegían (en caso que así lo quisiesen) por su rey y señor natural.

Esto era lo que en sustancia contenía la Real Cédula, digna de la magnífica, cristiana y piadosa Magestad de tales reyes.

Esto se les dio a entender a todos los principales, y a cada uno de por sí, no sólo allí entonces, sino antes muy en especial, corriendo por mano y medio de nuestros Padres ministros el dárselo a entender y el declararles las conveniencias grandes que en ello tenían, pues era este el solo, unico y eficaz medio para conservar y dilatar su fe y cristiandad, y el remedio de los muchos daños que padecían ya de los enemigos de Dios y de su conservación, etc., y de otras vejaciones, que no faltaban; con lo cual, instruidos de lo bien que les estaba tener por señor al que lo era de la mayor parte del mundo, y el mayor y más poderoso de toda la cristiandad, de cuya piedad, celo, liberalidad y magnificencia podían esperar crecidas correspondencias y gratificaciones muy dignas de su Real ánimo, etc.

Con esto, hicieron todos ellos, y cada uno de por sí, delante del escribano público, y los testigos que para el efecto traía consigo el corregidor (personas de calidad, y encomenderos algunos de ellos), en manos del dicho corregidor, como persona que representaba la Real y que en su nombre asistió a este acto, donación libre y espontánea de todo cuanto en derecho y hecho les pertenecía en estas Islas, así de los tributantes, o vasallos, que cada uno

pleasure in regard to having Him as their true lord, universal and absolute, without any restriction or limitations. If such would be the desire of all and each one individually, His Catholic Majesty would take them as his true and faithful vassals and treat them as such; [he would] protect and defend them from their enemies and from all those who would dare to harm them. And so, taken under His Royal protection they would be granted all the exemptions, liberties, privileges and other concessions which all the vassals of His Majesty enjoy. And they [the natives] especially, because they so freely and voluntarily chose him (if per chance they should definitely go through with this) as their King and common master.

This was the substance of the aforementioned Royal Order worthy of the most benevolent, Christian and pious Majesty of such kings.

This was announced to all the *Principales*, and to each one individually, not only then [on that special occasion] but even prior to that [moment]. Our father ministers had the responsibility in acquainting them with its contents and explaining to them the many advantages that would be theirs if they acted accordingly. This, it seems, was the only unique and efficacious way of preserving and promoting their faith and Christianity and as a remedy for the many evils that they were suffering at the expense of their well-being not only from the enemies of God but from other vexations which were never lacking. In this manner, they were acquainted with the fact how good it was for them to have as their master him who was lord of the largest domain in the world and the greatest and most powerful monarch in all Christendom. From his piety, zeal, liberality and generosity they could expect large gains and remunerations, most worthy of the Royal munificence, etc.

Once all of this had been accomplished, all of them as a group and each one individually, before the scrivener and the witnesses whom the *corregidor* had brought along for this purpose (persons of position and some of them *encomenderos*) and into the hands of the said *corregidor*, as the person who represented the Royal One and who in His name was present for this gesture of allegiance, each [made] a free and spontaneous surrender of everything which by right and in fact belonged to him in these Islands, including the tax-payers or vassals that each one has or had, of

tenía y había tenido, de que ellos y sus antepasados habían sido señores absolutos y sin dependencia y sujeción a otra alguna persona; la cual, desde hoy, querían tener del señor rey de España, a quien traspasaban toda su acción y derecho, como en su absoluto señor, sin limitación ni coartación alguna; y que esto lo hacían de su propia voluntad, movidos sólo del deseo de servir a tan gran monarca y de ser contados entre los demás vasallos y súbditos de su Corona; porque esperaban ellos y sus sucesores, cuya voz y caución prestaban en cuanto podían, serían amparados, defendidos, ayudados y tratados con la clemencia magnífica y Real amparo, no menos que los demás vasallos suyos, pues ellos, sin otro apremio más que su voluntad, sin otros motivos más que el de su gusto de servirle, le elegían, nombraban y escogían por su único, verdadero y absoluto señor, pues por este camino aseguraban el establecimiento de la fe divina y conocimiento de Dios, que por su mano y medio les había venido, y de que habían carecido tantos años y siglos antes; y que sólo se quedarían de allí adelante con el gobierno de sus *timauas*, que son vasallos libres, que gobernarían y manejarían en nombre de su Majestad, a quien pagarían tributo, o a quien su Majestad ordenase, y a quien estaban prontos y dispuestos para obedecer desde entonces, y en adelante, en todo y por todo.

Y lo juraron y firmaron todos los que supieron a su modo, que al nuestro pocos lo sabían entonces; y el dicho corregidor les juró, en nombre de su Majestad, de conservarlos, defenderlos y ampararlos, y lo demás contenido en la Real Cédula, con toda puntualidad, etc.

De todo esto se hizo instrumento público y auténtico, siendo uno de los testigos, que lo fue en dicho pueblo y otros, el que a mí me lo contó; y desde entonces quedaron ellos fijos en el servicio de su Majestad como leales vasallos (que lo han sido y son siempre); que, si alguna vez ha habido algún movimiento, que ninguno ha llegado a hostilidad pública sino a una sublevación secreta de descontentos, y en su lugar veremos las causas que para ello han

which they and their ancestors had been absolute lords and without dependence or subjection to any other person, which [dependence] from that day forward they wish to have from the Lord King of Spain to whom they [surrender] all their actions and rights as their absolute lord — without any restriction or limitation. [All] this they did on their own volition prompted only by the desire to serve such a great monarch and in order to be numbered among the other vassals and subjects of the crown because they hoped that they and their successors, in whose stead they spoke and whose guarantors they become as much as they could, would be protected, defended, assisted and treated with the most gracious clemency and Royal protection; never less than His other vassals. Therefore, without any other impulse than their will, without any other motivation than their inclination for serving Him they chose, appointed, and selected Him as their only true and absolute lord. In this way they assured the establishment of the divine faith and the knowledge of God, [blessings] which have come to them from the King's hand and through his own initiative and of which they had been deprived for so many years and centuries before. Also from that period of time they would reserve for themselves only the government of their *timawas*,⁷ who are free vassals, and whom they would govern and treat in the name of His Majesty to whom they would pay tribute, or to those whom His Majesty would order, and whom they were ready and prepared to obey since then, and henceforth in everything and at all cost.

And all this was sworn to and signed by all those who knew (how to sign) after their own fashion since very few were familiar with our way of signing at the time. The said corregidor declared in the name of His Majesty, that he would look after, defend and protect them and [fulfill] all the rest contained in the Royal Decree with utmost promptitude, etc.

All this was recorded in an official and a legal document; one of the witnesses being he who acted as such in the said town and in others, and who reported all this to me. And ever since, they remained firm in the service of His Majesty as loyal vassals (thus they have remained until now. If ever there has been any change [of heart] none of it had ever reached the point of becoming an open hostility but only a secret uprising of the discontented ones. In its own place we shall see the causes which they have had for

tenido), y su Majestad les ha tenido, amparado y estimado como tales.

Y es cierto que, si los ministros del rey nuestro señor trataran a los pobres indios como se debe y manda su Majestad en infinitas Cédulas, repetidamente, a todos los indios comunes, y especiales a estas Islas, que estaría esta republica floridísima, pacífica, amparada, y segura; y les sirvieran con infinito gusto. Pero las Cédulas Reales se guardan en los archivos y a los pobres indios nada que le sea en favor, les vale ni se ejecuta; y, si algo hay en contra (aunque contra la voluntad de su Majestad, que siempre ha mirado en fomentarlos) al punto se ejecuta; pero de esto diremos en otra ocasión cuando tratemos del gobierno político de estas Islas.

Apuntaré aquí sola una cosa, porque está chorreando sangre, cuando esto escribo, y es que el juez privativo (privado había de ser, que fuera mejor) de la media-anata ha querido y comenzado este año a introducir entre estos naturales; que los cabezas de Barangay, que acá llaman, (y son los hijos de los principales propietarios que eran dueños de estos naturales y se dieron en su Majestad, como queda dicho) paguen media-anata, cuando a ellos se les habían de dar algunas anatas enteras por lo que dieron sus antepasados, que hoy había de ser suyo derechamente; y no se les ha dado retribución ni hecho correspondencia alguna; con lo cual les piden que paguen ahora, porque dieron entonces su hacienda, y que paguen por ser superintendentes ahora de lo que antes eran dueños; que paguen porque ahora no tienen provecho alguno de lo que antes era suyo todo.

Ni el rey nuestro señor tal ha mandado ni mandará jamás, pues nunca su Majestad hace vejaciones algunas, ni quita lo ajeno, antes da lo propio, como lo veremos en el Capítulo siguiente, dejando los inconvenientes que de esta imposición se pueden seguir. ¡Ojalá no sigan más! Déjolos para otra ocasión por no alargar más este punto.

doing so) and His Majesty had looked upon, protected and esteemed them as such.

Most certainly, if the officials of the King our Lord would treat these poor natives as they should and as His Majesty commands repeatedly in the many Royal Letters for all the *Indios* in general and for those in these Islands in particular, this nation would be most flourishing, tranquil, [well] protected and secure. And then, they (the natives) would serve them with the greatest satisfaction. But the Royal Letters are kept in the archives and nothing that is favorable to the poor *Indios* is ever granted them or even carried out. If, however, there is something unfavorable to them (even though it is against the will of His Majesty, who always had looked after their well-being) it is carried out at once. About this, however, we shall write on another occasion when we will treat the political government of these Islands.

I shall jot down here only one [more incident] because it is still like a fresh wound and bleeding profusely. It consists in this: the privative judge (private, we should rather call him, because this would fit him much better) who is in charge of the *media anata*⁷ among these natives this year, has compelled the heads of the *barangay*, as they are called here, (who are the descendants of the landed *principales* who were the lords of these natives and who subjected themselves to His Majesty as has been noted) to pay a half-annat when in fact they should actually be paid a full annat on account of what their ancestors had surrendered and which today should be rightfully theirs. They have not been given anything in return nor have they received any compensation whatsoever. By so doing, they (the officials) are asking them to pay for being over-seers now of what they previously owned; that they pay for something which was rightfully theirs before and from which they do not obtain any gain now.

The King our Lord has neither decreed such a matter nor will he ever decree it because His Majesty never does harm nor does He take away what belongs to others. On the contrary, He gives of his own as we shall see in the next Chapter. [Too often] we forget the ill consequences which stem from this additional burden. Would to God that more of [such incidents] would never come to pass! I leave all this for another occasion so as not to prolong this subject matter.

CAPITULO 24 (último)

DE LA LARGUEZA, CON QUE SU MAJESTAD, QUE DIOS GUARDE, HA CORRESPONDIDO, GASTANDO SUS TESOROS EN LA PREDICACION EVANGELICA Y ENSEÑANZA DE ESTOS NATURALES

Liberalidad fue (no se les niegue) y fineza de todos los principales bisayas, y lo mismo pienso que hicieron las demás naciones varias de este Archipiélago, que están sujetas a su Majestad, el ceder tan liberal, generosa y absolutamente en su Majestad de los Reyes Católicos, todo su derecho, acción, haber y poder que tenían, sin condiciones ni pactos cargosos; pero todo ello, y mucho más, lo ha satisfecho el ánimo Real magnífico y catolicísimo de todos los reyes de España sucesivamente, que, mostrando el gran celo que tuvieron, y tienen siempre, de la divina gloria; del aumento de la fe cristiana; de la enseñanza, conservación y aumento de estos naturales en buenas costumbres, no menos (sino en parte más) que lo ha mostrado en todas las Indias sujetas a su Real Corona; sin perdonar a expensas cuantiosas y sin perdonar a los crecidos gastos de su Real Hacienda; fomentado siempre como fomenta, y fomentará sin duda esta cristiandad, como todas las del Orbe; llenando con ventajas el título de apóstoles del Nuevo Mundo (que han conquistado más para Dios que para su imperio) que los dieron los Sumos Pontífices, que repetidamente declararon

CHAPTER 24 (last)

CONCERNING THE GENEROSITY WITH WHICH HIS MAJESTY, MAY GOD PRESERVE HIM, HAS RECIPROCATED BY EMPTYING HIS TREASURY [in favour of] THE PREACHING OF THE GOSPEL AND FOR THE INSTRUCTION OF THE NATIVES

It was an act of generosity (let us not fail to acknowledge it) and an excellent gesture on the part of all the Bisayan *Principales* — and I believe that the various other peoples of this Archipelago did the same, who fall under the dominion of His Majesty — to have surrendered so freely, so generously and so completely to the Majesty of the Catholic Kings all their rights, actions, possessions and powers unconditionally and without any burdensome pacts. However, all that and even much more had been repaid them with the magnificent and most catholic will of all the Kings of Spain, one after the other, thus giving evidence of the great zeal which always animated and does animate them for the increase of the Christian Faith, for the education, preservation and maturity of these natives in good morals as they have demonstrated no less (in certain regards even more) in all the Indies subject to the Royal Crown. The heavy expenses and the large disbursements incurred by the Royal Crown were never taken into consideration.¹ [The Kings] always promoted, even as now [this One] promotes and will, no doubt, continue to further this Christianity just as he does in all other parts of the world. Most appropriately have they lived-up to the title of 'Apostles of the New World' (which they have conquered more for God than for their own Empire) which the Supreme Pontiffs had

la justificación que tuvieron en aprehender el derecho que tienen; en gozar de las riquezas de ambos mundos, pues tan sin límite las gastan en proveer de predicadores evangélicos y ministros apostólicos en todas partes.

Quien quisiere ver por extenso lo mucho que en esta parte han hecho, y hacen siempre, sin cesar los reyes católicos, nunca en esto suficientemente alabados, lea los muy doctos y eruditos tomos que tiene sacados a luz el señor doctor Don Juan de Solórzano Pereyra, etc., en sus tomos latinos *De Gubernatione Indiarum*, y en los castellanos de la *Política Indiana*, en que largamente trata de esto; y de otros no menos doctos que esclarecidos doctores juristas, que, según oigo, tiene dispuestos muchos y muy eruditos tratados que se darán presto a la estampa (si ya no lo están; que no lo sé cuando esto escribo), donde tratan este punto con la erudición y justificación que tan esclarecidos sujetos deben y suelen; que yo con hacer esta memoria en general, me contento; excusando el contar aquí, pues se verá en muchas partes, lo que es un Patriarcado de Indias, que comprende todas las Occidentales y sus islas, etc. y en ellas seis arzobispados, 32 o más obispados; y en ellas, entre iglesias metropolitanas y catedrales hay doscientas dignidades, trescientos canonicatos, y otros tantos porcionarios, fuera de los párrocos, beneficiados, capellanes y otros sacerdotes seculares, que no se pueden contar, pues son tantas las iglesias que pasan de setenta mil; sin los tribunales de Cruzada, Inquisición, Univerdades perpetuas, Provincias de Religiones, que son muchas; Hospitales y otros lugares píos, que podrá ver el curioso en una tabla cronológica, que del gobierno secular y eclesiástico de las Indias Occidentales hasta el año de mil seiscientos cuarenta y dos hizo el muy docto y erudito Padre Claudio Clemente, de nuestra Compañía de Jesús, y otras que después se habrán hecho.

Vengo a lo especial de estas Islas Filipinas, que por ser la mayor y más dilatada parte de ellas la de los bisayas, podemos

entrusted to them. Repeatedly these made declarations how justified they [the Kings] were in receiving the right that they had been granted and in taking advantage of the wealth of both worlds, since they make use of all this without any limitations in providing for the preachers and apostolic ministers everywhere.

Whoever wishes to know, in greater detail, how much the Catholic Kings have done in this regard and continue doing so, always without any let-up, and are never sufficiently praised for these gestures, should read the scholarly and erudite volumes brought to light by the Lord Doctor Don Juan de Solórzano Pereyra,² etc., in his Latin works *De gubernatione Indiarum* and in the Spanish, *Política indiana*, in which he treats these matters at great length. [They should also read] other no less scholarly and celebrated men of jurisprudence, who as I hear, have prepared many and very learned treatises which shall be printed soon (whether perhaps already printed or not, I do not know as I write this). Therein they treat this matter with great erudition and with a great array of proofs, as is fitting and proper among educated writers, that I feel satisfied in dealing with this subject matter only in a general way. It is not necessary to include here, for it can be learned from many other sources, what is a Patriarchate of the Indies, which includes all the Western Indies and their islands, etc. These are composed of six archbishoprics and thirty-two or more episcopates. Altogether in the metropolitan and cathedral churches there are two hundred dignities, three hundred canonries, and many other prebends. This does not include the parish priests, beneficiaries, chaplains and other secular priests who are unable to be listed, because the churches are so numerous that they go beyond seventy thousand; this does not include the tribunals of the Crusade, the Inquisition, the well-established universities, the Provinces of the Religious Orders which are rather numerous; the hospitals and other charitable places which an interested reader may find in a chronological list which has reference to the civil and ecclesiastical government in the Western Indies reaching the year 1642, drawn-up by the very learned and scholarly Father Claudio Clemente of our Society, and in other lists which may have been drawn up afterwards.

Now I come to treat more particularly these Philippine Islands, and even more concretely these Bisayan Islands which

decir que son propias suyas (pues es de lo que trato en esta historia especial de nuestros bisayas); que, en general, de todas tratarán otros que lo tomarán con más comprensión, más extendidamente.

Y, comenzando por el rey Felipe II, que dio, como vimos, el nombre a todas estas Islas de Filipinas, y las miró con especial cariño, como cosa especialmente suya, aunque unas con toda su Corona. Este gran rey, dechado de prudentes gobernadores, y mucho más de católicos reyes, en una carta suya, respuesta a otra que le escribieron los conquistadores de Filipinas, en la cual pedían a su Majestad católica desampararlas, alegando que para su conservación habían de ser mayores las costas y gastos que el provecho, etc., respondió con ánimo verdaderamente Real, católico y apostólico, que por sola la conversión de una alma de las que se habían hallado acá, daría todos los tesoros de las Indias, y, cuando aquellos no bastasen, daría todo lo que España le rendía, de bonísima gana, y que por ningún acontecimiento había de desamparar ni dejar de enviar predicadores y ministros que diesen la luz del Santo Evangelio a todas y cuantas provincias se fuesen descubriendo, aunque muy incultas y estériles; porque a él y a sus herederos la Santa Sede Apostólica les había dado el oficio que tuvieron los Apóstoles de publicar y predicar el Evangelio el cual se había de dilatar en estas Islas y en infinitos reinos, quitándolos del imperio del demonio y dándoles a conocer al verdadero Dios, sin esperanza alguna de bienes temporales. ¡Oh ánimo verdaderamente augusto! ¡Oh corazón por todos lados Real, pío, católico y heredero de la piedad austríaca! ¿A qué rey del mundo, cristiano ni cristianísimo, se han oído semejantes razones? ¿A qué emperador resolución más santa, más pía, menos desinteresada y más liberal y magnífica?

El rey Felipe III, el santo, su hijo, que a la piedad heredada añadió la santidad propia (pues con tanta razón le dan este nombre de "santo" todos), en otra carta escrita al príncipe de Esquilache, virrey del Perú, pone una cláusula (lo que para allá fue propio, es común a todos los gobernadores, y que en su nombre de su Majestad gobiernan sus reinos, y porque habla materia tan general a todos, tan nacida viene para estas Islas, como adecuada

are the largest and most extensive portion of them all, and it is to them that they belong (in this particular history I deal with the Bisayans). Others will treat them as a whole in a more comprehensive and general way.

And so we begin with King Philip II³ who gave, as we mentioned, the name to all these Philippine Islands and looked upon them with extraordinary love and as a special responsibility of his, even though they form one whole with his entire Crown.

This great King, a model of prudent rulers and even more so of Catholic Kings, wrote a letter in response to another one which the conquerors of the Philippines had written to him, wherein they had requested His Catholic Majesty to relinquish them [i.e. the Islands]. In it they were alleging that the expenses and disbursements for their maintenance would be greater than the profit, etc. He answered with a determination which was truly regal, catholic and apostolic; namely, that even for the conversion of a single soul which had been found here, he would surrender all the treasures of the Indies; and if these were insufficient, he would give away all the revenues of Spain most willingly. And for no reason whatsoever would he desist or cease from sending preachers and ministers who would spread the light of the Holy Gospel to everyone and to the many provinces that were being discovered, even if these were uncultivated and barren, because to him and to his heirs the Holy See had entrusted the task which the Apostles had, [that is] of announcing the Gospel, which in this way would be spread in these Islands and in countless Kingdoms, snatching them away from the empire of Satan and communicating to them the knowledge of the true God, without any hope of temporal gain. O truly august spirit! O heart on every side regal, saintly, catholic and heir of the Austrian piety! From what king of the world, Christian or most Christian, could such expressions be heard? From what emperor could come a holier, a more noble, less disinterested and a more liberal and magnificent resolve?

King Philip III,⁴ the 'Saint', his son, who added his own sanctity to the inherited piety (with good reason many have given him the title 'Saint') in another letter written to the Prince of Esquilache, Viceroy of Perú, inserts one special clause (what for that place was a distinctive quality, was common for all governors, and who in the name of His Majesty govern his kingdoms, and because it deals with a matter which concerns all, it also fits well

a todas las provincias sujetas a su Real amparo y protección); y es esta la cláusula: "Pues el principal intento es la predicación evangélica, y lo demás secundario, yo os encargo con particulares veras e instancia que procuréis con buen consejo y medios a propósito, proseguirla y fenecerla, pues será obra de tanta estima; sobre todo os cargo afectuosamente el buen tratamiento de los indios y el regalo y caricias con que es justo tratarlos, conservando la autoridad que conviene entre bárbaros, pues sabéis que la conquista de las voluntades es la victoria más preciosa en el acatamiento de Dios y la más acepta al bien público, y a su servicio."

Donde muestra su Majestad con cuánto afecto miró a la cristiandad y aumento de la fe de estos sus vasallos, llamándolos al intento más principal, y, consiguientemente, a lo que deban atender más sus ministros, y que en su Real nombre gobiernan estas naciones; que a predicar, enseñar, cultivar y adelantar la fe, les envía; a regalar, agasajar y ganar a los indios para Dios y para su Rey, y no a otros intereses y aumentos propios.

¡Oh, si ésto se ejecutara! Cuánto más hubiera de fe, de cristiandad, de caridad; y cuanto menos de vejaciones y cargas intolerables; que se añaden más cuanto menos se cuida de lo primero y principal.

No menos pío que su santo padre, ni menos atento que su prudente abuelo, ni menos valeroso que su invicto bisabuelo, nuestro rey Felipe IV el Grande, emulador siempre de sus mayores, escribió casi lo mismo que su prudente abuelo, tratándose también de dejar estas Islas; y, siempre que se le ha propuesto algo tocante a esto, ha respondido lo mismo: que de ninguna manera desamparará la cristiandad de estas Islas, aunque por ello hayan de ser mucho mayores sus empeños, que los que tiene hechos, con ser tan grandes.

Las cédulas que, repetidamente, todos los tres señores reyes (dejando a Carlos V, que fue primero) han despachado en orden a este punto y al buen tratamiento de los naturales de estas Islas,

these Islands, as it is adequate for all provinces subject to his Royal support and protection). And this is the clause: "...because the principal intention is the preaching of the Gospel and all else is secondary, I entreat you very earnestly and with all my will that you adopt measures for attaining it by following sound advice and choosing the fitting means to prosecute it and carry it out to its conclusion, because it will be an undertaking of great esteem. Above all, I entrust to you affectionately the fine treatment of the *Indios* and the attentive care and tenderness with which it is just to treat them; preserving, however, the authority that is proper among the non-civilized. For you know that the conquest of the wills is the most precious victory in the eyes of God and in His service, and also the most acceptable for the common welfare."

Therein His Majesty shows with how much affection he looked upon the Christianity and the growth of the Faith of these his vassals, calling them for this most important purpose and consequently to what his ministers and who, in his name govern these nations, must attend to; namely, to preach, to teach, to cultivate and to promote the Faith *for which He sends them*, and to cherish, treat well and win-over the natives to God and for their King and not for any other interests or personal advancement.

Oh, if this would only be carried out! How much widespread the Faith would be, the Christianity, the charity; how much less would there be of vexations and intolerable burdens which are more intensified the less attention is given to what is first and foremost.

No less pious than his holy father, nor less diligent than his prudent grand-father, nor even less brave than his incomparable great-grand-father, our King Philip IV,⁵ the Great, always an emulator of his ancestors, also wrote in almost the same manner as his prudent grand-father, when it was still discussed about giving up these Islands, and whenever this subject was brought to his attention, he responded: that in no way will he forsake the Christianity of these Islands, even if because of this his financial obligations may become much heavier than those which he had already incurred and which even now weigh heavily upon him.

The Royal letters which all three Lords Kings (leaving aside Charles⁶ who preceeded them) have dispatched repeatedly in regard to this matter and in reference to the gentle treatment of the

son casi infinitas; de modo que, entre tantos cuidados de una monarquía tan dilatada, parece que éste es solo y único, según repetidamente lo encargan todos y siempre.

El año dieciséis de su reinado, despachó su Majestad de Felipe IV una cédula (entre otras muchas en todo y para todos generales), en que manda se dé libertad a todos los indios que fueren esclavos en qualquiera parte de los reinos de la monarquía española; y, para que no se hagan de nuevo, ha cometido al tribunal de la Inquisición y a sus ministros y comisarios el conocer y castigar a todos cuantos cautivasen indios y los hicieren esclavos, y dado por caso mayor y crimen de *laesae majestatis* el fomentar o ayudar a esto, o prestando dinero para ello, o de otra manera.

Esta cédula se despachó a dieciséis de septiembre de mil seiscientos treinta y nueve años; que si se guardara, no hubiera tantos esclavos como hay ni tantas injusticias en esta parte y en todas partes.

Vengamos a lo que ha gastado su Majestad, y gasta en estas Islas. En los veinte años primeros de su reinado, en sólo despachar predicadores evangélicos para estas Islas gastó su Majestad ciento y setenta mil ducados; y los gastados en los veinte y más años que ha reinado después, no habrán sido menos, sino más; pues en este de mil seiscientos sesenta y seis, en que escribo esto, llegaron en la nao *Concepción*, que dio fondo en Calomotan, cerca de Palapag, por agosto de dicho año, poco menos de cien religiosos de Santo Domingo, de San Francisco, y de la Compañía nuestra, y todos a expensas de su Majestad; de modo que el año de mil seiscientos treinta y dos (que yo pasé a estas Islas con otros veinticuatro de la Compañía por todos), con particular curiosidad se sacó de los Libros Reales de Méjico que desde el año de mil seiscientos y cinco hasta dicho año habían pasado a estas Islas de todas las Religiones quinientos cincuenta y cuatro religiosos: y por cada uno, dicen, gasta su Majestad, desde España acá, mil pesos.

Pues, ¿quién no admira, alaba y pregon a voces liberalidad tan magnífica, y tal que no gastan todos los reyes juntos del resto de las demás partes del mundo cristiano de diez partes, la una que su Majestad católica?

natives of these Islands, are almost infinite in number.⁷ This was done in such a wise that in the midst of so many concerns in so extensive a Monarchy it seems that this is the only one which always and repeatedly deserves their recommendations.

In the sixteenth year of his reign, His Majesty Philip IV issued a Royal letter (among many others in all and for all, of a general nature), in which he commands that all the *Indios* who were slaves anywhere in the Kingdoms of the Spanish Monarchy, be given their freedom.⁸ And so that no one may be reduced again to slavery, he has entrusted to the tribunal of the Inquisition and to its officials and commissaries to search-out and punish all those who seize the *Indios* and reduce them into slavery. He, in addition, considers it as a major offense and a crime of *laesae majestatis*⁹ to promote or to help in this evil either by lending money for such a purpose or in any other manner.

This Royal letter was dispatched on September 16, 1639, and if it were obeyed, there would not be so many slaves as there are, nor so many injustices everywhere in this respect.

Let us come to what His Majesty has spent and is spending in these Islands. In the first twenty years of his reign, His Majesty spent one hundred and seventy thousand ducats¹⁰ only in sending the preachers of the Gospel to these Islands. The expenditures of the twenty or more years during which he has reigned afterwards may not have been less, but even more because this year of 1666, for example, in which I write this, there arrived on the galleon *Concepción*, which cast anchor at Calomotan,¹¹ near Palapag and during August of the said year, a little less than one hundred religious of St. Dominic, St. Francis and of our Society. All of them arrived here at the expense of His Majesty. In the year 1632 (when I came over to these Islands with other twenty-four of the Society), going over the Royal books in Mexico, it was learned that beginning with the year 1605 until the above-mentioned year, five hundred and fifty-four religious, of all Orders, had come over to these Islands. And for each one, they say, His Majesty spends one thousand pesos [from Spain to here].

Who, therefore, would not be full of admiration and praise and proclaim loudly about such splendid generosity? This is such total giving that all the Kings taken together from all the parts of the Christian world, do not spend one-tenth of what His Catholic Majesty spends!

Y, últimamente, este año de mil seiscientos sesenta y seis, llegó otra nueva cédula de su Majestad (que, según el cómputo, quizás fue la última que su Majestad despachó en esta vida, pues, cuando escribo esto, dicen se lo llevó ya Nuestro Señor a reinar a mejor Reino), en que manda al Gobernador de Filipinas que despache al Padre San Victores, de nuestra Compañía, con otros tres compañeros, dándoles todo lo necesario de escolta, y demás gastos, etc., de su Real Hacienda, para que vayan a las islas de los Ladrones (que están en el paso de Méjico acá, y se han pasado tantos años sin semejante cuidado) y prediquen el Santo Evangelio a aquellos pobres, dejados de todo humano subsidio y comercio; tan bárbaros que andan en cueros; tan pobres que no hay que esperar de ellos oro ni otros tesoros; tantos que estarán muy bien empleados en su enseñanza más de cuarenta sacerdotes, si Dios dispone el que tenga efecto el orden de su Majestad y su llamamiento a la fe; que será tan cierto (por no estar contaminados con otra ley ni creencia) quanto fueran allá Predicadores.

Son las islas de los Ladrones habitadas (según dicen los expertos) treinta y ocho, y en una sola de ellas (que fue donde se perdió los años pasados otra nao *Concepción* desgraciadamente, aunque no sin culpa de los pilotos, según se dijo) dicen algunos de los españoles que allí quedaron, y después han vuelto acá, que habrá como veinte mil almas, poco más o menos; de modo que son muchos los millares que en todas ellas habrá; y deberán a la piedad de su Majestad, que Dios haya, su salvación, si su Real mandato se ejecuta.

De modo que nadie (si no es ciego de la pasión o envidia) puede dudar de la atención, asistencia y constancia, con que sin perdonar a gastos tan cuantiosos, como hemos dicho, se desvelaron siempre, y desvelan, los reyes católicos, en plantar, fomentar, adelantar y amparar siempre las cristiandades todas que están bajo su Real corona, enviándoles tanto número de sujetos escogidos, para que cultiven y planten de nuevo las muchas cristiandades, que se han ido convirtiendo y fundado de nuevo, en sus populosos reinos, imperio Indico.

And finally, this year of 1666, another Royal letter of His Majesty arrived (which according to the reckoning of time was, perhaps, the last which His Majesty issued in this life; for as I write this, they say that Our Lord took Him to reign in a better Kingdom) in which He orders the Governor of the Philippines to send Father San Vitores¹² of our Society with three other companions, giving them all that was necessary in escorts and something for other expenses, etc., from His Royal treasury, etc., so that they go to the Ladrones Islands¹³ (which are on the route from Mexico to here and which have been for many years without such a benefit) and preach the Holy Gospel to those poor, who are so deprived of all human aid and communication. They are so uncivilized that they go about naked; so poor that no gold or other treasures can be expected from them; so many, that more than forty priests may very well be employed in their instruction. If God sees fit that the order of His Majesty is put into effect, their invitation to the Faith will be certain (because they are not contaminated with a different law or a different belief), as soon as the preachers arrive there.

Thirty eight of the Ladrones Islands are inhabited (according to the experts) and on one of them only (that is where in the years past the galleon *Concepción*¹⁴ was unfortunately lost, due to certain fault on the part of the pilots as it was rumored) there should be something like twenty thousand souls, more or less, as it was stated by some Spaniards who were stranded there and later returned here. It all seems that there may be many more thousands there; and they shall be indebted to the piety of His Majesty, may he rest in peace, for their salvation, if His Royal order is carried out.

[All this was executed] in such a wise that no one (unless he is blinded by passion or envy) can call into doubt the attention, the care and the perseverance which the Catholic Kings always manifested, without taking into consideration the heavy expenses; their zeal in planting, fomenting, promoting, and protecting all the Christianities which are under their Royal Crown. This was accomplished by sending them a large number of chosen subjects so that they may cultivate and establish again many of the Christianities which have been converted and founded anew in their populous Kingdoms, the Empire of the Indies.

Y no con tanta [menos?] la liberalidad, de tan católicos reyes, aun saliendo de la marca y de los límites de su Corona, han acudido con notable liberalidad a los ministros y predicadores evangélicos, que en Japón, China, Tonquín, Corea y otros innumerables reinos han predicado y predicán, pasado los más de ellos, sino todos, a expensas de su Majestad, sólo por ser por causa de la fe; y conservándose en ellos por su misma liberalidad y limosnas, como se conservan, asegurando con esto en su Real Corona tantos reinos como Dios les ha ido añadiendo, y añadirá sin duda más cuanto creciere al celo en los reyes que fueren sucediendo. ¡Ojalá diera Dios a su Majestad muchos ministros, que revestidos de su celo, piedad y religión (como están en esta parte representado su Real persona y cooperan en llevar adelante la cristiandad, fe, piedad y buenas costumbres que sus Majestades han procurado introducir, cooperadores siempre del celo apostólico que han ido heredando de sus mayores; que si este se les infundiera en los ánimos a los que salen a los gobiernos entre estos pobres naturales, como se les infunden espíritus, etc., muy adelantada viéramos a la religión católica en todas partes; a la fe muy lozana y lucida; a las buenas costumbres muy entabladas.

¡Oh, si Dios así lo dispusiese! Roguemóselo todos “ut mitat operarios in vineam suam,” que los mayores y mejores son, y así han de ser, los que ocupan mayores puestos, si vinieran en primer lugar a buscar los aumentos de la fe, no los suyos; la gloria de Dios, no su desvanecimiento; el bien de las almas, no su interés, qué otro gallo nos cantára a todos; y a estos pobres naturales mejor, que son también quien lo carga todo, como son lo más flaco.

And not with less open-heartedness have the Catholic Kings come to the aid with remarkable generosity, even by going beyond their obligations and beyond the boundaries of their Crown, for the missionaries and preachers of the Gospel, who in Japan, China, Tonkin,¹⁵ Korea and other nnumerable kingdoms have preached and still preach. Most of them, if not all, living at the expense of His Majesty. All of this is done only because of the Faith, (the propagation of the Faith is the sole reason). The missionaries remaining here due to the same liberality and alms of the Kings carry-on these labours over here and thereby secure in this manner the many kingdoms for the Royal Crown that God has added to it. And, without doubt, He will add more in proportion to the zeal demonstrated in the years to come. Oh, if God would deign to grant His Majesty many more ministers imbued with dedication, piety, and religion of such calibre comparable to those who are taking the place of His Royal Person! Ministers who would cooperate in carrying on the Christianity, the faith, the godliness, and good morals which their Majesties have attempted to introduce; for they were always collaborators in the apostolic zeal which they have inherited from their ancestors. And if this same zeal were instilled into the minds of those who arrive here to govern these poor natives, in the same proportion that the spirit of courage is poured into them, etc., we would see the Catholic religion very much advanced everywhere; the Faith brilliant and vigorous and the fine customs deeply rooted.

Oh, if only God would grant it to be so! Let us all pray to Him that He would send labourers to His vineyard; that those who occupy high positions, may be the greater and the better, for so should it be! If they would come primarily to look after the increase of the Faith and not seeking their own; pursuing the glory of God and not their own vain-glory; striving after the welfare of the souls, not their personal welfare, how differently all would fare! And these natives would prosper far better; because they being the weakest, they are forced to bear the heavier part of the burden.

Y con esto daremos fin a este Primer Libro, dejando para los otros lo que los Padres Ministros hacen (y siempre sin duda harán en adelante), correspondiendo a lo mucho que deben a su Majestad; conservando en su fidelidad y servicio a estos naturales; pues, es sin duda que no depende menos de la buena industria y maña de los Padres Misioneros y de su buena doctrina y enseñanza la fidelidad que deben conservar estos a Dios, que con su infinita misericordia los trajo a su divino conocimiento sin méritos propios; y a su Majestad católica que es el instrumento, el medio y la causa de su conservación en la fe, que de las armas y fuerzas temporales; que, aunque es verdad, como apuntamos ya arriba, que sin el arrimo y amparo de estas, la fe, ni se conservara ni creciera; pero también lo es que, sin los ministros evangélicos, las armas acá, ni duraran, ni se conservaran mucho tiempo, como veremos en su lugar.

Y sea el remate de esto dar mil millones de gracias a la Majestad divina que todo lo dispone suave y eficazmente para llenar el número de sus escogidos; y a la Católica y Real, porque, sin duda sin ella y su ayuda, nada se lograra; que, supuesto que Dios no hace (ni es necesario) ya los milagros ahora que antes en la conservación de su fe, sino que, dejándola al modo humano y conatural al mundo, lo dirige por este camino de la Real protección y cuidado; por medio de ellos tendrán el deseado fin los muchos escogidos que, sin él, quizás, no lo tuvieran en esta serie de cosas. ¡Dios guarde, prospere y aumente a la ínclita Casa de Austria y a sus descendientes, como son nuestros reyes, para tan santo fin. Amen.

And with this, we shall bring to a close this First Book, leaving for others to write about what the father ministers do (and will, no doubt, continue such a task in the future), returning His Majesty's generosity and keeping the natives in His fidelity and service. There is little doubt that all this does not depend less on the fine ability and tact of the missionary fathers; on their excellent doctrine and about the learning in fidelity that these natives must show toward God Who, through His infinite mercy, brought them to His Divine knowledge with no merits of their own and also to His Catholic Majesty, who is the instrument, the means and the cause of their preservation in Faith. [All this depends on the above-mentioned] more than on temporal arms and strength. Although it is true, as we have stated above, that without the support and protection of these, the Faith would neither be maintained nor grow; but it is also true that without the heralds of the Gospel, the military support here would neither last nor remain for long either, as we shall see in its proper place.

And therefore let the crowning glory of all this be to render a thousand million thanks to the Divine Majesty, Who disposes all gently and efficaciously to replenish the number of the elect and thanks also to the Catholic and Royal Majesty, because without any shadow of a doubt, without his help, nothing could be accomplished. Granted that God does not work such miracles any longer (nor is it now necessary) which He did work previously for the maintenance of the Faith. Now, however, it must also be left to human ingenuity and in line with inborn needs. He directs all things along this path of the Royal protection and care. By these means He will attain the desired goal of the many elect who, without it, perhaps would never achieve their salvation in the matters. May God preserve, prosper and increase the illustrious House of Austria and its descendants, such as our Kings really are for the accomplishment of such a holy goal. Amen!

NOTES — CHAPTER 23

¹ He was born in Mondéjar, Spain in 1545 and entered the Society of Jesus in the Province of Toledo on June 20, 1565. In the year 1581 he arrived to the Philippines and died in Alcalá de Henares on May 27, 1593.

"Alonso Sánchez was one of the first four Jesuit missionaries assigned to the work of evangelization in the Philippines in the year 1581. A historian of the Spanish province of the Society of Jesus, Astráin by name, remarked that there were many capable men in the group of missionaries sent to Mexico in 1579, but Alonso Sánchez 'stood head and shoulders above them all by reason of his talent, and also by reason of his peculiar personality'." H. DE LA COSTA, S.J., *The Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581-1768*, Harvard University Press, Camb., Mass., 1961, pp. 1-6; 616.

² Born in the year 1592 in Ripoll, Spain, he entered the Society of Jesus in the Province of Aragón, on December 22, 1606. He arrived to the Philippines on June 18, 1626. He went to his eternal peace while in San Pedro de Makati (Makati, Rizal) on May 16, 1660; *ibid.*, p. 611.

Father Colín is the author of the well-known work *Labor evangélica* (Madrid: José Fernández Buendía, 1663) 820pp. This excellent history of the Jesuit evangelical activity in the Philippines was an expansion of an unpublished *Historia* of Chirino. It was up-dated with many fine and valuable documents to the year 1616. A heavily and richly annotated edition of Colín's work by Pablo Pastells appeared in three volumes in the years 1900-1902. de la Costa, *ibid.*, p. 623.

³ Since some were questioning Spain's jurisdiction over the Philippines and its justifiability through conquest, Philip the Second was aroused to some scruples. Grounding himself firmly upon some fine theological deliberations and counsel, he made an attempt to win the natives to a voluntary submission and acknowledgement of the Castilian Kingship. Therefore, he commissioned the newly designated Bishop Miguel de Benavides of Nueva Segovia to undertake this delicate task in the Provinces of Northern Luzon. This prelate succeeded very well in this sensitive matter because the natives embraced the vassalage to Spain with an excellent grace. A contributing factor to this fine response of the natives was the self-abnegation of the missionaries. Their example and self-sacrificing lives captivated the hearts of the people of Cagayan to such a degree that it evoked from them a willing response of vassalage due to the fact that the missionaries were in their midst. This was their attitude; if they would have known the good that would result to their benefit, they would have gone out looking for missionaries themselves. (Hilario Ma. Ocio, O.P., *Monumento dominicano*, MS in the Dominican archives, Manila, Philippines, Section MINISTERIOS, Vol. 1, p. 408).

"In the Province of Ilocos, the Diocese of Nueva Segovia, this was well accomplished and all submitted to Your Majesty. In like manner, the entire district of Manila has rendered submission also which is a mission of the Augustinian Fathers. Laguna, which is under the jurisdiction of the Franciscans, did not yield so easily. The natives there pleaded for one more year of grace after which they will give their response... The same move will be made in other Provinces which are requesting delays." ("Letter from Governor Don Francisco Tello, July 12, 1599," E. H. BLAIR-J. A. ROBERTSON, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1803*, (55 vols.), Cleveland, 1903-1909, vol. X, p. 254; also p. 277.

⁴ A well-known Spanish jurist of the colonial period. He was born in Madrid on November 30, 1575, and studied Humanities and Jurisprudence at the University of Salamanca, where he later taught Civil Law. In the year 1609, he was appointed *oidor* of the *Audiencia* of Lima where his proficiency in administration was well acclaimed. In the year 1627 he returned to Spain as a *fiscal* of the *Consejo de Hacienda* and where later he occupied the same position in the General Council of the Indies. His last administrative position seems to have been that of *fiscal* of the *Council of Castile*, or of the Kingdom, we might say, using a more modern expression.

He authored several works, among which *Política Indiana* is often quoted in Philippine juridical documents of the past. He died in Madrid in the 1653 or 1654. (Cfr. *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo-americana*, Barcelona, 1927, Vol. 57, pp.198-199).

⁵ Born in Albuera, Badajoz, Spain in the year 1577. Joined the Jesuits in Manila on April 26, 1620 and died in Carigara, Leyte on August 6, 1646. de la Costa, *Ibid.*, p. 609. He voluntarily and freely laboured with the Jesuits for some years and only later entered the Society as a lay-brother in 1620. *Ibid.*, p. 658, footnote 25.

"One of the missionaries stationed at Carigara/Leyte/at this time was Juan de Ballesteros who had a special place in the hearts of the Bisayans. He was neither a priest nor a lay-brother but a simple *donado*. He left his birthplace in Spain, Badajoz, when hardly more than a boy, to go soldiering in the Philippines under Governor Acuña. Some time after his arrival, we do not know exactly when, he asked to be allowed to help out in the Jesuit missions as a *donado*, and was sent to Leyte. There he became for all practical purposes a 'Bisayan', even to the extent of wearing the native costume. A man of amazing versatility, he served in every conceivable capacity: as a cook, sacristan, porter, gardener, carpenter, tailor, school-master, and nurse. He helped construct many of the mission chapels and residences, going with the village stalwarts to cut timber in the hills, and by dressing stone and mixing lime with them, taught them these arts. Chapel and mission house finished, he would help build their own homes; in short, there was no labour or hardship that he did not share with them.

"In addition to these duties, he would occasionally serve as pilot for the missionaries sailing back and forth between the Bisayas and Manila. One of the articles he always brought back from these trips was sheet music. He taught the Carigara schoolboys the *villancicos* and folk dances of his native land, and did it so well that at the festivities held in Manila for the canonization of Saints Ignatius and Francis Xavier, it was the Carigara dance ensemble that carried off the palm. Needless to say, not even the word of the king ran in the towns and villages of Leyte as did the word of Juan de Ballesteros. (*Ibid.*, pp. 316-317).

⁶ Quite seemingly a lay-person associated in the work and apostolate of the Jesuits, in this case, but not a member of the Society. One giving his services freely and willingly out of a sense of dedication.

⁷ Descendants of slaves or freed slaves. "The *timauas* are the third category of these people in ancient Bisayan society. They were descendants of slaves or captive mothers. Although they were free, they were descendants either of completely slave parents, or mothers who had been or were so when the children were born..." (Alzina, *op. cit.* Part I, Book 4, chapter 4, p. 67.

"...consequently, those whom they called *timauas* (today, this is what they call all those who are not slaves) were the children and descendants of slaves. Either their masters liberated them, as they did the sons of Sandiles because they served them so well that as a reward they set them free when they died (this is very common among these chiefs) or because

they found means to free themselves because, as we shall see, . . . they had their own haciendas. . . " *Ibid.*

In another portion of his *Historia*, Alzina makes this pertinent observation.

"...I add another measure which I have tried with regard to understanding the rightfulness of their forms of bondage. It is that by order of His Majesty it was commanded more than seventy years ago, and was executed by the *Audiencia* that was erected here for the second time in the year 1595, that masters who possessed slaves from ancient times, whether justly or unjustly, should be left in possession of them, because it had been so for so many years. They would not allow them any other slaves than these and their descendants, etc. There was a register of all these slaves and titles were given in this jurisdiction of Leyte, Samar and Ybabao through Captain Alonso de Pedraza, who was the *corregidor* there in the year 1605. Besides the register, which remained in the possession of the *escribano público*, the title and papers were given to the slave owners confirming their titles of possession, etc. I have made inquiries not merely in one pueblo but in many towns of this jurisdiction whether they might have at hand any of the papers given at that time to the *Datos*, and were in the register of the archives. The Camucones, when they robbed Catbalogan, tore up all the papers and threw them into the sea so that there is no recourse to this. Nor have I been able to see nor get hold of a single one of those papers. This is a definite sign that they have submerged them or hidden them all because they are a bad thing for the *Datos*. If one could look at them today it would be a rare exception to find any of the descendants of those primitives. I, at least, have not been able to discover ever in one single instance a judicial process, consequently, it may be concluded that all or most of them that are slaves today ought not to be so. God have pity on the souls of some, and for the bodies of others. Amen! And may He give to the ministers, both ecclesiastical and royal, more zeal for these poor oppressed ones!" *Ibid.*, Chapter 5, pp. 83-84.

⁸ An *anata* is Spanish for annats or the first fruits or emoluments which a benefice or employ produces. A *media anata*, therefore, is the annats of the half-year.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 24

¹ Perhaps it would be proper and fitting to cite a few examples which demonstrate in a very concrete way the great generosity of the Spanish Kings in promoting and supporting the missionary efforts.

"Regarding the first voyage of the Religious, the King provided all that was necessary for them to reach the Philippine Islands. A similar amount of funds was then fixed for the succeeding departures. Today, even though the expenses have risen, that same amount is still allocated." (Cfr. Juan Peguero, O.P., *Historia en Compendio de la Provincia del Santísimo Rosario de Filipinas*, MS in the U.S.T. archives, uncatalogued, p. 6). We learn from a *Report*, made by the Procurator Domingo de la Escalera, "that what the King gave during the second half of the 17th century hardly covered one half of the expenses incurred. The deficit had to be made up by the Religious communities themselves, either from their own funds or they would be forced to go in search of donations. (Dominican archives in Manila. Mss. Section "Provincia", 1700).

On March 14, 1699, the King issued a Royal Letter, addressed to the Viceroy of Mexico ordering him to assist the Dominican missionaries destined for China with a subsidy of 1,200 pesos; that is, one hundred pesos for each of the twelve missionaries. Some years later, this same gesture of assistance was shown to the missionaries destined for Tonkin (Vietnam). This practice continued until the beginning of the 19th century. (Cfr. "El Memorial del P. Procurador Fr. Alonso Sandín, O.P.," *Acta Manilana*, June, 1966, No. 2, p. 130, note 24).

The funds for the construction of the churches in towns of the Indies came from three different sources: from the Royal treasury, from the *encomenderos*, and from the natives themselves. This also applied to the Philippine setting. (*Laws of the Indies*, Book One, Title Two, Law III). Here cf. also *History of the Church in the Philippines* (1521-1898), Pablo Fernandez, O.P., (National Book Store, Manila, 1979) especially pp. 29-35; 103-105; 255-256. Concerning the Marianas, see pp. 300-301.

"To each newly-established convent in the Indies, which has our approval, will be given initially only and from our Treasury: one set of sacred vestments, a chalice with its paten, and a bell." (Philip II, San Lorenzo, August 24, 1588, in *Recopilación de las leyes de Indias*, Libro I, Título III, Ley V). We often read that in the Philippines, the instrument for making hosts was added as was also cloth for tailoring habits for the religious.

"Similarly, the King granted to some poorer monasteries of the religious, both men and women, an alms of wine for the celebration of Mass and oil for the sanctuary lamp, so that, due to the great poverty of such monasteries the divine worship may not be impeded." (*Recopilación*, Libro I, Título III, Ley VII). However, in a Royal Decree given at Madrid on November 11, 1571, this assistance was extended and restricted to the Religious living in their convents (strictly such) and not to Religious engaged in mission work in the *doctrinas*. (*Ibid.*, Ley IX).

Philip III, by a Royal Decree, dated in Madrid on May 13, 1620, granted an allocation of flour to the Franciscans and Augustinian Recollects in the Philippines. (*Recopilación*, Libro I, Título III, Ley XIV). Philip II had granted by a Royal Decree dated in Madrid on February 4, 1588, medicines to some monasteries. (*Recopilación*, *Ibid.*, Ley XV). This was good for the Philippines and the Santo Domingo Convent benefitted from it.

By a Royal Decree issued at Aranjuez on May 13, 1579, it was ordered that "each church already founded or to be founded receive five hundred pesos. This was deemed to be a sufficient amount for purchasing a set of vestments, a chalice with its paten and a bell." (Ocio, Hilario Ma. O.P. *Monumento Dominicano*, MS in the Dominican archives of Manila, Section MINISTERIOS, Vol. 1, p. 6).

In another Royal Decree, issued at the same place and date, it was ordered that "...each priest be given an *arroba* of flour, one and a half *gantas* of wine for celebrating Mass, and the necessary oil for the lamp which must burn before the Blessed Sacrament." (*Ibid.*) This assistance was extended to the Dominicans in the Philippine Islands upon the request of Father Juan Crisóstomo, on September 13, 1585. By still another Royal Letter of January 19, 1619 we [Dominicans] were granted, without any limitation of time, the necessary serge (course material) for the habits of our Religious. (*Ibid.*)

"By another decree given at Valladolid on February 4, 1588 and confirmed by one on April 6, 1601, it was ordered that all our Religious [i.e. the Dominicans] living in these Islands be provided with the necessary medicines." (*Ibid.*)

"Aside from this, by a Royal Decree of January 1, 1591, the sum of four hundred pesos and four hundred *fanegas* of palay was granted as a stipend to four religious who must be assigned to the convent of Santo Domingo (for quasi-parochial work). This gesture became effective, notwithstanding the opposition of the Royal officials, in April 1588. (*Ibid.*, p. 6).

The Dominican missions received from the King one hundred pesos and one hundred *fanegas* of rice, plus seventy-five *gantas* of oil for the sanctuary lamp. (*Ibid.*, p. 12).

"The habits which we wear are of serge material and come to us from Mexico because here there is no wool. For this reason, the King had ordered that a sum of one thousand and two hundred pesos be given every year... This alms was granted about the year 1620, approximately". (Peguero, *Historia en Compendio*, etc., p. 20).

"The Mission stations in the Provinces have only as their source of income the stipend that the King gives them [or the *encomendero*] which is one hundred pesos and one hundred *fanegas* of rice for each one thousand tributes, and *arroba* of wine for Mass and one *arroba* of oil for the sanctuary lamp." (*Ibid.*, p. 15.)

"And because the King orders that to the five Religious orders of Manila, each one be given annually four hundred pesos and four hundred *fanegas* of rice (which is the wheat of this land) in order that each Religious order keep in Manila four religious for the administration of the sacraments... This grace was granted at the beginning of every six years, for a period of six years up until the year 1667 when it was granted in perpetuity." (*Ibid.*).

Father Antolín (Francisco) says that a journey of a religious from Spain to the Philippines cost the King some one thousand pesos in the year 1790. ("El Rey paga también el viaje a cada religioso, que, según he oído, son mil Pesos". Cfr. *Camino de Ituy y Paniqui*, MS in the Dominican archives, Manila, Section CAGAYAN, Vol. 31, p. 232).

All that has been said about the Dominicans can also be applied, as a rule, to the other Religious Orders in the Philippines.

² "When the Spanish right to take away their lands and freedom from the Indians was first questioned in 1510, the answer given was to recur to the Bull of Alexander VI and to declare that by it he had given the right to the Kings of Spain to complete jurisdiction over all infidel peoples in the New World. This theory was to find its most refined expression in the work of the jurist, Juan de Solórzano, writing in the 17th century. Paradoxically, the Spanish regalist jurists were to reiterate the anachronistic medieval theory of papal world-monarchy, so as to base on it the title of the Spanish crown to the conquest of the Indies." John N. Schumacher, S.J., *Readings in Philippine Church History*, (Quezon City, Loyola School of Theology, Ateneo de Manila University, 1979), p. 4. Schumacher also mentions another work of Solórzano de Pereyra: *De indiarum jure sive de juxta Indiarum occidentalium gubernatione* (Lugduni, 1672). p. 386.

³ Reigned from 1556 to 1598.

⁴ Reigned from 1598-1621.

⁵ Reigned from 1621-1665.

⁶ Reigned from 1517-1556. He was Charles the 1st of Spain and Emperor Charles the Vth of Germany.

⁷ For an excellent scholarly presentation how the Kings of Spain, the Bishop of Manila (Salazar), the clergy and religious missionaries defended the rights of the Filipinos, see Father Lucio Gutiérrez's article, "Domingo de Salazar's Struggle for Justice and Humanization in the Conquest of the Philippines (1579-1594) in *Philippiniana Sacra*, Vol. XIV, No. 41, May-August, 1979, pp. 219-282.

"One of the main reasons why Philip II presented Salazar to the Pope as the first bishop of the Philippines was his strong defense of the rights of the natives of Mexico in the Spanish court in Madrid." (*Ibid.*, pp. 234-235).

"Philip II made a serious effort to avoid in the conquest of the Philippines the abuses and sanguinary results of the conquest of México and especially the conquest of the Inca Empire of Perú... It was his chance to prove that peaceful conquest, assimilation, and evangelization were possible... the Spanish court had adopted the Dominican approach about peaceful evangelization and conquest and the need to avoid bellicose and military methods".

"The Spanish conquest of the Philippines was perhaps the most humane achieved in the history of the conquest of the XVI and XVII centuries. It was done in an incredible short span of time and with a minimal spilling of blood." (*Ibid.*, p. 240).

"Historian E. B. Gaylord, in his scholarly *General Introduction* to the Blair-Robertson Collection has this to say: 'The work of Legazpi during the next seven years entitles him to a place among the greatest of colonial pioneers. In fact, he has no rival...'

"In the light, then, of impartial history raised above race prejudice and religious prepossessions, after a comparison with the early years of the Spanish conquest of America or with the first generation or two of the English settlements, the conversion and civilization of the Philippines in the forty years following Legazpi's arrival must be pronounced an achievement without a parallel in history". (B-R. Vol. I, pp. 32-37, in *Ibid.*, p. 240)

⁸ Again, it would be well and profitable to peruse Father Lucio Gutiérrez's fine article on Bishop Salazar's Struggle for Justice in favour of the Filipinos in *Philippiniana Sacra*, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-263 where he treats "Slavery of Filipinos in the hands of the Spaniards," and "Salazar's Struggle against Slavery in the hands of Filipino Datus."

"One of the most serious problems Salazar was confronted with upon his arrival in the Philippines was that of slavery of Filipinos in the hands of the Spaniards... The Augustinians who travelled with Salazar from México to Manila in 1581 brought with them a Royal Decree in which the Spanish King granted absolute freedom to all Filipino slaves in the hands of the Spanish *conquistadores* of the Philippines".

"As soon as the Augustinians arrived in Manila they set things in motion to find a solution to the already long protracted battle for the abolition of slavery. Salazar gave full support to the initiative of the Augustinians." (*Ibid.*, p. 249).

Bishop Salazar pursued the same indefatigable struggle against slavery in the hands of Filipino Datus notwithstanding the strong opposition that came his way from every direction. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 255ff.

King Philip the Second was deeply concerned about his royal obligations to his subjects in the Philippines. This concern for his new-found subjects

in the Philippines prompted him to publish a Royal Cedula in 1574 which prohibited enslavement of Filipinos. The letter written to the Governor of the Philippine Islands reflects a deep, reverential attitude toward the Filipinos.

"To our Governor of the Philippine Islands: We have been informed that Spaniards residing in those islands claim to hold as slaves Indios from there. It is my will that they not be allowed to make slaves of these Indios. I therefore command you to see to it that no Spaniard have any Indio as a slave in any way, even if such an Indio slave has been formerly a slave of other Indios and has been made such in a just war. If there are any slaves whom the Spaniards have captured in just war, you will have them give them back their liberty, as we by the present cedula free them. We command that the above be observed and executed and that no one go against it or evade it in any way. Madrid, 7 November 1574. I, the King." (As quoted in John N. Schumacher's *Readings in Philippine Church History*, (Quezon City, Ateneo de Manila University, 1979) p. 28.

⁹ This is a technical Latin term and implies an offense of the highest degree against the King.

¹⁰ Perhaps a reference to the DUCADO VENECIANO (gold) mint of the 1500's and equivalent to U.S.\$3.90 (in 1937). J. Villasana Haggard, *Handbook for Translators of Spanish Historical Documents*, (Oklahoma City, University of Texas in Austin, Semco Color Press, 1941), p. 102.

¹¹ This is an islet situated on the NE portion off the mainland of Samar, fronting the pueblo of Palapag and between the Islets of Laoang, Cahayagan and Batag. It was a sheltering place of the Manila Galleons and called the Port of Palapag. Batag Island is the largest and most easterly Islands, p. 800)

Calomotan is a Waray-Waray word derived from LOMOT, which means moss or green scum on still waters; hence, a place where this scum or moss abounds — ka-LOMOT-an. Mateo Sánchez, *Vocabulario...1711, op. cit.*, p. 400

¹² He was born on November 12, 1627 in Burgos, Spain. His father was Don Jerónimo de San Vitores, a nobleman and an individual of high rank and authority in the court of Philip IV, King of Spain. His mother who also was of noble blood, was Doña Francisca Alonso de Maluenda.

On July 15, 1640, when he was only thirteen years old, Diego Luis was received into the Society of Jesus to begin his first novitiate. After eleven years of formal studies, he was ordained a priest on December 23, 1651, at the age of twenty-four.

In June, 1662, the ship *San Damian* arrived to the Ladrone Islands, so named by Ferdinand Magellan in 1521. Father San Vitores and others aboard the *San Damian* were on their way to the Philippines to engage in missionary endeavors. Father San Vitores was overwhelmed with pity for the poor, naked natives he saw and thus a resolve was born in his heart to return to the Ladrone Islands to Christianize them. However, it was not until three years later, June 24, 1665, that King Philip IV issued a Royal Cedula authorizing Father San Vitores' mission to the Ladrone Islands. Maria Ana de Austria, Queen of Spain, was most influential in persuading her husband to grant his official permission.

On August 7, 1667, Father San Vitores left the Philippines, bound for Mexico. After many difficulties and long delays in Mexico, he and other members of his missionary group left Acapulco on March 23, 1668, bound for the Ladrone Islands.

On Friday, June 15, 1668, two months and twenty-three days after leaving Acapulco, the San Vitores mission arrived in Guam. The group included five priests and one Jesuit scholastic.

On June 16 or 17, 1668, Father San Vitores went ashore, offered Mass, and changed the name of the Ladrões to "Las Islas Marianas". In his own writings he makes it abundantly clear that he named the islands in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary and in honor of María Ana de Austria, in gratitude and appreciation.

On Saturday morning, between seven and eight o'clock, April 2, 1672, two Chamorro natives attacked Father San Vitores. One native by the name of Hirao struck a vicious blow with his machete, severely wounded the priest's head, which dropped forward on his neck. Another native, Matapang, then drove a spear through his chest. (*Guam Recorder*, Paul Carano, "Father San Vitores: His Life, Times, and Martyrdom," Vol. I — (second series), Number 2-3, April-September 1972, pp. 37-38 and 59-61.

¹³ Today these are called Mariana Islands. They were discovered by Ferdinand Magellan, in the name of Spain, on March 6, 1521. He landed on Guam, the largest island of the mini-archipelago and named the islands "Las Islas de las Velas Latinas" or The Islands of the native sails because of the triangular shape of the sail used on the native canoes. When the natives were invited aboard ship, they began pilfer items and so Magellan quickly christened them with a new name: "Las Islas de los Ladrões".

The Mariana Islands are a Trust Territory of the United States in the Pacific which includes some 13 single islands and one group (Maug) of three small islands. The total land surface consists of approximately 183.5 square miles. About two-thirds of this area, the Mariana Islands District, is made up of the three principal islands: Saipan with 47 square miles; Tinian with 39 square miles; and Rota with 32 square miles. The largest island of them all, Guam, has a special status with the U.S. Government. The Islands from North to South are: Uracas, Maug Islets (3), Asuncion, Agrihan, Pagan, Alamagan, Guguan, Sarigan, Anatahan, Farallon de Medinilla, Saipan, Tinian, Aguijan, Rota and Guam. (Roy T. Gallemore, *Handbook of Information*, (Mariana District Administration, Saipan, 1964, mimeographed), pp. 1-2.

¹⁴ The *Concepción* was wrecked on the Island of Saipan, Marianas Islands in 1638. Most of the survivors who reached the shore were killed by the natives. Twenty-eight fortunate survivors went from island to island until they reached Guam at the southern end of the group. From here six of them, accompanied by two friendly natives, set out in a couple of open boats in use among the Ladrões and finally reached the Philippines where they arrived almost dead from hunger, thirst and lack of sleep. (William Lytle Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, (E. P. Dutton & Co., New York: 1939), p. 259.

Another author writes and states that "the Spanish Galleon *Concepción* was wrecked off Tinian Island. Some of the survivors remained on the islands. One of these sailors, a man named Pedro was living on the Island of Guam when Father Sanvitores arrived thirty years later. Another survivor of this wreck, Lorenzo Malabar de Morales, became a companion of Father Sanvitores on his first missionary journey and was killed on Anatahan Island when he attempted to baptize a little girl in 1669." (Julius Sullivan, O. F. Cap., *The Phoenix Rises; A Mission History of Guam*, (Tipografia Pio X, Rome, 1957), p. 18.

¹⁵ An ancient name for North Vietnam.