

Vieja Historia y Polémica Moderna. ¿Cómo y Quién Mató al Mariscal Bustamante y Bustillo?

En nuestros días este interesante personaje, Gobernador de Filipinas, ha merecido un estudio ágil y moderno por parte de una investigadora americanista. Todo él ha sido — dentro de la ecuanimidad de que pretende hacer gala — una apología del Mariscal. Pudo ella consultar los fondos y legajos del Archivo de Indias de Sevilla, repasar toda la documentación allí conservada y, sobre todo, estudiar los informes que a Méjico y Madrid enviara el protagonista. Utilizó, además, para ofrecernos toda una semblanza acabada de su personaje, los datos familiares que ofreció uno de sus descendientes españoles de la bella y recia tierra cántabra, el General Díaz de Villegas, quien asimismo reeditó la Relación impresa de la Embajada a Siam, que preparara Bustamante.¹ Todos ellos hemos podido saborearlos y estudiar con calma. Pero aquí, recientemente, nos han llegado inesperadamente algunos documentos que prestan nueva luz y color al tema y, entre ellos, una *Relación* de los tristes sucesos que llevaron a la muerte a este bizarro General de fines del siglo XVII y primeros años del XVIII.

Para nosotros — los que ya conocemos las obras antes citadas — no es mucho lo que pueden decirnos sobre este tipo de

¹ Díaz de Villegas, José: *Una embajada española a Siam en el siglo XVIII*, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1952.

The Murder of Governor Bustamante: An Account of the Events Written by Fray Felipe Gómez y Montáñez in the Year 1760

An Introduction

The treacherous murder of the Governor and Captain-General of the Philippines, Don Fernando Manuel Bustillo de Bustamante y Rueda, *Mariscal de Campo*, and his son Fernando Carlos on that fateful October 11, 1719 has been, until recently, shrouded more in mystery than in clear history to a certain extent.

The numerous historical narratives, accounts, manuscripts and documented correspondences bearing upon this tragic episode in Philippine history point to the many causes, motives, situations, circumstances and personages that become part of the ugly drama, but all of them have failed to point with certainty to the actual assassins of the ill-fated Bustamante and his Son.

The violent plot and scheme against the Governor was so well executed that neither his contemporaries nor the historians of the past 256 years were able to untangle the complicated web of conspiracy, intrigue and cunning intent. Not even the finest 241 page historical account of Juan de la Concepción (1790) so well recorded and detailed succeeded in pointing out clearly the individuals directly responsible for that first murderous assault upon the Governor and the equally violent death of his son Carlos.

It is incredible but true that out of the 824 days of the Marshal's rule, only the first two days were calm and peaceful

información en cuanto a sucesos, personas, trama y desenlace final. Concepción Pajarón Parody da respuesta a todas esas preguntas; pero hay algo que no explica suficientemente. Demuestra la autora que sus émulos le socavaron el terreno, le enemistaron con la gente y lograron desacreditarle finalmente. Ahora bien, lo que no dice y no sabe es quién hirió al Mariscal, quién le remató y, antes, cómo fué herido y en qué circunstancias.²

Lo que en su estudio apunta la autora se verifica ciertamente en ésta, que ahora podemos ofrecer al estudioso público filipino: que los tramposos, que debían al tesoro nacional, son los que coadyuvaron en la campaña de descrédito y que, si no hubo intención deliberada en la masa de manifestantes de llegar al extremo de asesinar al representante del Rey, toda esa furia desatada produjo la catástrofe. Concepción Pajarón hace su juicio de los acontecimientos utilizando las palabras del P. Ferrando, O.P.: "Preciso es decir que bajo el nombre de la plebe, tomaron parte indirecta en tan sangriento espectáculo personas de todas clases sociales, si bien alguno sólo con ánimo de pedir al Gobernador la cesación de tantas vejaciones, sin que entrase en su pensamiento el desenlace trágico que tuvo, y muchos de los que se habían refugiado al sagrado seguro de los templos hicieron también causa común en este movimiento popular, que en concepto legal de causa pública quedó malamente impune, siendo en realidad muy justificable."³

¿Quiénes fueron los autores del hecho criminal? Para nuestra autora los "refugiados" y principalmente Lucea, el tramposo Contador. Este, como causa moral, y otros como sus cómplices y ayuda material. La *Relación* que presentamos, no sólo le acusa de principal instigador del motín, sino que le presenta como mano ejecutora. Por otro lado, la muerte de su hijo, el Sargento mayor Carlos, fué obra de un trabucazo que le disparara el Señor Serrano.

El testigo es un franciscano que dice cómo lo sabe, dónde se encontraba, que manifiesta conocer a todos los actores del drama y que afirma estuvo cerca, más aún, junto al Mariscal caído, al

² Pajarón Parody, Concepción: *Don Fernando Manuel de Bustamante y Bustillo, Gobernador de Filipinas* (1717-1719), Sevilla, Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos, 1964.

³ Fernando, Juan, O.P., *Historia de los PP. Dominicos en las Islas Filipinas... hasta el año 1840* (6 vols.) Madrid, 1871, IV, 227.

and this because he entered Binondo on July 31, 1717 quite secretly, silently and surprisingly. His first decree dated August 2, 1717 plunged the Walled City into turmoil; the next 822 days of his tenure as Governor seemed to have resulted into one, long, endless storm and often a night-mare.

Perhaps, it would not be an over-exaggeration to describe Bustamante's rule and the people's response as one filled, packed and over-flowing with: conflict, clashes and controversies; insincerity, insecurity and uncertainty; pursuit, punishments and prisons; plotting, scheming and intriguing; investigations, confrontations and privations; exploitation, manipulation and rejection; deception, corruption and evasion; resentment, resistance and revenge; accusations, alienation and animosity.

The dishonest, the unjust and guilty government officials and the elite of the Walled City of Manila, who were driven by quick-wealth and an uncontrollable greed for Mexican silver, accused the Governor of tyranny, ruthlessness, depotism, oppression and evaded justice by seeking refuge and by claiming the right of sanctuary in churches and convents.

The master-minds of the Bustamante tragedy, a handful of high-ranking government officials, managed to take advantage of circumstances and situations and through vengeful manipulation and cunning maneuvering have involved the entire populace of *Intramuros* in the bloody crime.

After 256 years of uncertainty as to who actually was responsible for the dastardly murders of the Governor and his Son the mystery has been solved.

A Dominican historian and Professor of Church History in the University of Santo Tomás, the Very Reverend Pablo Fernández, brought to light what may be considered as one of the finest and most valuable pieces of recorded history bearing on this tragic assassination of Father and Son.

This precious eye-witness account: "Relación de lo acaecido en estas Islas Filipinas el año 1719," is a six-folio manuscript written by a Franciscan, Fray Felipe Gómez y Montáñez, in the year 1760 or some 41 years after the events have occurred. This

que ayudó a darle la Extrema Unción. Pero, además, este franciscano conoció al Mariscal en Méjico, tuvo amistad con la familia, hizo el viaje de Acapulco a Filipinas con el Gobernador y asistió finalmente a sus honras fúnebres y entierro. Creemos que su autoridad queda fuera de toda duda, ya que, además, lo escribe a su superior pasados muchos años del crimen y sucesos.⁴

Algo queda en limpio, es decir, mucho: que los religiosos españoles no tomaron parte en el crimen y que, también, evitaron que las turbas desatadas se ensañaran con el cuerpo del Mariscal herido. La *Relación* está firmada en San Francisco del Monte y va dirigida a su Provincial, año de 1760.⁵

⁴ El superior a quien va dirigida la *Relación* debe ser el P. Francisco de Santa Rosa, quien tras una estancia larga en Filipinas fue nombrado Provincial el 2 de junio de 1759 y gobernó hasta el 29 de mayo de 1762, en que gastado y enfermo, se retiró al Hospital de San Lázaro, donde falleció el 22 de enero de 1764 (Félix de Huerta, OFM., *Estado geográfico, topográfico, estadístico, histórico-religioso de la santa y apostólica Provincia de San Gregorio Magno en las Islas Filipinas*, Binondo 1865, 475-6).

⁵ Gómez Platero, Eusebio, OFM.: *Catálogo biográfico de los religiosos de la Provincia de San Gregorio Magno de Filipinas*, Manila 1880, 395.

excellent eye-witness account is written in a very simple and sincere way and in a highly objective manner.

It is by strange coincidence that this invaluable account had been committed to paper in the year 1760. It was the Franciscan Provincial, Fray Francisco de Santa Rosa, who was gathering material for a history he was evidently writing; undoubtedly he was aware that Father Montáñez was witness to the tragic events of October 11, 1719. And so, he requested the retired and 68 year old Father Montáñez to recall and write down all that has transpired in the Walled City during the regime and the downfall of Governor Bustamante. Notwithstanding the awkward style, the difficult Spanish and the highly erratic grammatical structure, the account remains as the most objective and most convincing of any that have been recovered thus far.

It would be well to state here that Father Montáñez was a close friend of the Governor and the entire Bustamante family. He befriended them in Mexico and voyaged with them to Manila from Acapulco in the year 1717.

During the tumultuous and riotous days of unrest preceding the murder and downfall of the Marshal or *Mariscal de Campo*, as he was always called, Father Montáñez was a member of the Franciscan community of the convento in *Intramuros*. He was apparently a friendly, lovable and an approachable friar who moved around the City, during the height of turmoil, very freely and witnessed the events taking place. It is very evident from his account, however, that he was almost totally unaware of the power-struggle, intrigue, conspiracy and vengeance of Don Vicente Lucea and Don José Torralba.

The original Montáñez manuscript is found in the Archives of the Dominican Province of the Most Holy Rosary. A microfilm copy of this document and a transcript of the same are both found in the Archives of the University of Santo Tomás (AUST), Manila, *Historia Civil de Filipinas, 1600-1750*, Ms. Series A. Rollo 47, Document 13a, "Relación de lo acaecido en estas Islas Filipinas el año 1718(sic)", fols. 41-46.

Relación de lo Acaecido en Estas Islas Filipinas el Año 1718 (sic)*

Para proceder con más fundamento y claridad en este caso, supongo el que, cuando llegamos mi misión con la flota del general Pintado, compuesta de 18 navíos, los que el día primero de noviembre del año 1715 dimos fondo en el puerto de la Veracruz; pasamos a la ciudad de Méjico, y era su virrey el duque de Lizares, y su arzobispo el señor Alanziago, monje benedictino.

A pocos días de estar en nuestro hospicio de San Agustín de las Cuevas, pasé a Méjico, y, por ser un religioso nuestro del convento de San Diego, Fr. José Escobar, confesor de la señora mariscal, esposa del mariscal de campo don Fernando Bustillos Bustamante y Rueda, y ser esta señora sevillana, me llevó dicho mencionado religioso a su casa muchas veces, con la cual ocasión frequenté la casa y conocí al señor mariscal, hijos y familia. Entre estos había un don Andrés Arguijo, el cual le había enviado a estas Islas el año antecedente su amo con cartas de creencia, sabiendo cómo andaban las Islas y gobierno del oidor decano don José Torralba,¹ que era el que gobernaba por muerte del señor conde de Lizárraga.²

* Como se ha indicado ya, existen dos copias de este documento en el archivo de PP. Dominicos españoles de Filipinas: una de la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII, ejecutada en hermosa caligrafía; y otra de hacia la mitad del siglo XIX en papel de "barba". El estilo y expresión del P. Montáñez no siempre son tan claros como fuera de desear, y por eso procuraremos aclarar en nota algunos pasajes oscuros.

¹ Sucedió, como gobernador interino, al conde de Lizárraga en febrero de 1715, y en agosto de 1717 entregó el bastón a su sucesor, en propiedad, el mariscal Bustamante. Murió en el hospital de San Juan de Dios en 1736 donde le enterraron de limosna (Cfr. Domingo Collantes, O.P., *Historia de la Provincia del Santísimo Rosario de Filipinas*, Manila, 1783, páginas preliminares, No. 44).

² Martín de Ursúa y Arizmendi, conde de Lizárraga, gobernador de Filipinas desde 1709 hasta 1715. Murió el 4 de febrero de este año (*Ibid.*)

An Account of Events Which Occurred in these Islands in the Year 1719¹

In this matter it would be well to show with clarity the very beginnings. Our mission of friars sailed together with the fleet of some eighteen ships under the command of General Pintado. We arrived and dropped anchor at the Port of Veracruz on November 1, 1715; from there we began our journey toward Mexico City. The Viceroy at that time was the Duke of Lizares and Archbishop, a Benedictine monk named Alanziago.

We tarried there for several days in our *Hospicio de San Agustín de la Cuevas* and then proceeded to Mexico. One of our Franciscans, Father José Escobar, from the convent of San Diego and a confessor of Señora *Mariscala* of Seville and wife of Don Fernando Bustillo Bustamante y Rueda, *Mariscal de Campo*, often took me along to their house. It was there during the frequent visits that I came to know not only the *Mariscal* himself but also his children and the entire household. Among the members of his household there was a certain Don Andrés Arguijo who had been sent to these Islands a year earlier by his master with full credentials. While he was there, he familiarized himself thoroughly with the state of affairs under the *interim*-government of the senior *oidor*, Don José Torralba, who assumed office upon the death of the Governor, the Conde de Lizárraga.

In the year 1716, since the galleon was forced to return to its port of departure, neither the *Mariscal* nor our two large missions of fifty Dominicans and fifty Franciscans were able to set out for the voyage to Manila. While we were staying in New Spain that same year, the Marqués de Valero arrived as the new Viceroy and took the *Licenciado* Don Julián de Velasco as his

¹ The year given in the manuscript is actually 1718 and is, no doubt, an error and an oversight. It would be well to note here also that the Spanish, grammatical structure, thought pattern and style of Father Montáñez is rather awkward and extremely difficult, hence the free translation.

En el año 16 hubo arribada,³ por cuya causa no se embarcó el señor mariscal, ni las misiones, que eran dos crecidas: una de religiosos de Nuestro Padre Santo Domingo, de 50;⁴ y la otra nuestra, de otros 50. Dicho año de 1716, en que estábamos en Nueva España, llegó por virrey el marqués de Valero, y éste tomó por su asesor al licenciado don Julián de Velasco, quien venía a estas Islas para fundar la Universidad⁵ con el señor don Francisco Fernández Toribio y el señor don Ocio, que después, de canónigo de esta Santa Iglesia, fué Provisor y Vicario General de este Arzobispado y obispo de Cebú. Los dos antecedentes traían gajes de oidores y fuerzas, y don Julián de Velasco traía la "residencia" del señor conde de Lizárraga, difunto. Y, como supo el señor mariscal, gobernador de estas Islas, en Méjico el que la traía, pretendió el que a él pasase; lo que dicho Señor Velasco no permitió.

Llegó el galeón de estas Islas, *Santo Cristo de Burgos*, al puerto de Acapulco a 8 de diciembre del dicho año de 1716, al comando del general don Fernando Angulo, en el cual dicho galeón, que se dio a la vela a primero de abril del año 1717, vino dicho señor mariscal de Campo, su esposa, sus hijos que eran cinco, y dos hijos naturales, macho y hembra, y su sobrino llamado don Gregorio Bustamante, el cual vino con el señor marqués de Valero a la Nueva España, y el dicho don Andrés Arguijo, siendo la familia de dicho señor mariscal de 10 personas en el

³ La palabra "arribada" quiere decir que el galeón, en vez de proseguir el viaje, volvía al puerto de origen, bien fuera por vientos contrarios, o por peligros de piratas, o por otras razones.

⁴ Los dominicos que el día 5 de abril salieron de Acapulco y el 15 de agosto de 1717 entraron en Manila, fueron cuarenta (Cfr. Hilario Ma. Ocio, *Compendio de la Reseña Biográfica*, Manila, 1895, págs. 332-345).

⁵ Se trata de la Universidad de San Felipe. Por Real Cédula del 11 de julio de 1702 el rey Felipe V había encargado al gobernador de Filipinas que, en consulta con el Sr. Arzobispo y la Real Audiencia, viera el modo de

advisor. The latter was on his way to the Islands to found a university together with Señor Don Francisco Fernández Toribio and Señor Don Ocio. This Ocio was later a Canon of this Cathedral and eventually a Provisor and Vicar-General of this Archbishopric and Bishop of Cebu.² The latter two individuals brought with them the appointment of the *oidores* and military help while Don Julián de Velasco carried with him the *residencia*³ of the deceased Señor Conde de Lizárraga. When the *Mariscal*, Governor of these Islands, learned that he brought the *residencia*, he demanded that it be surrendered to him, but Señor Velasco refused.

The galleon *Santo Cristo de Burgos* sailed from these Islands and arrived at the Port of Acapulco on December 8, 1716 with Don Fernando Angulo as its general-commander. This same galleon made preparation for its departure on April 1, 1717. It was on this voyage that the *Mariscal de Campo* sailed together with his wife, five children, two off-spring born out of wedlock and a nephew, Don Gregorio Bustamante who arrived to New Spain with Señor Marqués de Valero. The household of Señor Don Julián de Velasco was composed of eight persons including his niece Doña Agueda and the two servants María Ana and María Bernarda. The family of Señor Toribio included his wife, Doña Teresa, two servants, a steward and two page-boys. Don José Villavicencio, who later became a government official, and Don Sebastián Villoria were the page-boys of Don Julián de Velasco: the former became a government official and so did the latter who is now an accountant of the Royal Treasury of these Islands.

All in all, our two mission-groups and the others aboard the galleon *Santo Cristo de Burgos* totaled 150 persons including the crew-members.

² Don Manuel Antonio Ocio y Ocampo was named Bishop of Cebu on November 1, 1730; he accepted the nomination on July 9, 1732 and took possession of the Diocesan administration on April 25, 1733 and was consecrated Bishop in Manila in 1735. He died on June 21, 1737. See, Juan José Delgado, *Historia General*, (Manila: El Eco de Filipinas de D. Juan Atayde, 1892), Parte Ia, Libro segundo, Cap. XI, pp. 174-175.

³ This is a procedure wherein a public account must be rendered by every Governor or government official prior to his leaving office or upon completing his tenure. Every citizen had a right to bring forward any claim, complaint, grievance or suit. A favourable *residencia* would not be issued unless all claims were satisfied. Cf., William Lytle Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1959), pp. 172-173; 185 and 202.

navío. La del señor don Julián de Velasco de ocho, entrando su sobrina doña Agueda y sus dos criadas, María Ana y María Bernarda. La familia del señor Toribio, su esposa doña Teresa, dos criadas, mayordomo y dos pajes. Don José Villavicencio, que después fue oficial real, y don Sebastián Villoria eran pajes del señor don Julián; el don Sebastián es hoy valanzario de la Caja Real de estas Islas.

Veníamos las dos Misiones y otras gentes en el navío *Santo Cristo de Burgos*, que se componía de 150 personas, entrando su tripulación.

Salimos del puerto día primero de abril, y llegamos día cuatro de julio a hacer la "salva" a San Bernardino en el embocadero, y aquella madrugada nos entró tan furioso *baguio* o huracán, que, calando masteleros a medio trinquete vela, salimos a mar ancho, habiendo perdido lancha y bote por estar ya en el agua y amarrados por la popa del navío para saltar el mariscal y su acompañamiento en la primera tierra, que era lo que deseaba, dejándose

erigir una cátedra de Cánones y otra de Leyes, sin gravamen del Real Erario. Después de consultar al Consejo de Indias en 27 de enero de 1714, decretó fundar tres cátedras: una de Leyes, otra de Cánones y la tercera de Derecho Romano (Instituta). Para regentar la cátedra de Leyes nombró al doctor don Julián de Velasco, para la de Instituta al licenciado don Francisco Fernández Toribio; y, por encargo del Rey, el virrey de Méjico proveyó la cátedra de Cánones en la persona del doctor don Manuel de Ocio y Ocampo, después canónigo doctoral de Manila y por último obispo de Cebú. Se efectuó la apertura de esta Universidad en 9 de junio de 1718. Como la nueva Universidad llevara una vida muy lánguida, por decreto del 25 de enero de 1726 la Real Audiencia transfirió las tres cátedras al colegio de San José. Por fin, el 23 de octubre de 1733 el rey Felipe V mandó por una Real Cedula que tanto el colegio de San José como la universidad de Santo Tomás establecieran las cátedras de Cánones y de Leyes. El 26 de julio de 1730 había prácticamente suprimido, por otra Real Cédula, las cátedras que él mismo había decretado en 1714 se fundasen en Manila (Cfr. Alberto Santamaría, O.P., *Dos centenarios jurídicos en Filipinas, 1734-1934*, MS en el archivo de la Universidad de Santo Tomás, Sección de LIBROS, vol. 244, págs. 12-18).

We sailed from this port⁴ on April 1, 1717 and we arrived and entered the San Bernardino Strait early at dawn of July fourth into a furious typhoon or *baguio*. The winds were so strong that we had to lower our sails and bring down the masts. We lost our small passenger boat and a launch which were already lowered into the sea and tied to the poop-deck. These were readied for the discharge of the *Mariscal* and his party as soon as land would be sighted. His wife would be left aboard since she was very ill due to a premature delivery and fever complications. We lost our cooking-stove and many other items from aboard the ship. We were unable to land anywhere and the first land we saw after ten days was the Island of Catanduanes. The *Mariscal* was eager to get ashore as soon as the ship would be able to reach a port so as to proceed to Manila and assume the *bastón*.⁵

The galleon entered and anchored where no other ship ever did before: it was a place named Bacón⁶ which was situated about two-days travel by sea from the Albay capital. It was a hamlet belonging to Albay but it had no inhabitants there and so cannons had to be fired in order to attract attention. A small vessel was soon improvised from some old masts which would be able to accommodate two individuals and thus was utilized to go ashore and attract notice. In due time, two boats arrived: the *Mariscal* boarded one and into the other they placed the parcels of letters from the King. Later, other vessels kept arriving to Bacón which transported the two mission-groups and also the family of Don Julián de Velasco to the capital of Albay. Señor Toribio, his wife and family were all left behind in the galleon to assist the wife of the Governor who grew critically ill with every passing day.

The Señor Mariscal quickly set-out for Manila and entered the city secretly and almost unnoticed. He went directly to the King's Fiscal, Don Alvarado, who found for him the house of General Don Domingo Bermúdez which was situated on one corner near the church of San Agustín. The *Mariscal* remained in that house and it was there that he accepted the Governor's *bastón*

⁴ Acapulco

⁵ This is a staff of command and a symbol of the Governor's office.

⁶ Situated on the eastern coast of today's Province of Sorsogon.

bien mala a su esposa en el navío, a causa del aborto y calenturas con que venía. Perdimos fogones, etc., y en diez días no volvimos a coger tierra, y la primera que se vio fue la isla de Catanduanes. Instaba el mariscal a que se cogiese algún puerto para saltar en tierra y venirse a Manila para empuñar el bastón.

Se entró, fondeando, un puerto en que jamás había entrado galeón (decían), llamado Bacón, distante dos días de mar de la primera tierra de Albay, aunque era su "visitilla", pero no había gente. Comenzóse a disparar cañonazos por ver si esta acudía con alguna embarcación. Viendo que no, se dispuso hacer de palos viejos una en que pudiesen dos hombres ir en ella para avisar. Vinieron dos embarcaciones, en la una se embarcó el señor mariscal, y en la otra los pliegos del Rey. Luego fueron llegando embarcaciones al puerto, y fuimos las misiones a la cabecera de Albay y la familia del señor don Julián de Velasco, quedándose en el navío el señor Toribio, su esposa y familia para asistir a la señora gobernadora, la que cada día iba a más su accidente.

El señor mariscal se vino corriendo la posta a Manila, y, sin dar aviso, se entró en ella de secreto; y el fiscal del Rey, señor Alvarado,⁶ quien vivía en la casa que hace esquina en San Agustín, pidió la casa del general don Domingo Bermúdez, y en ella se aposentó dicho señor mariscal, y allí entregó el bastón de gobernador el señor oidor don José Torralba, y desde allí lo envió al castillo de Santiago, preso. Estuvo en dicha casa el señor mariscal algunos días, y dicen siempre comunicando con su amigo el señor Alvarado, fiscal de la Real Audiencia por Su Majestad.

Haciendo aquí punto, volvamos a la señora gobernadora. Esta murió en un camarincillo en la "visitilla" de Bacón, con el con-

⁶ Don Juan Antonio de Casa y Alvarado, fiscal de su Majestad (Cfr. Juan de la Concepción, *Historia General de Filipinas*, Manila, 1790, vol. IX, pág. 228).

from the *oidor* Don José Torralba whom he quickly sent to prison in Fort Santiago. It was said that the *Mariscal* stayed in that house for several days, always in close communication with his friend Señor Alvarado the fiscal of the *Real Audiencia* of His Majesty.

Let us interrupt this account for a moment and return to the wife of the Governor. She stayed in a small house in the hamlet of Bacón where she received the spiritual comfort of the Franciscans at her death-bed. Assisting and comforting her also were Don Francisco Toribio, his wife and family, the surgeon Don Pedro Nolasco of the *nao* with his various remedies and prescriptions. It was her will that her remains would be buried in *Cagsaua*⁷ where we had our first Franciscan convent. However, this was impossible to accomplish because heavy rains and strong winds intervened. Therefore, she was buried in Bacón where a small shed and a cross marked her grave. Meanwhile all those who remained behind slowly left for their destinations by themselves.

The *Mariscal*, on the other hand, attended to the affairs of the government seemingly untouched too deeply by the death of his wife. We Franciscans condoled with the Governor by paying his wife a fine tribute and honors in our convent of Manila. Although the Governor quickly established a reputation for great dedication to his office, he did incur the displeasure of the Manila citizenry.

One of his very first moves was an order to Don Juan Domingo de Nebra, who was in charge of the silver and who arrived with the *Mariscal* on the same galleon, to withhold the silver from everyone. In the same decree he ordered all the government officials to first settle their obligations; to his secretary he gave an order to prepare a list of all the debtors of the King. Since these matters took up much time and because the silver was not released, the rich, the widows and the young ladies all protested. Most of the citizens did not like to declare the persons who were included in their assets, or having a part in them or those to whom they belonged for fear that the Royal scrivener in charge

⁷ This is the ancient town which now lies in ruins at the foot of the beautiful Mayon Volcano. The town was founded by the Franciscans in 1587 and totally destroyed by volcanic eruption of 1814. Cf. Félix de Huerta, *Estado* (Binondo: Imprenta de M. Sánchez y Ca. 1965), pp. 268-269.

suelo de tener a su cabecera religiosos nuestros, asistencia del señor don Francisco Toribio, su esposa y familia, botica y cirujano del navío, don Pedro Nolasco. Mandóse enterrar en el primer convento de nuestra Orden, que lo era Cagsawa; lo que no se pudo ejecutar por lo vigoroso de los vientos y aguas, y así quedó enterada en Bacón, poniendo un camarín y una cruz. Y luego se vinieron a sus destinos, solos, todos.

Como el señor mariscal estaba entendiendo en cosas de su gobierno, muy poca fuerza parece le hizo la muerte de su esposa. No obstante, la hizo unas honras en nuestro convento de Manila, y se le conoció ser todo su conato aplicarse a su empleo, aun con la displicencia de la república de Manila.

Una de las primeras operaciones que hizo fue mandar al maestre de "plata" que venía en el navío, don Juan Domingo de Nebra, que a ninguno la diese, y "simul" mandó a los oficiales Reales y su escribano le diesen cuenta de todos aquellos que debiesen al Rey. Y, como en esta diligencia se tardase algún tiempo, y la plata se estaba detenida, clamaban ricos, pobres, viudas y doncellas, y los más no gustaban de declarar de qué personas estaban incluidas en sus caudales, y repartidos por ellos, a aquellos de quienes eran, luego entrase el escribano del "debido cobrar", y los oficiales Reales haciendo sus diligencias.⁷

⁷ Para la mejor inteligencia de este párrafo, citaremos las siguientes palabras, escritas por el P. Serapio Tamayo: "Exageradamente celoso de la Real Hacienda, el nuevo gobernador se aplicó sin descanso a recuperar el importe de la suma desfalcada por su antecesor y, habiendo tenido conocimiento de que buena parte de aquel *déficit* provenía de cantidades adeudadas por los comerciantes, al llegar la Nao de Acapulco que traía a su bordo unos dos millones de Pesos, decomisó el cargamento al objeto de cobrarse con más facilidad de las sumas que muchos interesados en aquel caudal adeudaban al Real Haber. Estas medidas, si muy beneficiosas para el Estado, constituyeron una verdadera ruina para muchos comerciantes, pues se vieron privados en un momento de la base de su comercio, y excusado es

of the "debts" would come in and the Royal officials make the due inquiries.

The fact was that as the Señor Mariscal had given to the Court (so it was rumored) eighty thousand pesos for the Government [of the Philippines] (which he obtained from the widowed Queen), and had been in New Spain waiting for the Señor de Lizárraga to finish his term [of office], he incurred exorbitant expenses in its purchase [the Office] and during his delay [in Mexico]; and even though the King apparently was the pretext, in reality, it was not that, but that Señor Alvarado and also the Mariscal were handling the matter in such a way that from him to whom the galleon brought eighty thousand pesos, they demanded twenty thousand as a gift (they said), and in the same manner with other matters. It has also been circulated that when the galleon arrived with its four million pesos in silver⁸ about 150,000 was taken from the citizens by Bustamante for himself. This mal-practice prejudiced the interests of the poor, the widows and maidens. Obviously, because of all this, many individuals became disgusted with the Governor's dealings and his ways. And as they [the people] were not unaware that Señor Alvarado and the Mariscal were closely associated in their business, and the former was not well received in the Republic on account of the rumors spread against him before, from this they concluded that Señor Alvarado had suggested to him this idea, so that in this way he [the Mariscal] might be able to fulfill his obligations towards his creditors. That particular year he was found dead, all alone and in a sitting position. Again, it was said and rumored that when his last will and testament was read, it showed that the *Mariscal* was made the heir and the beneficiary of all his property. And so all vanished and was dissolved like salt in water just as it has happened with so many fortunes in the Philippines.

In the year 1718, the Governor named Don Domingo de Nebra as commander⁹ of the galleon which was making a trip. How-

⁸ This is an incredible sum of silver pesos considering the fact that this galleon also carried cargo worth perhaps at least two and a half million pesos. Nowhere in Schurz's work, *The Manila Galleon* is this staggering figure ever given. What more, there was a *permiso* which limited the volume of the trade to a specified sum; it controlled export of Chinese silk to Mexico and silver to Manila. Cf. Schurz, *op. cit.*, pp. 45, 155, 181 and 405.

Y fue el caso que, como el señor mariscal había dado en la Corte (según se decía) ochenta mil pesos por el Gobierno (el que sacó de la Reina Viuda), y había estado en la Nueva España aguardando cumpliese el suyo el señor conde de Lizárraga, hizo unos exorbitantes gastos en su compra y demora; y, aunque el Rey, en su celo, era el pretexto, no era en la realidad eso, si no es el que por mano del señor Alvarado se meneaba la cosa, y por la del señor mariscal, pues al que le venía 50 mil pesos (dijeron) se les pedían 20 mil de regalo, y así “de caeteris”. De lo que se decía, y era voz pública, que de los cuatro millones que vinieron en el navío había sacado a los republicanos mas de 150 mil pesos; y, como para dar estos, quedaba la República descubierta con pobres, viudas y doncellas, de aquí comenzaron a coger fastidio a sus operaciones y persona. Y como no ignoraban ser uno con el señor Alvarado, y éste no estar muy bien recibido en la República por los cuentos antecedentes, de ahí decían que le había dado la idea el señor fiscal Alvarado para que, por este medio, pudiese satisfacer a sus corresponsales. Ello es que dicho señor Alvarado en aquel año murió de repente, sentado y solo. Dicen se halló una memoria testamentaria en que dejaba por albacea y heredero de sus bienes al señor mariscal, y todo se hizo sal y agua, como los más caudales de Filipinas.

En el año de 1718 nombró el señor gobernador por general del galeón que había de hacer viaje, a don Juan Domingo de Nebra. Arribó este dicho año, fuese por la causa que se fuese. En el mismo año llamó el mariscal a don Julián de Velasco y le pidió la Cédula de la “residencia” del señor conde de Lizárraga, difunto. No le pareció a dicho señor poder dársela. Hubo entre los dos sus contiendas, y por remate puso preso en un calabozo que caía

decir las odiosidades que un celo tan exagerado acarrearía al nuevo gobernador” (*Sobre una “Reseña histórica de Filipinas”*, Manila, 1906, pág. 99).

ever, for some unknown reasons the *nao* returned to port. This same year also, the *Mariscal* summoned Don Julián de Velasco and requested the surrender of the *cédula de residencia* of the deceased Conde de Lizárraga. A dispute arose between them because Velasco stubbornly refused to surrender the documents. As a result, he was thrown into a dungeon which was then located under the secretary's office and where guards were posted to prevent any visitors. Likewise, the strictest supervision over his meals was imposed. His house was also seized and placed under heavy guard. All these measures were taken solely with the intent of pressuring him to hand over the *cédula real de la residencia*, but this, together with all the other records had been already placed beyond the Governor's reach. This said gentleman was kept in prison until the *Mariscal's* death as shall be mentioned below.

The "little count", Don Joaquín de Vesúa together with his cousin Don Miguel, sought sanctuary in the College of Santa Cruz outside of the city walls, which was under the Society of Jesus and where Father José Astudillo, who later became Provincial, was the Rector. The reason or motive for seeking refuge there was this: in the year 1716 the Count was commander of the *nao* and he returned to the port of departure; since Torralba did not order him to be subjected to the process of *residencia*, rumours were spread that the new governor would subject him to investigations because his return to port was the reason why Bustamante's voyage from Mexico was greatly delayed. And so, he feared the *Mariscal's* rule. Since the *oidores* did not agree with the procedures and administration of the Governor, he called for them one by one. Don Señor José Pavón, senior *oidor*, was sent as a visitor to the missions on the Pacific Coast beginning with Santor and far beyond. Later he made an attempt to send, we do not know for what purpose, the *oidor*, Don Gregorio Villa; but he instead took refuge in the convent of Guadalupe. The *Oidor* Torralba was imprisoned and Alvarado was dead or sick.

⁹ The highest official aboard the galleon was known as Commander and General of the Sea. This was the richest gift within the power of the governor to bestow upon his friends. The salary of the commander for a voyage was pegged at 4,325 pesos. The commander, in turn, paid the Governor for the privilege from 600 to 10,000 pesos. A thrifty commander could clear from 50,000 to 100,000 pesos from his various ventures. Cf. Schurz, *op. cit.*, pp. 204-205

debajo de la Secretaría, entonces, al dicho señor Velasco, con guardias de vista y rigurosos mandatos, hasta que se le registrase la comida. Asimismo, le embargó su casa y puso guardias, todo a fin de que le entregase la Cédula Real de la "residencia"; pero esta, con otros papeles, estaban puestos en cobro. Estuvo preso dicho caballero hasta que murió dicho mariscal y se dirá abajo.

Estaba el "condecito" don Joaquín de Vesúa, con su primo don Miguel, retraídos en el Colegio de Santa Cruz, extramuros de Manila, de los PP. de la Compañía de Jesús, en donde era rector el P. José Astudillo, que después fue Provincial. El motivo de haberse refugiado fue el que el año de 1716 iba de general en la nao y arribó; y, como el señor Torralba no había mandado diese la residencia y "alias" se divulgaron voces que contra él venía el nuevo gobernador, pues su arribada había sido causa de detención, al gobierno del señor mariscal temió. Fue el señor gobernador llamando a los señores oidores, y, porque "separatim" no aprobaban sus operaciones, al señor don José Pavón, oidor mas antiguo, lo envió a visitar las misiones de la contracosta, desde Santor adelante.⁸ Luego envió al señor oidor don Gregorio Villa⁹ no sé con qué incumbencia, mas este se metió en Guadalupe; y el señor oidor Torralba preso, y el señor Alvarado difunto o enfermo.

Para que no parasen los negocios de las Islas, formó una Audiencia a su modo con el doctor don José Correa, señor Torralba, el que llevó a su palacio y los dos hermanos Anastasios; al primero presto le conoció y lo quitó el empleo, o, por mejor decir, lo dejó Correa.

⁸ Santor era entonces una importante misión, situada al norte de la actual provincia de Nueva Ecija. La "contracosta" era la costa de Luzón bañada por las aguas del Pacífico; y en este caso, los pueblos de Casiguran, Baler y otros.

⁹ Su nombre completo era Gregorio Manuel de la Villa.

So that the affairs of the Islands would not be brought to a standstill, he formed an *Audiencia* in his own way, with Doctor José Correa; also with Señor Torralba whom he brought to the palace; and the two Anastasio brothers. As soon as he saw through and caught on to the first one [Correa], he deprived him of office, or better, Correa resigned.

The citizens were witness to all this confusion of events and the silver-embargo especially pained them deeply. In order to escape any reprisals they began to claim the right of sanctuary; it seemed that all wanted to be "sacristans." Up to this time, however, those who sought refuge were still very few in number. Don Pavón returned from his visitation that same year and after a few days the *Mariscal* sent six soldiers to his house with Don Miguel Coronado at the head so that they may bring the *oidor* to the Palace. However, he was able to escape from his house through a window with the aid of a rope and hurried for our convento. The Governor threw Don Miguel Coronado into a "sulphur" dungeon for his failure in bringing Don Pavón as a prisoner.

It was from this moment that the citizens began seeking refuge for themselves and security for their belongings. In fact, there was scarcely anyone left in the City who was not seeking the right of sanctuary. The only ones left in the city were the *Alcalde-in-the-ordinary*, Don Fernando Iglesias, the castellan of Fort Santiago, Novamuel, Don Gregorio Escalante, Don Antonio Avecilla and one of the officials of the King, Jiménez, known by the undesirable name of "Ana Bolena." There were also a few others but of no great renown.

Those who sought refuge in the convento of San Agustín were Don Vicente Lucea, the *Alcalde* of Tondo, Don Pedro de la Maza and others. General Quirós with some others took refuge in the cathedral tower while in the college here, it was Don Antonio Chandía and others. The *Fiscal-mayor* of the Archbishop, Don Fr. Juan de la Cuesta, General Rojas and a few others found a place of sanctuary in the Franciscan conventos. In the convento of Dilao, it was General Don Juan Iñigo Bertiz, a Knight of Calatrava. General Don Juan Pablo Orduña with some others was staying with the Recoletos. All in all, it seems that there were no people left in their houses. There was also another

A todo este tropel de cosas que los republicanos estaban viendo, y su plata les dolía, por no experimentar tropelías, se fueron metiendo en los conventos (discurro por "sacristanes"); no eran aun todavía muchos los refugiados. Volvió el señor Pavón de su visita en aquel año, y a pocos días mandando el mariscal a su casa seis soldados, y por cabo de ellos a don Manuel Coronado para que llevaran al palacio al señor oidor, éste se descolgó de su casa por una ventana, y se fue a nuestro convento; y al cabo, porque no lo llevó, lo puso en el calabozo del "azufre".

De aquí se fueron los de la República poniendo sus personas y haciendas en conventos, y no quedó gente en ella que no estuviese en las iglesias, y sólo se componía la Ciudad del alcalde ordinario, señor don Fernando Iglesias; del castellano de Santiago, Novamuel, don Gregorio Escalante, don Antonio Avejillas, y un oficial Real Jiménez, por mal nombre "Ana Bolena" y otros cuantos, no de pelo, en sus casas.

En el convento del Señor San Agustín estaban don Vicente Lucea; el alcalde de Tondo, don Pedro de la Maza, y otros. El general Quirós, con otros, estaban en la torre de la catedral refugiados. En ese colegio don Antonio Chandía, con otros. En la Sagrada Orden, el fiscal mayor del señor arzobispo, don Fr. Juan de la Cuesta, el general Rojas, y otros cuantos. En Dilao, el general don Juan Iñigo Bertiz, caballero de Calatrava. En los Recoletos, el general don Juan Pablo Ortuña,¹⁰ con otros; y, en fin, no había gente en las casas, pues al general don Benito Carrasco, que era el otro alcalde ordinario, había enviado con su sobrino, Don Gregorio Bustamante, a la embajada al reino de Siam, y a traer arroz para la Ciudad, pues andaba ya este a peso el caván, y llegó a valer en Manila el caván a 15 reales, y así lo pagó el

¹⁰ Juan Pablo de Orduña, según la Historia, fue el general enviado en el año de 1718 para pacificar la provincia de Cagayán, alzada en armas contra los españoles.

alcalde-in-the-ordinary, Don Benito Carrasco, who was sent with the Governor's nephew, Don Gregorio Bustamante in a legation to the Kingdom of Siam¹⁰ in order to procure rice since the price was already one peso per *cavan* and in Manila it went up to fifteen *reales*. The *Alcalde Mayor* of the Province of Tayabas¹¹, when I was the minister of the town of Sariaya bought it from me for eighteen *reales* per *cavan*. They returned from Siam with wet rice and many elephant tusks and other goods. From these tusks they made some toys which represented babies in their cradles; the cradles especially were artistically fashioned. These toys together with combs and other curious objects Bustamante sent as gifts to Mexico and to the Court of Madrid.

As General Nebra had returned that year to the port of origin, and he (as well as the others) new already the Governor's greed for silver, he was not remiss in giving him [silver] so as to receive a favourable "*residencia*" and he appointed Commander-General the next year, as in reality it so happened by means of the thousands that General Don José Morales presented as a gift to the Secretary Arguijo, whom he held in his grip, as Nebra held the *Mariscal* in his; the two Generals, Nebra and Morales, acted as one man, in order to see, if by making a trip, as he made it that year, both could refill the many money-bags they emptied-out in favour of the Governor and the Secretary. When the time approached for Nebra to assume his commandership of the voyage the following year and since most of the citizens withdrew their privileges, the consignments went to Nebra and a few others. All that belonged to the *Mariscal*, to Arguijo, Iglesias, Carrasco, etc., was left unregistered.

Now when the time for the ship to sail again arrived, the commander was made aware of the *Mariscal's* suspicion about the non-registry of the goods with the *Maestre*. As a result, Nebra and Morales agreed between themselves to win over the crew of the ship and any others who might come aboard. All this was done with great caution and under the pretext that the wife of the

¹⁰ An excellent account of this trip was printed in the year 1719. A facsimile of the above was published in 1952 together with many interesting items on Bustamante and material pertinent to his tragic death and murder in 1719. See the excellent monograph, José Díaz de Villegas y de Bustamante, *Una Embajada Española a Siam a Principios del Siglo XVIII*, (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Montañeses, 1952).

¹¹ Now the Province of Quezon.

alcalde mayor de la Provincia de Tayabas, donde estaba de ministro, después, el caván a 18 reales.¹¹ Volvieron con arroz mojado y muchos colmillos de elefante, y otros géneros; con que hizo cantidad de niños de cuna, muy curiosas estas; muchos peines, etc., para sus regalos a Méjico y la Corte de Madrid, que envió con otras curiosidades.

Como había aquel año arribado el general Nebra, y este (como los demás ya sabían su ansia de plata), no anduvo este escaso en darle por salir bien de la "residencia"¹² y volver de general al siguiente año, como se efectuó por medio de los miles que regaló al secretario Arguijo el general don José Morales, el que tenía cogido a dicho secretario, y Nebra al señor mariscal; y los dos generales, Nebra y Morales, iban a una, para ver si, haciendo viaje, como lo hizo aquel año, podían resarcir tantas talegas como habían dado a gobernador y secretario.

Efectuóse volviese de general Nebra al año siguiente; y, como a este tiempo los más estaban retraídos, las consignaciones fueron a Nebra; y este todo lo llevaba con nombre suyo y del poco vecindario, lo puso en registro; y cuanto era del mariscal, de Arguijo, Iglesias, Carrasco, etc., iba fuera de registro.

Llegó el tiempo de salir el navío, y, conociendo el general recelo en el gobernador, y que no se le entregaba al maestre el registro, entre Morales y Nebra dispusieron captar a los de la tripulación del navío y a otros que se habían de embarcar, las voluntades, y con cautela y pretexto irse a Cavite la mujer del

¹¹ Para su mejor inteligencia, léase esta sentencia de la siguiente manera: "... y así me lo pagó a mí el alcalde mayor de la provincia de Tayabas, donde estuve de ministro después, el caván a 18 reales".

¹² El principio de este párrafo está un poco oscuro. Quizá quedase más claro en la forma siguiente: "Como aquel año había arribado el general Nebra, y este (como los demás) ya sabía su ansia de plata, no anduvo escaso, etc.

commander must go to Cavite. The Commander Nebra then went aboard; the galleon began moving and they sailed at night and passed by Mariveles with a lot of luck but unregistered.

When the Governor learned of Nebra's voyage, he sent his nephew, Don Gregorio and an assistant who did not enjoy a good reputation and who was nicknamed "Rompesábanas" in pursuit of the galleon. His nephew was to be its commander and Nebra was to be brought back to Manila. When they caught-up with the galleon, Don Gregorio was not given an opportunity to board the ship; his assistant, who managed to get aboard, was thrown into the sea while from above-deck everyone shouted: "Ducks belong in the water!" When he was rescued both returned to Manila like dogs with their tails between their legs.

A proclamation was made that Nebra was a traitor to the King and two vessels, under the command of General Fernando Angulo, were ordered to sea in pursuit of Nebra. It was said that these passed in front of the escaping galleon, saluted it and returned to port alleging that their ships were leaking. It is quite evident that they could not have acted otherwise since the merchandise of Angulo and that of the other residents was on board; therefore, all conspired towards the same purpose.

In the meantime, the Governor decided that his nephew, Don Gregorio, should set sail for Acapulco in a *patache*¹² which left Cavite on the ninth of September. When this *patache* arrived in Acapulco, the galleon was already there and the Viceroy Marqués de Valero had been well informed about all that has transpired and even more so with the help of the letters brought by Nebra. Everything was approved as well done. Don Gregorio, on the other hand, handed over the registry; everything on the vessel that was not registered and belonging to the Governor and whatever those on board declared, was all considered as unlawful merchandise, confiscated and taken to Mexico.

There in Manila, soon after this tricky exploit took place, the people began posting sarcastic rhymes and ironic verses on the Palace of the Governor. I still remember the beginning of one of them whose tenor was as follows:

Don Fernando at this very moment
Has been somewhat frightened
Since the brilliant Nebra

¹² A tender or a light vessel.

general Nebra. Luego que se embarcó, se hizo la vela salió de noche con felicidad de Mariveles, pero sin registro.

Luego que supo el gobernador que Nebra se iba, envió a su sobrino don Gregorio, y a un ayudante que, por mal hombre, llamaban "rompesábanas" al navío para que trajesen al general Nebra a Manila, y dicho su sobrino quedase de general. Luego que al navío aportaron, los que en él estaban no permitieron dejar subir a don Gregorio; y al ayudante, que subió, lo echaron al agua y proclamaron de arriba "al agua pato"; con que, pudiéndolo coger, se volvieron los dos a Manila "rabo entre piernas."

Publicó por bando traidor al Rey al general Nebra, dispuso dos bajales al comando del general don Fernando Angulo que fuesen a traer a Nebra. Estos pasaron (dicen) por enfrente del galeón y le hicieron la "salva", y se metieron en puerto, diciendo hacían mucha agua. Claro está ¿cómo no había de ser así si iba en él la hacienda de Angulo y la demás de los vecinos, y todos iban a ella?

Mientras, dispuso el gobernador fuese su sobrino don Gregorio en un patache a Acapulco. Salió de Cavite por 9 de septiembre. Cuando este llegó al puerto, ya estaba el galeón en él y dado parte al señor virrey marqués de Valero de lo sucedido, el que con las cartas que llevó Nebra, lo dio por bien hecho. Don Gregorio entregó el registro, y quanto iba fuera del que era del gobernador y lo que declararon los del navío, todo se dio por decomiso, y se llevó a Méjico.

Acá en Manila, luego que sucedió esta fechoría, comenzaron a echarle coplas en el palacio al mariscal. Acuérdome del principio de unas que decían así:

"Don Fernando en este instante
Ha llevado buen sustillo,
Porque Nebra rutilante

Left for him only the tusks
Of so many white elephants.
The General all his life-long
Wished to rectify his wrong
But sadly finds all healing gone,
For left behind are only wounds deeply done, etc.

And so, in this manner, every day there appeared verses and couplets on the palace doors even before dawn. So much so that with every passing day this "saintly" gentleman became more and more impatient and restless.

The Most Reverend Archbishop, Don Fray Francisco de la Cuesta, a monk of Saint Jerome, used to visit him and offered advice. The Archbishop once told me and here are his exact words:

As for me, Father Felipe, I do not know what to do with this man; I have given him some advice, but he does not accept any of it. The only thing left is, as your Reverence will see, that some day his "miracles" will be posted on the doors of the churches. Your Reverence may tell this to the General Don Juan Iñigo Bertiz on my behalf when you see him.

And even though this did not take place, the Archbishop did send two of his prebends, Señor Doctor Ocio and Señor Doctor Fuentes with a message to the Governor on the night of October tenth. The *Mariscal*, however, threw both of them into one of his palace rooms and locked them up as prisoners; they remained there until the death of the Governor.

A gathering of religious superiors took place in our convent at Dilao where all the Provincials had to attend. Among the matters taken up, one was that upon a given signal the various religious communities should assemble at a pre-arranged place.

On October 11th, the Octave of the Feast of Our Holy Father Saint Francis, the entire night was filled with rain and thunder. At five o'clock in the morning, a cannon was fired signalling the towncrier's reading of the Governor's proclamation requesting all men to report to the Palace with their arms and weapons at the sound of the cannon; all were urged to appear under the penalty of death.

At about the same hour, all the local superiors were summoned for their gathering. When our Superior was about to leave, he left word with the one-in-charge of the convent that if

Solo le deja el colmillo
De tanto blanco elefante."

"El general por su vida
Quiso enmendarle la plana,
Y allá se lleva la sana,
Y acá le deja la herida, etc."

A este modo, todos los días le salían romaces y coplas, que amanecían en el palacio; con lo que el "santo" caballero cada día más y más se iba indisponiendo.

El señor Ilustrísimo Arzobispo don Fray Francisco de la Cuesta, monje jerónimo, le visitaba, le aconsejaba; pero, como a mi me lo dijo su Ilustrísima, son sus formales palabras estas: "Y a mi, Padre Fray Felipe, no sé qué hacerme con este hombre; consejos me parece le he dado y no los toma; conquese solo me queda el que algún día vea V. R. puestos sus milagros en las puertas de las iglesias; así se lo puede Vuestra Reverencia también decir de mi parte al general don Iñigo de Bertiz cuando le vea."

Y, aunque no llegó este caso, mas sí enviándole el señor Ilustrísimo la noche del día diez de octubre un recado con dos señores prebendados, que fueron el señor doctor Ocio y el señor doctor Fuentes. Lo que hizo el señor mariscal con ellos fue meterlos en un cuarto de su palacio y echarles la llave, estando así hasta que sucedió la muerte del gobernador.

Habíase celebrado una junta de Prelados en nuestro convento de Dilao, todos Provinciales, después, por los efectos entendimos; y, entre las cosas que se comunicaron, fué una el que al primer aviso o recado de una, las demás comunidades acudiesen adonde las convocasen a las demás.

Día 11 de octubre, octava de Nuestro Padre San Francisco, estando toda la noche tronando y lloviendo, a las 5 de la mañana dispararon una pieza con bala, que era la señal del bando publi-

ever a message comes from any of the religious communities, we all should obey and conform with all the others. The Guardian¹³ of the Manila convent was Father Francisco de San Juan¹⁴ who later became a Provincial. He was taken to the accountant's office and there imprisoned or detained. The same happened with the Father Prior of the convent of our Holy Father Saint Dominic, Reverend Father Villa¹⁵ and many other Superiors of the Religious Orders. After these measures were carried out, the Governor sent out troops with bayonets, arms in full readiness and positioned them at the entry of the streets near the plaza. Artillery pieces loaded with cannon-balls were readied and Fort Santiago was alerted.

When several companies of armed soldiers were stationed at the plaza, he ordered his son Don Fernando Carlos, who was the *sargento-mayor de la plaza*, to take the Archbishop to Fort Santiago. The *Sargento-mayor*, while fetching the Archbishop, told him that the Governor wished to see him.

At that very moment all the churches began tolling the interdict. And so with all the rain, thunder and women weeping in the windows of their houses, it was a terrible spectacle and one

¹³ This is a title given to a Franciscan Superior in a large community.

¹⁴ His full name is Father Francisco de San Juan de Mata who entered the Franciscan Province of San José in Spain and who voyaged to the Philippines in 1709. He was assigned to the missions in the Mount Isaroc region where he laboured with great zeal and dedication till the year 1714 when he was assigned to Quipayo. The following year he was transferred to the chaplaincy of San Lazaro Hospital. In 1717 he was appointed Guardian of the Franciscan Convent in the Walled City where he ministered very prudently especially during the upheaval and murder of Governor Bustamante.

In the Provincial Chapter of May 18, 1720, he was elected as Definer and minister of the parish in Lumbang, Laguna. In 1725 he was appointed Vicar of Santa Clara Monastery and at the Provincial Chapter of June 8, 1726, he was elected Minister Provincial and governed the Franciscans with great diligence and understanding until the year 1729 (June 4). Upon completing his term as Provincial, he was assigned to the ministry of Lumban for the second time. Later he was named Commissary Visitor and presided over the Provincial Chapter of May 26, 1735. Afterwards he was re-named as parish-priest of Lumbang and then retired to Siniloan where he died on January 11, 1745 at the age of 69 years, 48 years as a Franciscan and 36 years in the Philippines. See *Félix de Huerta, op. cit.*, p. 469 and also Eusebio Gómez Platero, *Catálogo Biográfico de los Religiosos Franciscanos*, (Manila: Imprenta del Real Colegio de Santo Tomás, 1880), p. 370.

¹⁵ Father Miguel de la Villa was a very observant Dominican Religious and a great missionary in Cagayan. He died in 1725. Together with Father Miguel there were three other Dominicans imprisoned: Father Cristóbal Alonso, Rector of the University of Santo Tomás; Father Antonio Argollanes and Father José Pérez, both were professors of the Dominican University.

cado que, pena de la vida, el que en oyendo a cualquier hora una pieza con bala, no acudiese con sus armas al palacio.

A la misma hora mandó llamar a los Prelados locales; el nuestro, cuando iba, dejó dicho al Presidente del Convento que si de alguna Religión viniese algún recado, que nos conformásemos con las demás. Era Guardián del convento de Manila el Padre Fray Francisco de San Juan, el que después fue Provincial. A este lo llevaron a la Contaduría y pusieron preso, o retenido allí, como también al Padre Prior del Convento de Nuestro Padre Santo Domingo, Reverendo Padre Vila y a los demás prelados de todas las Religiones. Hecha esta diligencia, mandó soldados de a caballo, con bayoneta calada y bala embocada, que estuviesen en las bocacalles de la Plaza; la artillería toda cargada con bala, y el castillo-fuerza de Santiago también.

Luego que todo estuvo hecho, como las¹³ compañías de soldados armados y tendidos en la plaza, mandó a su hijo don Carlos, que era el sargento mayor de la Plaza, que llevase a la fuerza de Santiago al Ilustrísimo Señor Arzobispo. Fue dicho sargento mayor por él, con recado de que el señor gobernador le llamaba.

En este tiempo, se comenzó a tocar en todas las iglesias a entredicho, que, con la lluvia y truenos, y mujeres llorando en las ventanas de sus casas, era todo un terrible espectáculo y una suma confusión. Llegado que fue su Ilustrísima en su silla de manos enfrente del palacio del gobernador, y que el sargento mayor mandó proseguir a los silleros, dijo al sargento mayor: ¿dónde voy? — Respondióle este: — Adonde mi padre me ha mandado. — Y, volviéndose su Ilustrísima a sus capellanes, les dijo: “Hijos, en nombre de Su Santidad confiero toda mi autoridad, cuanto puedo y debo conceder, al más mínimo eclesiástico, aunque esté

¹³ Mejor: “con las compañías de soldados”, etc.

of complete confusion. When the Archbishop arrived in front of Governor's Palace in his sedan-chair, the *Sargento mayor* ordered the chair-bearers to proceed and continue. The Prelate then said to the *Sargento mayor*, "Where are you taking Me?" The Castellan answered, "There where my father ordered me!" The Archbishop then turned to his chaplains and uttered: "In the name of His Holiness, I confer all my authority, as much as I can and must grant to the least ecclesiastic, even if he be only in tuncure, so that he may defend the ecclesiastical immunity." And they went on to the Fort.

Afterwards, when he became Governor, the Archbishop told me on two occasions and in two different conversations about these events that took place on that October eleventh.

As soon as the imprisonment of the Prelate and the Religious Superiors became public knowledge, an Agustinian lay-brother began calling together the religious communities to the convent of San Agustín where all those who were seeking sanctuary were staying. All the religious communities gathered there except the Jesuits; one of them, Father Diego Otazo, stayed in the house where the *Maestre de Campo*, Villamediana, now resides in order to wait and see how things would develop.

In San Agustín, among all the lay-men and the religious there was a confusion of opinions, but never, I must assure you in all truth, did I hear any discussion about the death of the Governor. There was only the demand and the request for the release of the Archbishop and the Religious Superiors. A certain "Ana Bolena" or Jiménez told us to leave at noon-time. This fellow, however, was believed to be a spy planted there by the Governor. He took refuge there and seemingly criticized his superior. Through his servants, some of whom had sought sanctuary there, we learned that he was writing two or three notes a day to the *Mariscal*; since they were all on the alert, his suggestions were not taken seriously. Now this is a fact, had we listened to his advice and waited till noon, and not left earlier as we did, we would have been killed from the heavy artillery that the convento was to be subjected to tentatively.

Everyone was confused and the lay-men who came well-armed with fire-arms did not know what to do, so Father Prior, Fray José López, who renounced the Bishopric of Cebu, ordered the doors

de corona, para que pueda defender la inmunidad eclesiástica," y prosiguió al castillo.

Esto, que así fue, después siendo ya Su Ilustrísima gobernador, me lo refirió a mi por dos veces en diferentes pláticas que tuvimos del asunto y sucesos acaecidos en dicho día 11 de octubre.

Luego que se divulgó la prisión de los Prelados y señor Ilustrísimo, fue un religioso lego de San Agustín convocando a las Sagradas Comunidades al convento de San Agustín, donde ya estaban todos los retraídos de la demás iglesias. Todos acudimos, menos los PP. de la Compañía de Jesús; mas en la casa que es ahora, y vive el señor maestro de Campo, Villamediana, estaba el Padre Diego Otazo aguardando (discurro, a ver el fin).

En San Agustín juntos todos, republicanos y religiosos, era una confusión de pareceres; mas nunca (puedo asegurar con verdad), oí proclamar muerte del gobernador, sí pedir e ir a pedir al señor Ilustrísimo y a los Prelados. Un "Anabolena" o Jiménez decía saliésemos a mediodía; y era el caso que éste, se dijo, era la espía que dentro de San Agustín tenía el señor gobernador, que, aunque se había refugiado, y hablaba mal de las cosas de su superior, por sus criados llegaron algunos de los refugiados a entender escribía dos o tres papelillos al señor mariscal cada día; y, como ya estaban en esta inteligencia, no prevaleció su voto; y cierto que, si se le ha dado lugar, y no hubiéramos salido tan presto, puede ser que el convento con la artillería de la Fuerza hubiera corrido ruína y nosotros con él.

Confusos todos, y los seculares todos bien armados de armas de fuego, sin saber qué hacer, mandó el Padre Prior Fray José López (quien había renunciado al obispado de Cebú) abriesen la portería; mas, cuando nosotros salimos, ya por la puerta falsa o huerta, habían salido don Vicente Lucea, don Pedro de la Maza y don José Serrano, los que por la Calle del Palacio Arzobispal se entraron por la puerta falsa del palacio del gobernador; y, como

of the convent to be opened. And so when we walked out, we noticed that Don Vicente Lucea, Don Pedro de la Maza and Don José Serrano had left through the secret door leading out to the orchard. They passed through *Calle Arzobispo* and entered the palace of the Governor through a secret gate. Meanwhile, the Governor having heard some tumult out on the streets, looked out from the balcony to inquire what was going on. The soldiers told him that it was a rosary procession wending its way toward the plaza. When he began leaving the balcony, Don Vicente was already on top of him.

Don Vicente Lucea was carrying an Indian sword, a leather-belt with pistols and a knife. The *Mariscal* held in his hand the *bastón*, a Japanese sabre, and an *escopeta* with seven rounds of fire, so they said. As soon as they came face to face on the corridor and close to the first window and near the office of the secretary, both began swinging their swords. Lucea's first blow slashed the left arm of the *Mariscal* and left it hanging only by its skin. The *Mariscal*, in turn, struck Lucea on the head with his *catán* and wounded him slightly. Notwithstanding his serious condition, the *Mariscal* fired several shots. Unfortunately, one of the bullets struck a Negro who was passing by and killed him instantly. Lucea again leaped on the Governor and brought him down to the floor while the latter began pleading: "Don Vicente, do not kill me!"

Since Lucea's head-wound pained him greatly, he went groping for the sacristy of the cathedral. Meanwhile, Maza, Serrano and one of our religious, Fray Francisco Valdepeñas¹⁶ remained in the palace. This Valdepeñas was my voyage companion and is now staying in the infirmary of the convento in the Walled City. This father looked out from the balcony (the death of the *Mariscal* was

¹⁶ He entered the Franciscan Province of San José on July 11, 1704. He arrived to the Philippines in the year 1717 and prior to 1721 he was minister in the town of Meycauayan. In 1721 he sailed for the mission of Great China but returned in 1725 for reasons of health. He was then assigned to the convent of *San Agustín de las Cuevas* in Mexico in 1726 and voyaged there in the same year. In the year 1734 he returned to the Islands and was named Secretary to the Franciscan Province in the Philippines in 1735. Sometime later, he was appointed Commissary of the Third Order of St. Francis in the Walled City, minister of *San Lázaro* Hospital and he administered the following parishes: Pandacan, Barás, Caboan, Paguil y Longos. When he was advanced in age he retired in Manila in 1755 and died in the same convent on June 30, 1765 at the age of 75 and after 65 years as a Franciscan. Platero, *op. cit.*, p. 387.

este hubiese oído ruido en la plaza, se asomó al balcón a preguntar, y los soldados desde la plaza le dijeron ser “Rosario” que venía a ella; mas, cuando se quitó del balcón, ya tenía a don Vicente Lucea encima.

Llevaba este su catana, charpa de pistolas y cuchillo. El mariscal tenía asido a la mano el bastón y una catana japona, y una escopeta (dijeron) que tenía 7 tiros de bala. Luego que los dos se carearon en la ventana primera del corredor, junto a la Secretaría, ambos a dos se descargaron con las catanas, dejándole Lucea, del primer catanazo que dio al mariscal, colgado el brazo izquierdo solo en el pellejo del sobaco; y a don Vicente le alcanzó el mariscal con su catana en la cabeza un rasguño o corta herida. No obstante de verse así el mariscal, le tiró un tiro, y, al darle fuego, se atravesó un negro y le mató; y Lucea le tiró otro tajo, con que cayó en el suelo, y dijo: “¡Don Vicente, no me mates!”

Como este se sintió herido, se fue a la sacristía de la Catedral. Quedaron en el palacio Maza y Serrano, y un religioso nuestro que acaso subió al palacio, Fray Francisco Valdepeñas. Es, y está en la enfermería del convento de Manila, mi combarcano. Este, que aun no estaba cundida la muerte del mariscal, se asomó al balcón, y vio venir del castillo, a carrera abierta en su caballo, al sargento mayor; avisó a Serrano, éste se puso debajo de las escaleras del calabozo en que estaba Don Julián de Velasco preso, y, al entrar dicho sargento mayor en palacio, a quemarropa le dio un trabucazo, con que cayó del caballo ya muerto, como yo lo ví.

Cundida ya la muerte de padre e hijo, aunque el mariscal no lo estaba, fue tanta la gente de todos estados que subió a palacio, y tan enconados todos contra sus operaciones que, a no haber eclesiásticos allí, aunque se publicaba estar muerto, hubieran muchos con sevicia héchole mil tazajos; pero todo se impidió por dichos eclesiásticos; sí algunos de estos abrieron el calabozo y sacaron

not yet certain) and saw the *Sargento mayor* galloping at full speed from the fort and made a sign to Serrano. This Serrano hid himself under the stairway of the dungeon where Don Julián de Velasco was imprisoned. When the *Sargento-mayor* entered the Palace, he shot him at close-range and brought him down dead from his horse, as I myself saw it.

The news about the death of the Father and Son began to circulate although the *Mariscal* was still alive. Great throngs of people, from all walks of life, made their way to the Palace. Many of them were so furious and angry with the misrule of the Governor that even if his death were ascertained and had there been no churchmen around, the people would have torn him into a thousand pieces. However, all this was prevented because of the presence of the said ecclesiastics. Then some of these individuals broke open the dungeon and released Don Julián de Velasco and took him to the house of General Bertiz; others opened the prison cells and freed the Spaniards from their shackles. Some of these, like the King's official known as Don Francisco Zorilla, had two pairs of shackles.

The parish-churches and the convents were tolling the interdict in the same manner as the cathedral. The Blessed Sacrament was exposed in the cathedral where the Dean, Doctor Don Juan González a venerable man, was keeping Vigil with several other clerics.

When Don Vicente Lucea arrived to the sacristy to tend to his head-wound inflicted by the *Mariscal*, he informed the Dean about the awful condition of the Governor even before the tragedy became public knowledge. The Dean then requested the Blessed Sacrament to be reserved and the joyful ringing of the cathedral bells commenced. It seems that immediately all other churches joined in the festive ringing without anybody urging them to do so. And suddenly, it seems, the rain stopped and the sun appeared. A large number of people made their way to the palace while those in their houses were praising the Lord for such a singular blessing. All this took place between ten and eleven o'clock in the morning of October 11, 1719.

Let us go back to the Palace. Many of the Spaniards were clamouring for Don Julián de Velasco to be their governor, while Don Albarrán with the religious was shouting for the Archbishop to assume the governorship. Since the entire Republic loved the

a don Julián de Velasco, y lo llevaron a la casa del general Bertiz. Otros abrieron los cárceles, quitando a los españoles los grillos, y algunos tenían hasta dos pares, como era un oficial Real llamado don Francisco Zorilla.

Parroquias y conventos estaban tocando a entredicho, como también la matriz. En esta estaba expuesto su Divina Majestad Sacramentada, y el señor deán con otros pocos clérigos en su asistencia. Era el deán el doctor don Juan González, sujeto venerable.

Luego que llegó don Vicente Lucea a la sacristía para curarse de la corta herida que el señor mariscal le había hecho;¹⁴ y aun antes de cundirse el desastre del señor mariscal, le dijo Lucea al deán cómo ya estaba el gobernador, y luego mandó el señor deán encerrar a su Divina Majestad, y, repicando la catedral a este fin, en todas las iglesias lo hicieron sin haberles avisado; y, cesando la lluvia, abrió el sol, con que todos acudieron al palacio y en las casas alababan al Señor por tal beneficio singular. Esto sucedió entre diez y once del día once de octubre del año 1719.

Valvamos al palacio. Allí muchos españoles aclamaron por gobernador al señor don Julián de Velasco; el don Albarrán,¹⁵ con los regulares, aclamaron al señor Arzobispo por gobernador, y, como a este señor le quería toda la República, asintieron todos. Trajeron al señor deán, y un don Juan de Mesa que había venido de España con el oficio de castellano, fuerza de Santiago, y no había querido el gobernador darle posesión, le quitó el bastón de la mano al mariscal caído, y se lo dio en nombre del Rey al señor deán interin que traían al señor Ilustrísimo de la Fuerza, donde estaba. Los Prelados regulares los echaron de sus prisiones, yéndose a sus conventos, como todos las demás.

¹⁴ Dice el P. Collantes: "Se retiró este a curar su llaga, y no fue de poca duración, pues tuvo que andar toda su vida fugitivo, reclamando incesantemente el Rey su persona" (*Op. cit.*, pág. 352).

¹⁵ Don Francisco de Albarrán, prebendado de la Catedral (Cfr. Concepción, *Op. cit.*, pág. 265).

Archbishop so dearly, they all agreed that he be the governor. And so they brought in the Dean, while a certain Don Juan de Mesa, who had come from Spain with the appointment as castellan of Fort Santiago and who was denied this right by the Governor, took the *bastón* from the hand of the smitten *Mariscal* and in the name of the King handed it over to the Dean until the Archbishop should be brought from the the Fort where he was detained. The Major Religious Superiors were also freed from their prisons and they returned to their convents, just like all the others.

It was a day of judgment and a day for rejoicing. Although what has occurred was certainly tragic and unfortunate, the dark cloud had been lifted and dispersed from these Islands. Certainly many firmly believed that the Hand of God was present in this judgment through the intercession of our Holy Father Saint Francis. It was humanly impossible to offer any resistance or opposition since the Governor had all the walls well-fortified with artillery pieces; his palace grounds looked like a porcupine with all sorts of ingenious military devices. All in all, it was so well planned and arranged that he could defend himself with minimal man-power just in case the guards would remain uncooperative since they were receiving a very low salary. It was learned later that when the cannons of the fortress were ordered to fire upon the convento of San Agustín, the artillery men lowered the wedges of the cannon-carriages in such a manner that the cannon-balls merely went into the ground outside the city walls.

When the news circulated that the Governor was still alive, they brought the holy oils for the last anointing. There was such a dreadful confusion and mix-up that they began anointing him on the shoes. About this I am not surprised for everyone seemed to have lost his composure and mental ability to think properly. Another religious and I removed his shoes and when I was taking off his stocking, he looked at me. I asked the Agustinian Father in a whisper, "Father, it seems that he is alive?" And he answered me, "Yes, Father."

After all this, I went on to the room of his daughter, Doña Margarita, in order to convey and extend my sympathy. Later, I proceeded to the house of General Bertiz where I washed-up and took a snack and finally retired to my convent.

It was said that the dying governor was asking for the Archbishop to come, but his request was never made known to him in

Fue día de juicio, y fue día de alegría; pues, aunque se sentía lo acaecido, se quitó el gran peso que a todos abrumaba en estas Islas, y se hizo juicio quasi cierto el haber andado la mano de Dios, por la intercesión de Nuestro Santo Padre Francisco, de por medio; pues era imposible con fuerzas humanas resistirle, por tener toda la muralla cargadas las piezas con bala, y su palacio hecho un puerco-espín de diferentes invenciones de fuego, que él, con otros pocos sus aliados, podía manejar, aunque la milicia la tenía contra sí por sus malos pagamentos; y así se experimento que, mandando disparar pieza con bala desde el castillo a derribar un convento, el artillero bajó tanto las cuñas de la cureña que fue a hincarse la bala en tierra fuera de la Ciudad.

Trajeron los santos óleos para ponérselos, pues se publicó estar vivo, los que le iban a poner encima de los zapatos (no me espanto, tales estaban todos). Otro religioso y yo le descalzamos, y, al quitarle yo el escaarpín, me miró: dierónselos; y yo, a un Padre Agustino que estaba a su oído, le pregunté: "Parece, Padre, que está vivo?" y me respondió: "Si, Padre."

Yo me pasé al cuarto de su hija, doña Margarita, a consolarla; y luego me fui a la casa del general Bertiz a lavarme y tomar un bocado, y a mi convento después.

Dijeron había pedido viniese a verle el señor Ilustrísimo; pero tal recado no le llevaron a la Fuerza, y así dicho señor Ilustrísimo desde la Fuerza se tiró a su palacio. Díjose que el señor mariscal "sumisa voce" pidió le llevasen a San Juan de Dios, y los españoles lo bajaron a un calabozo de la cárcel, y en las escaleras le dieron por la espalda con una daga, o almarada, en los riñones,¹⁶ con lo que dijo en voz clara: "Esta me ha muerto," y expiró. El Señor misericordioso le tenga en su gloria.

¹⁶ "...un esclavo de don Vicente Lucea, con el sentimiento de que a su amo le hubiese herido, le dio dos puñaladas profundas inmediatas al corazón..." (Concepción, *Op. cit.*, pág. 300).

the prison of Fort Santiago. And so when the Archbishop was finally set-free, he went straight to his own palace. They also said that the Mariscal, in a low voice, was begging to be taken to the Hospital of *San Juan de Dios*. The Spaniards, instead, chose to take him to an underground dungeon-prison. While going down the stairs, they stabbed him with a dagger or a triangular poniard in the back and in the kidneys. And in a loud voice he exclaimed: "This has really killed me!" and he expired. Grant that the Merciful Lord may have received him in his glory!

And so His lordship, the Archbishop, ruled and governed these Islands for two years in peace and in calm until the arrival of the Governor, Marqués de Torre Campo, four new *oidores* and a fiscal. All of these were like a rainbow of peace for these Islands. The *Licenciado* Don Pedro Bedoya was to be the Fiscal of the King; *Licenciado* Don Francisco Martínez as *oidor* together with *Licenciado* Don Francisco Adán, who is now with the *Audien-cia* of Mexico and from whom I have received a letter this year; my Franciscan Province also received one. The other individual I do not remember.

This tragic incident, regarding Don Vicente Lucea and the *Mariscal*, as I have recalled it here was told to me by Don Vicente Lucea himself. He even showed me the bloody sabre and his wound while I was in the convent of San Agustin on the twelfth of October and from where he transferred that same afternoon to the sacristy of the Cathedral in an *ojimon* since carriages were not yet commonly used. Only the governor had a carriage; the Archbishop had one also but never used it since he preferred the sedan-chair. And so one *oidor* or another had one.

The citizens in those days wore their natural hair and black clothing. There was not so much pomp and ostentation then as there is at present. Today, even though many do not have enough to eat at home, nonetheless they wear wigs, bands and ride in *forlones*.¹⁷ I personally know of one official who has a good position here and yet in his homeland his means of livelihood was only making wigs. Today he is a general.

If only the governors would issue a decree demanding an annual fee of fifty pesos for every *forlón* owned, there would certainly not be so many of them. What more, the revenue can

¹⁷ This was an old kind of a chaise with four seats.

El señor Arzobispo fue dando sus providencias, y gobernó en paz y quietud las Islas dos años, que, llegando el señor marqués de Torre Campo por gobernador, y cuatro señores oidores, y fiscal nuevos, fueron todos el iris de la paz de estas Islas. Por fiscal del Rey el señor licenciado don Pedro Bedoya; oidor, el señor licenciado don Francisco Martínez; el señor licenciado don Francisco Adán, que está en la Audiencia de Méjico, y en este año tuve carta de él y mi Santa Provincia. Del otro no me acuerdo.

Lo de la riña de don Vicente Lucea con el mariscal, como llevo referido, me lo contó don Vicente Lucea, y me enseñó la catana ensagrentada, y vide su herida, estando el día 12 de octubre en el convento de señor San Agustín, adonde aquella tarde se pasó de la sacristía de la Catedral a él en un ojimón, pues entonces no se usaban coches; sólo el señor gobernador tenía; el señor Arzobispo, pero de él no usaba sino de silla de manos, y tal cual señor oidor.

Los republicanos usaban de su pelo natural, y su ordinario vestir era todo de negro; no había tanto fausto como al presente; que cada cual, aunque no tenga qué comer en su casa, no le ha de faltar los franjones, los forlones y la peluca. Yo conozco uno de los republicanos muy bien puestos, que tenía en otra tierra el oficio de componer pelucas y al presente es señor general.

Si los señores gobernadores echaran bando que el que tuviese forlón, ha de pagar al año 50 pesos para componer y empedrar las calles de Manila, y componer las calzadas, a buen seguro que no hubiera tantos, y las calles de la Ciudad mejores y aseadas; pues es irrisión de las naciones que aquí vienen el ver tanta indecencia en ellas.

En fin, yo en mis días discurro el que nada veré remediado ni compuesto, porque tengo entendido ya años ha, que los españoles solo vienen a esta tierra, no por amor ni celo, sí a buscar y a ser gentes, los que en sus tierras fueran unos patanes, y menos

be utilized to cover the expenses for street-repair in Manila and improvement of roads elsewhere. Then too, the streets of Manila would be more tidy and in better condition; these are a disgrace to the eyes of foreign visitors who see so much dirt and neglect.

Anyway, it seems that I will not see everything remedied here in my days. I have learned from past experience that the Spaniards only come to these islands not because of love and dedication but to seek a fortune and prestige. In their own homeland, they were simply uncouth and unlettered individuals especially if they came from Andalucía. The highest position they could have had there would have been *cargadores*, water-carriers or hired-hands. May our Lord give us all His Holy grace to love and to serve. Amen.

This account is related just as it happened and as I was able to recall it. It is presented without much chronological clarity, without any embellishment and it is written in a simple, plain manner as I saw the events taking place. There is no doubt that other things have taken place, but I did not see or hear them.¹⁸ Your Paternity¹⁹ may select from this account whatever may be useful for your history and omit the rest. I am at your service, your grateful townmate, brother and most obliging subject. I am also begging our Lord and God for your well-being and for whatever you may need most. That is my wish.

Santuario de San Francisco del Monte²⁰

August 13, 1760

Your friar minor and obliging fellow-countryman
kisses the hand of your Paternity,
Fr. Felipe José Gómez y Montañez²¹

¹⁸ It would be well to point out here how extremely objective Father Montañez is in his recollection. It is obvious that he knew nothing of the malicious manipulation and plotting of Lucea and Torralba, but leaves room for such a possibility.

¹⁹ This is Father Francisco de Santa Rosa for whom Father Montañez is writing this account. He was born in Palencia in 1698 and entered the Franciscan Province of San Pablo in 1714. It is not known when he arrived to the Islands, but his name appears for the first time in the Provincial Chapter appointments of June 3, 1732, where he was assigned as preacher to the convent in the Walled City.

Later he was assigned to the parishes of Bocaue and Mahayhay and also as secretary in the Franciscan Province in the year 1741. In the Chapter of Proceedings of May 23, 1744, he was elected Provincial definer and minister of Meycauayan. In 1747, he was appointed Guardian of the

lo fueran en las Andalucías, pues el oficio mayor que allá tuvieran, fuera de cargadores, esportilleros o aguadores. Dios nuestro Señor nos dé a todos su santa gracia, y le amemos y sirvamos. Amen.

Esta relación es como pasó, y me he podido acordar, sin períodos ni estilo, sino es simple y sencillamente como lo vide. No dudo el que otros lances habrá; pero yo no los vi, ni los oí. V. P. tomará de ella lo que al caso de su Historia conduzca, dejando los demás. Y mandarme como a su agradecido paisano, hermano y obligado súbdito, quedando rogando a Dios Nuestro Señor por la vida de V. P. los años que necesite y pido.

Santuario de San Francisco del Monte,
13 de agosto de 1760 años.

B.L.M. de V.P. su menor hermano y obligado
paisano,

Fr. Felipe José Gómez Montáñez

Advierto que el día de la función regia y desastrada, el secretario don Andrés Arguijo se escondió en un sótano del palacio entre unos colchones: y, aunque lo buscaron para darle capote, no dieron con él: y después, disfrazado de pobre, se fue a San Juan de Dios, donde dicen que murió.

Para enterrar en sagrado al sargento mayor se hicieron consultas, y se decidió se hiciese por haber sido mandado por su padre llevase al señor Ilustrísimo al castillo. Me hallé en el entierro, como también en el de su padre, asistiendo todas las Sagradas Comunidades a él. Uno y otro están enterrados en la Catedral, entre el altar mayor y la capilla que hace testero.

Los huesos de la señora mariscala mandó traerlos el señor marqués de Torre Campo, siendo ya gobernador, y se enterraron en nuestra iglesia, en la capilla que es ahora de las Lágrimas de Nuestro Padre. Fué con toda pompa, asistiendo Ciudad y Audiencia.

I have observed that on the day of that unfortunate state-tragedy the secretary, Don José Arguijo hid himself in the basement of the Palace between some mattresses. And even though they searched for him in order to kill him too, they were unable to find him. Afterwards he disguised himself as a beggar and went to *San Juan de Dios Hospital*; they say that he died there.

In order that the *Sargento mayor* would be able to receive an ecclesiastical burial, much discussion and deliberation took place. It was finally agreed that he was not responsible for the imprisoning of the Archbishop since it was only an order of his father which he executed. I attended his funeral as well as his father's. In fact, all the religious communities assisted at the funeral rites. Both, the one and the other, are buried in the Cathedral in front and between the main altar and the chapel.

The Marqués de Torre\Campo ordered the remains of the Governor's wife to be brought to Manila; these were interred in our Franciscan church and in the chapel dedicated to the Tears of Our Father.²² These rites were performed with great solemnity and with the participation of the *Audiencia* and all the City.

Manila Convent and in 1750 as minister in Pangil. Later he was assigned to Morong, Mahayhay and Meycauayan again. In the Provincial Chapter of June 2, 1759, he was elected as Minister Provincial and governed with much prudence and merit to the Franciscan Order. When his term expired as Provincial on May 29, 1762, he was assigned as minister to the Hospital of San Lazaro. Sometime, later he was assigned to the Manila convent for reasons of health and died there on January 22, 1764 at the age of 64 and 50 years as an exemplary Franciscan. Platero, *op. cit.*, p. 424 and see also, Felix de Huerta, *op. cit.*, pp. 475-476.

²⁰ This is the old convento and the present parish church of San Pedro Bautista in Quezon City.

²¹ He was born in Granada and entered the Franciscan Province of San Pedro de Alcántara on April 28, 1710. He arrived to the Philippine together with the newly-appointed Governor Ferdinand Bustillo Bustamante y Rueda on July 4, 1717, as he indicates in his account here.

In 1724 he was appointed as minister in Sariaya and later as minister to Gumaca, Mauban, Mahayhay, Binangonan de Bay, Pila. Afterwards, again to Binangonan as a minister and then to Polo, Pililia, Santa Cruz, Pagsanhan and Pililia again. He was also appointed as superior in the convent of San Francisco del Monte and finally as minister in Los Baños in 1760. Then he retired to the convent in the Walled City and died there on July 3, 1771 at the age of 79 and 62 years as a Franciscan and 54 years in the Philippines. Platero, *op. cit.*, p. 395.

²² Saint Francis of Assisi.