

Letter of Fray Domingo de Salazar, O.P., First Bishop of the Philippines, to Philip II, in Defense of the Filipinos, Manila, June 19, 1582

Introduction

This letter of Salazar was addressed to Philip II as a general introduction to all the correspondence he was sending to the king in the ship that was to sail from Manila to Acapulco. The usual time for the departure of the Manila-Acapulco galleon was towards the end of June. This was scheduled to avoid the season of the *vendabales* or typhoons. To leave Manila later than St. John the Baptist's Feast, June 24, was very risky. The galleon leaving Manila around this time had still to sail the inner seas of the Philippine Archipelago, come out into the Pacific through the treacherous San Bernardino Strait and sail to the Marianas before escaping the path of the typhoons. It took the galleon around one month's sailing to be clear of the danger zone. In the long history of the Manila-Acapulco line, a number of galleons were forced to return to the Philippines, surprised by typhoons, as they had sailed late in June from the Philippines. Some others were dashed against the rocks of Eastern Luzon and Samar and shattered to pieces.

One of the most famous shipwrecks in Philippine history befell the galleon *Espíritu Santo*. It left Acapulco on January 6, 1575, with 15 Augustinians under Diego de Herrera and more than one hundred persons aboard. On April 25 it sighted the island of Catanduanes. It encountered a terrible typhoon, still too early for the season of the *vendabales*, and was dashed against the rocky coast of Catanduanes.

Few survived. Those who managed to swim ashore were butchered by the natives.

A successful trip from Acapulco to Manila, if everything went well, took around three or four months. The trip from Manila to Acapulco was always longer and much more dangerous. It took between four and six months.

The galleon, in order to escape the season of the typhoons, had to sail from Acapulco in early March and be in Philippine waters by June. The return trip to Acapulco could not be arranged immediately. There was a need to provision, buy merchandise and goods to be stowed aboard the ship to ensure the safe return trip. All this took time. That is why one of the most serious obligations of the governors of the Philippines was to see to it that the galleon sailed on time and properly provisioned to ensure the safety of all the passengers in the long haul across the Pacific.

Oftentimes the time span between the arrival of a galleon from Acapulco and its departure from Manila was so short that the correspondence had to be rushed. We find letters of complaint against the authorities from officials and ecclesiastics for not allowing more time between the arrival and departure of the galleons in order to read the correspondence from the Spanish king and the Council of Indies and inform them in return of everything covered. The constraints of time and weather were indeed terrible. Salazar, in the case under discussion, had his correspondence ready. The galleon still lingered for sometime, so he wrote a few more letters.

**Carta de Fray Domingo de Salazar, O.P.
Primer Obispo de Filipinas al Rey Felipe II,
Manila, 19 de Junio, 1582**

Católica Real Majestad. Aunque los gravísimos negocios que cada día a vuestra majestad acuden, de tantos y tan extendidos reinos como debajo de su sceptro real ha sido Dios servido poner, no den lugar a que, con su real persona, pueda vuestra majestad acudir a todos ellos, no por eso dejaré de atreverme a suplicar a vuestra majestad vuelva los ojos a los vasallos que, en estas Islas Filipinas, servimos a vuestra majestad, tan apartadas de la real presencia que, ningunos de cuantos a v. m. reconocen por señor están tanto, que para haber de ir y venir se han de pasar, se han de pasar [sic], por el más corto camino, de diez a doce mil leguas de mar. Considere pues v. m. cuán afligidos y desconsolados quedarán los corazones de los que tan lejos quedan esperando el remedio de sus agravios y alivios de sus trabajos que de v. m. les ha de venir.

Yo, como quien más estos males siente y más obligación tiene a buscarles el remedio, doy a v. m. larga y verdadera cuenta de todo lo que acá pasa para que, visto sea servido proveer, como piadoso y benigno señor y padre, lo que más al remedio y conservación de estas que aunque apartadas tierras pero son de v. m., conviene.

Por tanto a v. m. humildemente suplico que, entre tanta frecuencia de negocios, sea servido dar un poquillo de tiempo a los que de acá van y mande se haga de ellos a v. m. relación; porque si ésta merced alcanzamos bastará para consuelo de los que tanto lo hemos menester; porque estamos ciertos que, si a los piadosos oídos de v. m. llegan las voces y

**Letter of Domingo de Salazar, O.P.,
First Bishop of the Philippines, to Philip II,
Manila, June 19, 1582**

Catholic Royal Majesty. Although Your Majesty cannot personally attend to all grave matter¹ that are referred to you every day from the many and vast kingdoms God has been pleased to place under your royal scepter, yet I dare to plead with Your Majesty to turn your eyes to the vassals who serve you in these Philippine Islands. They are so far from Your Royal Presence that none others under Your Dominions are that far removed therefrom. In order to come here and go back to Spain again, by the shortest way, one has to journey from ten to twelve thousand maritime leagues.² Your Majesty must consider how afflicted and sad are the hearts of those who this far are hoping for a solution from Your Majesty to their grievances and relief for their trials.

I am giving Your Majesty a long and true relation of all that is happening here, for I have a greater obligation to look for a solution, as I am more conscious of these evils than others are, so that the situation may be examined by Your Majesty and, as a pious and merciful lord and father, provide what may prove most convenient to solve and conserve these Your Majesty's distant lands.

Thus I humbly beg Your Majesty to give a little time, in spite of your great volume of work, to those who come from here and order that a relation be given by them to Your Majesty. If we obtain this grace, it will give consolation enough for those who are in need of it. We are certain that if the cries and groans sent up by the natives of these

gemidos que los naturales de estos reinos quedan dando, por los agravios y malos tratamientos que les hacen los que les habían de ser su amparo, y los agravios que los españoles reciben de los que en lugar de v. m. los gobiernan, no podrá hacer menos de mandar que, con toda brevedad, se ponga en ello remedio.

Y el mismo consuelo será para mi sabiendo que las cosas que a mi tocan han llegado a noticia de v. m., cuya muy católica y real persona muchos años guarde para el bien y defensa de su Santa Iglesia y amparo de los que poco podemos.

De Manila, 19 de junio de 1582.

Católica Real Majestad, besa las reales manos de v. m. su menor siervo y capellán.

[Sgd.] Fr. Domingo, obispo de las Filipinas

In: Archivo General de Indias (AGI) Filipinas 74

kingdoms, due to the vexations and evil dealings inflicted on them by those who are supposed to be their protectors, and the grievances received by the Spaniards at the hands of those who govern in Your Majesty's name, reach Your Majesty's pious ears, Your Majesty cannot but order, in all brevity, to put things right.

It will also be a consolation for me to know that the affairs pertaining to me have come to the notice of Your Majesty.

May the Lord keep for many years Your Catholic and Royal Person, for the good and defense of His Holy Church and protection of all of us who are so weak.

Dated Manila, on the nineteenth day of June of the year one thousand five hundred and eighty two.

Catholic Royal Majesty. Your little servant and chaplain kisses the hands of Your Majesty.

Fr. Domingo, Bishop of the Philippines

¹The volume of correspondence sent to Philip II from the Spanish overseas dominions was of vast proportions. A visit to some of the most important archives of Spain enables us to see the innumerable number of letters and reports still extant, in spite of the great and terrible losses of vital documents and correspondence. Salazar could not presume that his correspondence would be seen and read by Philip II. And yet we know from history that Philip II made a real effort to see and read personally as much correspondence as possible. He is perhaps the first king of modern times who spent practically his whole life going over the correspondence sent to him from his dominions in Europe and overseas. In the concrete case of Salazar, Philip II personally wrote a note in 1594, ordering that the papers left by Salazar after his death in Madrid be collected and kept for posterity, because Philip had come to see some of them were very valuable. Unfortunately, some of those documents or treatises, so highly valued by the king, are now lost.

²The Philippines was the most distant and isolated possession of the Spanish Empire. The sufferings experienced during the crossing of the Atlantic and Pacific in order to reach the Philippines defy the imagination. The time employed in the overall trip from Spain to the Philippines and viceversa was well over two years. Taking the concrete case of Salazar it took him two and a half years. In May of 1579 he was waiting in Seville, but was unable to embark in the fleet for America. He was forced to wait for another year. He left Spain in early June of 1580, reaching Mexico by late August of the same year. After crossing Mexico and stopping at the capital for some time, he sailed from Acapulco at the end of April of 1581. He touched Philippine shores at the beginning of July and reached Manila by land on September 17, 1581. Altogether, then, it took him two and a half years.

Letter of Domingo de Salazar, O.P., to Philip II, Manila, June 20, 1582

Introduction

By June 19 Salazar had his correspondence for the year 1582 finished. Since the galleon was not yet ready to sail, he went on to write a few extra letters. They deal mainly with the defense of the natives of the Philippines. In most of his letters Salazar refers to the long report¹ of 1582 sent to the King and the Council of Indies. The natives came to him from all over the Philippines to plead the cause with the Spanish King against the exactions of governor Don Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa and his *alcaldes mayores*. Salazar, as we can see, became the defender of the Filipinos.

¹In: Archivo General de Indias, Filipinas 6, under the general title of *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*. Cfr. Critical edition by L. GUTIERREZ, O.P., *Domingo de Salazar's Memorial of 1582 on the Status of the Philippine Islands: A Manifesto for Freedom and Humanization*, *Philippiniana Sacra*, Vol XXI, no. 62, 1986, pp. 259-314; Vol. No. 63, 1986, pp. 444-483. The *Memorial* of Salazar was published by W.E. RETANA, in: *Archivo del Bibliófilo Filipino*, (5 vols.), Madrid, 1895-1905, vol. III, 3-45. This *Memorial* of Salazar is found in an English translation in BLAIR, E. H. and ROBERTSON, J. A., eds., *The Philippine Islands: 1493-1898*, 55 vols., Cleveland, 1905-1909, vol. V, 210-255. Hereinafter quoted as BRPI.

**Carta de Fray Domingo de Salazar, O.P.,
a Felipe II,
Manila, 20 de junio de 1582**

Católica Real Majestad. Después de haber escrito las cartas y memoriales que van para v. m. vinieron los indios comarcanos a esta ciudad, y me pidieron hiciese saber a v. m. lo contenido en el testimonio de ésta otra parte. Pocos días había que yo había dicho a algunos de ellos que viesen lo que querían que yo escribiese a v. m. sobre ellos, porque es rey cristianísimo, y mira mucho por lo que les conviene, y tiene mandado que sean bien tratados; y mandará castigar a los que los maltrataren.

El día de la fecha vinieron aquellos principales y con ellos más de otros cuarenta de los pueblos comarcanos y me pidieron lo que en ésta otra parte va. Y certifico a v. m. que si to do lo que dijeron se hubiera aquí de poner fuera poco menor relación que la que yo en otra parte envió. Y sin duda quebraran a v. m. el corazón si los viera cuáles estaban y las lástimas que hacían y decían.

Otro día vinieron otros principales de otros pueblos a decir lo mismo y mucho más. Y hoy, en este día, vinieron a verme hasta diez ó doce principales de una provincia que se llama Mauban, que está en cabeza de v. m., y son todos infieles; y me dijeron que habían sabido que escribía a v. m. en su favor, que también me acordase de ellos. Yo no quise admitir más de lo que dijeron los primeros, por no alborotar la tierra, que vinieran de toda ella aquí a dar voces. V. m. será servido de

**Letter of Fray Domingo de Salazar, O.P.,
to Philip II,
Manila, June 20, 1582**

Catholic Royal Majesty. After having written the letters and memoranda addressed to Your Majesty there came to see me some Indians from the neighboring villages. They begged me to let Your Majesty know the content of their testimonial attached to this letter.² A few days before, I had asked some of them to tell me what they wanted me to write, for Your Majesty, as a most Christian king, is very concerned about their welfare and has decreed that they be well treated and will impose punishment on those who maltreat them.

Later the same day these chiefs came again, and with them more than forty other chiefs from the neighboring villages and begged me what follows below in this letter. I certify to Your Majesty that if all they told me were to be written here, it would not be a shorter report than the one I have written to your Majesty already.³ Without doubt, Your Majesty's heart would be pierced if Your Majesty had seen their condition and the tears they shed and had heard what they spoke about.

Another day there come some other chiefs from other villages to tell me the same things and even much more. On this day ten or twelve chiefs came to see me from a province called Mauban⁴ which belongs to Your Majesty. They are all heathen and told me they had come to know I was writing Your Majesty in defense of the natives. So they begged me to remember them also. I did not want to accept more than what the first ones told me, in order not to put the land into disorder, for they would have come here from all over the land to complain.⁵

mandarlo ver y proveer en ello, que yo no puedo más de llorarlo acá y suplicar a v. m. por el remedio.

De Manila, 20 de junio de 1582 años.

[Sgd.] Fr. Domingo obispo de las Filipinas

May Your Majesty be pleased to order a study of their case and to provide accordingly. I can do nothing else here, but to deplore the state of affairs and beseech your Majesty for a solution.

Manila, twentieth of June, of the year one thousand five hundred and eighty two.

Fr. Domingo, bishop of the Philippines.

²This is the testimony of June 15, 1582 in BRPI, V, pp. 189-191.

³The long report without date, but definitely of 1582. See footnote 1.

⁴Mauban was a district in eastern Luzon overlooking the Pacific Ocean. It was an encomienda of the king. Today it is a town of Quezon province. It is around 150 kms. east south-east of Manila.

⁵In 1591, during the disputes between Salazar and Dasmariñas, the latter accused Salazar of pampering the natives. Salazar answered that it was not his fault if the natives ran to him seeking redress for the oppressions they suffered.

Letter of Fray Domingo de Salazar, O.P., to Philip II, about the Governance of Don Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa, Manila, June 20, 1582

Introduction

The relations between the governor, Don Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa, and Salazar were never intimate. Yet, in spite of their mutual friction, the two of them got along relatively well. Salazar was new in the Philippines and took his time before passing a final judgment on the administration of Don Gonzalo.

If we were to judge by this letter, by the long report of 1582, and another letter of 1583, reporting the death of Don Gonzalo, Salazar felt terribly disappointed with the governor's rule and denounced him for it to the King in Spain.

The government of Ronquillo proved catastrophic for the Philippines due to the exactions of the governor and the vexations of his *alcaldes mayores*. The situation improved considerably with Don Santiago de Vera (1583-1590) and Gómez Perez Dasmariñas (1590-1593). At all times, however, Salazar remained outspoken in his criticisms of the authorities and unbending in the defense of the rights both of the natives and of oppressed Spaniards.

**Carta de Fray Domingo de Salazar, O.P.,
a Felipe II, sobre el Comportamiento del
Gobernador Don Gonzalo Ronquillo de
Peñalosa,
Manila, 20 de junio, 1582**

Estando haciendo el memorial que envió a v. m. sobre las cosas de esta tierra y el estado de ella, me vino a decir uno de los alcaldes ordinarios de esta ciudad, hombre antiguo en esta tierra y que ha servido muy bien a v. m., celoso de su real servicio y a quien duelen mucho los males de esta tierra, que los regidores se habían juntado en cabildo y escrito una carta en que dicen a v. m. que los cargos que se han puesto al gobernador de estas islas son falsos, y puestos por personas apasionadas, y que gobierna muy bien y otras cosas en su favor. Yo no estoy aquí para hacer mal a nadie sino a todos bien, pero muchas veces no se puede procurar el bien de uno sin daño de otro; y entonces ha de ser ayudado el que tiene la razón y la justicia. Pues como ésto sea cosa que toca al bien común, que en todos los casos y negocios debe ser preferido, paréceme que yo no cumpliría con lo que debo sino avisara a v. m. de lo que pasa.

Y es que en el navío que agora llegó de la Nueva España han venido ciertas provisiones de aquella Audiencia contra el gobernador, a pedimiento del capitán Gabriel de Rivera, que fue por procurador de esta ciudad e islas, harto necesarias para esta república, pero muy desabridas al gobernador; y como también se sabe que los oidores de aquella audiencia habían querido enviar un visitador sobre el negocio, témesese que lo han de enviar o que v. m. lo mandará venir para remedio de esto, persuadió a los regidores que tiene de su mano, que son los más, escribiesen una carta para v. m. y otra para la Audiencia de México, en que se contiene lo que arriba digo.

**Letter of Fray Domingo de Salazar, O.P.,
to Philip II, about the Governance of
Don Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa,
Manila, June 20, 1582**

As I was preparing the memorial¹ I am sending your Majesty about the realities and the state of this land, one of the *alcaldes ordinarios*² of this city, a man of long residence in this land and one who has served faithfully Your Majesty, zealous as he is of Your Royal Service, and who is worried by the evils of this land very much, came to tell me that the *regidores* of the *cabildo*³ had met en banc and written a letter telling your Majesty that the charges brought against the governor of these islands are false, raised by biased persons, that he governs well and some other things. I am not here to do harm to anyone, but rather to do good to all. However sometimes it is impossible to seek the good of some people without hurting others. In a case like this, the one to be helped is the one on whose side right and justice are found. Since these things touch the common good, something to be preferred in all cases and affairs, I think I would not be fulfilling my obligation if I were not to inform your Majesty of what is happening here.

The problem is that on the ship which just arrived from New Spain there came, in answer to a petition of Gabriel de Rivera,⁴ who came as procurator of this city and these islands, certain provisions from the Audiencia against the governor, very necessary for this commonwealth but very harmful to the governor. Since we know that the *oidores* of that Audiencia had thought of sending a *visitador*⁵ to study the situation, the governor, afraid they might finally send him here, or Your Majesty

Uno de los regidores que allí se halló, que se llama Juan de Morón, sargento mayor y capitán y de los primeros que vinieron, como procurador que es de ésta ciudad lo contradijo; y no quiso firmar, diciendo que él escribía lo contrario a v. m. y les escribía le verdad, y que no quería firmar ésta por contener lo contrario de lo que él escribía.

Bien veo que allá han de causar confusión estas contradicciones y que se ha de pensar que algunos escriben apasionadamente; y esto es lo que yo a v. m. digo en otra, que hay peligro en avisar de lo que pasa; y entre otras razones es una porque los que tienen la culpa han de buscar sus mañas para encubrir sus males, y que allá no se entiendan. Y v.m. puede tener por cierto que cuando aquello escribí, yo no sabía esto, pero díjelo porque ya conozco las condiciones de los hombres. El remedio de todo esto en la mano lo tiene v. m., enviando una persona cual para tal cargo es menester, que no será poco hallarla; y averiguada la verdad, si hallare que el gobernador vive y gobierna como ellos dicen, v. m. le hará mucha merced y le será muy bien debida y castigará con rigor a los que han dicho mal de él; y si fuere al contrario, traiga comisión de v. m. para poner remedio en ésta su tierra, que se va con mucha priesa consumiendo y acabando, y si va como hasta aquí no puede durar mucho.

Y pues aquí viene a propósito, v. m. sea servido de oír una cosa que por ventura allá no se sabrá, y acá es muy pública y con harto daño de los que acá están experimentada, y es que cuando algunas veces la preguntan al gobernador que por qué trata él y contrata, habiendo sentenciado a su antecesor el Doctor Sande en tan grande pena por el mismo delito, responde; véame yo tan rico como fue el Doctor Sande que yo holgaré de pagar otra tanta y más pena que yo le condené a él. Las mismas palabras he oído que dijo, al mismo propósito, el Doctor Sande.

Y es consideración perniciosísima para esta tierra, porque como saben que por haber contratado les han de llevar treinta ó cuarenta mil ducados de pena, procuran adquirir doscientos mil antes de la residencia; y después háceles muy poco pagar la pena, aunque como quedan ricos saben y pueden muy bien defender su partido.

El daño y perjuicio que a ésta república ha venido, las quejas que en éste navío van a v. m. lo manifestarán. Yo sé decir una cosa, que si el navío que agora un año envió el gobernador al Perú, y ogaño dos a Panamá y Nueva España, los vuelve Dios con bien, no se le dará mucho pagar otra tanta pena como le echó al Doctor Sande, porque con lo que le sobrare después de pagada, podrá ser bien rico. El remedio de esto ya

might order another visitador to come to analyze other problems, persuaded the majority of the regidores who support him to write a letter to Your Majesty and another to the Audiencia of Mexico, with the content mentioned above.

One of the regidores present at the meeting, called Juan de Morón, *Sargento Mayor* and Captain, one of the very first to come to this land, was opposed to such a petition as procurator of this city. He did not want to sign it saying that he would write the opposite to his Majesty, and that that would be the truth. He did not want to sign the letter of the regidores, for it contained the opposite of what he would write.

I can see that these contradictions will cause confusion there and people will think that some people write from here with bias. This is what I have told Your Majesty in another letter: that it is dangerous to inform Your Majesty.⁶ One of the reasons is that the guilty ones will find ways to hide their evil doings, so that they will not come to be known there. Your Majesty must rest assured that when I wrote what I did, I did not know their tricks. I wrote it because I know the human condition. The solution to this lies in the hand of Your Majesty who can send a person fit for the task, somebody hard no doubt to find. And if such a person discovers the truth, and the truth is that the governor lives and governs as the regidores state, Your Majesty will render the grace due to him by punishing rigorously those who have spoken evil against the governor. And if it turns out to the contrary, that person must have the authority from Your Majesty to try to solve the problems of this land of Yours. This land is being destroyed and is being wiped out very rapidly. If things will continue like this, it cannot endure much longer.

Since what I am saying is related to the point under discussion, let Your Majesty come to know something that perhaps it is not known there, but it is widely known here, experienced with great loss by those who live here. And the thing is this: when sometimes the governor is asked why he is engaged in business, having condemned Dr. Sande, his predecessor, to a very heavy fine for the same offense, he answers: "let me become as rich as Dr. Sande and I will happily pay the same or higher fine than the one I imposed upon Dr. Sande." I have come to know that the same sort of thing was said by Dr. Sande.

This situation is very dangerous for this land because, since they know they will be fined thirty or forty thousand ducados for having engaged in business, they will try to acquire two hundred thousand

v. m. por sus leyes lo tiene dado, en que se manda que el gobernador que tratare por sí, o por otro, pierda todo lo que hubiere tratado. Si v. m. manda que ésta ley se ejecute inviolablemente, que hasta agora no se ha hecho, ésta tierra será más remediada y si no, aunque v. m. envíe todos los remedios del mundo, han de aprovechar nada, antes dañarán.

La divina bondad ponga en el corazón de v. m. y le incline al remedio de esta tierra, y por muchos largos años guarde y conserve la católica y real persona de v. m., para la defensa de su Iglesia y amparo de los que poco podemos.

De Manila, 20 de junio de 1582 años.

Católica Real Majestad, besa sus reales manos de vuestra magestad su menor siervo y capellán.

El obispo de las Filipinas

In: AGI, Filipinas 74.

before the *residencia*.⁷ Afterwards they do not lament the fine imposed because they have become so rich and they know and can defend their position.

The complaints sent on this ship to your Majesty will show the evils and sufferings experienced by this Commonwealth. I can tell you one thing, if the ship⁸ the Governor sent to Peru last year, and two more which he sent to Panama and New Spain return safely here, he would not mind paying as high a fine as the one he imposed on Dr. Sande, because with the remaining part, after having paid the fine, he will still remain very rich. The solution to this problem has been given by Your Majesty through the existing laws, decreeing that the governor who personally or through somebody else engages in business should lose everything acquired through trade. If Your Majesty commands this law to be inexorably obeyed, for up to now it has not been obeyed, this land will be saved. Otherwise, even if Your Majesty sends all the available remedies in the world, they will profit nothing, rather they will be prejudicial.⁹

May the Divine Goodness touch the heart of Your Majesty and incline it to the remedy of this land, and may he guard and keep for many years the Catholic and Royal Person of Your Majesty, for the defense of His Church and protection of the weak like us.

Manila, twentieth of June, of the year one thousand five hundred and eighty two.

Catholic Royal Majesty. Your little servant and chaplain kisses your royal hands.

The Bishop of the Philippines.

⁷The often referred to Memorial of 1582.

⁸*Alcalde ordinario* or city mayor or chief official of a district of the city.

⁹*Regidor* or a member of the city council; alderman. There were seven regidores in Manila. Three of them were proprietary magistrates and were appointed by His Majesty - namely, Captain de Moron, Don Luis Enriquez and Pedro de Herrera. The other four were appointed by the governor, namely, Captain Gabriel de Rivera, Captain Juan Maldonado, Captain Vergara and Captain Rodrigo Alvarez, Cfr. *Relation of Loarca*, BRPI, V, pp. 81-83.

Cabildo Secular or City Government composed of *alcaldes ordinarios*, *regidores* and other minor officials.

⁴Gabriel de Rivera had been with Legazpi during the first years of the conquest as chief constable. He was an excellent soldier and was found in the most important engagements during the initial years of the Spanish conquest of the Philippines. He served as attorney of the city of Manila.

In a letter dated Manila, July 20, 1581, signed by some of the most important Spanish captains, it is stated that Rivera was sent as procurator to the king to give an account of the affairs and condition of the land. He must have left the Philippines for Spain in 1581, carrying with him not only the title of procurator but also a great deal of correspondence from officials and Spanish captains in the Philippines. He travelled in the company of the past governor, Dr. Francisco Sande.

In a memorial signed by Rivera in Spain, addressed to a high official, probably the President of the Council of Indies, he wrote: "The appointment of Don Gonzalo Ronquillo by Your Highness as governor for life, and the many sentences, decrees, and favors on his behalf, greatly injure the said islands in their advancement; they harass and totally ruin them as we have seen with our own eyes . . . The appointment may have been a very lawful one, but it should not be forgotten that is in injurious to the said islands and their advancement. God alone can remedy the abuses perpetuated everyday, for as is well known by your Highness, they are beyond any other remedy - inasmuch as Don Gonzalo has carried out no part of the agreement he made with His Majesty", BRPI, V, 208-209.

He became a *mariscal* and was given an encomienda in Taal-Balayan, called Bonbon. He was later known as the *mariscal* of Bonbon, the original native name of Lake Taal.

⁵A *Visitador* was a person especially delegated by the king, the Council of Indies or any Audiencia to visit a district or colony and to personally acquaint himself with the situation, to conduct judicial proceedings and to render judgement. Don Gonzalo, accused from many sides because of his abuses and the vexations of his appointees, tried to preempt the blow by inducing the regidores of the cabildo secular to write the king and the Audiencia of Mexico in his favour.

⁶Salazar was threatened a few times by the subalterns of Don Gonzalo and by the governor himself. On one occasion Don Gonzalo told Salazar that he descended from Spanish cavaliers who had no scruples about sending bishops to the gibbet. The background to this threat is the fact that the grandfather of Don Gonzalo, the *alcalde* of Zamora, sent Don Juan Acuña, the bishop of the city, to the gibbet during the War of the Comuneros. The bishop sided with the Comuneros. They were defeated at Villalar, Valladolid in 1521. Bishop Acuña was imprisoned at Zamora. He escaped but was finally captured by the *alcalde*, the grandfather of Don Gonzalo, who solved the problem by hanging the quarrelsome bishop in the fortress of Simancas.

⁷The *residencia* was a legal Spanish institution dating as far back as the fourteenth century, although its beginnings may be traced to the Visigothic codes. It was operative in the Spanish overseas dominions. It meant that after the completion of the term of office, the official was forced to reside in the same place where he had exercised his office for a certain time, usually thirty to fifty days. During this length of time people were encouraged to present their complaints to the official appointed for that purpose. In the case at hand, Don Gonzalo imposed the *residencia* on Dr. Sande, his predecessor. He condemned him to a very heavy fine, as we know from Salazar and other contemporary documents.

⁸The ship was called *Nuestra Señora de la Cinta* - Our Lady of the Girdle, under captain Don Gonzalo Ronquillo de Ballesteros. In the opinion of Don Gonzalo, the governor, it was the best to be found in the Philippines. It was supplied with provisions for the return

trip. He was sending one hundred quintals of spices to be sold in Peru. The Peru proceeds would go, according to him, to pay for supplies and for the mariners' trip back to the Philippines. Cfr. *Letter of Don Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa to Don Francisco de Toledo, Viceroy of Peru, Manila, May 31, 1581*, in TORRES LANZAS, P. & PASTELLS, P., S.J., *Catálogo de los documentos existentes en el Archivo de Indias relativos a Filipinas. Historia General de Filipinas*, (8 vols.), Barcelona, 1926-1936, vol. III, pp. CVII-CVIII.

*Salazar was not quite just in accusing Don Gonzalo Ronquillo. He forgot that in the original *asiento* entered into between Don Gonzalo and the Spanish Crown, Don Gonzalo agreed to bring to the Philippines six hundred colonists as his own cost. The expenses incurred were huge. In return he was made governor for life. Many other privileges were granted him. By the time Don Gonzalo had arrived in the Philippines he had already contracted immense debts in New Spain and Panama. It was logical, though not justifiable, for him to try to recover his losses and those of his supporters by engaging in trade and commerce and by assigning his friends to posts in government. Their salaries were hardly enough to keep them afloat. The temptation to engage in business became irresistible. The ones to suffer the consequences were the Filipinos and the ordinary Spanish soldiers and encomenderos. Luckily for the Philippines Don Gonzalo died soon. The Spanish Crown never again appointed a governor for life

**Letter of the Bishop of Macao,
Don Leonardo de Saa,
to Domingo de Salazar, O.P.,
Macao, July 4, 1582**

Introduction

Through this letter the Bishop of Macao, Don Leonardo de Saa, gave an answer to Salazar's own letter sent through his ambassador, Father Alonso Sánchez. We do not know the reaction of the Portuguese in India and Malacca regarding Philip's accession to the Portuguese throne, but the authorities of Macao rejoiced, so it seems, and did not object to the new political fact. The fears and apprehensions of the Spaniards of the Philippines about the Portuguese reaction proved unfounded. The correspondence we have shows that the authorities welcomed Philip's succession and hoped that, through the union of the two crowns, things would change for the better.

The Portuguese of Macao were abused by the Chinese. Their situation was always precarious. The Chinese authorities extorted huge sums of money from the Portuguese traders in exchange for their being allowed to trade with China and with Japan. Unlike in India and Malacca, where the Portuguese had fortified themselves and were able to engage in trade on a more secure basis, in Macao they were at the mercy and whims of the Chinese authorities of Canton. The emperor probably did not even know of the existence of the Portuguese in Macao at this time.

Salazar, in the letter to the Bishop of Macao, seemed to have expressed the hope of a new era in the expansion of Christianity in

China and in the East. Macao would be the door through which Christianity would enter the immense and mysterious Empire of Grand Cathay.

The Bishop of Macao, who knew the situation best, due to his daily contact with the Chinese, answered that so far he had not been able to do much outside the narrow confines of Macao. His diocese was indeed immense, enough for even more than a hundred bishops, but up to the moment Christians were found only in Macao and in Japan, where their numbers, under the care of the Jesuits, were truly remarkable. In his opinion, the Chinese were afraid of the mandarins and were reluctant to accept Christians and even foreigners. Still, it seemed they tolerated the Portuguese presence in that piece of land of China, but were apprehensive of the Spaniards. The Portuguese feared the worst if the Chinese were to discover the implications of the union of the two crowns. They seemed to fear the Spaniards. A great part of the responsibility of this opinion of the Chinese about the Spaniards fell on the Portuguese themselves who had pictured the Spaniards as conquerors of great empires in America. The Portuguese had denigrated the Spaniards by presenting them as a warlike people always ready to take over any kingdom that opposed them.

During the time of the previous governor, Don Francisco de Sande (1575-1580) it is true, a real effort was made to plan the conquest of China. Philip II opted against this and did not support the plans of the governor and of the Spaniards of the Philippines.

**Carta del Obispo de Macao,
Don Leonardo de Saa,
a Domingo de Salazar, O. P.,
Macao, 4 de julio, 1582**

Muy ilustre Señor, la gracia, y resplandor del Espíritu Santo acompañe siempre la deuota ánima de V. Señoría.

“Con la de V. Señoría recibí mucha consolación, y quedo con mucho dolor, por no poder responder a ella con más libertad, y certidumbre, porque no fue possible bolver el Embaxador Padre Alonso Sánchez derecho a essa tierra por el peligro a que se ponía, y nos dexaua, siendo preso destos Chinos, que con su venida están muy alborotados. Espero en nuestro Señor dará remedio en todo, y ordenará con la suesssion tan feliz de su Magestad en estos Estados el comercio sea claro, y seguro, que para esto ser assí, y esta tierra poder permanecer, humanamente no tenía otro remedio, sino el que nuestro Señor le ha dado por su infinita bondad, loado sea él para siempre. Quedamos determinados de buscar remedio con que podamos por otra vía escriuir, que sea más breve, al Señor Governador, y a V. Señoría, para les declarar lo que al servicio de nuestro Señor, y de su Magestad, bien, y comercio, y permanencia desta tierra conuiene, lo qual será con breuedad, por el peligro de ser cogidas las cartas.

“La diligencia que el señor Governador puso en auisarnos, fue muy importante, y prouechosa, y a todos nos ha puesto en grandes esperancas de ver en esta tierra más libertad de la que hasta agora auemos tenido, porque verdaderamente somos muy vexados destros Chinos; y

**Letter of the Bishop of Macao,
Don Leonardo de Saa,
to Domingo de Salazar, O.P.,
Macao, July 4, 1582**

Most Illustrious Lord: May the grace and splendour of the Holy Spirit be always with the faithful soul of Your Lordship.

I received great consolation through the letter of Your Lordship.¹ I am sorry not to be able to answer it at greater length and certitude because the ambassador, Father Alonso Sánchez, was not able to go back straight there, because of the risk involved and the dangers he would have exposed us to if he were to be imprisoned by the Chinese. They became very nervous on account of his arrival.²

I hope Our Lord will remedy this, and with the happy succession of His Majesty to these kingdoms, commerce will be set on a good and safe path. In order for this to happen, and this land to be maintained, there was no other human solution except the one granted by the infinite goodness of Our Lord.³ Blessed be the Lord forever.

We are looking for a shorter way to write the Governor and Your Lordship, to tell you both what is most fitting for the service of Our Lord and his Majesty's, and the welfare, commerce and stability of this land. We shall do that soon due to the danger that the letters might otherwise fall into the hands of the Chinese.

The diligence shown by the Governor in notifying us [of the Accession] was great and advantageous. We all have high hopes that this land will enjoy greater freedom than we have had up to now, for

así en las necesidades tendremos socorro, como por el Padre Alonso Sánchez nos ha mandado ofrecer su Señoría.

“Del aumento de la Christiandad que V. Señoría, me escriue, he holgado mucho. Estos chinos son muy duros, y náceles del grande miedo que tienen, de los Mandarines y Mandones, y así hasta agora no tengo más Christiandad que la de esta Ciudad, que es muy grande, y donde ay mucha gente.

“Quanto a la jurisdicción, y Diócesis que V. Señoría me pregunta, y hasta donde se estiende, digo que es mayor que toda Europa, porque ay en ell treze Prouincias en la China, y más. Y cada una tan grande como el Reyno de Portugal, y todas las islas que están sugetas a ellas, con todos los Reynos del Iapón, donde ay mucha Christiandad, con todas las Islas de sus comarcas, como lo ha visto el Padre Alonso Sánchez en la Bula de la Creación de este Obispado, y si Dios nuestro Señor los alumbrase a todos, no bastarían cien Obispos para el gobierno de tanta población. Confio en nuestro Señor que muy presto veremos grande aumento en la Christiandad en estas partes todas, pues su Magestad ha sucedido en el señorío de ellas, y porque ésta va con recelo de que llegue a manos de V. Señoría, no soy más largo. Espero dará nuestro Señor lugar, y tiempo para escriuir con más libertad y servir a V. Señoría, como deseo, cuya vida, y estado nuestro Señor prospere por muchos años. De Macan a quatro de Julio de mil y quinientos y ochenta y dos años. Sieruo en Christo de V. S. *El Obispo de Macan*. En COLIN-PASTELLS, *Labor Evangélica de los Obreros de la Compañía de Jesús de las Islas Filipinas*, 3 vols., Barcelona, 1900-1904, I, p. 293.

“Pondránse cartas como se hallaron, traducidas del Portugues en Castellano por el contador Bustamante”, en COLIN-PASTELS, *Labor*, I, p. 292.

truly we are greatly abused by the Chinese.⁵ Thus we shall have help in our needs, as it has been offered by His Lordship the [Governor] through Father Alonso Sánchez.

Of the possible increase of Christianity spoken of by Your Lordship, I highly rejoice. These Chinese are very hard to convert. This is born of the great fear they have of their mandarins and governors. Up to now my only Christianity is the one I have in this city, which is very large and where there are many people.

Regarding Your Lordship's question about the jurisdiction and extension of my diocese,⁶ I say that it is bigger than the whole of Europe, for my diocese has thirteen or more provinces in China each one being as big the Kingdom of Portugal. There are many islands subject to them, and the Kingdom of Japan where there is a numerous Christianity,⁷ and also in all the adjacent islands, as Father Alonso Sánchez saw in the bull of erection of this bishopric. If God Our Lord were to illumine them, one hundred bishops would not be enough for so many people. I hope in the Lord that soon we shall see an increase of Christianity in those parts now that his Majesty has become the king.

Since I doubt whether this letter will reach Your Lordship's hands, I will not be any longer.⁸ I hope Our Lord will give us the opportunity and time to write with greater freedom and to serve Your Lordship, as I really wish. May the Lord increase for many years your life and government.

From Macao, the fourth of July, of the year one thousand five hundred and eighty two. Your Lordship's servant in the Lord. The Bishop of Macao.

This letter was originally written in Portuguese. It was translated into Spanish by the Accountant Bustamante.

¹We have not been able to find Salazar's letter to the Bishop of Macao. Fortunately, through this answer, we can guess some of the contents of Salazar's letter.

Salazar wrote two more letters: one addressed to the Governor of Macao and another one to the Governor of Canton. The only letter extant is the one addressed to the Chinese Governor of Canton. The reason for its preservation, as we can gather from Salazar's long *Memorial* of 1582, is that a translation of the letter was sent to Spain for the king's information. The letters addressed to the Portuguese Governor and Bishop, of which no translations were made, are presumably lost.

²The Capitan Mayor of Macao, Don Juan de Almeyda, says that the Chinese became very suspicious of the arrival of the Spaniards in Macao. Had they known the reason that brought Sánchez to China, which was to communicate the union of the two crowns in the person of the King of Spain, probably they would never have allowed Sánchez to travel to Macao from Canton, where he had been held by the Chinese coastguards after his arrival from Manila in April of 1582. Don Juan de Almeyda thought it necessary to play down and belittle the implications of the union of the two crowns, for the Chinese could bring Macao to its total ruin by simply withdrawing the permit for trade. He writes:

"They have great suspicions against the people residing in these islands, as Father Sánchez saw. Although we highly desire that continuous dealings and trade might exist between Your Lordship and us, due to the great temporal and spiritual advantages to be followed, yet we believe we should play down this trade now, and secure the things of this city, for, as I say, they have become jealous of Spaniards coming here to these islands, and they live with great precaution. If they resented so much to see Spaniards here during the time they knew the Kingdoms of Castile and Portugal were still divided, it is logical to think that the sentiment will be very different now that they know of the union. Thus we have seen they are becoming so jealous and suspicious to us, that we fear they will command something not good against this city. By merely withdrawing their commerce they will be able to finish us off.

Thus it is good to be vigilant and prudent, as Your Lordship may judge. Thus it seemed good to Father Alonso Sánchez not to go straight to those islands, for the Chinese would resent it, but rather take the route via Japan, for they were very suspicious of the Father's arrival, more so when they came to know he had brought the news of the union of the two kingdoms. It was a great mercy received from God our Lord to bring him out of Canton before they came to know the news of the union." *Letter of Don Juan de Almeyda, Capitan Mayor of Macao, to the Governor of the Philippines, Don Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa, Macao, June 24, 1582, in: TORRES LANZAS-PASTELLS, Catálogo, II, CLXI.*

Alonso Sánchez, in a short *Memorial* he wrote in 1583, says:

"What the feelings of the Portuguese were regarding this novelty, only God and they may know. What I saw there, while I stayed, was a happy countenance and joy. They all pondered the positive reasons for that. Then they said the oath should be taken accepting Philip as King and Lord. This was not done for the fear of the uneasiness to be caused among the Chinese due to the new situation. We wanted to keep this secret, but it was not possible . . .", Cfr. TORRES-PASTELLS, *Catálogo*, CLVIII.

³Don Melchor Carneiro, Patriarch of Ethiopia, who happened to be in Macao at the time of Sánchez' arrival, wrote also to governor Ronquillo:

"With the arrival of Father Alonso Sánchez this city and port of Macao received a great joy and consolation, when we came to know the good news of being under the shelter and protection of so powerful and Catholic King, so lawful and natural King to the Portuguese nation . . . I certify that once the happenings of Portugal came to be known, we all in this post gave thanks to Our Lord and received it all as a great gift coming from His hands. We are ready to show in everything that might happen, the fidelity and loyalty through which we want to serve a king so powerful, Catholic, honorable and natural to us. We owe your lordship a debt of gratitude for the concern you took to notify us through that route, as we know how late the news from India usually come . . .", *Letter of Don Melchor Carneiro, Patriarch of Ethiopia, to the Governor of the Philippines, Don Gonzalo Ronquillo, Macao, July 2, 1582*, in: TORRES LANZAS-PASTELLS, *Catálogo*, II, CLIX.

⁴Don Francisco Sande, governor general of the Philippines (1575-1580) refers to the Viceroy of Mexico, Conde de Coruña, the abuses to which the Portuguese of Macao were subjected by the Chinese:

"Today they are still without arms, powder, justice, with a Chinese overseer who visits their houses, to check if they have this or that. Since it is a city already established with 300 houses, more or less, and there is a Portuguese governor and a Portuguese Bishop, they pay taxes every three years to the new viceroy who threatens to expel them around one hundred thousand ducados, more or less, which he divides with the grandees around the King of China. But everybody says constantly that the King does not know that such a kind of men are in his land". *Letter of Don Francisco Sande, Governor of the Philippines, to the Viceroy of Mexico, Conde de Coruña, Manila*, in: TORRES LANZAS-PASTELLS, *Catálogo*, II, CLVIII.

⁵The diocese of Macao was erected in January 23, 1576 by Pope Gregory XIII (1572-1585) in answer to the petition of Don Sebastian, king of Portugal. Don Diego Nuñez de Figueroa, a priest of 30 years of age, and only six months as priest, was chosen as the first Bishop. Macao was under the Metropolitan See of Goa. The right of Patronato was granted to Don Sebastian, by which he had the right to presentation. China, Japan and other adjacent islands were included in the bull of erection as territories pertaining to the new diocese of Macao. The Portuguese had been in Macao for some years already and had erected a church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Even in that period of discovery and exploration, when new territories were incorporated into the Portuguese or Spanish empires, nobody knew the exact extension of the new diocese of Macao. Spain thought that the Bull of erection of the diocese of Macao was prejudicial to her colonial rights and a violation of the clauses of the *empeño* entered upon between the Portuguese and Spanish kings by the treaty of Zaragoza of 1528. Although Spain had renounced all her rights to the Moluccas by accepting payment of 300,000 ducados from the Portuguese King, China and adjacent islands were supposed to fall under the Spanish line of demarcation. In the opinion of the Italian cosmographer, Juan Bautista Gessio, who was consulted about this, the issuance of the bull of erection of the diocese of Macao was a terrible blow to the Spanish rights in China and Japan and a betrayal of the terms of the *empeño*. He was sure that Macao fell under the Spanish demarcation line.

The ambassador of Spain in Rome should be told to do everything possible to have the Bull withdrawn and the erection of the diocese annulled. It was unbelievable that the Spanish ambassador in Rome had not come to know of the erection, so prejudicial to

Spanish rights. While Juan Bautista Gessio was preparing this answer, to state the Spanish rights to Macao, China and Japan, the Spaniards themselves destroyed their position by having told the Holy Father, Gregory XIII, in the letter of petition for the erection of the diocese of Manila, that the Philippines were more than two thousand leagues away from the westernmost point of Nueva España. This, by the Spaniards' own declaration, made the Philippines fall into the Portuguese demarcation line. Gessio tried to prove that the distance of the Philippines from Nueva España was no more than one thousand two hundred leagues. They then fell under the Spanish demarcation line. And not only the Philippines, but also Japan, China, Macao and even Malacca fell under the Spanish demarcation line.

While the dispute was going on, Philip II became king of Portugal in 1581, and everything came to an end. This dispute, no doubt, serves as a background for Salazar's inquiry as to the extension of the diocese of Macao.

⁷Japan had a very flourishing Christianity. The work started by St. Francis Xavier was continued by the Jesuits, and was producing rich fruits. It was from Portugal, Goa, Malacca and Macao where Japan received its help in personnel and money. Don Juan de Almeyda, in the already quoted letter addressed to the governor general of the Philippines, said that without the trade of Macao, the whole Christianity of Japan would collapse. He tells the governor:

"Your lordship should know that we have been here by way of trading with the Chinese for many years. Due to the traffic of goods and trade from here to India and the kingdom of Japan, and with the permanence of the Portuguese, and many natives of these lands who have become Christians, this city has become large and populous. Since we pretend something greater than mere commerce with the Chinese, we have tried and are trying to have good relations with them, tolerating some things that we would not tolerate in other parts. Here we have no fort, no arms. We can have commerce, only if they want it. It is something very important, pertaining to God's and his Majesty's service, to maintain the town and trade with the Chinese, for through it the Christianity of Japan is maintained, which is one of the great things to be found in the Orient, both for the quality and nobility of the people and the great fruits of conversion being achieved and already achieved. There is a province there of Fathers and Brothers of the Society, who tend the whole Christianity there, and have in different parts of Japan various houses and colleges with native teachers from the land. All this structure is maintained with the trade and commerce existing between this city and Japan. Everything would be lost, if this town and trade were lost", Ibidem, in: TORRES LANZAS-PASTELLS, *Catálogo*, II, CLX.

⁸After Sánchez main purpose was achieved, which was the recognition by the Portuguese of Philip as King of Portugal, certain problems arose about his return to the Philippines. Due to the suspicions of the Chinese it was agreed that Sánchez should return to Manila via Japan. He should go with a Portuguese carrack to Japan, and from there the Jesuits should try to procure a ship for him to take him back to Manila. Though the distance was enormous, there was no other way to evade the suspicions of the Chinese.

In July of 1582 Sánchez left for Japan. Just a few days after, while crossing the straits of Formosa, due to the carelessness of the pilot, the carrack hit the coast and was

shipwrecked. The big ship and the rich cargo were practically lost. Some of the passengers were drowned, others were killed by the savages of the mountains of Formosa. They were forced to stay there for almost three months, continuously harrassed by the savage aborigenes who tried to steal everything they could and even to kill some people to eat them in cannibalistic banquets. After having built a small ship out of the remnants of the big one, all the remaining people, more than two hundred and ninety, fully loaded to the point of danger, set sail for the return trip to Macao, which they reached safely in the span of seven or eight days. Cfr. *Memorial of Fr. Alonso Sánchez*, in: TORRES LANZAS-PASTELLS *Catálogo*, II, CLXII-III.

Answer and Declaration of some Doubts proposed to His Most Reverend Lordship and other people of the Synod or Meeting of Manila about the Expedition of the Spaniards to Maluco

Introduction

This petition by the Spanish royal officials of the Philippines was addressed to Bishop Domingo de Salazar and the Fathers of the Synod of Manila. It is a query as to whether the war to be waged by the Spaniards against the King of Ternate, Moluccas, was just or not.

The historical background for the Spanish intervention and entanglement in the Moluccas has to be given here. Philip II was sworn in as King of Portugal in 1581. All the overseas Portuguese dominions fell under his authority. The Spaniards of Mexico and the Philippines hoped that this new political situation would open to them for the purposes of commerce and trade the doors of India, Macao and the Spice Islands. Since Philip's predecessors had earnestly desired the possession of the Spice Islands, now that they were under him, it would be advantageous for Spanish traders to go there. The famous treaty of Zaragoza of 1528, between Charles I and the King of Portugal, by which Spain renounced forever any claims to the Moluccas, would be superseded. The zone of influence of Spain would be extended to the Portuguese colonies overseas. The *empeño* entered into by Charles I and the Portuguese would become null and void.

Nothing of the kind, however, happened. Philip II, by becoming King of Portugal, promised not to interfere too much with the political

and commercial set-up of the Portuguese dominions. The Spaniards were still prohibited from engaging in trade with India, Macao and the Moluccas. Philip II would not allow that. The Portuguese would never hear of it. Even the opening of Macao to the Spanish missionaries as a door for China was blocked. The Franciscans especially tried a few times to go to China from the Philippines, without the governor's permission. If ever the Spanish missionaries were to go to China, they have to go via India and Macao, not via the Philippines. The union of the Crown of Portugal with the Crown of Spain brought no advantage at all to the Spaniards of the Philippines, whether settlers or missionaries.

The union, however, brought serious obligations for the Philippines in relation to the defense of India, Macao and the Moluccas. Philip II, in his letters to the governor of the Philippines, enjoined him to help the Portuguese at all times and to be ready to obey them in military matters related to the Portuguese overseas dominions in the East. The burden of defense lay upon the Philippines. The Portuguese colonies were far apart from one another. The Moluccas were the farthest from Portugal. Thus in 1575 the fort of Ternate, built by the Portuguese, was overrun by the local King. Help from India was slow in coming and the Portuguese could not recapture their lost fort. The King of Tidore, a nearby island, allowed them to build a smaller fort. From there and with the little help received from India and Malacca, the Portuguese proved unable to regain the Ternate fort.

This was the situation in the Moluccas when Philip II became King of Portugal. From the Philippines the Governor, Don Gonzalo Ronquillo, sent Francisco de Dueñas, to the Moluccas to bring the Portuguese to Philip's obedience. He returned to Manila with the good news of their acceptance, but with the sad news of the loss of Ternate. An urgent plea was addressed to the Spanish authorities for military help. Towards the end of 1582 the Portuguese Manuel Pereira de Villasboas came from the Moluccas to Manila seeking help of people, food and military provisions to continue the war against the King of Ternate. Don Gonzalo, in answer to this urgent request, consulted the authorities of the Philippines about the military intervention and Bishop Salazar about the justice or injustice of the war to be waged against the King of Ternate.

The Synod was convoked by Salazar. The result is summarized here. The justice of the war was declared for the following reasons:

1. The King of Ternate, through his revolt, had induced many Christians to apostatize. He was protecting the apostates.

2. He had profaned the churches by stealing the chalices, ornaments and sacred objects used before for the divine cult. He applied them for his private use and some of them were sent to Mecca.

3. His Majesty commanded that war be waged against him.

4. He had made a peace pact with the English pirate, to whom he promised to turn over the fort and the lands of Maluco.

5. Though the Portuguese had imprisoned the father of the present King, for having done nothing to stop the many crimes committed by his people, the assassination was committed not by the Portuguese but by a private person who in turn was killed by the Javanese before the Portuguese could bring him to justice.

There was no justification, then, for the revolt. The King could have had recourse to Philip II, on whom the two crowns had come together. Justice would have been administered by the Spanish King. The war against the King of Ternate, then, was justified. From this followed some consequences worth mentioning here. Everything taken in the war belonged to the first one who took it, according to the so-called "*ius primi capientis*". The Spanish soldiers could kill enemy soldiers engaged in actual battle, but could never kill those who would surrender. These would have to be taken prisoners and be conducted to Manila, to await the King's decision about their fate. The same applied to enemy soldiers defending the fort or in garrison anywhere else on whom there were grave suspicions that they had been engaged in the war. Children and women were to be left totally unmolested, likewise those who had nothing to do with the war. If during the war the King of Ternate would sue for peace, there was no obligation to accept it.

This was the answer of Salazar and the Fathers of the Synod of Manila to the query of the Governor. Ronquillo and his captains held a council of war and, after mature deliberation, came out with the opinion that war had to be declared against the King of Ternate. The Governor prepared a military expedition under the command of Don Juan Ronquillo, his nephew, a young man of 24. Experienced captains of war, of long residence in the Philippines, were bypassed. Salazar accused the governor of nepotism in a letter of 1583. Don Gonzalo, he says, appointed for the task:

"Don Juan Ronquillo, his nephew, a man of 24 who in the expedition against the Japanese [Cagayan], where he went as a general last year, proved that he did not deserve to be given the post of responsibility. In spite of this, Don Gonzalo sent him with one hundred or more soldiers, for I do not know how many went. Lacking experience in conducting the expedition the fleet scattered and arrived there with difficulty. What happened there, is none of my business. What some soldiers who returned from there told me is that if Don Juan were a brave and experienced man, he would have attacked the King of Ternate and would have conquered the fort that very day. The whole of Maluco would now be under Your Majesty" (*Letter of Domingo de Salazar to Philip II, Manila, June 18, 1583, in: AGI, Filipinas 74*).

Respuesta y Declaración de Algunas Dudas que se propusieron a su Señoría Reverendísima y a las demás Personas del Sínodo y Junta de Manila sobre la Jornada de los Españoles al Maluco.

Lo primero que se preguntó y dudó es si la guerra que los españoles de Manila tratan de hacer contra el rey moro de Ternate es justa o no. Respondióse por parecer de todos que esta guerra es justa.

Lo primero porque se sabe, por cosa cierta y evidente, que este rey no solo es moro, de la secta de Mahoma, enemigo y contrario a nuestra santa fe, mas que con su alzamiento ha atraído a otros muchos a que lo sean, y les ha hecho y hace espaldas, y aun compele a todos su vasallos, que antes eran cristianos de su propia voluntad y sinceramente, a que no lo sean, sino de su mala secta; y no solo a estos, mas aún a otros que no eran sus vasallos les ha hecho dejar la fe y seguir su herencia con fuerza y tiranía. Y demás de esto ha robado y profanado las iglesias y cálices y ornamentos de ellas, aprovechándose de todo esto sagrado para el uso común y profano, y aún dedicando algo de ello para el servicio de Mahoma; lo cual todo y el fortificarse cada día más para vivir en la misma secta y hacer que todos sus vasallos y los que no lo eran vivian [sic] en ella, dejando la fe cristiana es directamente contra la Iglesia Católica y nuestra fe y contra la cristiandad, no sólo de aquella tierra mas de las comarcas; por lo cual justamente los cristianos, a quien más particularmente incumbe esto, como son los de estas Islas Filipinas, le podrán hacer guerra.

Lo segundo se prueba ser justa esta guerra porque los dichos españoles cristianos tenemos expreso mandato de nuestro rey que les

Answer and Declaration of some Doubts proposed to His Most Reverend Lordship and other people of the Synod or Meeting of Manila about the Expedition of the Spaniards to Maluco

The first point asked and discussed was whether the war proposed by the Spaniards of Manila against the King of Ternate was just or not. All answered unanimously that this was just.²

First, because it is known as something certain and evident, that the King is a Moro, of the Mohammedan sect, an enemy and opponent of our Holy Faith, and also because his uprising has induced others to become Moros, and he has been protecting them. He even compels all his vassals who before had become sincere Christians of their own free will to renounce their faith and embrace the evil sect. And not only these ones, but also others who were not his vassals he has forced to abandon their faith and inheritance with force and tyranny. Apart from this he has also robbed and desecrated the churches,³ chalices and ornaments, employing these sacred things for common and profane use. He has even used some of them for the service of Mohammed. All this and the building up of fortifications everyday in order to live according to the same sect and make all his vassals and even those who were not his slaves embrace to said sect, abandoning the Christian faith, goes directly against the Catholic Church and against our Faith and against Christendom not only of those lands but also of the neighboring ones. Due to all this Christians, to whom all this is a very important matter, especially those of the Philippines, can make war on them.

hagamos la guerra; luego habemos de entender que justamente lo manda, y no podemos juzgar ni decir lo contrario, sino cuando clara y evidentemente se viese la injusticia de este mandato, lo cual aquí no se ve sino mucha justicia.

El tercero porque ya que éste y sus antepasados tenían por amigos, y habían recibido por uso en su tierra a los cristianos, no podían hacer amistad ni confederarse con ninguno que fuese enemigo de ellos, ni de nuestra santa fe y de quien a nosotros y a ella se pudiera seguir daño; y si lo hacieren del hecho por el mismo caso los podemos echar de nuestra vecindad. Pues como éste rey de Maluco, después de la amistad que tenía trabada con nosotros, se haya confederado y dicho que dará la tierra misma en que nosotros vivimos y fortaleza nuestra a los ingleses, herejes y enemigos nuestros, de nuestra santa fe; y no solo ha hecho por lo que él por otros fines pudiera pretender, mas derechamente por no hacer mal, síguese claro que se le puede y debe hacer guerra, así por su mala intención y daños ya hechos como por el mucho mayor peligro que se seguiría a aquella tierra y a ésta y a todas las demás de cristianos si aquellos herejes se apoderasen del Maluco.

Lo cuarto porque fuera de esto, tres razones que son las fundamentales y muy bastantes hay en este negocio: la justicia de haber estos reyes del Maluco, algunas años atrás atrás [sic] recibido de paz y conformidad a los cristianos portugueses en su tierra, y dádoles sitio para que hiciesen habitación y después para la fortaleza, con que éste rey se ha levantado, la cual ellos hicieron y siempre tuvieron por suya, hasta que éste, sin ninguna razon ni justicia, rompió la paz y federación que según sus principios no podía ser quebrantada; y por fuerza se alzó con la fortaleza que era suya, por lo cual justísimamente se le puede dar guerra y quitársela y castigarle, así por esto como por otros muchos agravios que ha hecho aquellos sus vecinos y amigos cristianos.

Y a lo que dice de que justamente se pudo alzar, pues los portugueses le mataron a su padre; se responde lo primero que éste mismo rey, hijo del muerto, dió bastantes ocasiones por las injustas y secretas muertes que hacía en los portugueses para que ellos prendiesen a su padre, porque no las quería remediar ni castigar. Lo segundo que ni ellos ni ninguna justicia de los portugueses le mandó matar, sino un hombre particular lo hizo temeraria y maliciosamente; el cual preso por el virrey de la India fue enviado para que pagase su delito donde le había hecho; muerto por los Javos en el camino no se pudo hacer la justicia deseada. Lo tercero, porque en ésta ni otra diferencia que entre los

The second reason to justify this war is the express command we Spanish Christians have received from our King to make war on them.⁴ We take for granted that he had verified the justice of his command. We cannot judge or say anything against it unless we were to see clearly and evidently the injustice of this command; but we see nothing against it, but rather we see great justice in it.

The third reason is because this King and his ancestors had received the Christians as friends, as was the custom in their land; thus they should not befriend or enter into a pact with enemies of Christians, or of our holy Faith or with anybody from whom some harm would follow to our holy Faith or to us. If they were to do this, because of this we could expel them from our neighborhood. Now, this King of Maluco, after having sworn friendship with us, made pact with the English, heretics and enemies of our holy Faith. He said that he will give the land in which we live and the fort to them.⁵ It is clear that we can and must make war on him for what he has done, in view of his own selfish advantages and because he did not oppose them, and also because of his evil intention and damages inflicted, but also because of the great danger to come to that land and this our land and all the other lands where Christians are found, if more heretics were to become, masters of Maluco.

The fourth reason is because, apart from everything already mentioned, there are those fundamental and weighty causes regarding this matter: the justice that these Kings of Maluco had welcomed the Portuguese Christians in their land in peace and conformity and had given them space for them to build their houses and later the fort; now the king had seized the fort built by the Portuguese and owned by them up to the time when the King, without any cause or justice, broke the peace and pact that by its very nature should not be broken. The King took the Portuguese fort by force. Due to this and other serious vexations committed against their neighbor Christian friends, war can be waged against him, to get back the fort and to punish him.

It is said that the King revolted with good reason because the Portuguese killed his father. We answer first that the King, son of the dead one, gave many occasions, because of his many unjust and secret killings of Portuguese, who therefore had a right for the latter to imprison his father because he did not want to do justice or to punish those crimes. Another reason is that neither they (Portuguese) nor any of their judges gave the order to kill him; this was done rashly and maliciously by a private person who was imprisoned by the viceroy of

Maiucos y portugueses se levantara no podía él ser juez y alzarse con todo, como lo ha hecho, sino pedir su justicia ante quien de derecho le competía, que era el superior a los unos y a los otros, conviene a saber; el rey de Portugal o el que agora lo es de lo uno y de lo otro, Don Felipe nuestro señor.

Lo segundo se preguntó y dudó ya que ésta guerra es justa, de qué manera y hasta qué terminos se podrá proceder en el rigor de ella.

Respondióse por parecer de todos que podrán combatir no solo esta fortaleza mas cualquiera otro lugar, o estancia, navíos, o personas en quien hallaren resistencia sobre este caso, y apoderarse y tener por suyos todos los despojos muebles de cualquier suerte que sean, y tener por suyo propio, y con buena conciencia, cada soldado o capitán o otra manera de personas que fueren a esta guerra, cualquier cosa que cogiere en ella, no solo de lo que no se supiese dueño pero aunque saliesen dueños cristianos o moros y conociesen las propias piezas suyas, en la misma especie y forma como tarros y vasos de oro y plata, o cualquiera otras cosas preciosas, así de estos metales como de vestido y perlas y todo lo demás, porque todo esto es del primero que lo cogiese en el conflicto y saco de aquesta guerra.

Item podrán matar a todos los que resistieren y pelearen mientras el conflicto, y desde que se rindiesen no, sino prender a todos los vencidos y rendidos y traerlos por prisioneros a estas islas, y tenerles por tales hasta que su magestad determine lo que se haya de hacer de ellos, sirviéndose de ellos en el inter, mas esto no podrán hacer con las mujeres ni niños, ni con ningunos otros que no se hallaren en el rompimiento, ni guarnición o defensa de esta fortaleza, o de otra parte a donde estuviesen con este intento, sino fuese con algunas personas o cabezas de quien se tiene grave sospecha, o de que han concurrido e intervenido en los alzamientos pasados, que de aquí adelante podrán ser causas de otros desasosiegos y alteraciones.

Lo tercero se preguntó y dudó si cuando este rey viendo la gente que agora va contra él saliese a pedir partidos si estarán obligados los que de acá van a admitírselos y hacer algun pacto con ellos.

Respondióse por parecer de todos que no, sino que podrán justamente apoderarse de la fortaleza y de cualquiera otras fuerzas y puestos en que haya pertrechos o aparato de resistencia, y repartir entre sí, y justamente poseer, todos los despojos, haciendas y conservación de

India and sent back to the place where he had committed the crime to pay the penalty for his offense. He was killed on his way by the Javanese. The required justice was executed. Thirdly, because in this conflict or in any other between him and the Portuguese, he was no judge and could not take everything as he had done, but rather should demand justice from whom justice could be administered by right and that was the superior of both, that is to say, the King of Portugal or the one who is now the King of both, Don Felipe our Lord.

Moreover, since this war is just, it was asked and discussed how and in what manner it can be prosecuted.

It was unanimously answered that it would be just to storm this fort or any other place, farms, ships or persons who would resist in this war, and take over and keep as their own all disposable spoils of any nature, and the soldiers or captains or any other persons who may go to this war keep in good conscience as their own anything seized during the war, not only things whose owner is unknown, but even if the owners were Christians or Moros and would say that those things belong to them, in the shape and form of jars and gold and silver vessels, or any other precious thing, whether of metal or of cloth and pearls and anything else, because all these belongs to the first one who took them in the conflict and battles of this war.

Also, they could kill all those who would resist and fight during the duration of the conflicts but not anyone who would surrender, but they can hold all the vanquished and bring the surrenderees as prisoners to these islands and keep them as prisoners, and make them work in the meanwhile. This cannot be done with the women and children, or with anybody else not involved in the war nor found in the garrison or defense of the fort or anywhere else they are to be found, unless they be suspicious persons or chiefs about whom it is known that they had participated and intervened in previous uprisings and could be in the future cause of restlessness and disturbances.

Lastly, it was asked and discussed whether the King seeing that many people go against him, would come suing for peace, whether the people going from here would accept that and would make pact with them.

It was answered unanimously in the negative, but rather that they will be allowed to seize the fort and any other stronghold or places in

las mismas fuerzas y de la gente necesaria por entonces para la seguridad de la tierra; y en lo que toca a los levantados que en esta fortaleza o otros partes se hallaren, puedan hacer lo mismo de repartirlos y tenerlos por suyos hasta que su magestad otra cosa determine.

[Sin firmas. Es un traslado. Solo copia del original.]

In: AGI, Filipinas 18.
No date [1582]¹

which arms for resistance are to be found, and allot for themselves and urgently possess all the spoils, farms and maintenance of the same force and employ the people necessary for the moment to secure the land. In relation to the rebels found in the fort or in any other, they can allot them and keep for themselves until his Majesty will decide otherwise.

¹The document has no date but probably it should be in late 1582. Francisco de Dueñas was sent to Maluco in March of 1582. He returned soon after, almost at the same time as the galleon arrived from Acapulco to Manila, around the month of May or June. By September Manuel Pereira de Villasboas came to Manila from Maluco seeking military help. It is as a result of this that the query to Salazar was sent and the decision for a military intervention was reached.

²We do not know how many participated in the discussion. Alonso Sánchez, the secretary of the Synod, was not in Manila at that time. He had not yet returned from his first trip to Macao and China.

³Francisco de Dueñas prepared a report of his visit to the Moluccas in 1582. He says in part: "When the King of Ternate took the fort from the Portuguese he took a silver lamp from the main church and sent it to the mosque of Mecca. This is something sure and accepted. He made dresses out of the ornaments for himself and his wives and out of the maniples and stoles he made shoes. He drinks of the chalices he stole, and his buyo, a leaf the natives of this land chew, is given him in a patten, and other innumerable abuses are done by him in the use of things of the church dedicated to the divine cult". TORRES-LANZAS, *Catálogo*, II, CCLIX.

⁴Probably the Fathers of the Synod adduced in their defense of the justice of war the king's permit to make war and enslave Moros who proselytize and who are enemies of Christianity. If the King allowed them to make war and slave the Moros coming to the Philippines, the same would apply for the Moros of Ternate, now part of the Spanish dominions.

⁵Sir Francis Drake passed by Ternate around November of 1578. The King of Ternate, sandwich between the Portuguese and the English, promised to turn over to the latter the fort they had taken from the Portuguese and even hand over to them the Moluccas islands. An echo of the gravity of the situation rings in a letter of governor Ronquillo de Peñalosa to Philip II:

"Your Majesty had already been informed how the English pirate set out for Maluco and the Xabas [Java]. In Maluco he forged a friendship with the king of Ternate, to whom he promised to return in a short time with more forces. Consequently, I have considered how much more reason there is to believe that they cannot return by the Strait of Magellan. Since I know that that strait is well guarded and because, since they have gone through it, both Peru and Nueva España are warned; they could gain nothing in the expedition and it would certainly be lost. No one but the pirate himself knows the route which he took and the channel which he followed to Maluco should be considered in England as of great value, and as a stronghold which can be taken and held with a few men, then they would feel bound to place a large force in it. Your Majesty should do much for its defense. These considerations impress me so strongly that, if I were supplied with more troops I will do what I can, however, in your royal service, although it is not under my charge" BRPI, IV, 313-314.