

Domingo de Salazar's Memorial of 1582 on the Status of the Philippine Islands: a Manifesto for Freedom and Humanization*

INTRODUCTION.

This long Report of Bishop Salazar bears no date, but a critical reading of it helps us to conclude that it was penned by him in 1582. This will be explained at greater length in the footnotes.¹ We can safely say that it is one of the best reports ever written by him.

Salazar had stayed in the country for over six months and had this Report prepared before the galleon sailed for Acapulco towards the beginning of July of 1582. During the previous months he had visited some of the neighbouring provinces of Manila and had been able to get a first-hand knowledge of the state of the country. His knowledge might not be as deep and profound as that of the Augustinians and Franciscans who had come to the Philippines in 1565 and 1578 respectively, but as a newcomer to the Philippines, and a man of great experience in the

* In: ARCHIVO GENERAL DE INDIAS (AGI), FILIPINAS 6, No date [1582].

mission fields of America, he was very perceptive of the Philippine situation. He was greatly shocked by the abuses and exploitations of the *conquistadores*, *encomenderos* and Filipino *datus*. The Report reflects the situation of the Philippines during the decade of the late 1570's and early 1580's. This we are going to explain now.

The Philippines was passing through a serious crisis when Salazar arrived in 1581. This crisis was due to many causes. To a certain extent it became inevitable.

The economy of the Philippines at the time of the Spanish arrival was one of subsistence, based on the primitive cultivation of rice. The arrival of large numbers of Spaniards and Chinese, the latter in much greater numbers, meant a terrible lack of basic things. The Spaniards had come as *conquistadores* and administrators, and the Chinese as merchants and traders. The arrival of these two groups meant a dangerous scarcity of basic foodstuffs and the steady demand for prime commodities. The Filipinos could not meet the new situation.

There was also a decline in food production. Given the wars of conquest in Luzon, and other islands, the *conquistadores* and Spanish officials were forced to obtain their manpower mainly from the province of Pampanga (modern provinces of Pampanga proper, Tarlac, Nueva Ecija, Bataan and Bulacan). This province then, like even today, was the granary of the Philippines. Men were taken to fight with the Spaniards in the wars of pacification, to fell the timber in the forest, to bring the logs to the Cavite shipyards, to build the galleons of the Manila-Acapulco line, to construct the galleys for the navy and to open up the gold mines of Ilocos. Rice production was seriously affected. Able-bodied men were far from their farm-lands. They had no time to plant and till the land. Employed in burdensome and dangerous occupations, many of them never returned home. Others, to escape this type of labour, fled to the hills.

The economic crisis was further aggravated by the conduct of the *encomenderos* and the *alcaldes mayores*, (provincial governors). In the Philippines, like in America, the *encomienda* meant that the natives had to pay the *encomenderos* a moderate tax in labour and goods in return for protection and basic Christian teaching. This was known as *administration of justice* and preparation for the *doctrine*. Some of the *encomenderos* did not fulfill these two essential duties. They used to collect the tribute on a scarce commodity, selling it later on at huge profits. The same unfortunately was done by the provincial governors.

The crisis was felt with a greater intensity during the governorship of Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa (1580-1583). In the opinion of Salazar, Ronquillo was the man responsible for the crisis. His governorship was catastrophic.

But in order to understand the conduct of governor Ronquillo, we need a careful study of the background of his appointment as governor of the Philippines. In the *asiento* drawn up in 1578 between Ronquillo and the Spanish Crown, the governor accepted the compromise to take 600 colonists to the Philippines. This entailed huge expenses. His whole fortune and that of his relatives and friends were put at stake. In return for this, the Crown appointed him governor for life, granted him an *encomienda* in the most important towns of the Philippines and allowed him freedom to name officials to the different administrative posts of the colony. Ronquillo expected to recoup his investment upon his arrival to the Philippines. But by 1580 the conquest of the Philippines was almost complete and the royal ordinances did not allow wars of booty and conquest. The Philippines was not Mexico or Peru, where the conquistadores found easily obtainable deposits of silver and gold. The Philippines did not offer chances of quick wealth. Spices were found but not in commercial quantity. The Moluccas Islands were far from the Philippines and they fell under the *empeño*, or sphere of influence of the Portuguese. There was no chance of becoming rich overnight.

Salazar hinted at another cause of the economic crisis: the terrible weather. In his Report he wrote about the lack of rains during the past few years. For a man who had lived in the tropics and knew how related economics and agriculture were to the weather, Salazar's reason was a most understandable one. In the concrete case of the Philippines, during the time of Spanish arrival, agriculture was primitive and depended entirely upon the monsoon rains. If the rains came on time the few farmers engaged in agriculture would be able to plant, otherwise nothing would be planted and nothing would be harvested. However in the tropics, farmers are faced with greater difficulties than farmers in cold countries. The rains are fundamental to their survival. Lack of rains means hunger and death. In the Philippines, we experienced during the last two years a terrible drought that has retarded the economic growth of the country and set back the plans of the government to improve the life of the people. The Philippines, which was exporting some rice before, has been forced to import rice once again from some other Asian countries.

On the other hand, the implication of the weather and the rains upon the economy of the Philippines during the time of Salazar and during our own times, can be viewed from another angle. The monsoon rains may come very strongly and in excessive quantity. What follows are terrible and devastating floods that destroy whatever has been planted. What was ready for harvesting is completely destroyed in a few hours of continuous torrential rains. And if typhoons, or hurricanes, pass by the country, since the Philippines is along the path of the typhoons, catastrophe is inevitable.

In the letters of Salazar, and of his own contemporaries, they also pointed out another reason associated with agriculture and this was the existence of plagues of locusts. Our readers might believe that this happened only in that instance. In fact, in our very day, in the great island of Mindanao, it is not strange to

find plagues of locusts that seem to come from nowhere and destroy the fields in a matter of days.

Due to the difficult situation faced by the Spaniards during the time of Ronquillo they put the heavier burden on the natives. With this, most of them suffered considerably. Times were difficult for all and there never was a policy of exploitation and abuse. In the words of Father De La Costa:

"This policy must not be readily condemned as heartless exploitation. Doubtless there were men like Ronquillo who made more money than they should have had, but many an ordinary colonist had by this time given up all hope of enriching himself in these God-forsaken islands. He was immediately and urgently concerned with merely keeping alive; with having enough rice to eat. In the subsistence economy of the Philippines there was not enough food for all. It took the Filipinos some years to produce a surplus economy."²

Many times the encomenderos and Spanish soldiers were forced to rob the natives in order to survive. The words "forced to rob" may sound too strong, but unfortunately they were true in the Philippines. The encomenderos and colonists led poor and wretched lives. Food and clothing were lacking. Even Salazar, as we see in this Report, recognized that the abuses were due to misery and poverty. The encomenderos and Spanish officials accepted the fact that they abused the Filipinos, but what else could they do? Poverty forced them to do so. The soldiers had not received any pay since the beginning of the conquest in 1565. They were most of the time hungry and naked, and most of them were penniless. Hence their confusion and spiritual anxiety. They had written these pathetic words to the king:

"We have seen service in the conquest and pacification of these islands and their settlement, some of us 10 years, others 12, others 15, with only the original grant-in-aid which the officials of your Majesty's treasury of New Spain released to us in Mexico on our way hither. It was soon spent by reason of the necessities we encoun-

tered in the pacification of these natives; and so we have been forced to rob them and impose upon them in other ways, burdening our consciences in this in order to subsist. We thus have a heavy load on our souls which we are unable to shake off by reason of our great poverty.”³

Our readers might be inclined to think that if this were the case, why did they not abandon the Philippines and return to Mexico and Spain? This was what they earnestly desired. Poor and penniless in this life, and denied access to the sacraments of the Church, and thus in danger of damnation in their view, why remain any longer in the Philippines? Most of them wanted to abandon this faraway colony and return home to the security of Mexico and Spain. A deep sadness filled their hearts. Even the highest authorities were longing for the security of Mexico and Spain. They felt they lived in an intolerable exile. They remembered the peaceful life in Mexico, their gainful and honest employment there. They missed congenial friends. Most of them were ready to give up the struggle, pack up and escape from this dreadful exile and vale of tears. Furthermore, in the concrete case of the Philippines, they were surrounded by enemies from within and from without. Moro pirates, Chinese corsairs like Li-ma-hong, Japanese *Wako* buccaneers in Luzon, and the natives, pressed the Spaniards to extremes. If they wanted to survive in this struggle for life they had to be, unfortunately, ruthless. If they remained it was because the king had commanded them to conquer, pacify and establish a colony here.

This is the situation reflected in Salazar's Report. As soon as Salazar arrived he tried to come to grips with the situation. He recognized the poverty and misery of the soldiers and encomenderos, but he was not ready to tolerate abuses against the natives. Following the spirit of the Augustinians, he saw and felt the sufferings of the natives and was not ready to let them pass in silence. He felt he had to side with the weaker part, with the natives. He tried to change the situation and this Report, no doubt, influenced the Spanish king to give new legislation for the defense of the Filipinos. He changed the situation with his strong

and valiant stand. The doctrine of Vitoria and the spirit of Las Casas weighed heavily on him. Salazar came to realize that unless something was done immediately the evangelization of the Filipinos would be endangered. God's power could perform and did indeed perform miracles. The Filipinos were accepting the faith of their conquerors, but abuses and injustices belied the faith they preached. He had full trust in the resources of the Christian faith. God's admirable power was there for all to see, but men, Christian men at that, were supposed to concur with God's grace, rather than belie it with their evil deeds. There was a danger that instead of peacefully accepting the Spanish rule and the light yoke of Christ, they would conspire against the Spaniards and come to hate Christianity. If so, the main purpose of the *conquista*, the conversion of the natives to Christianity, would never be achieved.

The Memorial is a primary source for us to see the struggle, inevitable many times, between the ecclesiastical and civil authorities. The two powers clashed oftentimes, but they clashed because their interests were, at times, very different. Salazar presented himself in this Memorial as a dreamer and a man of God, demanding from other men a way of conduct that was almost impossible. His struggle for justice and humanization in the conquest of the Philippines is manifested in all his letters and reports, but perhaps in none other do we see him so forceful and determined on this struggle as in this Memorial of 1582.

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

Lo primero que, cuando los españoles vinieron a estas islas había tanta abundancia de mantenimientos⁴ de los que en la tierra se dan, que son arroz⁵, fréjoles, gallinas⁶, puercos, venados⁷, bufanos⁸, pescado⁹ cocos, plátanos; y algunas otras frutas; vino¹⁰ y miel¹¹, de lo cual, con muy poco dinero, se compraba de los naturales mucha cantidad. Y aunque entre ellos había oro con que trataban y contrataban, pero lo más ordinario era trocar las cosas de comer por arroz, hasta que los españoles introdujeron el uso del dinero, de que no poco daño ha venido a la tierra. El vino y el arroz se mide por gantas¹², que es una medida que hace un cuartillo de celemín¹³ de los nuestros.

El precio¹⁴ que tenían las cosas después que los españoles introdujeron la moneda de plata, que por la mayor parte son tostones¹⁵, que así llaman a los reales¹⁶ de a cuatro, era que por un tostón daban cuatrocientas gantas de arroz, y por otro, ciento de vino; y por otro doce y catorce, y aun diez y seis gallinas. Por un puercito razonable cuatro o seis reales; y si era grande ocho; y a este respecto las demás cosas. Y esto duró hasta de año y medio,

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

At first, when the Spaniards came to these islands there was such an abundance of provisions produced in this country—such as rice, beans, fowls, swine, deer, buffaloes, fish, coconuts, bananas and some other fruits, wine and honey—that with little amount of money a large quantity could be bought from the natives. Although gold was used in their dealings and exchanges, the common thing was to barter foodstuffs for rice, until the Spaniards introduced the use of money, from which no little harm has come to this country. Wine and rice were measured by gantas, which was a measure that made one *cuartillo* of our *celemin*.

The price of things, after the Spaniards introduced silver as money—which in general are *tostones*, as we call here the *reales* of four—was that for one *tostón* they could give four hundred gantas of rice. For another one hundred of wine, and for another, twelve or fourteen and even sixteen fowls. For a medium size pig, they asked four to six *reales*. If it was big, eight. And the same hap-

o dos años a esta parte, desde donde comenzó esta tierra a encarecerse; y ha¹⁷ venido el día de hoy a tanto extremo y miseria, que las cosas con que antes andaban rogando por las calles no hay quien hoy las pueda haber, aunque las vayan a buscar a los pueblos de los indios. Y de lo que se halla, el común precio es cuarenta o cincuenta gantas de arroz por un tostón. Y de vino ocho o diez gantas. Las gallinas han llegado a valer una dos reales, y el común precio es un real. Un puerco cuatro o cinco pesos; y si es razonable seis y ocho. Aceite de ajonjolí¹⁸ y cocos y manteca, que solía haber ardo, no se puede haber, aunque eu esto hay variación conforme a lo poco o mucho que viene a la plaza. Las razones de tan gran mudanza y carestía yo las he procurado inquirir; y después de me haber muy bien informado de personas que lo saben, y por lo que yo con mis propios ojos he visto, hallo que hay las razones siguientes:

Lo primero, que cuando vino aquí don Gonzalo Ronquillo por gobernador mandó sacar¹⁹ de la Pampanga²⁰, que es de donde toda esta tierra se solía proveer de arroz, vino y gallinas, para las minas de Ilocos²¹, mucha cantidad de indios, adonde se detuvieron el tiempo que habían de sembrar. Y de ellos murieron allá muchos, y los que volvieron tan fatigados que tenían más necesidad de descansar que de trabajar. De lo cual se siguió haber aquel año muy gran falta de arroz, y por no tenerlo murieron de hambre, en la dicha Pampanga, mucho número de indios, porque solo en Lubao²², encomienda de Guido de Lavezaris²³, pasaron de mil los muertos.

Lo segundo, por las muchas ocupaciones en que ocupan a los indios, como es echarlos a los remos de galeras y fragatas que envían el gobernador y oficiales²⁴ a cosas que nunca faltan; y a las veces van tan lejos que están allá cuatro y seis meses; y muchos de los que van se mueren por allá, y otros se huyen y esconden por los montes, por huir de los trabajos que les dan. A otros ocupan en cortar madera de los montes y traerla arrastrando a

pened with the other things. This lasted up to one year and a half to two years ago. Afterwards everything has become more expensive. Today it has reached such an extremity and scarcity that things that formerly were cried through the streets, today can not be had by anybody even though they may go to the villages of the Indians. Of the articles that can be found, the ordinary price is forty or fifty gantas of rice for one *tostón*. Eight or ten gantas of wine cost one *tostón*. One fowl has come to cost two *reales*; the ordinary price is one. One pig, four or five pesos. If it was large seven or eight. Sesame oil, coconut oil, or lard, of which there used to be plenty, cannot now be found, although of this there is a lot of variation, according to the little or much that comes to the market.

I have tried to ascertain the reasons for such a terrible change and high prices. After having informed myself from the people who know, and from what I have seen, I find the following reasons:

First, when Don Gonzalo Ronquillo came here as governor he commanded to take from Pampanga—the place whence this country used to get all the supplies of rice, wine and fowls—a large number of Indians for the mines of Ilocos. They remained there during the time they were supposed to plant. Many of them died there. Those who returned were so exhausted that they had greater need to rest than to work. Due to this, in that year, such a terrible lack of rice followed that, on account of this, a number of Indians died in Pampanga. In the *encomienda* of Lubao, belonging to Guido de Lavezaris, more than one thousand people died.

Second, they employ the Indians in many occupations, such as to send them to row in the galleys and frigates. This is done by the governor and officials. They send them up for many things. Sometimes they go so far away that they stay there four or six months. Many of those going died there. Others flee and hide in the mountains, to avoid the labors demanded from them. Others are employed in cutting the wood from the forests, and hauling it to this city; others are employed in other things,

esta ciudad²⁵. Y a otros en otras cosas, de manera que no los dejan descansar, ni entender en sus sementeras. Y ansí siembran poco y cogen menos, ni acudir a la doctrina.

Y acontece estar los miserables enseñándose para bautizarse, hacerlos ir por fuerza a lo que está dicho. Y cuando vuelven se les ha olvidado ya lo que sabían. Por lo cual, el día de hoy, hay muchos indios por bautizarse por esa razón. Y a mi me ha acontecido querer confirmar en un pueblo, y por no estar los indios en el suyo, ocupados en lo que el alcalde mayor les mandaba, y no poderlos juntar, me volví sin confirmar ninguno. Para en prueba de ésto, envió un mandamiento que dio un teniente de Tondo estando yo presente, y estando toda la gente fuera, ocupados en obras que les mandaban; y no habiendo más indios que los que estaban enseñándose para recibir el bautismo; por el cual mandaba que todos los indios del dicho pueblo fuesen a cortar madera, y los que estaban aprendiendo la doctrina lo dejasen.

La tercera, que antes que el gobernador Don Gonzalo Ronquillo viniese, no había más de tres o cuatro alcaldes mayores en todas estas islas. Y ahora hay diez y seis,²⁶ y los más son de los que vinieron con él. Y como venían pobres, y los salarios son pequeños, han tomado a los indios, según todos afirman y es pública voz, al tiempo de la cosecha, el arroz, y atraviesan todos los demas bastimentos y aprovechamientos²⁷ para tornarlos a vender. Y así se ha todo encarecido, porque como han quitado a los indios que no traten ni contraten, véndenlo ellos a como quieren. Y antes traíanlo los indios por las puertas, y dábanlo a muy bajos precios, porque ellos se contentan con poca ganancia, lo que no hacen los españoles. Y porque no echemos toda la culpa a los hombres, sino a nuestros pecados, también ha sido la causa de ésto no haber acudido estos años los temporales²⁸ tan bien como otros. Este es el estado en que esta república está de presente.

in such a way that they have no rest or time to busy themselves in planting. Thus they plant little and harvest less and cannot attend the religious instruction. It sometimes happens that while these unfortunate people are learning the doctrine in order to be baptized, they are forced to go to the said tasks. When they return they have forgotten what they knew. For this reason, there are many Indians still to be baptized. It has happened to me to go a village for confirmation, and because the Indians were not occupied in their tasks, but rather in the tasks assigned by the *alcalde mayor*, I was unable to gather them and confirm them. I was forced to return without confirming any. As a proof of this, I saw a mandate issued by a *teniente* of Tondo, while I was present; while all people were outside occupied in the things assigned to them, not finding more Indians than the few who were being instructed to prepare them for baptism, he commanded that all the Indians of the said village had to go to cut wood; even those learning the Christian doctrine had to quit.

Third, before the said Don Gonzalo Roquillo came, there were not more than three or four *alcaldes mayores* in all these islands. At this point there are sixteen. Most of them are those who came with him. Since they came poor and their salaries are small, they take from the Indians, as all people say and it was common knowledge, at the time of the harvest, the rice and all the other provisions and they profit themselves by selling them once again. Thus everything has become more expensive for as they have prohibited the Indians to deal and trade, they sell the products at whim. Before the Indians used to bring their products to our very doors and sell them at a very low price, for they feel happy with very little profit, something not done by the Spaniards.

In order not to blame men only, but ascribe the guilt also to our sins, the cause of all this is to be found in the lack of rains this year in comparison to other years. This is the state in which this commonwealth finds itself at the present.

Agravios que se hacen a los indios

Lo primero, que cuando se ha de hacer una jornada larga, son muchos los agravios que reciben. Uno que es enviar a sacar los indios que son menester para remar en una galera o fragata a un marinero sin piedad ni respeto cristiano, y entra en el pueblo,²⁹ y sin mirar si es casado ni soltero, ni si tiene a su mujer malo o los hijos, sino arreo los lleva todos. Y ha acontecido traerle a la mujer el marido, y venir ella la barriga a la boca. llorando que se la dejen, que no tiene quien mire por ella, y dale de palos que se vaya, y al pobre marido hacerle ir mal que le pese. A otros acontece dejar a sus mujeres a la muerte, y hacer ir a los maridos a remar. Y les echan con hierros en las galeras, y los azotan como si fuesan forzados o sentenciados. Y la paga que les dan es muy poca, que solamente dan a cada uno, por un mes, cuatro reales; y esto tan mal pagado que los más se quedan sin ello. Y los pueblos de donde los sacan reparten entre sí la pagan (sic) y la dan a los que sacan para el remo. Y esto es cosa muy cierta y averiguada, porque cuando envió el gobernador don Gonzalo a los minas, en solo Betis³⁰ y Lubao repartieron tres mil pesos de los propios indios. Y cuando envió a Burney³¹ en Bonbon³² repartieron más de dos mil. Dicen que en toda la Pampanga se sacaron cinco o seis mil pesos. Y así en todos los pueblos donde hacen gente.

Que algunas veces no van a cobrar el arroz que dicen de Vuestra Magestad al tiempo de la cosecha, sino cuando vale muy caro; y entonces se lo hacen pagar al precio que valía cuando lo cogían. Y acontece comprar los indios por cinco o seis tostones lo que ellos dan por uno. Y el año pasado, que comían los indios cogollos de palmas y plátanos por no tener arroz, y se caían muchos indios muertos de hambre, les hacían pagar el arroz rezagado al precio que valía en la cosecha. Y acontencía tomarle al indio todo cuanto arroz tenía, sin dejarle grano para comer. Y una pobre viuda, viendo que todo cuanto arroz tenía le llevaban,³³ cogió como

Injuries against the Indians

First, when a long expedition is made, the Indians receive many injuries. One is to send the Indians who are to row in the galleys or frigates a sailor without pity or Christian feeling. He comes into the village and without any regard as to whether the Indian is married or single, his wife sick or the children without clothing, he takes them all away. It has happened that a husband has brought his wife, heavy with child, pleading with tears to leave him with her, for nobody else can look after her, and she has been beaten with cudgels in order to make her go, and force the husband, willy nilly, to go along. Others have been compelled to leave their wives on the point of death and forced them to go along to row. They are put into irons on the galleys, and flogged them as if they were condemned to force labor or sentenced to death. The pay they are given is small, as they give each man four *reales* per month, and so rarely did they pay that some do not get anything. The villages from which the people are taken must pay for those sent to row. This is something certain and well known, for when the governor Don Gonzalo sent people to the mines, in Betis and Lubao alone three thousand pesos from the Indians were collected. When they sent people to Borney, more than two thousand pesos were collected in Bonbon. They say that from Pampanga alone five or six thousand pesos were collected. And the same happens in all towns wherefrom they take people [to row].

Sometimes, they do not go to buy the so-called rice of your Majesty at the time of the harvest, but rather when it is more expensive, and then they require them to pay the price it had at harvest time. It may happen that the Indians may have to buy for five or six *tostones* the rice they sold for one [toston]. Last year, when the Indians were compelled to eat the shoots of palms and bananas—because they had no rice, and many natives were dying of hunger—they were forced to pay the rice at the price it had at harvest time. Sometimes, they take from the Indians all the rice they have, without leaving anything for them to eat. One poor widow, seeing that all the rice she had was being taken away, took, as best she could, two basketfuls to hide

pudo dos cestos y lo llevó a esconder debajo del altar y allí los libró. Y es cierto que si lo supiera el que andaba cobrando, de allí se lo sacara.³⁴

Otro agravio se hace a esta pobre gente so color de ser para Vuestra Magestad, por lo cual su real nombre es aborrecido entre ellos. Y es que antiguamente, como había tanto arroz, que valían cuatrocientas gantas un tostón, proveíanse los oficiales de Vuestra Magestad de la Pampanga al precio que valía. El año pasado mandó el gobernador que, para Vuestra Magestad, se sacasen de la Pampanga doce mil fanegas³⁵ de arroz, y que diesen trescientas gantas por un tostón, valiendo entre ellos a peso de oro, porque no se podía haber caro ni barato; muchos indios morían de hambre y las trescientas gantas que les tomaban por un tostón, valían entre ellos seis tostones, y no lo hallaba el que lo quería comprar. Ogaño, por haber tan poco, y ser tanta el hambre que hay en la dicha Pampanga, pudiendo enviar a comprar el arroz a otras partes, que aunque está más lejos hay más y sacaría sin molestia de los indios, no lo han querido hacer, sino mandar que se saque de la Pampanga. Y valiendo entre los indios a cincuenta gantas por el tostón, a ellos les hacen dar para Vuestra Magestad a doscientas y cincuenta. A la sazón que ésto se cobraba, andaba yo visitando la Pampanga, y ví tantos llores y gemidos de los tristes indios a quien se tomaba el arroz, que a mi me daba harta³⁶ lástima, y tanto mayor cuanto veía llevar menos remedio, porque yo lo escribí al maese de campo,³⁷ que a la sazón era teniente del gobernador; pero poco me aprovechó. El medio que se tiene para cobrar este arroz es que reparte el alcalde mayor, o su teniente, entre los principales, o dos, o tres, o cuatro, o más taeles de oro, que es un cierto peso que vale cinco pesos, y mándale que le cobre tantas gantas de arroz por un tostón. Después para cobrar este arroz envían³⁸ hombres sin piedad que, a palos y con tormentos y prisiones, les hacen cumplir la tasa de trescientas, o doscientas y cincuenta gantas por un tostón. Y otros años ciento de

under the altar and there she saved them. It is certain that if the collector had come to know of that, even from there he would have taken them.

Another abuse done to these poor people, under the excuse of it being for his Majesty, for which the royal name is highly abhorred among them, is this: formerly, when rice was plentiful, and four hundred gantas were worth one *tostón*, the royal officials of your Majesty got their provisions from Pampanga at that price. Last year the governor ordered to collect from Pampanga for your Majesty twelve thousand *fanegas* of rice and ordered three hundred gantas to be given for one *tostón*, when the price among them was one *peso de oro*, and even it could not be obtained at any price and many Indians were dying of hunger. The three hundred gantas taken from them for one *tostón*, cost them six *tostones* and a person who wished to buy it could not find it. This present year—since there was so little rice and the hunger in Pampanga was so widespread—they could have sent people to buy the rice from other parts, for although they are more distant, there is more abundance, and it could be obtained without great trouble to the Indians. The Spaniards did not want to allow this, but ordered it to be taken from Pampanga. When the price among the Indians is one *tostón* for fifty gantas, they require them to give for your Majesty two hundred and fifty gantas.

At the time this was being collected, I was visiting Pampanga. I saw so much weeping and moaning from the part of the unfortunate Indians from whom the rice was taken, that it moved me to great pity, the more since I did not see the possibility of any remedy, for although I wrote to the *maese de campo*, who at the time was the *teniente* of the governor, it profited me little.

The means used to collect the rice is for the *alcalde mayor*, or his deputy, to assign to the “principales” to collect two, or three or more taels of gold—which is a peso worth five pesos—and order that so many gantas of rice be collected for one *tostón*. Afterwards, to collect the rice they send a man without pity who with blows, torture and imprisonment force them to fill the quota of three hundred or two hundred and fifty gantas for one *tostón*.

vino. Y ogaño sesenta. Y es cosa cierta, y yo lo he sabido de los mismos que lo cobran, que acontece muchas veces el indio no tener tanto arroz, y como le piden y serle forzoso ir a comprar cincuenta gantas por un tostón, y quince gantas de vino, y a él, como está dicho, le llevan, 250 de arroz y setenta de vino. Y si esto parase³⁹ en solo el arroz que para el gasto que Vuestra Magestad tiene en esta ciudad es menester, medio mal sería, aunque yo no sé qué ley permite que para Vuestra Magestad inventen un precio y para los demás otro. Pero ya que ésto fuera, pasara; pero es el mal que a este mismo precio lo come el gobernador y maestre⁴⁰ de campo, alcaldes mayores y los oficiales de Vuestra Magestad, y otros personas a quien ellos lo quieren dar. Y a este precio cobran para los hospitales⁴¹ que hay en la dicha ciudad.

Y aunque el gobernador, en los mandamientos que da para los hospitales y otras personas, como son alcaldes mayores, no tasa⁴² el número de las gantas que han de dar por un tostón, que la tasa no es más que para Vuestra Magestad, pero tiene culpa en que sabiendo que lo cobran a este precio, no hace restituir lo que así se ha llevado, ni castiga al que en ésto excede. Y así muchos se atreven a tomarles el arroz a esos mismos precios, sabiendo que no los han de castigar. De muchos alcaldes mayores yo sé que, teniendo mandamiento del gobernador para comprar de los indios de sus distritos trescientas fanegas el soltero y quinientas el casado, las toman al sobredicho precio, y muchas más de las que tienen licencia, y las vuelven a vender al precio corriente. Y también⁴³ sé que los que van a cobrar, algunos que no todos, cobran el precio que se da a Vuestra Magestad, para sí y sus amigos, mucho más arroz de lo que llevan en el mandamiento. Lo mismo pasa en el cortar de la madera.

Que hacen trabajar a los indios en cosas del servicio de Vuestra Magestad, y los pagan poco, tarde y mal y muchas veces se quedan sin la paga.

No hago caso de los agravios que recibieron de los españoles cuando fueron de ellos conquistados,⁴⁴ pues de lo que en otras partes de las Indias pasó, se podrá colegir lo que acá pudo pasar;

Other years one hundred of wine. This present year, sixty. It is something certain—for I have come to know this from the collector—that many times it happens the Indian does not have the amount of rice he is asked; so he is forced to go and may be able to buy only fifty gantas for one *tostón* and fifteen gantas of wine, and from him they will collect two hundred and fifty of rice and seventy of wine. If this were to happen with the rice this city needs for the use of your Majesty, it would not be so bad, although I do not know what law can allow that for your Majesty a price be invented and a different price for the others. If this were to happen, so be it. But the evil is that at this price it is consumed by the governor and the *maestre de campo*, *alcaldes mayores* and officers of your Majesty, and other people to whom they wish to give it, and at the same price is collected for the hospitals of this city.

Although the governor in the orders given for the hospitals and other persons, such as *alcaldes mayores*, does not appraise the number of gantas they must give for one *tostón*, for that rate is only for his Majesty, yet he is guilty for knowing that they get it at that price. He does not compel them to make restitution for what has been taken at that price, or punish those who exceed in this. Thus many people dare to take the rice from them at that price, knowing that they will not be punished. I know that many *alcaldes mayores*, having the command of the governor to buy from the Indians of their districts three hundred *fanegas* from each single man and five hundred from each married man, take it, and more than they have been given permission for at that price, and sell it at the current price. I also know that those going to collect, some not all, get, at the price stipulated for your Majesty, for them and their friends, much more rice than they have permission to. The same happens in the cutting of timber.

They compel the Indians to work at your Majesty's service and are paid little, late and irregularly and oftentimes they are paid nothing.

I pay no attention to the abuses they received from the Spaniards at the time of the conquest, for from what happened in the rest of the Indies can be concluded what happened here,

que no fué menos, sino en algunas partes mucho más. Trato de lo que ha pasado y ahora pasa en la cobranza de los tributos, para que Vuestra Magestad vea si es razón pasar con disimulación cosas que tan fuera van de toda razón humana.⁴⁵

Cuanto a lo primero, Vuestra Magestad tenga por cierto que hasta aquí nunca estos indios han entendido, ni se les ha dado a entender, que los españoles entraron en esta tierra más de a solo sujetarlos y compelerlos⁴⁶ a que paguen tributos. Y como esta es cosa que todas las naciones naturalmente rehúsan, de aquí es que, adonde les han podido resistir, siempre lo han hecho y recibido de guerra y cuando más no pueden, dicen que pagarán tributo. Y a estos llaman de paz, y que han dado la obediencia a Vuestra Magestad. Y sin más tratarles de Dios, ni del bien que se les viene a hacer, les piden cada año el tributo. Y la costumbre que ésto hay es ésta: ya que los han sujetado, y ellos prometido que pagarán tributo, porque de nosotros cristianos no oyen otra palabra sino paga tributo, dicenles: tanto has de dar cada año. Y si no están encomendados, envía el gobernador quien cobre los tributos; y lo más ordinario⁴⁷ encomendarlos luego a quien tenga cargo de los cobrar. Y aunque la cédula de la encomienda dice con cargo⁴⁸ que los enseñen⁴⁹ en las cosas de nuestra santa fe, el cuidado que de ésto tienen es que el encomendero lleva consigo ocho o diez soldados, con sus arcabuces y armas, y manda llamar los principales, y pide que le dé el tributo de todos los indios de su pueblo.

Aquí se me acaba el juicio, y me falta espíritu, y no hallo palabras con qué significar a Vuestra Magestad las desventuras, agravios y vejaciones, tormentos y miserias que sobre la cobranza de los tributos les hacen pasar. El tributo en que comunmente

which was not less, but in many places much more. I speak of what has happened and now happens in the collection of the tributes, so that your Majesty may see if it is right to tolerate things which go beyond all human reason.

In relation to the first, your Majesty must be assured that heretofore these Indians have never understood, nor have they been given to understand, that the Spaniards came here only to subjugate them and compel them to pay tribute. And since this is something which all peoples naturally abhor, it follows that where they have been able to resist them, they have done so, and have gone to war. When they cannot, they answer that they will pay the tribute. These people the Spaniards call pacified and say that they have given the obedience to your Majesty! And without any mention of God, or of the benefits we come to confer on them, they are asked to pay the tribute every year. The custom therein is as follows: since they have subjugated them and they have promised to pay the tribute — for from us Christians they hear no other word but “pay the tribute” they are told: “you have to give this much every year”. If they are not given in *encomienda*, the governor sends someone to collect the tributes. The most ordinary thing is to give them in *encomienda* to the one who has charge of collecting the tributes.

Although the *cédula* of the *encomienda* says that this is with the obligation of teaching the things pertaining to our most holy faith, the care they take of this is that the *encomendero* takes with him eight or ten soldiers, with their arquebuses and weapons, calls the *principales* and orders that the tribute from all the Indians of the village be given to him.

Here my mind fails me, and I lack the courage, and I can find no words to express to your Majesty the misfortunes, abuses and vexations, torments and miseries which the Indians are made to suffer in the collection of the tributes.

están tasados es valor de ocho reales, pagados en oro, o en las cosas que en sus tierras cogen, pero esta tasa guárdase como todas las demás cosas que son en favor de los indios, que es nunca guardar ninguna. Unos les hacen pagar en oro, aunque no lo tengan.

Y en el oro hay también grandes agravios, porque como hay acá tantas diferencias de oro, siempre les hacen dar de lo más fino. La pesa con que reciben el tributo es la que quiere el que cobra, y nunca escoge la menor. A otros les hacen pagar mantas o hilo, etc. Pero el mal no está aquí, sino en el modo de cobrar, porque no dándoles tanto oro como piden, o no pagando, por tantos indios como les dicen que hay, aspan al triste principal, o échanle en el cepo de cabeza, porque todos los encomenderos, cuando van a cobrar, tienen sus cepos, y allí los azotan y atormentan hasta que vienen a dar todo lo que les piden. Acontece prender la mujer o hija del principal cuando él no parece.

Muchos son los principales que han muerto a tormentos, por lo que está dicho. Estando yo en el puerto de Ibalon, vinieron allí unos principales a verme, y lo primero que me dijeron fue decirme, que uno que cobraba los tributos en aquella provincia⁵⁰ había muerto a tormentos a un principal. Y los mismos indios señalaban el modo con que le habían muerto, que era aspándole y colgado de los brazos. Yo ví este soldado en la villa de Cáceres, en la provincia de Camarines, y supe que la justicia le prendió por ello, y le llevaron cincuenta pesos de pena, la mitad⁵¹ para la cámara y los otros para gastos de justicia. Y con este castigo andaba libre.

También supe que un encomendero, porque un principal no tenía oro, ni plata, ni mantas con que pagar el tributo, le llevó un indio por nueve pesos, en pago de nueve tributos que le debía, y luego llevó este indio a la nao, y lo vendió por treinta y cinco pesos. Y aunque dí parte de ello al protector, y lo pidió, se quedó el indio hecho esclavo. Cobran tributo de los niños, viejos y es-

The tribute at which all are commonly rated is in the value of eight *reales*, paid in gold, or on the things produced in their lands, but this quota is observed as all the other things in favor of the Indians are observed, that is, they are never observed. Some are asked to pay in gold, even if they do not have any. And in the payment of gold there are many abuses, for as here there are so many types of gold, they are asked to pay the finest type. The scale on which the tribute is measured is the one chosen by the one collecting the tribute, and he never selects the smallest. Others are asked to pay in cloth or thread, etc. . . . The evil does not lie here, but in the manner of collecting, for when they are not given as much gold as they demand, or are not paid for the many Indians they say they have to be paid, they crucify the unfortunate chief, or they put him in the stocks right away, for all the *encomenderos*, when they go to collect the tributes, have their stocks, and there they flog and torment them until they give everything they are asked.

At times the wife or daughter of the chief is imprisoned when he himself does not show up. Many are the chiefs who have died of torture, as it has been said before.

When I was in the port of Ibalon some chiefs came there to see me, and the first thing they said to me was that one who collected the tributes in that province had killed a chief by torture and the Indians themselves indicated the manner in which he had been killed, which was by crucifixion [in the form of a Greek cross] hanging him by the arms. I saw this soldier in the town of Cáceres, in the province of Camarines. I came to know that the justice arrested him for that and fined him fifty pesos, half for the exchequer and the other half for the expenses of justice. And with this penalty he was set free. I also came to know that an *encomendero*, because a chief had neither gold nor silver, nor cloth to pay the tribute with, took an Indian from him for nine pesos, in payment for the nine tributes he owed him. Later he took that Indian to the ship and sold him for thirty-five pesos. And although I notified the protector about this and he asked for the Indian to be returned, the Indian remained a slave. They collect tribute from children, old people and slaves.

clavos. Y muchos se dejan de casar por el tributo, y otros matan a sus hijos.

Lo que después de haber cobrado, de la manera que está dicha, hace el encomendero, es irse a su casa, y hasta otro año no los ve ni los oye, ni tienen más cuenta con ellos que si fuesen venados, hasta que otro año van a lo mismo. Y estos daños, hasta de poco acá, en todas partes se hacían. Ahora en esta comarca de Manila no hay tanto de esto, porque ya muchos de ellos son cristianos, y hay entre ellos religiosos, y va la cosa con mejor concierto,⁵² mas en las partes lejos de aquí, y no muy lejos, pasa lo que tengo dicho, y otras cosas mayores, porque son todos, o casi todos, infieles⁵³ los que pagan tributo; y no saben ni entienden más de las cosas de nuestra fe que ahora cien años; y aun por los males que reciben la aborrecen y abominan.

Pues del ejemplo de honestidad que les dan los que andan entre ellos, no hay para qué decirlo aquí, por no ofender las orejas de Vuestra Magestad. Sé decir, por cosa muy cierta que no hay respeto a que sea fiel o infiel, casada o soltera, que todo va por un rasero.⁵⁴ De lo cual colegirá Vuestra Magestad lo que esto tristes indios habrán concebido de nosotros, y de la fe que les predicamos.

No dejaré de decir aquí una cosa de harta confusión para los cristianos que acá han vivido, y aun de todos los que la oímos, y es que los naturales de estas islas, de su antigüedad, son gentiles,⁵⁵ como los hay muchos ahora en estas y en otras. Y de la isla de Burney han venido a estas islas los moros a predicar la ley de Mahoma,⁵⁶ con cuya predicación se han tornado moros gran cantidad de gentiles, y los que han recibido esta sucia ley la guardan con mucha pertinencia,⁵⁷ y hay mucha dificultad en hacérsela dejar. Y sabido por qué, las razones que dan, para vergüenza y confusión nuestra, porque fueron mejor tratados de los predicadores de Mahoma que lo han sido y son de los predicadores de Jesucristo.⁵⁸ Y como con el bueno y amoroso tratamiento recibían

Many do not marry so as not to pay the tribute; others kill their children.

What the *encomendero* does, after having collected in the manner specified above, is to return home until the next year, when they go back again for the same.

These injuries were done in all places until very recently. Now, in this region of Manila, there is less of this, for many of them are Christians. There are religious among them, and affairs are in better order. But in places remote from here, and even not that far, what I have said occurs, and even worse things are done.

Because all or almost all of those who pay tribute are heathens, and neither know nor understand more of the matters of our faith than they did a hundred years ago, and also due to the abuses they receive, they abhor and abominate the faith.

We should not speak here about the example of chastity given by those who live among them in order not to offend your Majesty's ears. I can say as something truly certain, that they care not whether the woman be a believer or a heathen, married or single, for all are measured with the same measure.

From this your Majesty will conclude what these unfortunate Indians will have conceived of us and of the faith we preach.

I shall not omit to mention here a thing which is of great embarrassment for the Christians who have lived here, and even to all of us who have come to hear it, and it is this: the natives of these islands, from their earliest times, are heathen, of whom there are still many in these and other islands. From the island of Borneo Moros have come to these islands to preach the law of Mohammed, through whose preaching a large number of pagans have become Moros. Those who have received this dirty law, keep it with great pertinacity and there is a great difficulty in inducing them to abandon it. Moreover, it is known that the reason—to our shame and confusion—is that they were better treated by the preachers of Mohammed than they were and are treated by the preachers of Jesus Christ. Since they received

aquella secta de buena gana, arraigóseles en el corazón; y así agora la dejan con dificultad, lo que no es en la que nosotros les predicamos, que como va con tantos malos tratamientos, y malos ejemplos, dicen de sí con la boca y no con el corazón. Y ansí, en hallando ocasión, la dejan, aunque por la misericordia de Dios, ésto se va algo remediando con la venida de los ministros del Evangelio, y con que se van quitando en algunas partes estos agravios.

Y después que vino a gobernar Don Gonzalo⁵⁹ Ronquillo se les ha mandado llevar a los indios los quintos⁶⁰ del oro⁶¹ que si ésto se ha hecho con orden de Vuestra Magestad o no, yo no lo sé; pero sé que si Vuestra Magestad estuviera en esta tierra no mandara que por ahora se ejecutara esta ley, porque aun son los más infieles, y no sé qué derecho hay para llevar al infiel estos derechos. Y a gente tan nueva⁶² no se había de llevar por tanto rigor. De lo cual se siguen muchos agravios a los indios, porque echan fama⁶³ que el oro que tienen de sus antepasados lo han cobrado ellos, y se lo toman por perdido.⁶⁴ Haciénronles manifestar a todos el oro que tenían, y ponerlo por lista, a fin de que si más tuviesen de allí adelante, tomárselo, por no quintado, por perdido. Y como estos indios usan traer cadenas y ajorcas,⁶⁵ en queriéndose aprovechar de ellos, los alcaldes mayores hacen que denuncien, porque son piezas que ellos han labrado y no pagado el quinto. Y aunque sea mentira, antes que el indio se libra, le cuesta buena parte de su oro. Y ante el propio gobernador denunciaron de un indio, y por muchos ruegos de religiosos le condenó en ciento y veinte pesos, que era la tercia parte de oro sobre que le habían

with good will that sect, due to the good and loving treatment, it took root in their hearts. Thus now they abandon it with difficulty. This does not happen with ours for since we preach it with so many bad treatments and evil examples, they say yes with the mouth and no with their heart. And thus when the occasion arises they abandon it, although through God's mercy this is being remedied with the arrival of the ministers of the Gospel. These abuses are being removed now in many parts.

After Don Gonzalo Ronquillo came as governor it was decreed that the Indians should pay the fifth of gold. Whether this was done by order of your Majesty or not I do not know, but if your Majesty were in this land, you would not order this law to be executed now, for the majority are still heathen. I do not know what right there is to exact these taxes from the heathen. With people so new [in our faith] this should not be applied with so much rigor. Many abuses are committed against the Indians on account of this because the Spaniards spread the rumor that the gold they have from their ancestors, has been wrought by them and they seize it and the Indians lose it.

They forced the Indians to declare all the gold they had and list it so that if in the future they would acquire more, it would be taken from them, because they did not pay the fifth and thus have it forfeited. And as these Indians used to bring chains and *ajorcas*, when the *alcaldes mayores* want to take advantage of them, they compel them to declare them as pieces wrought by them and on which they have not paid the fifth. And although this may be a lie, before the Indian clarifies everything, a good part of his gold has been lost.

An Indian was denounced to the governor and in spite of many entreaties from the religious, he condemned him to pay one hundred and twenty pesos, which was the third part of the gold

acusado. Y afirmóme un religioso que era oro de sus antepasados, pero el indio no pudo más.

Sería nunca acabar, y aún para Vuestra Magestad cosa muy molesta, referir todos los trabajos que en esta tierra pasan estos desventurados, habiendo de ser regalados, acariciados⁶⁶ y favorecidos para que se aficionasen a nuestra fe, y reconociesen la merced que Dios les ha hecho en traerlos a su conocimiento y obediencia.⁶⁷ Pero los que acá andan, olvidados de ésto, son causa de que ellos aborrezcan la fe, y a Vuestra Magestad tengan por rey cruel, y que no pretende sino aprovecharse de sus haciendas, y servirse de sus personas, siendo tan al revés de parte de Vuestra Magestad, con las santas leyes y ordenanzas que, para el buen gobierno de estas tierras, Vuestra Magestad tiene hechas y mandadas guardar.

Pues si es verdad, rey cristianísimo, que el intento de Vuestra Magestad en enviar a esta tierra sus españoles es para que en ella sea Dios conocido, su fe predicada y su santa ley recibida, y que estos indios, con amor y buenas obras y ejemplos sean atraídos al conocimiento de Dios y obediencia de Vuestra Magestad, ¿qué ley ni razón sufre (que ya que los particulares excedan en esto, y por sus codicias e intereses hagan lo contrario), que los que Vuestra Magestad envía para que en su real nombre, con tanta autoridad gobiernan esta tierra (honrados para ésto de títulos muy honrosos, y remunerados de crecidos salarios), y encargándoles Vuestra Magestad tan afectuosamente el buen tratamiento de estos naturales (dándoles para ello tan santas leyes, ordenanzas e instrucciones), que apartando los ojos de todo esto, y cerrándolos a los agravios y malos tratamientos que estos desventurados reciben, y del aborrecimiento que de ello contra nuestra santa fe resulta, y del impedimento que se pone a que los infieles no se conviertan (y los ya convertidos se arrepientan), tan solamente los pongan en hacerse ellos ricos en el más breve tiempo que pudieren, (para lo cual no dejan de intentar ni acometer todos los medios que para salir con este intento les parecen más acomodados, aunque sea contra lo que Vuestra Magestad les tiene mandado, y por las leyes del reino y ordenanzas de las Indias les está prohibido y aunque sea con daño y perjuicio de aquellos que con autoridad de Vuestra Magestad habían de hacer libres y seguros de todos los daños) si ésto así

about which he was accused. A religious assured me that it was gold received from their ancestors, but the Indian could not do otherwise.

It would be a never ending matter, and even something tiresome for your Majesty, relating all the hardships these unfortunate experience in this country, when they ought to be feasted and fondled and favored, so that they could become more attached to our faith and understand the gift God has shown them in bringing them to the knowledge and obedience of it. But those who are here, forgetting these things, are the cause of their hatred of our faith. And they consider your Majesty a cruel king, and think that you are trying only to profit from their estates, and claim their personal service, although all is the contrary in so far as your Majesty is concerned, as witness the holy laws and ordinances which, for the good government of these lands, your Majesty has decreed and ordered to be observed.

If it is true, most Christian king, that the intent of your Majesty in sending Spaniards to this land is that God may be known here, His faith preached, His holy law received and these Indians, by love, good works and examples, be attracted to the knowledge of God and obedience to your Majesty, what law or right can permit that (although private people may exceed in this, and for their greed and self-interests do the contrary), those sent by your Majesty to govern this country in your royal name and with so much royal authority (dignified for this task with very honorific titles, paid high salaries, being charged by your Majesty so lovingly to treat these natives well, giving for this purpose such holy laws, ordinances and instructions, yet removing their eyes from all this and closing them to the grievances and evil treatment these unfortunate people receive, and of the abhorrence that results in their minds against our faith on account of this, and of the hindrance placed to the conversion of these heathens and that those already converted would repent from it) will only care to become rich in the shortest possible time, and to obtain this dare to try every means which seems to them best suited to attain it, although it may be against what your Majesty has ordered, and prohibited by the laws of the kingdom and ordinances of the Indies, though it may be harmful and injurious

pasase, ¿qué castigo habría condigno a tal delito?⁶⁸ ¿O cómo Vuestra Magestad podría disimular negocio tan pernicioso que no lo mandase castigar rigurosamente, y poner remedio en males que tanto lo hubiesen menester? Pues si ésto es así o no, no es mío acusar⁶⁹ a nadie, ni decir mal de nadie. Solo digo con verdad que esta tierra está destruída y hay duda que si otro año pasa por ella como los dos⁷⁰ próximos pasados, no llegará al tercero. Y ésto no es encarecimiento.

En esta nao⁷¹ que ahora vino de la Nueva España vinieron ciertas provisiones reales,⁷² remedio de algunos males de que tuvieron noticia. La tierra parece que con ello recibió algún alivio. No sé lo que sucederá. Gran desconsuelo es tener a Vuestra Magestad tan lejos, que si cerca estuviera, todos estos males duraran poco, como espero en la divina bondad y en el santo celo de Vuestra Magestad, que durarán más de cuanto lo sepa, y no por relación sino por información que en la Nueva España se podría hacer muy bastante; que lo que aquí digo no es para más de que Vuestra Magestad se informe de lo que pasa y lo mande remediar.

Y pues Vuestra Magestad, por su real cédula, me⁷³ manda que, no guardando el gobernador las leyes y ordenanzas reales que para estas tierras están hechas, avise a Vuestra Magestad de ello, lo que en cumplimiento de ella podría, con toda verdad, decir es que yo no sé ni entiendo⁷⁴ qué cedula ni provisión,⁷⁵ ni ordenanza que esté dada para provecho y amparo de los indios se guarda, ni hace caso de ella. Y si algo se guarda, es por cumplimiento. Y jamás he visto castigar a hombre que contra ellas haya hecho y escandaloso el pecado. Y para que muy en particular conste a Vuestra Magestad de lo mal que se guardan sus santas leyes, iré discurrendo por las ordenanzas reales.⁷⁶

El Capítulo segundo que comienza: "los que tienen la gobernación, etc.", ni se guarda, ni hace caso de él, porque jamás se tiene cuenta con que los indios entiendan el bien que se las va a hacer, sino a sujetarles y hacerles tributar; y como ésto es su

to those whom they were charged by the authority of your Majesty to make free and secure from all these wrongs? If this would really happen, what punishment would be fitting to such an offense? Or how could your Majesty overlook so harmful a matter, without ordering to punish it most rigorously, and put a remedy to these evils which are in need of remedy?

If this be so or not, it is not for me to accuse or speak ill of anyone. I can only say, and truthfully, that this country is destroyed; and it is doubtful whether if another year passes like the last two years it will reach a third one. And this is no exaggeration.

In the ship just arrived from Nueva España there came some royal provisions, remedy for certain evils about which they had been informed. It seems that the country receives thereby certain alleviation. I do not know what will happen. It is a terrible misfortune to have your Majesty so far away, for if you were closer to us all these evils would last but little, as I hope by divine goodness and the holy zeal of your Majesty, that they will last no longer than till you come to know of them, and not by relation but by information which could easily be done in Nueva España. What I do here is nothing more than to inform your Majesty of what is going on that you may order it to be remedied.

Since your Majesty commands me by your royal *cédulas* that, if the governor would not keep the royal laws and ordinances issued for these lands, I notify your Majesty of that, what I can say, in all truth, in fulfillment of that command, is that I do not know, nor understand what *cédula*, provision, ordinance given for the welfare and protection of the Indians is kept, or any attention is paid to it. If anything is commanded, it is pure formality. I have never seen a man punished for having violated them, or for scandalous sin.

In order that your Majesty may come to know how badly your holy laws are kept, I shall go over the royal ordinances.

The second clause, that begins: "those who have the government, etc...." is not kept, nor attention is given to it, because nothing is done to make the Indians understand the good we come to offer them, but rather we seem to come to subjugate them and

intento nunca hacen lo que en este capítulo se manda, sino luego envían gente de guerra para que, aunque no quieran, den la obediencia, y antes que vuelvan los dejan, si pueden,⁷⁷ sujetos y tributarios.⁷⁸

El capítulo 4, por la misma razón, no se guarda.

El capítulo 20, con ser tan necesario y digno de ser guardado, así se hace como si lo contrario se les mandase, como arriba queda dicho tratando de los agravios.

A lo que se manda en el capítulo 24, ahora en esta isla algún respeto se tiene, pero hasta aquí todo se ha hecho al contrario, y jamás se ha ejecutado la pena.

El capítulo 25, ni se ha guardado ni se guarda⁷⁹ en esta isla, antes expresamente se hace contra él, en harto menoscabo de la real hacienda y que se siguen los inconvenientes que en él se dicen.

En cuanto al capítulo 29, son tan contrarias las obras de los que van a estas entradas a lo que aquí se manda, que más parece que los envían a robar que a pacificar.

El capítulo 30 es⁸⁰ más mal guardado que todos los contenidos en este libro de las ordenanzas, como queda dicho. Y de la observancia de él había más necesidad. Es cierto que todas las demás van⁸¹ ordenadas a lo que aquí se manda.

Del capítulo 32, que trata de nuevas poblaciones, no se hace más caso que si no estuviera escrito, porque ni en esta isla hay población hecha, ni se trata de eso, porque en ningún pueblo de españoles hay⁸² estancia de cría, ni tierra de labrar, aunque hay harta comodidad, y a los que quieren comenzar algo de ésto, como son dos o tres que tratan de ello,⁸³ ningún favor se les da, ni hay quien de ello se acuerde.

Del capítulo 33 no hay memoria, ni se trata de que haya orden en el ⁸⁴ pacificar, sino enviar⁸⁵ unos aquí otros allí que hagan los indios tributarios, sin atención a pacificación ni población, aunque en esta jornada que agora se hizo a Cagayán algún respeto se tuvo a esto.

force them to pay the tribute. Since this is the intention of those in power, they never do what this clause commands. Rather they send men of war to force the Indians to submit, even if they do not want and before they return, if they can, they leave the natives subject and paying taxes.

Clause 4, for the same reason, is not kept.

Clause 20, in spite of being so necessary and worthy of being obeyed, is obeyed by those in power as if the contrary were commanded as has been explained above, when speaking about the abuses committed by them.

What is commanded in clause 24 is obeyed in part in this island now, but up to now the contrary was done, and no penalties have ever been imposed.

Clause 25 has not been and is not obeyed in this island. Rather they openly go against it, to the detriment of the royal exchequer. From that follow the difficulties mentioned in it.

With regard to clause 29, the deeds of those who go on to these expeditions are so contrary to what is ordered here that it seems they are sent to rob rather than to pacify.

Clause 30 is the least observed of all those mentioned in this book of ordinances. There is a greater need for its observance than for any other. It is true that all the other ordinances are excused by what is commanded here.

About clause 30, dealing with the establishment of new towns, the attention given to it is as if nothing had been written, for in this island no new towns have been erected, and nothing is done about it, because no animal farm has been established in any Spanish town and no lands for cultivation have been opened, although there is a great opportunity for this. And to those who wish to start something of the kind, for there are two or three persons who wish to do it, no support is given. And nobody seems to think about it.

To clause 33 no attention is given at all, nor do they pay any attention to conduct the pacification in an orderly manner. Rather they send people here and there to make the Indians pay tributes, without paying any attention to pacification or settlement. To the present expedition just sent to Cagayan, certain attention was paid.

El principal fin de Vuestra Magestad, bien sabemos todos, que es el contenido en el capítulo 36, pero no es ése⁸⁶ el de los que acá Vuestra Magestad envía, y mucho menos de los que gobiernan,⁸⁷ y así se les da poco de que los indios se conviertan, y mucho de mirar por sus provechos.

Lo que el capítulo 138 se guarda es, por bien o por mal, sujetar a los indios, compelerlos a que paguen tributo. De lo demás no hay cuidado ni memoria.

Por la propia razón no se guarda el capítulo 139, ni hay memoria de él.

De lo que se manda en el capítulo 141, no se guarda nada, porque no hacen más caso de los indios para darles razón de cosa alguna que si fuesen bestias carecientes de razón.

Lo contenido en el capítulo 144 era lo más necesario de ser guardado que comienza: "estando la tierra pacífica, etc..."⁸⁸ era lo más necesario. Y para decir el daño que se sigue de no se guardar, era menester otro que mejor lo supiera decir.

Dos partes contiene esta ley o capítulo⁸⁹ en la primera se manda lo que han de hacer los gobernadores para haber de encomendar los indios. La segunda lo que han de hacer los encomenderos a quien se les encomiendan. Cuanto a lo primero, no sin razón se podría disputar si, para seguridad de la conciencia de Vuestra Magestad, y para el bien de estos naturales, les conviene que se hagan estas encomiendas. Y porque esta materia pide más tiempo y lugar del que yo ahora tengo, quedarse⁹⁰ ha para otro viaje, cuando, con el ayuda de Dios, irán ésta y otras dudas resueltas a servicio de Dios y de Vuestra Magestad. Y atrévome a decir esto porque, aunque Vuestra Magestad tiene tan cerca de sí tantos y tan excelentes letrados en todas facultades, pero para determinar muchas cosas de Indias, sin duda es menester haber estado en ellas, y no pocos años. Por ahora baste decir que si los gobernadores, antes de encomendar los indios, y los encomenderos, después que se les han encomendado, guardasen lo que en solo este capítulo se les manda, quitarían a Vuestra Magestad de muy grande escrúpulo, a nosotros de duda, (y así de muy gran cargo de conciencia), y a los

The principal aim of your Majesty, we all know, is the one contained in clause 26, but that is not the one of those sent here by your Majesty, much less of those who govern here. Thus they care little for the conversion of the Indians. They care a great deal more for their advantage.

Regarding clause 138, what is observed, one way or another, is just to subjugate the Indians, and compel them to pay tribute. Beyond this, nobody cares or remembers. For the like reason clause 139, of which there is no memory, is not observed.

Nothing is observed regarding what is ordered in clause 141, for they care no more for administering justice to the Indians as if they were beasts without reason.

What is contained in clause 144, the most necessary to be observed, and which begins: "being the land pacified, etc..." indeed was the most necessary to be observed [sic.] In order to tell the harm that follows from not observing it, there is a need for another man who could explain it better than I. This law or clause contains two parts: in the first it is stated what the governor must do in order to give the Indians in *encomienda*. In the second, what the *encomenderos*, to whom the Indians are given, must do. Regarding the first, we could dispute with good reason whether for your Majesty's peace of conscience, and for the welfare of these natives, it would be convenient or not to allot these *encomiendas*. But since this matter demands more time and freedom than I have now, I shall leave it for another voyage, when, by God's help, these and other doubts will be resolved, for God's service and your Majesty's. I dare to say this because, although your Majesty has near you so many and so excellent scholars in all subjects, yet, in order to determine many things about the Indies, it is doubtless necessary to have lived in them, and this for many years. For the moment it would be enough to say that if the governors, before giving the Indians in *encomienda*, and the *encomenderos*, after the Indians have been given in *encomienda*, would only keep what is ordered in this clause, they would relieve your Majesty from serious scruples and us from doubt, and thus from a heavy burden of conscience and a singular benefit would be rendered to the Indians. But all is contrary to this, because the governors, when giving Indians in *encomienda*

indios se les haría un singular beneficio. Lo cual todo es contrario, porque ni los gobernadores, para encomendar los indios, tienen cuenta con lo que aquí se les manda, porque hacen las encomiendas antes que los indios se pacifiquen, ni aun hayan oído el nombre de Dios ni de Vuestra Magestad, ni los encomenderos atienden a la obligación que sobre sí echan,⁹¹ pues fiados en la encomienda de esta manera hecha, van a cobrar los tributos en la manera arriba dicha, y aun estos son los que más mal lo hacen.

En el capítulo 145, en lo que toca a los indios, no se guarda más que el precedente, en lo que toca al reservar para Vuestra Magestad cabeceras.

En estas islas⁹² no es como en la Nueva España, que hay un pueblo principal y sujetos a él otros muchos. Aquí todos son pueblos pequeños, y cada uno hace cabeza de sí.⁹³ Y los gobernadores, entendiendo esta ley más literalmente de lo que al servicio de Vuestra Magestad conviene, han puesto en su real corona algunos pueblos marítimos muy pequeños, y lo bueno hánlo dado a quien han querido. Si con justicia o no, no es mío juzgarlo. Sé decir a Vuestra Magestad que es muy poco lo que por vía de tributos entra en la caja real. Y hay mucha necesidad de que aquí tenga Vuestra Magestad dineros para acudir a muchas necesidades, que si Vuestra Magestad no, otro no las puede remediar. Aunque también digo que, según lo que acá pasa, ningunos indios hay más trabajados,⁹⁴ ni peor librados, que los que están en su real cabeza.⁹⁵ Y dejadas otras muchas razones que para claridad de ésto se podrían dar, (y acá las vemos muy patentes) una es que como los oficiales no salen a la cobranza de los tributos, envía el gobernador un criado suyo, u otro a quien quiere aprovechar, a cobrar los tributos; y éste cobra para Vuestra Magestad lo que le deben, y para sí lo que quiere. Y ésto es ciertísimo. Y en el modo de cobrar, pasan los indios de Vuestra Magestad mayores vejaciones que los otros,⁹⁶ porque a los otros visitanlos sus encomenderos, y por fuerza, una vez que otra, se han de doler de ellos; mas de los de Vuestra Magestad no hay quien se duela, ni mire por ellos. Y aun oigo decir que muchos soldados que no tienen que comer, so color que sirven a Vuestra Magestad, y no les dan nada, lo toman a los indios, diciendo que por ser de Vuestra Magestad, lo pueden hacer.

do not pay any attention to what is ordered here, for they allot the *encomiendas* before the Indians are pacified, or even before the Indians have heard the name of God and of your Majesty, and the *encomenderos* do not heed the obligation imposed upon them, but confident of the *encomienda* allotted in this manner, they go to collect the tributes in the above mentioned manner, and even so these are the ones who do so with great offense.

Clause 145, regarding the Indians, is not observed any better than the precedent one in regard to reserving the chief villages for your Majesty.

These islands are not like Nueva España, where there is a chief village with many others subject to it. Here all are small villages, and each one is independent. The governors, interpreting this more literally than is convenient for your Majesty's service, have placed under the royal crown very small maritime villages, and the good ones have been assigned to whomsoever they have wished; whether justly or not, I do not know, for it is not mine to judge. I can only assure your Majesty that very little enters into the royal treasury through tributes, although there is much need that your Majesty should have many here to provide many necessities, for nobody can attend to it if your Majesty cannot. I can also say that as we see here, no other Indians are more abused or ill-treated than those apportioned to the royal crown. There are many reasons which might be given here to make this clear, which are patent to us here. One is that as the official do not go out to collect the tributes, the governor sends one of his servants, or anybody else whom he wants to favor, to collect the tributes. This person collects for your Majesty what they owe and for him whatever he desires. And this is most certain. In the manner of collecting the tributes, the Indians under your Majesty suffer greater vexations than the others, because the latter are visited by their *encomenderos*, and surely once in a while they take pity on them, but for those under your Majesty, nobody is there to grieve or look after them. I even hear it said that many soldiers who have nothing to eat, under the pretence that they serve your Majesty and are given nothing, take it from the Indians, saying that since it belongs to his Majesty, they can do it.

Lo contenido en el capítulo 146⁹⁷ es la cosa que más atraería a los indios a recibir nuestra fe, si se guardase; porque no hay cosa que más impida la conversión de estos bárbaros que, de prima instancia, entrarles con que han de ser sujetos a otro rey extraño que no conocen, y sin más ni más pedirles tributo, que es la cosa que más duramente reciben.⁹⁸

Y cierto es grandísima lástima, y digna de ser muy sentida, que haya tanta codicia en nosotros, que por no saber tratar con estos bárbaros, ni esperarles a que entiendan el bien que con nosotros les viene, por codicia de lo que de presente pagan, seamos causa de que no se conviertan millones de ellos, y los que se convierten sea más por fuerza que de grado. Yo sé cierto que si este capítulo se hubiera guardado, estuvieran todos los de estas islas convertidos, y no fingidamente sino de todo corazón. Porque vea Vuestra Magestad el daño que hacen los que no guardan lo que Vuestra Magestad acerca de la pacificación de los indios manda,⁹⁹ y para que se sepa cuánto sienten estos indios el pagar el tributo, cuando yo entré en esta tierra, como se divulgó entre ellos mi venida, y se dijo que yo era el capitán de los clérigos, como el gobernador lo es de los legos, preguntaron si venía yo a echarles algún tributo, como cosa que ellos tanto temen.

En las instrucciones que ahora dio el gobernador don Gonzalo¹⁰⁰ al capitán Juan Pablos de Carrión, que fue a la jornada de Cagayán,¹⁰¹ hay un capítulo que por un año no se les lleve tributo, que ha sido comenzar a tener algún respeto a lo que Vuestra Magestad manda. Y espero en Dios que ha de ser muy importante para que aquellos indios, que por tres o cuatro veces, han sido tan agravados y escandalizados, vengan ahora de paz.

Del capítulo 147 no hay memoria, ni se puede acabar con los que gobiernan que se intente esta tan santa manera de predicar el evangelio. Pero como Vuestra Magestad no deja mano ninguna a los obispos, ni a los otros prelados, para que apostólicamente intentasen de predicar el evangelio,¹⁰² sino que toda la autoridad está dada a los gobernadores, o se la toman ellos, (que si este capítulo

What is contained in clause 146 is the thing which would most attract the Indians to receive our faith, if it were observed, for there is nothing which more hinders the conversion of these barbarians than that from the very outset come and tell them that they must submit to a foreign king, whom they do not know, and right away demand tribute from them, which is the thing they most openly resent.

And surely it is a great pity, and a cause for grief, that such great coveteousness is found among us that through not knowing how to deal with these barbarians and wait until they will be able to understand the good that comes with us to them, through the greed for what they now pay us we may be the cause that thousands will not be converted, and those who are converted will do so more through force than of their own free will. I am sure that if this clause had been observed, all people from these islands would have become converts, and that not under pretence, but rather in all sincerity.

In order for your Majesty to realize the harm done by those who do not observe what your Majesty commands regarding the pacification of these Indians, and also for your Majesty to know how much these Indians resent to pay the tribute, when I came to this land, and my arrival became known to them, and the news spread out that I was the captain of the clerics, as the governor was of the laymen, they asked if I had come to impose tribute on them, a thing which they so much fear.

In the instructions given just now by the governor Don Gonzalo to Captain Juan Pablo de Carrion, who went to the expedition of Cagayan, there is a clause saying that the Indians should not pay tribute for one year. This means to have some respect for what your Majesty orders.

I hope in God that this would be a very important thing so that these Indians who three or four times have been so wronged and scandalized, may now accept peace.

Of clause 147 there is no memory, nor can those who govern be persuaded that this so holy manner of preaching the Gospel be tried, but since your Majesty does not give licence to the bishops, or to the other prelates, to try to preach the Gospel like the apostles, but rather all authority is given to the governors,

se guardase los obispos y no los gobernadores habían de juzgar¹⁰³ cuando convenía ir los predicadores solos o acompañados), de aquí es que como los gobernadores pretenden más que la conversión de los indios, nunca hallan lugar para el cumplimiento de este capítulo. Que sin duda es cosa vergonzosa e indigna de quien profesa tal ley como la nuestra, que no confiemos de Dios que, alguna vez, harían más solos los predicadores que no acompañados de arcabuces y picas; aunque no niego que ésto no sea lícito, y algunas veces necesario, pero no sería malo que alguna vez se intentase este otro camino; pero no hará si Vuestra Magestad no ordena otra cosa.

El capítulo 148 es muy necesario se guarde en esta tierra,¹⁰⁴ por estar los indios derramados y metidos entre ríos y esteros, donde con mucha dificultad pueden ser hallados.¹⁰⁵ Y esto es muy bien lo hagan los encomenderos, como aquí se les manda, y no esperar a que lo hagan los religiosos o clérigos, que no podrán hacer con la facilidad que los encomenderos. Y también porque sacar los indios de sus antiguas moradas les es cosa muy odiosa, y lo hacen muy de mala gana y con mucha dificultad.¹⁰⁶ Y será mejor que se desabran con el encomendero que no con el ministro que los ha de enseñar, y en quien han de conocer amor, y que en todo procura su bien. Y lo mismo en el hacer de las iglesias y monasterios.

or they take it, —although in order to observe this clause the bishops and not the governors should be the ones to judge whether it would be convenient or not for preachers to go alone or accompanied— it follows that, as the governors pretend other things beyond the conversion of the Indians, they never find the opportunity to fulfill this clause. It is without any doubt a shameful thing and unworthy of those who profess such a law as ours, that we should not trust in God that sometimes the preachers would do more alone than accompanied with arquebuses and pikes. And although I do not deny that this is lawful, and sometimes necessary, it would not be a bad plan to try sometimes this other way. This will not be done unless your Majesty orders otherwise.

It is very necessary to observe clause 148 in this country, because the Indians are scattered and lost amid rivers and esteros where they can hardly be found. It is good that this be done by the *encomenderos*, as they are here commanded, and not wait for the religious or ecclesiastics to do it, since they will not be able to do it with the same ease as can the *encomenderos*. Moreover, to transfer the Indians from their former homes is something very hateful to them, and they do it very unwillingly and with great opposition. It would be better for them to get angry with the *encomendero* rather than with the minister who has to teach them and in whom they must see love and who in everything must strive for their good. The same should be done in building of the churches and monasteries.

FOOTNOTES

¹ The *Memorial* was published by W. E. RETANA, in: *Archivo del Bibliófilo Filipino*, (5 vols.), Madrid, 1895-1905, vol. III, 3-45. This *Memorial* is found in an English translation in E. H. BLAIR-J. A. ROBERTSON, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*. (55 vols.). Cleveland, 1905-1909, V. 210-255. This edition will hereinafter be referred as BRPI.

BR based his English translation on Retana's edition. Retana gives 1583 as a probable date. The same date is given by BRPI, V, 13. H. De La Costa, in his article, "Bishop Salazar and the Colonial Episcopate", in: *Asia and the Philippines. Collected Historical Papers*, Manila, 1967, p. 30 also accepts that date as probable. A critical reading of the *Memorial* shows that the year must be 1582. In the *Memorial* there are many references to events that happened in 1582. The *Memorial* speaks of them as happening at the same time. Let us examine some of them.

1. Salazar mentions in the *Memorial* a letter written by some chiefs of Tondo and neighbouring provinces. This letter, he adds, accompanies the *Memorial*. The letter is published by BRPI, V, 188-191. It bears the date June 20, 1582.

2. The *Memorial* criticizes Governor Gonzalo Ronquillo who was still alive. Ronquillo, however, died on February 14, 1583. The *Memorial* then must have been written in 1582.

3. Mention is made in the *Memorial* of an expedition just sent to Cagayan. This was directed by Juan Pablo de Carrión. In a letter of Governor Ronquillo, dated June 16, 1582, and published in BRPI, V, 23-33, the governor says that the expedition was sent a few months before. This must have been in 1582.

4. Salazar in the *Memorial* speaks of the decision of the *Council Regarding Slaves* as something very recent. This happened in October of 1581. He accuses Governor Ronquillo of procrastination for not having published the decisions of the Council until March of next year. This again must be 1582.

5. Reference is made in the *Memorial* to the accession of Philip II to the Portuguese throne and the initial apprehension of the Spaniards of Manila about the attitude of the Portuguese of Macao and Maluco. Finally the Portuguese agreed to accept Philip II as their king. This happened at the beginning of 1582 when Ronquillo sent Francisco de Dueñas to the Moluccas and the Jesuit Alonso Sanchez to Macao. They were successful in their respective embassies. This is clearly stated in the letter of governor Ronquillo to the king, dated Manila, June 16, 1582, and published in BRPI, V, 27-28.

6. Salazar complains in the *Memorial* of the harsh treatment the Franciscans who tried to escape to China received at the hands of the *alcalde mayor* —provincial governor— of Pangasinan on orders of Ronquillo. On March 2, 1582, the governor passed a strict Ordinance against those secret trips to China. Yet the Franciscans under Fr. Pablo de Jesus, secretly went ahead with their plan and stole out of Manila sometime in March of 1582. The Franciscans were found in Pangasinan and were treated very severely

by the *alcalde mayor*. This again proves that the *Memorial* was written in 1582. (Cfr. *Letter of Ronquillo de Peñalosa to Philip II*, Manila, June 16, 1582, in: BRPI, V, 24-25). We believe that the *Memorial* was written during the month of June. Salazar had it ready just before the galleon was supposed to sail from Manila to Acapulco by June of 1582. Part of the correspondence of the governor and the factor Roman is dated June, 1582. But when news came that the Spaniards were hard pressed in Cagayan by the Japanese, the galleon waited for a little longer. Ronquillo writes a letter on July 1, 1582, where he explains more the problems the Spaniards were facing in Cagayan. It is then probable that just after July 1, 1582, the galleon sailed for Acapulco carrying the whole correspondence of the governor, Salazar, officials, missionaries and the rest. Diego de Aguirre, provincial of the Augustinians, and Juan Pimentel, who had headed the Augustinian mission which came with Salazar in 1581, also left in that galleon.

Retana, in his edition of Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, Madrid, 1910, p. 399, gives 1582 as the date of the *Memorial*.

² "Bishop Salazar and the Colonial Episcopate", in: *Asia and the Philippines. Collected Historical Papers*, Manila, 1967, p. 26.

³ *Letter of Diego de Aguilar and others to Philip II*, Manila, July 18, 1581, as quoted by DE LA COSTA, *Ibid*, 26.

⁴ "This country abounds in provisions — rice, wine, fish, hogs, Castilian fowls and wild buffaloes; in short it is so well provided that it can maintain many Spanish settlements, which will produce good fruit, both spiritual and temporal", *Affairs in the Philippines After The Death of Legazpi*, by Governor Guido de Lavezaris, Manila, June 29, 1573, in: BRPI, vol. III, p. 180.

⁵ "The food here is rice, which is the bread of this country. It is cultivated in the following manner. They put a basketful of it into the river to soak. After a few days they take it from the water; what is bad and has not sprouted is thrown away. The rest is put on a bamboo mat and covered with earth, and placed where it is kept moist by the water. After the sprouting grains have germinated sufficiently they are transplanted one by one, as lettuce is cultivated in Spain", *Relation of governor Francisco Sande*, Manila, June 8, 1577, in: BRPI, vol. 4, 66-67.

⁶ "The same fowl are found here as in Castilla, but they are much better than those of Castilla", *Ibid*.

⁷ "There are many swine, deer, and buffalo, but he who wishes them must kill them himself, because no native will kill or hunt them. Meat spoils very quickly here on account of the heat", *Ibid*.

The Filipinos were not meat-eaters. Apart from swine and fowls, they ate roots and fish. Animals for hunting were plentiful. Even today, in the forests of the Philippines, wild boars and deer can be found in large quantities.

⁸ The original Spanish word is *búfano*, old Spanish for *búfalo*. Here it stands for the Philippine buffalo, commonly known in Spanish and in English as *carabao*, in Pilipino *kalabaw*. At the time of the Spanish arrival, the carabao roamed wild in the plains. It became a beast of burden during the early Spanish period. As late as the 20's of this 20th century they roamed wild in the Mallig region, in Cagayan province.

⁹ "There is plenty of fish, but it is not so good as that of España", *Ibid*, p. 67.

¹⁰ The wine referred hereto was mainly made from the coconut, commonly known later on as *tuba*. Wine was also made from rice and millet.

Right after the conquest the Spaniards started drinking the local wine. Once the Manila-Acapulco galleon trade settled down, Spanish wine was

usually consumed by the richer Spaniards. The poorer ones, like the native Filipinos, had to content themselves with local wine. Spanish wine reached prohibitive prices during the early 1580's.

¹¹ Wild honey was plentiful in the Philippines. Usually the mountaineers—the Tinguians—got it from the mountains—tingues—and sold it to the lowlanders. These, in turn, sold it to the Spaniards. Wax from the honey-bee was obtained during the early Spanish period in commercial quantities. In fact, wax was one of the major exports to China before the Spanish arrival.

¹² The *ganta* is a measure for dry goods in the Philippines, still in use today. It has eight chupas. The *chupa* has 0'38 liters and the *ganta* has 3 liters. During Salazar's time and early Spanish time the *ganta* was also used as a measure for liquids, especially wine. I have not been able to convert the *ganta* of wine into liters. Cfr. MARTINEZ, VIGIL, O.P., *Exposición del sistema métrico decimal y su comparación con las medidas de Filipinas*, Manila, Universidad de Santo Tomas, 1892, p. 28.

¹³ *Celemín* is a Spanish measure of capacity for dry goods. It is still in use today in some areas of Spain to measure cereals. It is fast disappearing. It is equivalent to 4'63 liters. The *celemín* has four cuartillos, as it had during the time of Salazar, and every cuartillo makes 1'16 liters.

Twelve celemines make up a fanega or 55'50 liters. Cfr. *Ibidem*, p. 29.

¹⁴ Retana's text here reads thus: "El precio que tenían las cosas despues que los Españoles introduxeron la moneda de plata, que por la mayor parte son tostones, que así llaman a los reales de a cuatrocientas gantas de arroz, y por otro [real] ciento de vino...". Blair and Robertson realized there was something wrong. In a footnote they wrote: "The bracketed word *real* was supplied by Retana. A more satisfactory emendation would be *tostón*, the equivalent of *real de a cuatro*. The passage should read thus: "reales de a cuatro [por un tostón cuatro]cientas gantas de arroz, y por otro [tostón] ciento" etc. BRPI, vol. 5, p. 211, footnote.

The confusion originated in the fact that Retana left out from the original text these words *era que por un tostón daban* after the words *que así llaman a los reales de a cuatro* and before the words *cuatrocientas gantas de arroz*.

¹⁵ *Tostón* — Tostón was a Portuguese silver coin that became common currency in the East, and in the Philippines, during the early Spanish times. During Salazar's time it was valued at four reales. At the end of the last century it was valued at 50 cents of a Spanish peseta.

¹⁶ *Real* — Old silver coin valued at 25 cents of a peseta. In Spanish America and the Philippines a *real* was the eighteenth part of a *peso duro*, that is, 50 cents of a peseta.

¹⁷ In Retana's text we read *han* instead of *ha*. Due to this confusion he was forced to put in brackets the word [*que*] after *rogando por las calles* and before *no hay quien hoy las pueda aber*.

¹⁸ *Aceite de ajonjolí*. Sesame oil is obtained from the seed of the sesame, *sesamum indicum*. It contains as much as 35% of said substance. Sesame oil is used as medicine and very rarely as cooking oil.

¹⁹ Retana left out these words *mando sacar* after *por gobernador* and before *de la Pampanga*. He then corrects Salazar by saying that don Gonzalo Ronquillo came as governor of the whole archipelago. Salazar, of course, knew this very well. BRPI, V, 212, committed the same mistake.

²⁰ "The province which, in all this island of Luzon produces most grain is that called Pampanga. It has two rivers, one called Bitis [Betis] and the other Lubao, along whose banks dwell three thousand five hundred

Moros, more or less, all tillers of the soil, and taxed to the value of eight reales each. This city and all this region is provided with food — namely rice, which is the bread here — by this province; so that if the rice harvest should fail there, there would be no place where it could be obtained", Cfr. *Relation of governor Francisco Sande, Ibidem*, p. 80.

From this text, and other contemporary documents, we can infer that rice cultivation was not widespread. The Tagalog region was mainly forest, like the rest of the Philippines. Only some riverine communities cultivated enough rice for their home consumption.

²¹ Governor Sande had written before: "There are many reports of gold mines. Because it is reported that the best mines are those in the province of Ylocos, I sent thither the sergeant-major from this camp with forty arquebusiers. He reached those mines, and reports that they are located in a very rough country, twenty leagues inland: that the way thither is obstructed by great forests; and that the country is very cold, and has great pine forests," *Ibidem*, 88.

Probably the area hereto referred by governor Sande was the present Baguio and surrounding countryside. At the beginning of the XVII century the Spaniards tried to exploit these mines, but were unable to do so because of the climate and the opposition of the Igorots.

²² A very important native settlement in the province of Pampanga, along the river of the same name, called Lubao river in the *Report of Governor Sande*, of 1576. Together with Betis, they were the heartland of Pampanga and the rice granary of the province. It became an encomienda of Guido de Lavezaris, governor of the Philippines from 1572 to 1575, as a reward for his services to the royal crown. Governor Sande (1575-1580), took it away, but the king, Philip II, gave it back to him.

²³ An explorer and discoverer. Guido de Lavezaris was the accountant of the expedition of Villalobos (1542-1544). He stayed in Maluco up to 1548, returning to Lisbon in a Portuguese ship. After some time in Spain, he sailed for Mexico, where he became a book seller.

Lavezaris brought from the East the ginger root which grew so well in Nueva España. He writes:

"To make myself better understood, your Majesty perhaps knows that in the year forty-two, I came to these regions as accountant with Villalobos, who sailed from Nueva España, sent out by the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza. I was in the Maluco Islands, and went thence to Yndia and from there to España and Nueva España, to inform your viceroy of the success of the expedition. I brought with me from Yndia the ginger root, which has grown so well in Nueva España. Don Antonio de Mendoza sent me to España to inform your Majesty of the proceedings that should be taken in this discovery [the Philippines]. After that mission I returned with your Majesty's dispatch to Nueva España, where they were commencing to build the ships and fleet in which General Lopez de Legazpi came for the discovery of these islands. In this company, I passed thither, for the second time, in the year sixty-four-serving your Majesty as treasurer of your royal exchequer, until, as I have said, Miguel Lopez de Legazpi died, on the twentieth of August, in last year seventy two", *Affairs in the Philippine Islands after the death of Legazpi by Guido de Lavezaris*, Manila, June 29, 1573, in: BRPI, 3, 179-180.

Lavezaris does not mention that he accompanied don Tristan de Luna y Arellano to Florida in 1558-1561, in whose expedition Salazar also took part. Lavezaris took charge of the defense of the city of Manila against the invading forces of the Chinese pirate Li-ma-

hong in 1574. As governor he placed some rich encomiendas to his name. Governor Sande (1575-1580) revoked them. The king of Spain, thankful for the long services of Lavezaris to the royal crown, returned the encomiendas to him. He died an old man in Manila during the governorship of don Gonzalo Ronquillo.

²⁴ During governor Ronquillo's time, two expeditions were sent to pacify and settle the province of Cagayan. Another expedition went to the Moluccas to try to reconquer Ternate. The bulk of the people for these expeditions were taken from Pampanga.

²⁵ Since the time of Legazpi, the shipyards of Cavite built dozens of galleys for the navy and big galleons for the Manila-Acapulco line. The trees came from the forests of Pampanga, Bataan and Zambales. The people to haul the logs and help in the building of these ships, were mainly taken from Pampanga.

²⁶ Many of the relatives and friends of Don Gonzalo Ronquillo, who had come with him in 1580, were given administrative posts, even if these posts were unnecessary. The Augustinians complained to the king about this: "These natives are in extreme need of having a protector from your Majesty to be defended from the continuous abuses and vexations they suffer, which are many. Usually they receive these great and matter-of-fact abuses from those who have the duty to defend and protect them; and these are the *alcaldes mayores*, placed in this land by the governor; most of them are new people brought by the governor" *Letter of Fr. Andrés de Aguirre and Fr. Francisco Manrique to Philip II*, Manila, July 20, 1581, in: RODRIGUEZ, Isacio, O.S.A., *Historia de la Provincia Agustiniiana del Ssmo. Nombre de Jesus de Filipinas*, Vol. XV, Manila, 1981 p. 15-16. Hereinafter to be cited as *Historia*.

²⁷ In Retana: *aprovechan muchos*.

²⁸ Rains usually come to the Philippines by the end of May. If they fail to come on time, or not enough rains come, the expected harvest is destroyed. Famine would normally follow. In some of his letters, Salazar also complained of the abundance of locusts. They destroyed the few rice-fields in existence. Lack of rains, or floods, and pests of locusts, are perennial problems in the Philippines and, in general, in most tropical countries. In our very own day, we oftentimes hear of harvests of the rice destroyed by locusts in Mindanao and in some other areas of the Philippines.

²⁹ In Retana: *y otra es pública*.

³⁰ Betis was a native settlement in the province of Pampanga at the time of the Spanish arrival. Together with Lubao, they were inhabited by what Spaniards called settled 'Moros', all tillers of land. They opposed the Spanish conquistadores at the time of Legazpi. His grandson, Juan de Salcedo, was able to pacify them and bring them to submission. Betis and Lubao became part of the encomienda of Guido de Lavezaris.

³¹ Burney was the old name for Borneo, the large island of the Indonesian archipelago. It had contacts with the Philippines before the arrival of Spain. Governor Francisco Sande took possession of the island for the Spanish king in 1578. The Franciscans preached there for some time during the XVII century. Islam passed on to the Philippines from Borneo, especially to Manila, Batangas and Pampanga just after the death of Magellan and before the arrival and conquest of the Philippines by Legazpi.

³² *Bonbon* or *Bombon*, a lake in the present province of Batangas, also called Taal lake. Right in the heart of lake Bonbon there is an island called Volcano Island and in the island a most active volcano, called before and now Taal Volcano. A river, the Pansipit, of very short

course, flows from Taal lake to Balayan Bay, more or less the same distance and following the same pattern as the Pasig river that flows from Laguna de Bay to Manila Bay. Bonbon lake was a center of population and commerce at the time of the Spanish contact. The Spaniards who visited Bonbon with Martin de Goiti in 1570, just before the first conquest of Manila, found there some Chinese who had come to trade with the natives. Gabriel de Rivera, one of the earliest and most famous Spanish soldiers to come with Legazpi, was named by Philip II *Mariscal de Bonbon*. He was given an *encomienda* there and treated the natives with great respect and love. He left behind him in Bonbon a happy memory among the natives.

³³ In Retana: *le llevaron*.

³⁴ In Retana: *de alli se lo sacan*.

³⁵ *Fanega* is a Spanish measure of capacity for cereals. A *fanega* had and has twelve *celemines*, and the *celemin* had and has four *cuartillos*. If, according to Salazar, one *cuartillo* would be, more or less, one *ganta*, twelve *celemines*, or one *fanega*, would make 48 *gantas*.

³⁶ In Retana: *asta lástima*.

³⁷ Diego Ronquillo, cousin of Don Gonzalo Ronquillo. Don Diego became acting governor (1583-1585) of the Philippines after the death of Don Gonzalo in February of 1583. He vacated his post in 1585 when the proprietary governor Don Santiago de Vera (1585-1590) took over his post.

³⁸ In Retana: *mandan*.

³⁹ In Retana: *parece*.

⁴⁰ In Retana: *lo comen el gobernador y el mayor de campo*.

⁴¹ The Chinese pirate Limahong destroyed the city of Manila in 1574. The only hospital in the city at that time went up in flames. Governor Francisco Sande (1575-1580) rebuilt the hospital and granted an *encomienda* for its maintenance. Cfr. *Relation of Governor Francisco Sande to Philip II*, June 7, 1576, in: BRPI, 4, 78; Cfr. *Relation of Governor Sande to Philip II*, June 8, 1577, in: BRPI, 4, 117.

This hospital was built for poor Spanish soldiers. Before Salazar penned this Report in 1582, a second hospital had been established in Manila for Filipino natives. The administration of the two hospitals was given to the Franciscans soon after they arrived in 1578.

⁴² In Retana: *se saca*.

⁴³ Retana has left out these words: "se que los que van a cobrar, algunos que no todos cobran".

⁴⁴ It cannot be denied that some serious abuses were committed by the early Spanish *conquistadores* in the Philippines. On the whole, however, with Legazpi, Urdaneta, Rada, Herrera, Lavezaris, Salcedo, Sande, Gabriel de Rivera and others, people of the very first contact, the clash was light and the spilling of blood minimal. Salazar came to the Philippines when Ronquillo was governing and a crisis, as we have already said, overtook the country. Salazar was not a witness to the first years of the conquest of the Philippines, as were the great Augustinians Urdaneta, Rada, Herrera, Aguirre and others. These men complained, at times, they even exaggerated, the abuses committed by the early Spanish *conquistadores* and *encomenderos*. The conquest, in general, was peaceful. Legazpi prohibited the early conquerors to start hostilities against the natives, even when provoked. On account of this, some people plotted against him and tried to run away to the Moluccas. E. G. Bourne, an expert on Philippine history, wrote:

"In the light, then, of impartial history, raised above race prejudice and the 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 Legaspi's arrival, must be pronounced an achievement without a parallel in history", *General Introduction*, BRPI, I, 37.

⁴⁵ Salazar's main objection here was against the manner of collecting tributes rather than against the right to collect them. Towards the end of this *Memorial*, Salazar discusses the possibility of increasing the taxes from eight *reales*, or one *peso duro*, to ten *reales*. And this because of the poverty of the soldiers and the inability of the *encomenderos* to meet their obligations. He was against the increase of taxes because of the poverty of the Indians, not because of the injustice of the tribute. In fact, as he says, by divine right the Indians should have to pay more.

From the time of Legazpi, a moderate tax in kind was imposed on the natives. Levezaris ordered them to pay six reales in money or in kind. He consulted the Augustinians, especially Fr. Martin de Rada, about it. Rada in his *Opinion* answered that six reales was too much. Lavezaris and the Spanish officials, in the *Reply* to Rada's *Opinion*, stated that it was too little, less than half the tax paid by the natives in Nueva España. In their opinion, the tax was so small that with a few day's work, in fact, four days' work, they would be able to pay it.

One can see from their correspondence that their approach was totally different. The religious took the side of the natives. These could not pay the tax for it was too high and they were exceedingly poor. The royal officials from their part, thought that the natives were very rich, especially in gold and jewelry. They were thinking, of course, of the *principales* or chiefs. To pay eight reales was ridiculously low.

In their *Opinion* the religious seem to say that nothing at all should have been collected. What had been collected had been collected against justice and thus it was plain robbery. It had to be returned to the natives. And yet, towards the final part of the *Opinion*, Rada, based on the fact that the Philippines had already been conquered, that Spaniards were living in the Philippines, and they had to be maintained, says that, if justice is administered by the government, the Spaniards can get as tribute one maez, or the equivalent of two and a half reales. He writes: "Since your Lordship asks for my opinion regarding what must be done, I answer this: since the land is already subject and given in encomiendas, and for many other reasons which I do not want to mention, so as not to be too long it is not good to abandon it. Due to this, it is necessary to give maintenance to those living here. Your Lordship, together with the captains, must sent a true plain, clear and honest report of how the conquest has been achieved, about the present state of affairs and the manner of collecting the tributes, so that his Majesty, as a most christian king, may provide what needs to be done. In the meanwhile, for the maintenance of all of us, the least possible amount must be taken as tribute, in view that the Indians have no obligation at all to pay it, and those who have encomiendas must maintain those who have none. It seems to me that, if they want, they can maintain themselves with one maez. In order to get this with just title your Lordship must try, by all means, to protect the natives and administer them justice, undo the offenses and punish the pirates, etc. . . . We, from our part, shall try to do what we can regarding the doctrine and the teaching of our holy faith. . . .", *Opinion of Fr. Martin de Rada*, Manila, June 21, 1574, in: RODRIGUEZ, *Historia*, XIV, pp. 192-193, (Translation mine); Cfr. BRPI, 3, 353-359. Cfr. *Reply to Rada's Opinion*, in: BRPI, 3, 260-271.

⁴⁶ The Augustinians had written in their *Memorial* of 1573: "First, in the pacification of the land and villages, this is the procedure: a captain with some people and interpreters goes to a village of which he hardly has any news, or which has already being robbed by other Spaniards. The people

are told if they want to be friends with the Spaniards they must pay and they must pay right away. If they acquiesce they start talking about how much each one must pay and they compelled them to pay it right away. Sometimes since they did not agree to pay what they were asked, they pillage the village. They also think it fit to pillage them if they do not wait for them, or abandon their houses. All this is done without offering them any service, without making them understand what your Majesty sends them for, nor give them any news about God", *Memorial of the Religious of these Islands*, Manila, [1573] in: RODRIGUEZ, *Historia*, XIV, p. 163. Cfr. BRPI, 34, 273-274.

⁴⁷ Retana adds *es*.

⁴⁸ Retana leaves out *cargo*.

⁴⁹ In Retana: *enseñeis*.

⁵⁰ In Retana: *población*.

⁵¹ Retana puts in brackets the word [*tantos*] instead of *la mitad*.

⁵² Salazar had to confess that even with governor Ronquillo things had changed enormously and they had changed for the better. The problem was the lack of ministers or missionaries. With enough missionaries abuses would disappear, and the natives would be brought into the mainstream of Christian history and culture. And this could be achieved without much suffering.

Indeed, the missionaries were the true pacifiers of the people. The Filipinos gladly accepted the Christian religion and the new political set-up. Again, E. G. Bourne writes: "That it was the spirit of kindness, Christian love, and brotherly helpfulness of the missionaries that effected the real conquest of the islands is abundantly testified by qualified observers of various nationalities and periods, but the most convincing demonstration is the ridiculously small military force that was required to support the prestige of the Catholic king. The standing army organized in 1590 for the defense of the country numbered four hundred men! No wonder an old viceroy of New Spain was wont to say: "En cada fraile tenía el rey en Filipinas un capitán general y un ejército entero" — "In each friar in the Philippines the king had a captain general and a whole army", *Introduction*, BRPI, I, 41-42.

⁵³ In 1591 Salazar had become more radical regarding the question of tributes. In his opinion, tribute was due only if the Indians were given justice and Christian indoctrination, otherwise it should not be demanded. Even if Christian indoctrination were given, if the Indians did not really become Christians, no tribute should be asked from them. Salazar based this opinion on the fact that tribute was not due in justice but simply because there was a need to support the Crown in the process of evangelization. It was due as a contribution to evangelization, not as an obligation of justice.

⁵⁴ In all the reports sent by the missionaries to the king before Salazar's time, there is hardly any mention of this scandalous abuse. We can imagine that scandals and abuses there were, especially among the soldiery, but if the abuses had been serious they would have been denounced by the early missionaries. In the many reports of the Augustinians, the pioneers in the evangelization of the Philippines, we find some references regarding this matter. In the Memorial of 1573, sent by the Augustinians to the king through the agency of Fr. Diego de Herrera, there is a slight mention of dissolution with women. It covers less than one line. The fact that they mention this speaks favorably of the soldiers and officials rather than against them, for in XVI century Spain, and in her dominions, society and people were most strict about women and sex. Cfr. *Memorial of the Religious of the West about the things Father Diego de Herrera must discuss with His Majesty*, in: RODRIGUEZ, *Historia*, XIV, 164; 167.

⁵⁵ In Retana: *gentes*.

⁵⁶ Islam came to the Philippines well before the arrival of Spain, Borneo was one of the points of entry. We see in this text of Salazar a proof that Islam's advance occurred also during the early Spanish time.

For a study on the influence exercised by Borneo on the Philippines read BLUMENTRITT, *España y la isla de Borneo*, in: *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid*, 20 (1886). According to Blumentritt Islam came to Jolo and Mindanao from the Moluccas, while to other parts or the Philippines, especially Luzon, it came from Borneo.

The Moslem leaders of Manila were from Borneo, or at least their forefathers had come from Borneo. They still had their possessions in Borneo during the time of governor Francisco Sande, who in 1578 wrote to the king of Borneo to return to the heirs of Raja Matanda and Soliman the properties and slaves they still had in Borneo. Cfr. *Letter of Governor Francisco Sande to the King of Borneo*, April, 1578, in: BRPI, IV, 154.

⁵⁷ In Retana: *pertinencia*.

⁵⁸ Salazar refers here to the encomenderos and not to the missionaries as such. In the colonial set up of XVI century Spain the encomenderos were supposed to be also preachers of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Salazar, in his letters to the king, complained oftentimes of the unchristian behaviour of the encomenderos who had been given their encomiendas to prepare the natives for the preaching of the Gospel and the administration of justice. The encomenderos were supposed to be co-adjutors in the task of evangelization. As early as 1576 Fr. Francisco Manrique had written in a letter to Fr. Alonso de la Veracruz in defense of the encomenderos: "Without them Christianity would come to an end, and the religious would be killed...", Cfr. VELA, G. de S, *Fragmentos de Correspondencia*, in: *Arch. Hist. Hisp. Agust.* XVIII, El Escorial, 1922, pp. 138-139.

⁵⁹ In Retana: *Gerónimo*. Retana says in a footnote that this is a mistake from Salazar's part. According to Retana, Salazar falls into it once again later on. The word is given in abbreviation and Retana has read *Gerónimo* instead of *Gonzalo*, the paleographical and logical reading.

⁶⁰ In Retana: [*taeles*] in brackets. Again, the word is given in abbreviation and should be read as *quintos*.

⁶¹ By Spanish legislation the fifth of all newly mined gold was reserved for the royal crown and for the king, thus it was called the royal fifth. Four-fifths were kept for the gold miners.

⁶² In Retana: blank. He did not understand the word *nueva*. BRPI, 5, 226, adds in parenthesis [illegible in original manuscript].

⁶³ There were many types of gold in the Philippines. We read in a contemporary document:

"There is a very base gold that has no name, with which they deceive; and a second grade, called *Malubai*, which is worth two pesos; another quality, called *bielu*, is worth three pesos and another called *linguingui* is worth four. The quality called *oregeras*, for which the Chinese name is *panica*, is worth five pesos; and this is the best gold on which they trade. It is of sixteen or even eighteen carats, and of this are made all their trinkets and jewelry. The best gold obtained is another grade called *guinogulan*, which means "the lord of golds"; it weighs about twenty-two carats.

From this is made the jewelry which they inherit from their ancestors, with which they never part". *Relation of governor Francisco Sande to Philip II*, Manila, June 8, 1577, in: BRPI, 4, 99.

⁶⁴ BRPI, 5, 226, footnote 31 interprets the Spanish *por perdido* as no longer in circulation. What *por perdido* here is meant must be understood from the context. From the context we see that the Spaniards ordered the Indians to declare their gold. What came from their ancestors in the form of jewels was not supposed to be taxed; only the newly dug gold from the ground was taxed. The Spaniards, according to Salazar, took the gold inherited by the natives from their ancestors as *new* gold and attempted to exact from it the royal fifth. If the natives insisted that it was inherited, they were not listened to. Since the royal fifth had not been paid, the gold was taken from them and they lost it — 'se lo toman *por perdido*'.

⁶⁵ A term comprising wristlets and anklets of gold and silver used by Moorish women in Spain. Also used as wristlets by Spanish ladies during Salazar's time.

⁶⁶ Retana leaves out *acariciados*.

⁶⁷ In Retana: *evidencia*.

⁶⁸ The preceding paragraph is too long and obscure. Salazar was dictating to a secretary and lost the trend of his thought. I tried first to understand the paragraph and, based on that understanding, I gave my own punctuation. I tried to break the paragraph into smaller sentences, but was unable to achieve that. The subaltern phrases cannot be broken. If, however, the reader bypasses them, the sense of the main paragraph will become clear. Retana's text has a few variances from our own.

⁶⁹ In Retana: *acudir*.

⁷⁰ The two years hereto referred are the first two years of the government of Don Gonzalo Ronquillo. He had come in 1580 and the Memorial was penned in 1582, towards the beginning of July, just before the galleon sailed for Acapulco.

⁷¹ "On the twenty-fourth of the past month [May] there came to this port a ship of about one hundred and twenty toneladas. It was sent by your viceroy of Nueva España, but it contained no reinforcements, nor has he yet dispatched them... There was a scarcity of everything except provisions", *Letter of Governor Ronquillo de Peñalosa to Philip II*, Manila, June 15, 1582, in: BRPI, 4, 310.

⁷² Governor Ronquillo complained of the excess of royal provisions regarding laws and ordinances, but nothing about basic and fundamental provisions, like troops, arms and other essential things for maintenance of the commonwealth.

These legal provisions came from the Audiencia of Nueva España. Don Francisco Sande, predecessor of Ronquillo, and Gabriel de Rivera, the official delegate of the city of Manila and other groups, had left Manila in July of 1581. They informed the Audiencia about the state of affairs of the country under the government of Ronquillo. The picture they presented was black. The Royal Audiencia of Nueva España was forced to act right away. Ronquillo protested to the king:

"On the way from here to Mexico he [Gabriel de Rivera] became an ally and confederate of the said Doctor Sande; and together, with false reports and some witnesses who were tools of the said doctor, they preferred many charges against me in the royal Audien-

cia. With these the said Gabriel de Rivera went to España, without a hearing having been accorded to me or to anyone in my behalf," *Ibidem*, 311-312.

The Augustinians, in the person of their provincial, fray Andres de Aguirre, wrote to the king in defense of Ronquillo, to clarify especially certain false accusations against him. Cfr. *Letter of Andres de Aguirre to Philip II*, Manila, June 18, 1582, in: RODRIGUEZ, *Historia*, XIV, 69-71.

It is strange that Aguirre wrote from Manila in June, when he sailed from the city on that very year, towards the beginning of July. Probably he wanted to reassure the governor of his and the Augustinians' support.

Since the arrival of Salazar in September of 1581, the relations between the bishop and the Augustinians became estranged and tense. In turn, the relations between the Augustinians and the governors became better and better. From this moment on, it is very difficult to find a letter of complaint from the Augustinians against the government. On the contrary, we have many letters of complaint against the bishop. Salazar, bishop and pastor of the Philippines, and Miguel de Benavides, later on, are the ones to carry on the tradition of defense started by the early Augustinians. No Augustinian after Salazar sent to the Spanish king any letters of the urgency, poignancy and protest as the letters sent by Urdaneta, Rada, Herrera, and others before Salazar's arrival. Salazar probably never knew Urdaneta, Rada and Herrera. These people lived and worked in the Philippines before Salazar's arrival, but Salazar knew Ortega and worked with him in the Philippines. Ortega, who had denounced the abuses of the Spaniards for so many times, precisely in 1591, when Salazar left for Spain to defend the natives against the encomenderos and the policies of governor Dasmariñas, also left in the same ship to defend the governor and his administration.

This attitude of the Augustinians finds its explanation in the fact that, by the middle 80's, the conquest and evangelization were going on smoothly. Due to the defense of the Augustinians and Salazar's firm stand, legislation had been provided for the defense of the Indians and its practical implementation. There was no need anymore to denounce abuses, because abuses had practically disappeared. Only the problem of tributes divided the government and the ecclesiastics, and on this Salazar was supported only by the Dominicans. The Jesuits and the Augustinians opposed him.

⁷³ Retana leaves out *me*. The inclusion of *me* is important because Salazar is commanded by the King to report about the governor's disobedience.

⁷⁴ In Retana: *entiendo* is out.

⁷⁵ In Retana: *providencia*.

⁷⁶ I have not been able to find this book of ordinances hereto referred. I have gone all over the BLAIR-ROBERTSON Collection, authors like Morga, Chirino, Colín-Pastells and others, and have been unable to trace down the book.

⁷⁷ Retana left out *si pueden*.

⁷⁸ Perhaps the clause specified the need for true pacification and through this achieve the greater aim of evangelization. Then, and only then, could tribute be asked from the natives.

⁷⁹ Retana left out *ni se guarda*.

⁸⁰ Retana adds the article *el* after *es*.

⁸¹ In Retana: *van*.

⁸² Retana left out *hay*.

⁸³ Instead of *que tratan de ello* Retana wrote *en tratándolo*.

⁸⁴ Retana left out *el*.

⁸⁵ Instead of *si no enviar* Retana write [*que*] *envia*.

⁸⁶ In Retana *este*.

⁸⁷ Retana left out *acá Vuestra Majestad envía, y mucho menos de los que*.

⁸⁸ Retana wrote after *pacífica* "*etc. . . , sí, era lo más necesario*" instead of "*etc., era lo más necesario*". The sentence "*era lo más necesario*" is written twice in the original text, as it appears in our translation.

⁸⁹ We can conclude that clause 144 had two major parts: one, the pacification of the land before it could be allotted into *encomiendas*, and two: the duties of the *encomendero* to administer justice, maintain peace and order in his jurisdiction and prepare the natives for religious instruction. The right to collect the tribute was based precisely on the fulfillment of these two obligations specified above.

⁹⁰ It reads in Retana: *y porque esta materia pide más tiempo y lugar del que yo agora tengo que dar, sea para otro viage*.

⁹¹ In Retana: *cobran*.

⁹² In Retana: "*vuestras islas*."

⁹³ The Philippines were lightly populated at the time of the Spanish arrival. Mexico, however, was thickly populated. It seems that in the Philippines the best centers of population were reserved to private persons. Hence the royal exchequer got little. The natives of the royal *encomiendas* were more abused than those of private *encomiendas*, as Salazar tells us.

⁹⁴ In Retana: *trabajadores*.

⁹⁵ At the beginning of the conquest, before the country was pacified, the Spaniards collected some gold as a gift for the Spanish king and the members of the royal palace, valued at no more than thirty thousand pesos, an insignificant sum when compared to the two million pesos already spent by the crown in the conquest of the Philippines. And yet the missionaries still protested against the gift and the manner of collecting it. Francisco de Ortega thundered:

"Your Excellency may judge the reward deserved by the person who offers a gift and service of pillaged and seized property, to so Catholic a king, obtained against what God commands and even against what the king commands...! How much more would God and his Majesty be served if the gold sent to your Majesty as a present were on the arms of the Indians from Ilocos, to whom it belonged, than around the necks of the dames of the court of our lady the queen", *Letter of Francisco de Ortega to the Viceroy of Nueva España*, Manila, June 6, 1573 in: RODRIGUEZ, *Historia*, XIV, 140-141; Cfr. BRPI, 34, 262-263.

⁹⁶ Retana left out after "*otros*": *porque a los otros visitan los*.

⁹⁷ I have not been able to find the content of clause 146. Judging from the context, it must have referred to the ordinance of attracting the natives through love and good treatment, with gifts and presents, so that through

these means they would be brought to the knowledge of God the Creator and also accept the rule of the Spanish king. This was not done, as we see from Salazar's *Memorial*, nor was it done before, during the early years of the conquest. The Augustinian Francisco Ortega wrote to the viceroy of Nueva España:

"Your Excellency must know the manner of collecting tributes, and how they are demanded before they are due, without keeping God's law or your Majesty's instruction. What they do as soon as they go to a village for provisions is this: they send one or two interpreters, not with gifts or presents, nor to tell them about God, but simply to tell them to bring the tribute and become friends with the Spaniards. Since this is something so new and unheard of for them, as it has never been used among them—for they were never subjects or vassals of any king or natural lord (for as I wrote you in another letter all are ranches) they resent to give as tribute the necklaces they wear around their necks, or the bracelets they wear on their arms, both men and women, for they do not have any other treasure than what they usually wear. Since they resent this, some people refuse to give or they do not give as generously as those who ask for it; others for not giving it, or out of fear at seeing armed strangers and unknown people, abandon their houses and flee to the "*tingues*" and mountains. When the Spaniards see this, they go after them, discharging their arquebuses and without pity kill as many as they can. They return to the town and kill as many fowls and swine as they find, and take the rice they had for their maintenance. After this and after having robbed them of everything they have in their miserable houses, they set them on fire..." *Letter of Francisco de Ortega to the Viceroy of Nueva España*, Manila, June 6, 1573, RODRIGUEZ, *Historia*, XIV, pp. 137-137. Cfr. BRPI, 34, 259-260.

⁹⁸ The Augustinians, the predecessors in the task of denouncing the abuses of the *encomenderos* and soldiers, had complained to the Spanish authorities of Mexico and Spain. Martin de Rada had written in 1573:

"The disorder and disorganization of this land grow every day. Even when the land is not yet pacified and in order, they go to a village and right away ask the natives to accept peace and friendship with the Spaniards and pay tribute, otherwise they declare war. This is done without giving them any news about God or about his Majesty. Thus the tribute collected is as stolen as is what they openly seize. The gold sent now to his Majesty has been obtained in this manner. Due to this, more than sixty friendly Indians, and some Spaniards, have been killed. The other Indians killed them in order to defend their property... Regarding the tribute, they ask what they want, or what they can get. There is no regard to plant the faith, nor is there any help given to the religious to plant it. If no remedy is given on this point it would be unjust to stay in this land, as unjust is what has been collected to now, for it is not due to go any good work done to the Indians. Due to this, out of pure scruples of conscience, some religious here are very unhappy, as they think that even what is given them as food cannot be received in good conscience, as it is all taken and received against the law..." *Copy of a letter of Martin de Rada to the Viceroy of Nueva España*, Manila, June 1, 1573, in: RODRIGUEZ, *Historia*, XIV, 131-132. Cfr. TORRES LANZAS-PASTELLS, *Catálogo*, II, XIII.

⁹⁹ Cfr. *Memorial of the Religious of these Islands*, Manila, [1573], in: RODRIGUEZ, *Historia*, XIV, 163; Cfr. BRPI, 34, 273-274.

¹⁰⁰ In Retana: *Gerónimo*.

¹⁰¹ Governor Francisco Sande (1575-1580) started the settlement of Cagayan province, as he reports in a letter of 1579. Cfr. *Letter of Francisco Sande to Philip II*, Manila, May 30, 1579, in: BRPI, 4, 147. The real conquest and settlement of Cagayan was achieved during the time of Governor Ronquillo de Peñalosa (1580-1583). He wrote:

"This year I have sent people to settle the city of Segovia in a province called Cagayan, in this island, a hundred leagues from this city. It is the frontier of China, and much benefit is expected from its settlement — for it is the best suited port, with a harbor of greater depth for the ships which sail in the line from Nueva España and Peru; and it is so near to China that one can cross thence in three days. For the sake of the future I consider it very important to have that frontier settled. I sent for the settlement thereof Captain Juan Pablo de Carrión with about a hundred picked men. They go in good order, well provided with artillery, vessels, ammunition and with the approbation and blessing of the Church", *Letter of Governor Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa to Philip II*, Manila, June 16, 1582, in: BRPI, 4, 26-27.

¹⁰² This was an old problem in America and the Philippines. Bartolomé de Las Casas always advocated the so-called *apostolic* method of preaching, which meant that the missionaries went about preaching unaided by soldiers. They put their trust in God and in His Word. Las Casas wrote a book, *Del Unico modo de atraer a los pueblos a la verdadera religión*, when he threshed out the problems involved. He discussed this in Spain with Sepúlveda in 1552-1553. Salazar, a disciple of Las Casas, as he personally testified, defended that this *apostolic* method of Las Casas should be tried in the Philippines, rather than let the missionaries be accompanied by soldiers to protect them. He did not reject this method, but the king should give the bishop the right to judge and decide when this method or the other should be preferred.

¹⁰³ In Retana: *Purgar*.

¹⁰⁴ Writers of the contact period abound in references about this basic sociological fact: the early inhabitants of the Philippines lived all scattered around. Juan Pobre, the Franciscan missionary, wrote: "It follows from here that, since there were no towns or villages, nor government of justice, but rather every one lived where and how he was pleased, it has been very hard to the justice and much more to the ministers to establish the towns and gather and organize the people..." LEJARZA, *Los indios de Camarines*, in: *Missionalia Hispanica*, IX, (1952), 398.

¹⁰⁵ This clause stressed the need to bring the natives to live together in bigger settlements, or in other words, the need to create towns and urban centers. The early Filipinos were reluctant to do this. Oftentimes, compulsion and even force were necessary to bring them to live together. This was a hateful task reserved to the *encomendero* and the government. Great restraint was necessary to achieve this. Salazar tells the king that the *encomenderos* should not fail on this.

We can see now how necessary the *encomenderos* were for the establishment of a new order, and for easing the task of the bishop and missionaries in their evangelizing labours. Indeed, Salazar now pleaded for the *encomenderos* to be co-adjutors in the task of evangelization, and also in helping in the building of churches and monasteries. It has to be accepted that, had it not been for the *encomenderos*, the missionaries might have never

been able to enter into some dangerous areas of the Philippines. The *encomenderos*, with some soldiers under them, softened the natives and prepared the way for the missionary. That in doing this, sometimes they committed abuses, is most regrettable and thus it has to be condemned, but it cannot be denied that, in the concrete case of the Philippines, they pacified the country and made the task of the missionary much easier.

¹⁰⁶ People all through history have resented being uprooted from their ancestral homes. This was true in all civilization; it was true of the Philippines. People felt attached to their homes, even if they were primitive huts. They loved their environment, filled with sacred rivers, fountains and trees. Nearby they had their dwelling places. Their forefathers were buried there, thus making the place sacred. Perhaps also, in the Philippine context, since economy was based on hunting and primitive root-crop planting and fishing, they did not want to abandon areas which had been their abode for generations and had been the source of their livelihood since time immemorial.

This manner of living was contrary to the Spanish way of life. It was even abhorrent to many of them. The fact that people preferred to live alone, far from villages and towns, made them, in the eyes of the Spaniards, savages and wild.

The Spaniards were heirs to the Greco-Roman tradition of town living. For them, a civilized person was a man living in a town, a village, a center, a *centro*. He was a citizen, a *cives*, a civilized person. Those who lived by themselves, far from centers of human interaction, lacked *policia* (polity). Even our English words *civilized* and *polite* reflect the Greco-Roman spirit of town living. *Polis* (Gr. city) and *Civitas* (city in latin) were coterminous with civilization and town living.

When the Spaniards came to the Philippines they were faced with a most difficult problem: to bring people to live in centers of population. They strove to do this because in their opinion, it was more congenial and more in accordance with nature, to live together with other people as well as to be able to preach the Gospel to as many people as possible. Human settlements and urban planning and growth were some of the most outstanding achievements of Spanish civilization in the Philippines. Salazar and the missionaries played a most dynamic role about this.