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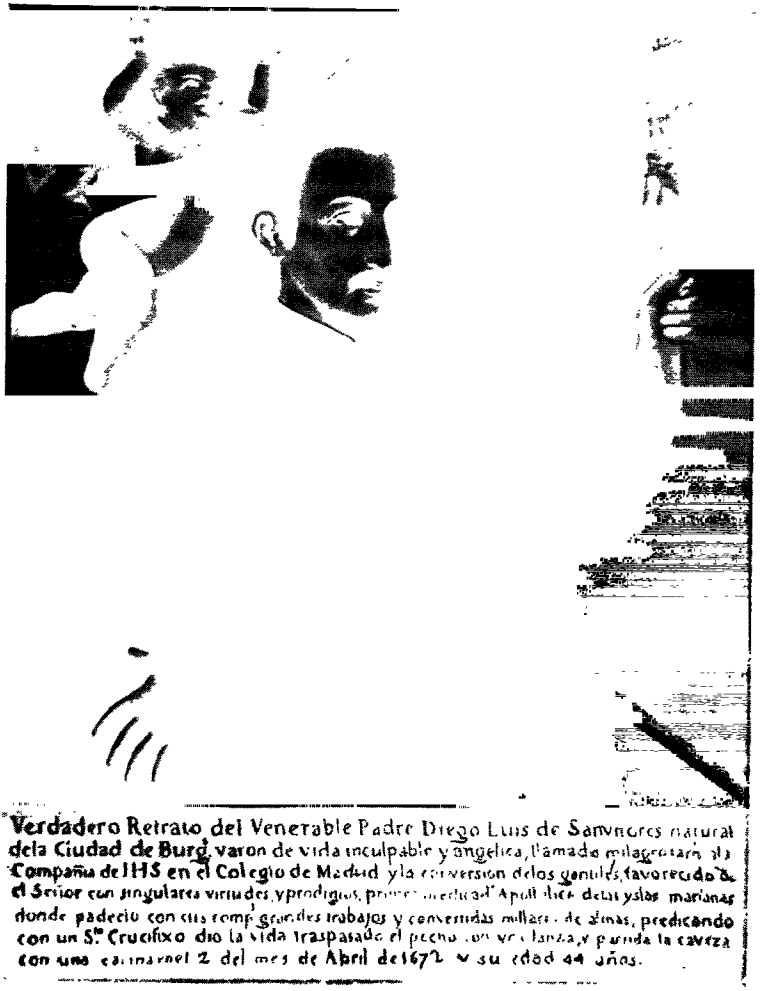
THE JESUITS IN THE PHILIPPINES

1581-1768



DIEGO LUÍS DE SANVÍTORES

Portrait by an unknown artist, in the Cathedral of Burgos

The Jesuits in the Philippines

1581-1768

38114

by H. de la Costa, S.J.



1961

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To My Father and Mother

PREFACE

The materials for this history were gathered over a period of several decades. The work was begun by the present archivist of Georgetown University, Father W. C. Repetti, who devoted his spare time to historical research while acting as seismologist of the Manila Observatory in the 1930's. Failing eyesight compelled him to abandon the project after the war, and he passed on his collection of microfilmed documents to me. A grant from the New York Province of the Society of Jesus enabled me to spend several months in Europe in 1951, which I employed in gathering additional material in Roman and Spanish archives.

Other assignments interrupted the work upon my return to the Philippines. In 1955 the Ateneo de Manila, of whose teaching staff I am a member, granted me leave of absence to undertake the actual writing of the history. A grant from the Philippine Vice-Province of the Society of Jesus permitted my doing this at Georgetown University, close to the great repository of the Library of Congress. I finished the first draft of the work at Fordham University in 1956. I wish to record my gratitude to all these institutions, and I hope I may be forgiven if I do not add to a work already lengthy by mentioning by name individuals connected with them who have been especially kind and helpful to me.

The present volume takes the history of the Society of Jesus in the Philippines from the arrival of the first Jesuits in 1581 to the expulsion of the Order from the islands in 1768. It is therefore complete in itself. A second volume, now in preparation, will resume the narrative from the return of the Jesuits to the Philippines in 1859 and continue it to the present.

H. de la Costa, S.J.

Ateneo de Manila
15 September 1959

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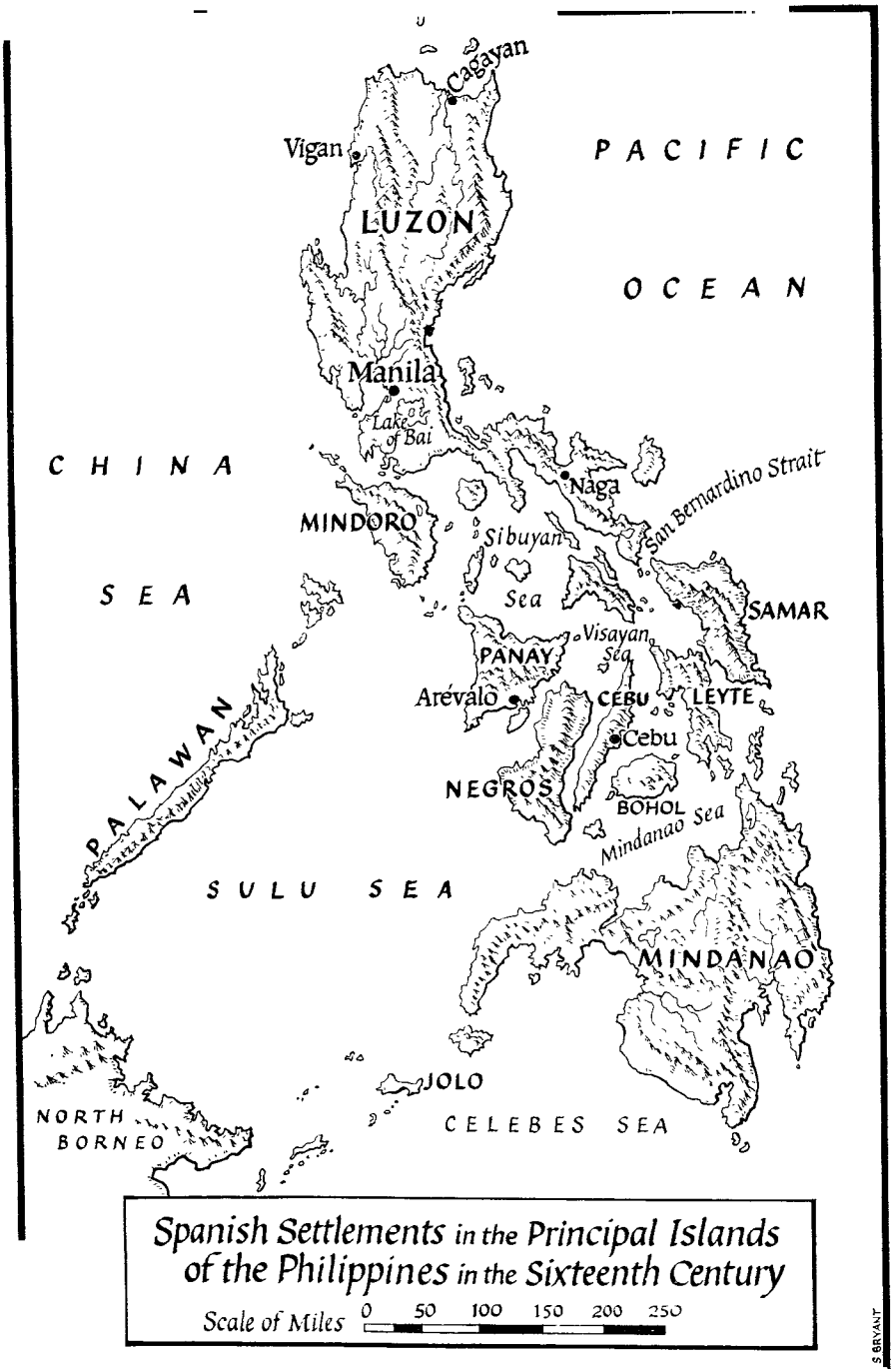
BOOK ONE

Foundations

The Mission and Vice-Province, 1581-1605



Map I. Outline map of the Philippines, showing the principal islands and Spanish settlements in the sixteenth century.

Chapter One

THE FIRST MISSION

In 1540 Pope Paul III granted the approval of the Holy See to a new religious order organized by a Basque gentleman named Iñigo de Loyola. Iñigo, or Ignatius, as he later preferred to call himself, abandoned a promising military career at the age of thirty in order to devote himself exclusively to the service of God. While studying for the priesthood in the University of Paris, he gathered about him a number of like-minded young men, and in 1534 they vowed themselves to a life of perpetual poverty and chastity. They also took a third vow of going to the Holy Land after the completion of their studies and there devoting themselves to prayer, good works, and the preaching of the Gospel. The outbreak of war between Venice and the Turks, however, made this project impossible; instead, they went to Rome and placed themselves at the disposal of the Holy See.

The pope gladly availed himself of their services; and not the pope alone, for, as Ignatius wrote to a friend, they began to be "greatly importuned by this and that prelate to work for God our Lord in their territories." The prospect of their being separated from one another by their various commissions caused them to consider more closely the nature of their union. They had begun to call themselves, as Ignatius wished, *la Compañía de Jesús*, the Company or Society of Jesus; but what kind of a society was it to be? To settle this question they held a series of meetings in the spring of 1539 and embodied the result of their deliberations in a formula or charter which they submitted to the pope for approval. The first article of this charter is a declaration of the objectives to the pursuit of which they wished to dedicate themselves:

> Let him who would fight for God under the banner of the Cross and serve the Lord alone and His Vicar on earth in our Society, which we desire to be distinguished by the name of Jesus, bear in mind that, after a solemn vow of perpetual chastity, he is part of a community founded primarily for the task of advancing souls in Christian life and doctrine, and of propagating the faith by the ministry of the word, by spiritual exercises, by works of charity, and, expressly, by the instruction of children and unlettered persons in Christian principles. First and foremost, he is to have God always before his eyes, and then the constitutions of this his order which are, as it were, a way to God, striving with all his might towards the attainment of this end which God has proposed to him, according to the measure of each one's grace and the grade of his vocation.[1]

The constitutions referred to in the article were subsequently drafted by Ignatius himself, whom his companions elected, much against his will, their superior or general. To the substantial religious vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience Ignatius added a fourth vow of special obedience to the pope, "by which the companions are to be so bound that they must immediately, without any shuffling or excuse, undertake whatsoever His Holiness commands appertaining to the progress of souls and the propagation of the faith, whether he sends us to the Turks, or to the New World, or to the Lutherans, or to others whomsoever, infidels or Catholics."[2]

The members of the Society who add this vow to the other three belong to the grade of professed, but all members alike are bound by its spirit. Besides the professed, Ignatius instituted three other grades of membership: coadjutors spiritual and temporal, scholastics, and novices. Novices are those undergoing probation and training prior to taking the religious vows. At the end of two years they pronounce what are technically known as simple but perpetual vows. If they are aspirants for the priesthood they begin, as scholastics, the course of studies which will prepare them for the sacred ministry. After the completion of these studies, ordination to the priesthood, and a third year of probation, scholastics take their final vows either as professed or as spiritual coadjutors. The vows of the spiritual coadjutors are not what the canon law calls "solemn," as are those of the professed, but they are equally binding and perpetual. The temporal coadjutors or lay brothers are those who, by attending to the domestic offices and other temporal needs of the community, enable the other members to give their full time and effort to the apostolate. On occasion, they engage in the apostolate themselves by teaching school and instructing catechumens. These differences of grade were intended by Ignatius to be differences of function rather than privilege. All are equally members of the same Society, living a common life as regards food, lodging, apparel, and recreation, and subject to the same rules.

Barely a year after the Society had been canonically instituted, Francis Xavier, the first and greatest of Jesuit missionaries, was on his way to India. Before his death at the gates of China in 1552 he had founded mission centers along the far-flung line of Portuguese trading posts from Goa to the Moluccas and obtained a foothold in Japan. Other Jesuit missionaries had gone to Abyssinia and the Congo, and still others to Brazil, where they achieved such success that Ignatius made the mission a separate province of the Society in 1553. When he died three years later the Society which he founded had over 1,500 members laboring not only to revitalize Christianity in Europe but to extend its frontiers in the Far East and the New World.

It was not, however, until the generalate of St. Francis Borgia (1565–

1572) that Jesuit missions were established in Spanish America. The mission of Florida was opened in 1566, that of Peru in 1568, and that of Mexico in 1572. The Florida mission had to be abandoned in 1572, but the following year a new mission field, even more distant and in some ways more difficult, began to open for the far-wandering Jesuits. Magellan, seeking a westward route to the Spice Islands for the Spanish Crown, had stumbled upon another cluster of islands north of the Moluccas, and there, becoming embroiled in a local war, met his death (1521). Four decades later, in 1565, a group of *conquistadores* from Mexico led by Miguel López de Legazpi succeeded in establishing a permanent colony in the archipelago. Several names had at various times been applied to these islands, but the name that prevailed was that given to them by Ruy López de Villalobos to honor Philip II: *las Islas Filipinas*—the Philippine Islands.

The Augustinians who accompanied Legazpi labored so valiantly and well at the conversion of the inhabitants that in a few years they had more Christians and catechumens than they could attend to by themselves. This was reported to Philip II by Legazpi's successor, Governor Guido de Lavezaris, who urged that more missionaries be sent out, not only Augustinians but of other religious orders also, and especially Jesuits, whose work in India he had personally observed and liked.[3]

Philip II referred the request to the viceroy of Mexico, who endorsed it to Pedro Sánchez, the Jesuit provincial. Sánchez took the matter up with the provincial congregation of 1577.[4] The congregation recommended that the procurator whom they were sending to Rome collect as much information as he could about the Philippines, especially from the Augustinians, and lay the matter before the general, Everard Mercurian. Mercurian agreed to send two priests and two brothers to the Philippines, not to open a permanent mission, but "to be of assistance to the Spaniards there, and after familiarizing themselves with conditions in that region, send back a report." The men for this task could be chosen from the large group of missionaries which was sent in 1579 to strengthen the Mexican province.[5]

That same year Philip II decided that the evangelization of the Philippines was sufficiently advanced to warrant the erection of an episcopal see at Manila, the capital of the colony. Fray Domingo de Salazar, a Dominican of considerable experience in the Mexican missions, was nominated for the post and found acceptable by Rome. Before leaving Madrid for his diocese he requested royal permission to bring some Jesuits with him, and was presumably told that they would be provided him at Mexico.[6]

The four men designated for this first Jesuit mission to the Philippines were Antonio Sedeño and Alonso Sánchez, priests, Gaspar Suárez de Toledo, a scholastic and Nicolás Gallardo, a lay brother. Little is known of Brother Gallardo save the fact that he was born at Valladolid and had come to Mexico in 1580. The scholastic, Gaspar Suárez, enjoys a certain

amount of reflected glory in virtue of his being a younger brother of the noted theologian, Francisco Suárez. Aside from that, he seems to have had a generous share both of his brother's intelligence and piety; this made it all the harder for his companions to bear when, shortly after their setting out on their voyage across the Pacific, he was stricken with a burning fever and, nine days later, died.[7]

Astráin, the historian of the Spanish provinces of the Society of Jesus, remarks that there were many capable men in the group of missionaries sent to Mexico in 1579, but Alonso Sánchez "stood head and shoulders above them all by reason of his talent, and also by reason of his peculiar personality."[8] Born of sound peasant stock at Mondéjar in Castile, he was sent for his schooling to the university town of Alcalá de Henares, where he enrolled in the college conducted by the Jesuits. During his four years as a student there he acquired something of a reputation as an athlete and a singer of popular ballads, which certainly suggests that he was equipped, if nothing else, with a healthy pair of lungs and a serviceable pair of legs. All the more puzzling, then, that when he applied for admission to the Society, he was put off on the grounds that the Jesuit vocation entailed a great deal of wandering about on foot, and he did not appear to be strong enough to do much walking! Young Sánchez resolved to make the Jesuits eat their words; which may possibly be what those wily pedagogues really wanted him to do. He trudged off on a long, footsore pilgrimage to Saragossa, where Our Lady watched over Spain from her ancient pillar, and then to her other shrine at Guadalupe, after which he returned to Alcalá in triumph. The Jesuits, suitably impressed, opened their doors to him. On 20 June 1565, being twenty years of age, Sánchez began his noviceship.

He completed his theological studies at Alcalá with great distinction, and after his ordination to the priesthood in 1571 he was placed at the head of the college of Navalcarnero in the archdiocese of Toledo. The young rector promptly fell afoul of the administrator of the archdiocese by laying claim to the parish church, and his superiors were compelled, for the sake of peace, to remove him from his post and transfer him to Caravaca, where he taught grammar for five years. It was at Caravaca, by his own account, that he began to lengthen his hours of prayer and to withdraw from the common life of his brethren to such a degree that he became known as "medio Cartujo"—almost a Carthusian.[9]

His being sent as a missionary to Mexico in 1579 failed to draw him out of his shell. Instead of throwing himself into the active work of the apostolate, as was expected of him and for which he was eminently fitted, he shut himself up in his room for long bouts of prayer and penance. Not only that, but he used his great powers of persuasion to convince other members of the community, and even the provincial himself, Pedro Sánchez, that his was the true undiluted spirit of the Society; acquiring

such an ascendancy over them that they too began to imitate his seclusion to the detriment of their duties.

It was highly providential that before Sánchez could transform the College of Mexico into a Carthusian monastery a man generously endowed with common sense, Father Juan de la Plaza, arrived with full powers from the general to make a visitation of the province and regulate its affairs. Plaza was to say afterward that nothing gave him more trouble as Visitor than persuading Sánchez and his imitators of the error of their ways. He found it necessary to give a series of conferences to the community and to explain in great detail that while the purely contemplative life was in itself most pleasing to God, it was not that to which Jesuits were called. Their vocation was to a mixed life, a life of action as well as contemplation, in which prayer, to use a phrase of Nadal's, "reached out to the external work."[10] It was by living this life in its fullness that God intended the members of the Society to attain perfection, and even the highest degree of perfection.

Sánchez was ordered to abandon his retirement and occupy himself with preaching and hearing confessions. He seems to have obeyed with good grace, for Plaza appointed him rector of the college of San Gerónimo at Puebla; it was there that the mandate reached him to go to the Philippines. Before his departure, in order to allay any fears that Plaza, who was now provincial, might have of his returning to the eremitical life as soon as he had placed an ocean between them, Sánchez presented him with a signed promise that he would continue to exercise the ordinary ministries of the Society under pain of being repudiated as no true son of hers.[11]

Sedeño, the superior of the group, was a veteran missionary of forty-six. Like St. Ignatius he followed in his youth the profession of arms. He sojourned for a time in England, when Mary Tudor was queen, as a page to the Duke of Feria. Only with difficulty was the duke persuaded to release him in order that he might enter the Society of Jesus. Admitted at Loreto in 1558, he made his studies at Padua and was subsequently appointed minister of the German College in Rome—that is, assistant to the rector of this important Jesuit institution. Here he came under the personal observation of St. Francis Borgia, who had shortly before been elected general. St. Francis saw in Sedeño the makings of a missionary and in 1567 sent him to Lisbon with orders to join the expedition being fitted out to reinforce the Portuguese stations in the Far East. When Sedeño reached Seville, however, he learned that the Portuguese fleet had already sailed. He wrote back to Rome for instructions and was told to choose between the missions of Peru and Florida. He chose Florida; and on 13 March 1568 set sail with a group of Jesuits headed by Juan Bautista de Segura, who were being taken to that inhospitable coast by its governor, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés.

In spite of the missionaries' repeated attempts to make friends, the Indians would have nothing whatever to do with them, and Segura was forced to take them all to Havana for a period of rest and the opportunity of a more fruitful ministry among the Negroes there. In 1570 they returned to Florida, and, while Segura with six companions struck deep into the interior in the hope of finding tribes that had not yet learned to hate the white man, Sedeño remained with another priest and two lay brothers to water the dry stick of the coastal mission. Some months later the Spanish troops stationed at St. Augustine, the fortified settlement founded by Menéndez, were struck by the plague; and it was while Sedeño was giving them what care he could that news came of the martyrdom of Segura and his companions, betrayed by their Indian guide and tomahawked somewhere between the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers. Soon after that Sedeño contracted his patients' disease and had to be taken by Menéndez to Havana. He recovered, but the hardships and privations he had endured left him with a chronic asthma which was to trouble him the rest of his life.

Meanwhile, St. Francis Borgia had decided that the Florida mission was too barren of results and too much of a drain on precious manpower to be maintained any further. In 1572, Sedeño was instructed to close it and proceed to Mexico City, where he was to prepare the way for his brethren who were being sent at the urgent and repeated request of the citizens. Thus, Sedeño was the first Jesuit to enter Mexico; and it was while he was acting rector of the college there that Plaza informed him that he was once again to be a pioneer, as superior of the first Philippine mission.[12]

Plaza's instructions were that they should, as soon as they arrived in the Philippines, apply themselves to learning the language of the people, "in order to help them save their souls as far as they can according to our usual methods," that is, by preaching, hearing confessions, instructing catechumens, and giving popular missions. However, they were not to take permanent charge of any parishes or mission stations. Let them by all means minister to the Spaniards also, whenever they found the opportunity; but above all "they should from the very beginning work among the natives of the country with special affection and familiarity, in order that those who may be sent from here to join them may find it an established custom and thus more easily apply themselves to it."[13]

Since the mission had been requested by the government, Sedeño and his companions traveled at the king's expense. The royal treasury officials allowed them 1,500 pesos with which to provide themselves not only with clothing, books, and other equipment but also with food and drink for the journey. In January 1581 the little band took the road that dipped down from Mexico City to the little seaport of Acapulco, where the galleon *San Martín*, 400 tons, Captain Luís de Sahagosa, waited to take them

across the Pacific. On 29 March the *San Martín* weighed anchor and stood out to sea, carrying besides her complement of ninety-six officers and men a little over a hundred passengers and a subsidy for the Philippine government of 153,376 silver pesos.[14]

Aside from the illness and death of Gaspar Suárez and several other passengers, the voyage was uneventful. They suffered somewhat from the heat as they dropped slowly down to the region of the trades, but as soon as they reached 12 degrees north latitude they struck a cool, steady, following wind that swept them across a sea so calm it was like sailing on a river. This was the portion of its broad bosom where the Pacific Ocean earned its name, and won from grateful mariners the even more poetic appellation of *mar de damas*, the Ladies' Sea. It was to the eastbound galleons that the great gulf was inclined to bare its teeth.

The halcyon weather gave the Jesuits ample opportunities to get acquainted with their fellow passengers, the most important of whom was of course Bishop Salazar. The Bishop was accompanied by his Dominican secretary, Fray Cristóbal de Salvatierra, Canon (afterward Archbishop) Diego Vásquez Mercado, and an entourage consisting of twenty-four clerics and laymen. A large group of eighteen Augustinians was headed by Fray Juan Pimentel, and a smaller group of six Franciscans by Fray Antonio de Villanueva. Five married men with their familes and thirty-one unattached males completed the passenger list.[15] Sánchez made a very favorable impression on Bishop Salazar, especially after a sermon he preached to the passengers. We have Sánchez's word for it that even before the voyage was over the Bishop had taken him as his confidential adviser, consulting him on the quality and quantity of his prayer, his penances, his diet and apparel, the conduct of his household, and the discharge of his duties as bishop.[16]

After a brief stop at Guam for fresh water and provisions they resumed their westward course and made their first Philippine landfall early in July. The galleons of the Manila-Acapulco line ordinarily entered or left the Philippines through San Bernardino Strait, between the southern tip of Luzon Island and the northern tip of Samar. Once inside this *embocadero*, the Manila-bound galleon threaded its way northwestward through the archipelago to Manila Bay on the western side of Luzon. This year, however, the *San Martín* had made a late start and arrived well into the season of the southeast winds or *vendabales*. Unable to make headway, she put into a sheltered harbor just inside the embocadero, in the province of Ibalon (now Sorsogon). After eighteen days of waiting for the wind to change quarter, Bishop Salazar decided to complete the journey overland. The Jesuits readily fell in with this plan, which afforded them an opportunity to see something of the country. Their route ran along the length of the Camarines peninsula, across the southern tip of the Sierra Madre

mountains, and down to the Lake of Bai. Once they reached the lake they could in reasonable comfort go by boat right up to Manila, since the lake waters empty into Manila Bay through the Pasig River, which flows past the city. But getting to the lake was much less comfortable, for, since there were neither mounts nor roads, they had to do it *modo apostolico*, that is to say, on foot. Moreover, it was now the rainy season, and so flooded fields and swollen fords compelled them to travel *modo apostolico* in an added Petrine sense; if not, like trusting Peter, by walking on the water, at least by wading through it up to the waistline, like Peter of little faith.

However, the hardships of the journey were much lightened by the exquisite hospitality of the Franciscans, for their whole route lay across Franciscan territory. The Franciscans had responded more promptly than the Jesuits to Lavezaris' call for help; they came in 1577 and chose for their portion of the Lord's vineyard Camarines and the country around the Lake of Bai. Thus Bishop Salazar and his companions were able to proceed by easy stages from one Franciscan mission to another until, two months later, on 17 September 1581, they made their entry into Manila considerably bedraggled but otherwise sound of wind and limb. Nor did the charity of the Franciscans end here, as far as the Jesuits were concerned; nothing would do but that they should take up their abode in the Franciscan convent until they could find lodgings of their own.

The governor of the colony, Don Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa, welcomed them heartily and at once arranged for a house to be built for them at government expense. He also provided for their maintenance by granting to each one an annual stipend of one hundred pesos and one hundred *fanegas* of rice. This was the usual subsistence allowance which every missionary in the Indies received from the royal government. The site chosen for the house was a lot two hundred paces square donated by the *contador* or comptroller of the colony, Andrés Cauchela. It was located in the suburb of Lagyo, about a mile south of the city and one hundred paces from the beach. This would place it roughly where Plaza Militar is now, between the present districts of Malate and Ermita.[17]

After staying with the Franciscans for about three months, Sedeño and his companions decided not to impose any further on their hosts, and, since the new residence was not yet ready for occupancy, they set up housekeeping for themselves in a small bamboo hut nearby. Their domestic arrangements were of the simplest. The chest where they kept their books served also as a dining table. For breakfast, lunch, and supper they had boiled rice and fish. When it rained and the roof leaked, they covered their books and papers with a mat and hoped for the best.[18]

Manila at this time gave no indication of that opulence which in a few decades the profits of the galleon trade would bring it. It stood on a tongue of land between the Pasig River and the bay, a cluster of perhaps a hundred

wooden houses roofed with palm-leaf thatch. Legazpi, who founded it—on Saint Pudentiana's Day, 19 May 1571—probably chose it because it was easily defended, with the river on the north, the sea on the west, low marshy ground on the east, and only the south side needing to be fortified. It was not however a very comfortable or healthy place to live in. Being half surrounded by water, it was hot and humid in the dry season, regularly flooded in the wet, and infested at all times by mosquitoes that bred in their millions in the steaming marsh. A disgruntled governor would take one look at it and find no words to describe it but—"Manila stands on a little piece of dry ground. Outside of it is a beach the width of an arquebus shot. The rest is salt water."[19] He might at least have added that this outwardly unimpressive settlement was as much a city as Toledo was, with a royal charter that conferred on it the armorial bearings of León and Castile, and the resounding title of the Very Noble and Ever Loyal City of Manila.

Some three or four hundred Spaniards composed the population of the city. Of these eighty were householders or *vecinos*, with full citizenship rights. They elected the city corporation (*cabildo*), which consisted of two mayors (*alcaldes ordinarios*), a chief constable (*alguacil mayor*) and a variable number of aldermen (*regidores*). About fifty of the citizens had Spanish wives; the other thirty were married to native women. There were fifteen widows, the relicts of those who had fallen in the conquest of the country, and eight or ten marriageable Spanish girls. Thirty or so were priests or religious; the rest soldiers, who, since they had no barracks of their own, and indeed received no regular pay from the government, were quartered in the houses of the citizens.[20]

The city walls and the citadel had not yet been built, but the streets had been laid out pretty much as they are today, running straight and at right angles to each other. The town square (*plaza mayor*) was in the northwest quarter. On its south side Bishop Salazar found his "cathedral," a long low shed with roof and walls of *nipa* (palm-leaf thatch) and not even a sacristy for the priest to vest in.[21] The city hall on the east side and the *casas reales* or government house on the north, where the governor of the colony resided and held court, were probably not much more elaborate.

The Spaniards were not, of course, the only people in the city. Each citizen maintained, besides the soldiers quartered with him, a numerous household of native servants and slaves. The incumbent governor, Ronquillo, had assigned the Chinese their own quarter or *parián* across the river, in what is today the district of Binondo; but many Chinese merchants and artisans still had their shops within the city. On market days the people of the surrounding villages brought their wares to the plaza, or joined the Chinese peddlers of cloth, comfits, and trinkets in hawking their fruit and poultry about the streets.

Moving through the jostling, chattering throng of the plaza, poking about in the dim, strangely odorous Chinese shops, pricing and sampling everything, Sedeño and Sánchez were amazed at the cheapness and variety of the goods offered for sale. Chickens, for instance, were four rials (*reales*) the dozen. There were eight rials to the Spanish dollar (the silver peso, or piece of eight), so that four rials would be the numerical equivalent of fifty cents. A fanega (two and a half bushels) of rice cost a rial. Rice was the bread of the country, but anyone who wanted wheat flour could get it from the Chinese at very reasonable prices. Enough cloth for a cassock and a cloak, and that more durable than the product of Spanish looms, could be had for thirty rials; fifteen yards of linen cloth for two or three. The people of the country distilled a brandy from the juice of the coconut tree to which Sedeño paid the supreme compliment of saying it tasted better than that of Spain; a cask of it sold for twenty-five rials.[22]

Near Manila were several native towns and villages which as the city expanded became its suburbs. On the north bank of the river was Tondo; on the south bank, Dilao; farther south, along a number of tidal inlets or *esteros* of the river, Maalat (hispanicized into Malate) and Lagyo. The people called themselves Tagalogs, which in their language meant river men. This was appropriate, for their settlements were strung all the way up the Pasig and around the Lake of Bai from which it flowed. They were Malays, brown-skinned, and lighter of build and shorter of stature than the average European. They had migrated in their clans from the Malay peninsula and Indonesia, island-hopping in their sailing vessels called *barangays*. They settled at the river mouths and spread up the river valleys, and as they did so they drove a much older population to the hills, small black men who might have come when a land bridge still connected the islands with the continent of Asia, for they had no knowledge or memory of seafaring. The Spaniards called them *negritos*, but to the Tagalogs they were Itas, the people of the hills.

The Tagalogs, having beached their barangays, retained their clan organization, each clan settling down by itself apart from the others, so that the name "barangay" came to be applied to the kinship group and its village. Each barangay, consisting of several families acknowledging a common origin, was ruled by a patriarchal head or *datu*, who led its people in war and settled their disputes according to the traditions handed down from their ancestors. Not all in the clan village had the same social status. There were those who were the equals of the datu in all respects save authority; these were the wellborn (*maharlika*), bound to their lord by kinship and personal fealty, owing him aid in war and counsel in peace, but in all else free, possessing land and chattels of their own. There were the *timaua*, who did not have the noble blood of the marhalika but were, like them, free. The rest were *alipin*, less than free. Some were serfs, *aliping namamahay*

(literally, housekeeping dependents), owning house and personal property, but tilling the land of the datu or the wellborn for a share of the crop, and bound to the soil. Others, *aliping sagigilid* (household dependents), were chattel slaves, captured in war or reduced to bondage according to Malay custom for failing to pay a debt.

Slavery was heritable and divisible. A debt slave's descendants remained slaves until the debt, with its accumulated interest, was paid in full. The child of a free man and a slave was half slave, half free; if there were more than one child, they were alternately free and slave. In general, the Tagalogs were monogamous, and freeborn women had the same property rights as men. However, the wealthy might take concubines, and in the coastal villages commercial contacts with the Moslem south had brought polygamy along with more developed forms of social and political organization.[23]

The estuary of the Pasig was a regular port of call for Chinese junks as well as Brunei traders. They sought gold, beeswax, and dyewoods for their silk and porcelain, gongs and guns; and, under the stimulus of this exchange, which involved ideas as well as merchandise, the clans of the region merged into larger communities ruled by rajas who levied tribute, collected customs duties, built strongholds defended by artillery, and held court. When the Spaniards came Tondo was ruled by a raja whose personal name has not been preserved, because he was known simply as the Old Raja, Raja Matanda; his nephew, Raja Soliman, was lord of Maynila, the Place of the Water Lilies, which Legazpi appropriated and transformed into the Spanish city of Manila and the capital of the Philippines.

The Spaniards, having conquered the country, merely superimposed their rule on this social structure, making no direct effort to change it, at least in the beginning. They tried as far as possible to maintain the rajas and datus in their position of privilege, exempting them and their descendants from tribute and appointing them petty governors of towns (*gobernadorcillos*) and village headmen (*cabezas de barangay*). However, the conquered territory was divided into *encomiendas* or areas of jurisdiction, and each area, comprising several villages with the surrounding country, was "commended" by the Crown to a conquistador or colonist, who thus became its *encomendero*. It was the encomendero's duty to maintain law and order within his jurisdiction, protect the people from their enemies, come to their aid in their necessities, and provide them with the opportunity to learn the Christian faith. In exchange for these services he had the right to levy tribute and statute labor, subject to government regulation. Certain encomiendas were not bestowed on private individuals but retained by the crown in order to provide funds for the expenses of the central government. Thus, in the 1580's, the area within five leagues (thirteen miles) of Manila was divided into four private encomiendas with

a total population of 3,500 and one Crown encomienda with a population of 4,000.[24]

The first contacts of the Jesuits with their Tagalog neighbors seem to have been highly satisfactory on both sides. Lagyo was a fishing village, and Sedeño in one of his first reports to Rome tells how at dusk the fishermen, coming up the beach with their catch, would invariably drop by to leave some for the fathers.[25] In the beginning, they could only communicate by signs and a few words of broken Spanish, but many of the Tagalogs in and around Manila were already baptized or were catechumens, so that they knew enough about religious to realize that these were men set apart for the service of God and their fellow men. What struck Sánchez most was their cheerfulness and their intelligence. "They are of a happy disposition," he writes, "candid, loyal, simple and sociable. They love to speak our language, even if they can only manage a few words. They have a lively wit, and easily learn Christian doctrine and how to read and write in our alphabet; most of them read and write in their own."[26]

Sánchez probably got this impression of a high degree of literacy among the Tagalogs because of the proximity of Malate. In the days before the coming of the Spaniards, Malate was where the *marhalika* of Maynila had their country seats, their orchards, and their pleasances. When Maynila was taken away from them, it was here that they removed. For this reason, says San Agustín, writing toward the end of the seventeenth century, "there remain even now strong traces of their ancient nobility, and they are a people highly cultured and urbane. The men work at various trades in Manila or hold public office in their own and neighboring towns; the women are so skilled in embroidery as in no respect to yield to those of Flanders; with this they earn their living, for they are not much given to agriculture."[27] Sedeño and Sánchez, on their way to the city or coming home, must often have encountered them on the road; the men in their short tight-fitting jackets of blue or black or crimson, wide-aproned breechcloths, and swords hilted with horn or ivory; the women, dressed in Chinese silks or filmy fiber textiles of their own weaving, stepping demurely under parasols held by slaves, gold armlets flashing in the sun and copper anklets tinkling as they walked.

Sedeño soon after his arrival set himself to learn Tagalog, following Plaza's instructions. In his first fervor he ventured the opinion that although the vocabulary was copious, the structure of the language was simple enough and should give no trouble.[28] Clearly, this was before he came up against internal augment and reduplication, not to mention the inclusive and exclusive "we." As for Sánchez, Bishop Salazar's high opinion of his abilities involved him in a number of unusual undertakings. These it shall now be our duty to relate.

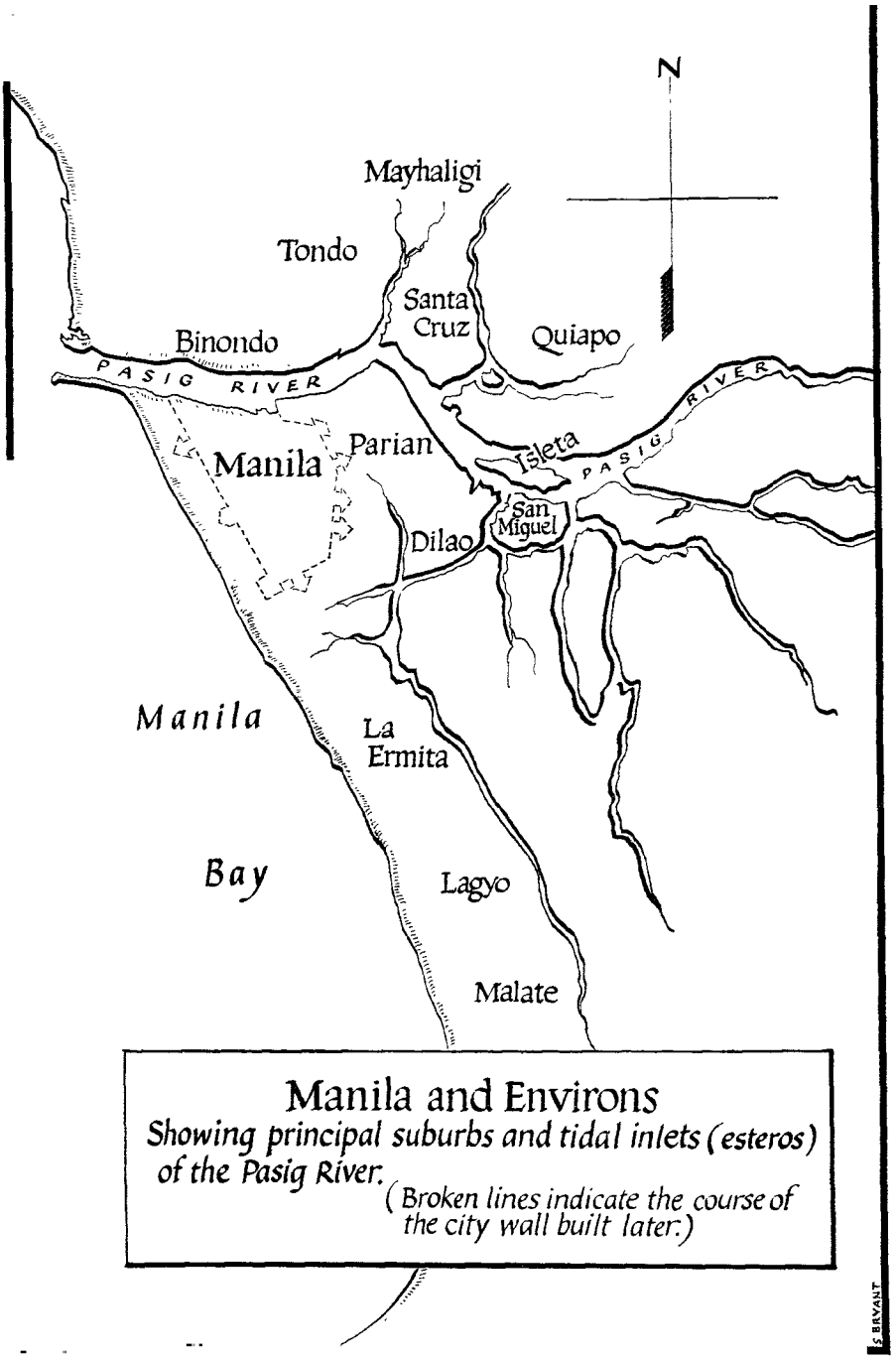
Chapter Two

THE SYNOD OF MANILA

The good-humored Filipinos, whose happy disposition Sánchez found so characteristic, had need of all the cheerfulness they could muster. The undeniable blessings of Spanish rule were in many instances so thoroughly mixed as to be almost indistinguishable from oppression. This at least was the contention of the Augustinians who had accompanied the conquistadores. The royal instructions that the inhabitants of the country be attracted by peaceful means to a willing acceptance of the benefits that Spanish sovereignty brought with it had not been observed. On the contrary, they had been robbed of their property, shot down if they resisted, and, when captured, enslaved and sold. Incidents had been contrived to provoke them to fight and thus, by striking the first blow, provide the invaders with an excuse for waging a "just war" in self-defense. In this way the conquistadores were able to "pacify" extensive tracts of country, advancing steadily as they stoutly defended themselves.

No distinction, the Augustinians claimed, was made between friendly and hostile natives. According to one of them, "by the enemy is meant any town which the Spaniards have not yet taken." The colonists' superiority of armament enabled them to break up into small bands to pursue the "enemy" and it sometimes happened that natives who had made peace with one marauding band and been issued a letter of safe-conduct would be stripped of all they had or reduced to slavery by the next band that came along. There were even cases of poor wretches being killed in cold blood while begging for mercy on their knees.

Large numbers of the population abandoned their towns and villages and fled to the hills. Others chose to stay where they were and submit, but if they did so in the hope of receiving better treatment they were mistaken. They were partitioned into encomiendas which the conquerors divided among themselves, each encomendero levying tribute in gold, goods, and labor as a fitting reward for his exertions. Since the Filipinos in their primitive state were not accustomed to produce much of a taxable surplus, strong-arm methods were often necessary. Arbitrary quotas were imposed on the villages—so much gold, so many bushels of rice, so many yards of cloth—and the village headmen were made responsible for delivering the full quota. If they failed to deliver, they were beaten or put in stocks and armed collectors took away from the people even what they



Map II. Manila and environs, showing principal suburbs and tidal inlets (*esteros*) of the Pasig River. The broken lines indicate the course of the city wall built later.

needed to feed themselves. These collectors were usually soldiers who because they received neither pay nor rations from the government sought service with the encomenderos as bodyguards and bullies. Ragged, undisciplined, perpetually hungry, they naturally welcomed this and any other opportunity to fill their bellies and their pockets at the expense of the *indios*.

Over and above the exactions of the encomenderos and their henchmen, there were the needs of the government. Labor was needed to build ships and to fell the timber for masts and planking and haul it to the shipyards. Oarsmen were needed for the galleys, bearers and auxiliary troops for the expeditions sent out to still "unpacified" territory. To obtain this manpower a system of *repartimientos* or requisitioning of labor was set up, whereby each village had to supply its quota of able-bodied men. Their wages were, by a refinement of irony, also requisitioned from their villages—and pocketed by the collectors.

At the same time, rice was in much greater demand than ever before. The primitive village economy, geared to producing only enough for its own needs, now had to supply a sizable body of nonproducers, consisting not only of the Spaniards but their often extensive households of slaves and servants and the Chinese who came, attracted by Spanish silver, not only to trade but to settle. Thus, in order to assure government officials and institutions of their share of the crop, another type of requisitioning was necessary, the *repartimiento de géneros*, whereby rice quotas, and in the course of time quotas in other commodities also, were imposed. These quotas were paid for, of course; but at prices fixed by the government, which were usually lower than the market price and often considerably lower. Thus, the farmer was in many cases compelled to sell rice which he needed for his own consumption at a price which did not enable him to buy its equivalent.

An added complication was introduced by the fact that the requisitioning was committed to the provincial governors. These alcaldes mayores were appointed by the colonial governor for very limited terms, one or two years, at a salary which was purely nominal when compared with what they could be making in the galleon trade. Regrettably, therefore, but quite understandably, they "requisitioned" not only for the government but for themselves. By buying from the people at the government price and selling back to them at the market price, or by buying at the harvest when rice was plentiful and selling between harvests when it was scarce, or by causing the government quota of cotton cloth to be slightly oversubscribed and shipping the difference to Acapulco, or by extending the royal fifth, a tax levied on all newly mined gold, to gold not so newly mined, to heirlooms, in fact, an unscrupulous alcalde could make sure that he did not return to Manila from his province poorer than when he set out to administer justice in the name of the king.[1]

That was his main duty; justice; and of course justice can also be handled like rice, as a vendible commodity: sometimes it was. This was almost fatally easy because the alcalde could bring with him his own constable and his own clerk, appointed by himself. This being the case, it was extremely unlikely that they would testify against him during the official inquiry, or *residencia*, to which in the Spanish system of administration every official had to submit at the end of his term of office. Moreover, it was scarcely to be expected that a governor like Ronquillo would inquire too closely into the actuations of his alcaldes. In the first place, they were his own familiars, whom he had brought out with him to the Philippines; they were so close to him that they were referred to as "los rodeados," literally "the entourage," but which one is sorely tempted to render as "the Boys."[2] Secondly, he too was deeply involved in illegal business transactions, and on a much larger scale, in spite of the fact that in the residencia of his predecessor, Dr. Sande, which he conducted, he had imposed on that luckless official extremely heavy fines for malfeasance in office. A story was going around Manila when Bishop Salazar arrived that someone asked the governor to explain this apparent inconsistency; Ronquillo was supposed to have replied: "Let me amass as big a fortune as Dr. Sande did, and I will cheerfully pay as big a fine."[3]

His operations were so extensive that the colonists felt compelled to send an agent, Gabriel de Ribera, speeding to Madrid to represent to the king that unless Ronquillo was somehow restrained no one else in the Philippines would be able to make an honest peso and the colony would be swiftly driven to rack and ruin. Their suggestion was that no governor be henceforth appointed for life, and that an *audiencia* be established as in Mexico, that is, a high council that would perform the double function of an administrative board advisory to the governor, and at the same time a supreme court which could receive appeals against his acts. Both suggestions were accepted, but it was a few years before they could be put into effect.[4]

Meanwhile, under the conditions described, it was inevitable that basic commodities should become scarce and increase considerably in money value. The cheapness and abundance of the articles offered for sale in the Manila market, which aroused the admiration of Sedeño and Sánchez when they first arrived, did not last very long. Prices rose steadily and steeply, and by 1584 rice and foodstuffs in general were costing six times what they did in 1580, providing, of course, that they could be had. The people of Ilocos in northern Luzon, goaded to desperation by their sufferings, rose in revolt and killed twelve Spaniards before they could be quelled.[5]

All these misfortunes the Augustinians laid squarely at the door of the encomenderos and officials. These gentlemen, on the other hand, had much to say in their own defense which was not entirely lacking in force

and cogency. The Augustinian account of the horrors of the conquest, they said, while doubtless motivated by zeal, was highly exaggerated. The first settlers came offering peace and friendship, in accordance with their instructions, and wherever they were received in the same spirit, as in Ibabao (Samar Island), Bohol, Butuan, and many other places, no acts of violence were committed. War was declared on the people of Cebu because Fray Andrés de Urdaneta himself, Augustinian chaplain of the expedition, declared that the Cebuanos whom Magellan had converted to Christianity were apostates and traitors and hence could be justly reduced to submission by force of arms. War was declared on the people of Manila because having made peace they broke it. If they lost their town to the Spaniards as a consequence they had only themselves to blame.

Other military operations were undertaken for the same reason. The natives broke their pledged word with great ease, and whenever they could they ambushed and killed the Spaniards just as they ambushed and killed one another. Because of this the Spaniards had to go everywhere armed and to take reasonable precautions for their own security. This did not mean that they treated all the natives indiscriminately as enemies.

True enough, they levied tribute on those they pacified. How otherwise could they support themselves and govern the country? For it was to govern the country that they had been sent. As to whether they had any right to do so, or rather, whether the king had any right to send them, that was a question they did not care to discuss; they were not lawyers, but soldiers. At any rate, it could not be said of them that they took tribute and gave nothing in exchange. They conferred many benefits on the people; protected them from their enemies; stopped, or reduced considerably, the bloody feuds with which from time immemorial they destroyed each other; kept the sea lanes clear of pirates, so that now people could go from one island to another on their lawful occasions without fear or hindrance, something that they had never been able to do before; supported a missionary, whenever one was obtainable, to instruct the people of their encomiendas in the Christian faith.

These manifold services amply justified the tribute they demanded. Moreover, there was nothing exorbitant in the amount of tribute. It was simply not true that the encomenderos were enriching themselves by taking food from people's mouths. There was no uniform rate of taxation because certain regions were more prosperous and could pay more than others; but the average amount was six rials a year, payable in whatever the taxpayers chose to give, whether gold, money, rice, or any other commodity valued at the current price. Six rials was what any reasonably active person could earn by labor or trade in four days. Was that exorbitant? The whole trouble was that these islanders were incredibly indolent. "They are so lazy that they will not go four leagues out of their villages to buy

rice," contenting themselves when their rice gave out with sweet potatoes, sago bread, and other vegetables. Thus the missionaries were quite mistaken in thinking that the people whom they saw eating these things had been rendered destitute by Spanish cruelty. It was not destitution at all but sheer laziness, and also, in part, their preference; "they are vicious, and eat all sorts of food."

The encomenderos' critics sometimes tended to give the impression that the Filipinos were poor naked savages from whom it was wrong to take anything because they had so little. That was hardly the case. Some, especially in the Visayan islands, were admittedly poor; but quite a number were prosperous farmers and merchants. Commoners ordinarily went about with gold ornaments on their persons, "bracelets, chains and earrings of solid gold, daggers of gold and other very rich trinkets," and even slaves wore them, "openly and freely." As for the datus of the towns and villages, their property in land, slaves, and mines was such that some of them could afford to deck themselves in jewelry worth as much as ten or twelve thousand ducats. What wonder, then, if the encomenderos and tribute gatherers should sometimes lose their patience with such people for refusing to pay a paltry six rials a year, and perhaps exert a little pressure to make them? They can pay well enough, but being spirited, they "make it a point of honor to pay the tribute only when forced."

The encomenderos did not deny that they were occasionally guilty of taking more from the natives than they were entitled to. They frankly acknowledged that "we have been forced to rob them and impose upon them in other ways." *Forced* was the operative word; they were compelled to it by sheer necessity. The funds which had been released by the Mexican treasury to defray the expenses of Legazpi's expedition were soon spent, and since no further subsidies were forthcoming they had to live on the country. They partitioned the territory they had gained into encomiendas, but when all of it had been distributed, many of the encomiendas were so small that the most frugal encomendero could not possibly live merely on his income from the tribute. They were thus led to supplement their incomes in other less justifiable ways, "burdening our consciences in this fashion merely 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, and because of this we go about in great confusion of mind."[6]

If those who were fortunate enough to obtain an encomienda were in such straitened circumstances, the lot of the ordinary soldier was even worse. As has already been mentioned, he stopped receiving pay and rations when the funds of the expedition gave out, and so the only way he could keep body and soul together was to sponge on his more fortunate compatriots, "eating dinner in one house and supper in another," or to hire himself out to the encomenderos as tribute gatherer, bodyguard, or

retainer dancing attendance on his womenfolk when they went abroad. Failing this, there was nothing for it but to go out to the native villages and "requisition" a meal. Even Bishop Salazar admitted that much of the ill treatment to which the Filipinos were subjected by the troops were motivated not by cruelty but by hunger; "for a soldier," he says, "will break in on a native who has just cooked himself a meal and take it away from him, ill treating and beating him to the bargain; and if I should restrain and reprehend them, they say, 'What do you expect us to do? Lie down and die?'"[7]

It apparently never occurred to them to engage in farming; to till the soil and grow their own food. They were soldiers, not farmers; whatever they might have been in the old country, they were all *hidalgos* in the Indies. Moreover there was the practical difficulty that they still had to stay pretty much together, both in order to defend the Spanish settlements from sudden attack, such as that of the Chinese corsair Limahong who very nearly took Manila in 1574, and also because the country was still so lightly held that for them to go off by themselves into the hinterland was to invite extermination.

Under these circumstances it was impossible to enforce military discipline. As Governor Sande put it, "there are so few troops in this land that it will never do to punish the murderer with death or the trouble-maker with flogging, otherwise we should all be finished off in one day. Instead, we do our best to keep personal enemies apart and are liberal with pardons, because a man who has been flogged is useless as a soldier."[8]

Similarly the conduct of Ronquillo and his alcaldes could be, if not excused, explained. Ronquillo's appointment was based on an *asiento* or contract between him and the Crown, whereby he undertook to fit out and convey to the Philippines an expedition of 600 colonists with their families and personal property at his own expense, in return for which he was given the governorship for life, the right to choose his successor, to award encomiendas, distribute lands, make laws, and appoint officials. He spent practically the whole of his personal fortune on the enterprise, and naturally intended to recoup his investment; how else could he be expected to do it save by making full and free use of the powers accorded him by the asiento? Such a governor, Sedeño observes (naming no names, but it is quite obvious whom he had in mind), "arrives deeply in debt, and with many people who are destitute and rely on his protection"; he has to take care of them, reimburse them for their "past expenses" while allaying their "present hunger"; and the only way he can do this is by giving them the employments he has promised and permitting them to help themselves. As for his own finances, he begins, perhaps, merely by making sure that he breaks even, but eventually his extortions come to be measured only by his appetites and the extent of the "pasturage."

Sedeño's conclusion is that given such an arrangement "a new and very rich and abundant land, such as this was formerly," would be needed to satisfy each new governor who comes from Spain.[9]

This was deplorable, and the missionaries could not deplore it more than the colonists themselves, for the bigger the governor's share of the pickings, the smaller their own. But was it not the fault of the system rather than the individual? Greed was of course inexcusable; but was it not inevitable under such a system? And ought not a reform to start by changing the system rather than excoriating the individual?

The Augustinians doubtless listened patiently to all these arguments, but they failed to be convinced. To their way of thinking, the principal if not the only reason for bringing the Philippines under Spanish rule was in order that the Filipinos might be converted to Christianity; and whatever the encomenderos, soldiers, and officials might have to say for themselves, killing, beating, robbing, cheating, enslaving, and otherwise mistreating the Filipinos did not promote their conversion. Doubtless the grace of God was all powerful and could make benighted pagans see beyond the ugly deeds of Christians the beauty and goodness of the Christ they served so ill. As Bishop Salazar said in his first pastoral letter,

> . . . this is precisely what enhances God's admirable power and brings into greater relief the tremendous resources of our holy faith, that men beaten in war, reduced by the ferocity of their conquerors to a miserable bondage, stripped of their wives, their children and all their worldly goods, should in spite of all this accept the faith and desire to profess the law of that God from whose worshippers they have suffered so many and such great evils, and whose deeds belied the very faith they preached. And what is even more wonderful is that they should be led to accept this religion by missionaries who did not, as Peter did, heal the sick by their mere shadow, nor raise the dead as did the other Apostles, nor have the gift of tongues, but whose only argument was the word of God itself.[10]

True enough, but this did not exempt Christians from the obligation of using all human means to concur with the operation of grace, nor did it make interfering with that operation any less culpable.

This, then, was the situation which confronted Bishop Salazar when he took possession of his diocese. The Augustinians—and the rest of the clergy, for that matter—considered that many of the methods used by the first settlers in reducing the country to the Spanish allegiance, and many of the demands currently being made by encomenderos and officials on the persons and property of the native population, were grave violations of justice. Hence those who committed them were bound to restitution, and unless they were willing to make this restitution they could not be sacramentally absolved. The general principle as such could hardly be called in question, even by the laity; the difficulty lay in its application to specific cases. Was the conquest itself unjust, or only certain phases of it, and if so,

what phases? Was it wrong to levy tribute in any form? If not, how much tribute could be levied? On whom? How collected? When were repartimientos a public necessity, and when a violation of human rights? Supposing the obligation to make restitution established in a particular case; who were bound by it? The principals of the deed only, or also the accessories? To what extent? If the injured parties were already dead, or absent, or unknown, to whom was restitution to be made?

On many of these questions there was no general agreement; some confessors tended to be too strict, others not strict enough. Since these were by no means academic but eminently practical problems, deeply affecting the spiritual and temporal welfare of the entire colony, Spaniards as well as Filipinos, Bishop Salazar decided that an effort should be made to thrash them out thoroughly in the light of Christian principles and the accumulated experience of those most intimately acquainted with the concrete situation. With this in view he summoned a *junta* or assembly consisting of the dean of the cathedral, Don Diego Vásquez Mercado, and delegations from the three religious orders, Augustinians, Franciscans, and Jesuits, headed by their local superiors. Other priests were asked to take part in the discussions from time to time, and public hearings were held in which prominent laymen with a wide acquaintance of Philippine affairs were invited to testify.[11]

Although strictly contemporary documents refer to this assembly merely as a junta or *congregación*, it is often referred to in later documents as a synod; and if a diocesan synod is "a lawful assembly convoked by the bishop, in which he gathers together the priests and clerics of his diocese and all others who are bound to attend it, for the purpose of doing and deliberating concerning what belongs to the pastoral care,"[12] it can certainly put forward a pretty good claim to being the first synod of Manila. At any rate we shall call it that, with due deference to the canonists, if only to distinguish it from the numerous juntas of various kinds which we shall have occasion to describe hereafter. The synod began late in 1581 and continued to hold regular sessions until March of 1582. Thereafter it met irregularly, with several long interruptions, until 1586. The ordinary meeting place, at least in the beginning, was the Augustinian convent of Tondo on the north bank of the Pasig.

Bishop Salazar made extensive use of Alonso Sánchez in the conduct of the synod's business. He served, together with an Augustinian and a Franciscan, as official theologian and canonist; he prepared the agenda for each session and regularly spoke first in order to define the points for discussion and propose his own views; he acted as secretary, taking down the minutes of the meetings and putting in order afterward the substance of what was said and the conclusions arrived at. All reports and memorials submitted to the synod were given to him to be excerpted and summarized

for convenient use by the other fathers. In addition to attending the sessions of the synod, he was often obliged to confer with the bishop on the various problems that came up until late at night. Or else Salazar, in spite of his years, would come to see him at the house in Lagyo. Sánchez, his patience worn paper-thin at the end of a long day, sometimes spoke more sharply to the venerable old prelate than he had a right to. But Salazar with wonderful meekness—for he had a fiery temper himself, as we shall see presently—would put him to shame by saying, "You musn't mind me, Father, and you must be very patient, because this is just what God sent you here for. You, not I, will have to give an account to him of this diocese; so mind how you discharge your responsibility."

Once, however, Sánchez went too far. It was at a plenary session of the synod, and he kept insisting on a point which the bishop had already made clear he was not willing to concede. Sánchez went on and on with that repetitious stubbornness which makes some of his more lengthy memorials such difficult reading. Suddenly something snapped, and thunder and lightning burst from the episcopal throne. Salvatierra, the bishop's secretary, rose to pour oil on troubled waters, but Sánchez, unabashed, turned and cried, "I call upon your Lordship to speak out and say in the hearing of all here present if you have ever found me interested in anything except God's service, or if I have ever given you any bad advice." Salazar, in spite of being so angry, sat silent for a moment; then, raising his eyes to heaven, he said, "Before God who is our Judge, I have known this father six years, and during all that time I have never found in him any interest except the interests of God; and I have never erred in following his advice, although I have often done so in departing from it." A fine tribute, surely, and one which possibly blessed him that gave a great deal more than him that took.[13]

Some even among the priests summoned to the synod doubted the wisdom of holding it at that particular time. They pointed out that the affairs of the colony were in such confusion and the colonists so intent in the pursuit of gain that to insist on their obligations in the matter of justice would be merely to goad them to open revolt. Moreover, it was unrealistic to apply without modification or adaptation in a colony so newly founded the prescriptions of "pure justice" or the laws prevailing in older and more settled communities. In spite of these objections the majority of the fathers of the synod decided to go ahead with their deliberations. It would be a definite gain, they said, to set forth clearly what right reason and sound theology demanded in matters of justice, even though it was foreseen that many would fall short of it. They would at least have some ideal to live up to, a norm by which to guide themselves and others. The application of the norm might sometimes go awry, but it would never do to have the norm itself crooked to begin with.

Moreover, it seemed that the colonists needed reminding that if their father confessors were strict with them, it was not out of a desire to meddle, but because the law of God demanded it. There was danger too that the familiar sight of injustice unchallenged might blur their perception of the difference between what was just and what unjust. At any rate, the apparent hopelessness of reform in many cases ought not to discourage them from at least attempting such a reform.[14]

The synod had barely begun when the Augustinians brought up the extremely delicate question of slaves. They presented a *cédula* or decree, which they had obtained from Philip II, forbidding the colonists to retain natives as slaves under any pretext whatever. This prohibition had been issued often enough before, ever since Pope Paul III made his famous declaration that liberty and property were of the number of those inalienable rights with which, as the signers of the American declaration of independence finely said some two centuries later, all men are endowed by their Creator.[15] But the Spaniards in the Philippines felt that they could well exempt themselves from it since slavery was a universal practice in the Islands long before they came, and the law surely did not intend that the rulers should be in a worse position in this respect than the ruled. Hence they did not scruple to keep war prisoners as slaves and to purchase others from their native owners. The royal government's view, however, was that slave-owning was an abuse rather than a privilege. The practice might be tolerated in the natives, who presumably knew no better, but not in the Spaniards who did.

The fathers of the synod at once appointed a delegation to bring the cédula to Governor Ronquillo personally and request its immediate publication and enforcement. As soon as the matter became known in the city, loud complaints arose on every side. Some alleged that prisoners captured in a just war could be lawfully enslaved, according to a long-standing and unrepealed ordinance; others, that they simply could not manage without slave labor. Still others claimed that the decree had been obtained without the slave-owners being given an opportunity to present their side of the question, and hence ought not to be enforced until they had done so. Ronquillo asked the fathers of the synod to deliberate further, taking into consideration these objections. They did so, and their reply was, unequivocally, that the emancipation of all Filipinos held as slaves by the Spaniards could neither be denied nor deferred, "as it was a matter of natural and divine right and clear justice." The most they would concede was that the slaves, although immediately to be declared free, could be requested to remain with their former masters for a short time—a month at the outside—to permit the latter to make other arrangements. Bishop Salazar thoroughly concurred with this opinion and sent it to Ronquillo above his own signature and seal.

Ronquillo compromised. He promulgated the decree but allowed the colonists, by interposing a petition to the king, to suspend its execution until a reply to the petition was received. Thereupon Salazar at the next session of the synod put the question as to whether the slave-owners who retained their slaves on this basis could be given absolution in the sacrament of penance. The fathers, apparently sensing that the opposition to immediate and complete emancipation was too strong, replied that they could, but on condition that they promised to free their slaves if their petition remained unanswered, or in any case at the expiration of two years.[16]

The synod now proceeded to consider a more general question. The king of Spain claimed sovereignty over the Philippines; what title or titles could he exhibit to justify that claim? The reason for beginning with this question is fairly obvious. All authority and rule in the Philippines was exercised in the name of the king; unless therefore the king had a just title to these Islands, every act of possession and jurisdiction hitherto made by the Spaniards was invalid, and its moral implications must be examined on that basis. It was all the more necessary to meet this question squarely as one of the most respected of the early missionaries, Fray Martín de Rada, had roundly asserted that "none among all these islands have come into the power of the Spaniards with just title."

To settle this question the synod laid down as a fundamental principle that whatever sovereignty the king possessed over the natives of his overseas dominions did not belong to him by natural right, but solely by papal concession. Now the pope could confer on the king only such authority as he himself had from Christ. But the authority conferred by Christ on Peter and his successors was clearly a spiritual, not a temporal authority, namely, "the commandment and the right to go and preach the gospel throughout the world, and to send others to do so." Christ did not give Peter and his successors any power to take away from anyone what was rightfully his, neither their property from private persons nor their kingdoms from kings nor their government from commonwealths. Consequently, while the pope could share and did share with the king of Spain his apostolic commission to spread the Christian faith in the New World, he could not and did not empower him to take away from the native peoples their freedom and self-government.

In point of fact, however, the king had taken away from the Filipinos their freedom and self-government, subjecting them to his rule through the agency of the conquerors and settlers whom he had sent. Was there any justification for this? The synod replied that while the mission to spread the gospel which the king had by papal delegation was a purely spiritual mission, it could under certain circumstances justify the assumption of temporal authority. For the right to preach the gospel implied a corres-

ponding obligation binding on those to whom it is preached; an obligation not indeed to accept the gospel, but at least to hear it, not to prevent its being preached, and not to deter those who wished to accept it from doing so. If a people or their rulers violated this obligation in such a way as to render the preaching of the gospel impossible, then the king was justified in taking over their government. In other words the establishment of colonial rule was lawful wherever it was necessary to create the conditions requisite for the spread of Christianity.

These conditions, according to the synod, were mainly three. First, a form of government and a code of laws conformable to right reason, so that they did not contradict the principles and precepts of the gospel. Second, a level of culture and a structure of society which would permit the untrammeled growth of Christian institutions and usages. And third, a people so well behaved, so considerate of the rights of others, that they "would not interfere with those who preach [the gospel] nor scandalize those to whom they preach; and who could not be suspected of plotting the subversion or destruction of the Christian way of life or the expulsion of those who teach it." Wherever all of these conditions were verified, the king could send missionaries in virtue of his commission, but had no title to temporal sovereignty; but wherever any one of them was absent, then, said the synod, the gospel either could not be preached at all, or not in such a way as to be properly heard, and hence the Spaniards could legitimately take control in the name of the Crown.

Now it was quite clear that there were very few regions in the non-Christian world where all these conditions were verified, and certainly the Philippines was not among them. In the Philippines, the synod observed, the government of the native rulers was often tyrannical and unjust, and the laws by which they governed often cruel and contrary to nature. Barbarous customs and usages rendered the people incapable of Christianity unless they were abolished; and missionaries would not live very long to do any preaching unless there was a strong government to protect them and their converts. Hence, the considered conclusion of the synod was that, while the Spaniards came to the Philippines with a purely spiritual commission, they were nevertheless justified in subjecting the inhabitants to their temporal rule *in ordine ad finem spiritualem*, for the sake of achieving the spiritual end which would otherwise be unattainable.

At this point someone proposed the objection that if native misgovernment justified the taking away of their temporal rule, as the synod seemed to be saying, what about Spanish misgovernment? Was not the rule of the conquistadores just as tyrannical and abusive and in certain cases far more so than that of the native chieftains? And was not Spanish injustice as much an obstacle to the conversion of the natives to Christianity as the barbarous condition of the natives themselves? If the Spaniards could

lawfully relieve the Filipinos of sovereignty because they used it ill, could not the Filipinos lawfully rebel against their rule for the same reason?

The sense of the synod was that Spanish rule in the Philippines did, indeed, leave much to be desired. But the misgovernment of certain Crown officials and that of the native rulers whom they superseded, while both regrettable, were not evil in exactly the same sense. Native government, such as it was, was evil in principle; the very foundations on which it was based was corrupt, for sin had so obscured the light of reason in most pagans that they were no longer capable of governing themselves according to the precepts of the natural law. The colonial government, on the other hand, was not evil in principle but only in so far as practice fell short of principle. Its laws were just; if there was injustice in the land, the fault lay with those whose duty was to enforce the laws, but instead ignored or broke them to satisfy their own private passions and interests. Such officials were guilty of betraying the king's trust, for they transformed what was designed to be a help to the conversion of the natives into the greatest single obstacle to it.

Where then was the remedy? Not in rebellion, for by rebelling the people would merely be exchanging good laws for bad. No, but in the king; it was the king's duty, gravely binding in conscience, to choose with care those whom he sent to rule the colony; to provide effective checks against their abusing their authority; and if in spite of this they governed badly, to remove them, punish them, and send others to take their place.[17]

Having established to their satisfaction the lawfulness of Spanish sovereignty in the Philippines, the fathers of the synod went on to consider the lawful use of this sovereignty by those who governed in the king's name. Their first duty was to dispense justice. This was the very least that they could do, for "the only justification for our being in their [the Filipinos'] country is that we may administer justice." Injustice was sinful no matter against whom committed; but it acquired a special heinousness when committed against the native population, "the fruits of whose labor," says the synod, "we eat."

Let the governor, then, as the supreme authority in the colony, be a paragon of justice. For this, he must be thoroughly familiar with the king's laws and ordinances, in which the royal justice is enshrined. If ignorance of the law is no excuse for anyone, the governor can plead ignorance least of all; for him to be ignorant of the law is in itself to break the law; so that if he commits an injustice, even through ignorance, he is bound to restitution. Moreover it was his duty not only to be just himself, but to see that everyone else under him did justice. This was precisely the root and cause of the moral anarchy in which the colony was plunged. The governors had consistently failed to punish those who committed injustices against the natives, hence every Spaniard felt free to treat them as he pleased,

"exploiting them, beating them, forcing them to work against their will or without pay, 'requisitioning' their meager store of food, confiscating their embarcations, ravishing their wives and daughters and inflicting many other injuries upon them."

The synod gave short shrift to the argument proposed by Sande and by others after him that, since the Spanish settlers in the Philippines were so few, the governor ought not to deal too strictly with them, for if he did no one would be left to defend or administer the colony. This, said the synod, was ridiculous. The death sentence was not the only punishment in the penal code. Erring officials could be brought to book by imprisonment or fines. Moreover, if someone deserved death, let him by all means be put to death; such an example of Spanish justice would be more effective in pacifying the natives than a large number of troops.

To the argument that the colonial government's chronic lack of funds made it necessary to impose forced labor with little or no pay on the natives, the synod replied, in effect, that lack of funds did not dispense a government from meeting its just obligations; on the contrary, since just obligations must be met, the government had better get the funds to do so. Nor was this difficult; all the governor had to do was reserve a sufficient number of encomiendas to the Crown, instead of distributing them lavishly to his friends.

The synod further reminded the governor that while he could safely assume that the territory already subject to Spanish rule had been legitimately acquired, it did not follow from this that he had the authority to extend that territory by new conquests. Before making war on the peoples beyond the actual frontiers of the colony, he had to make certain that it was a just war and that he had explicit royal permission to make it. A case in point, the synod said, was Governor Sande's expedition against the people of Brunei in northern Borneo (1578). That was totally uncalled for, both because it was unjust in itself and because Sande undertook it without first informing the home government. Consequently, all who took part in that expedition were liable to restitution to the extent of their participation in the damage caused to the people of Brunei.

In the waging even of a just war there are certain rules to be observed. For instance, an expedition must be of sufficient force to accomplish its objective, or it should not be sent. Too small an expedition is capable of nothing but a hit-and-run raid; such an expedition is brigandage, not warfare. Again, if the objective is conquest, the expedition should bring with it enough provisions to maintain itself until the people can be justly taxed. It should not be assumed that a people can be justly taxed the moment organized resistance ceases. For tribute can be levied by a sovereign only on his subjects, and the conquered do not become subjects until they accept the authority of the new sovereign, at least tacitly, by living in

peace under his regime. This may take some time; during that time the army of occupation must live on its own resources or purchase what it needs.[18]

The office of alcalde mayor received considerable attention from the synod. Some of the accusations brought against actual holders of that office have already been mentioned. They received further confirmation from a delegation of Tagalog datus who came to request Bishop Salazar to transmit their grievances to the king. There were more than forty in the delegation, not only from towns near Manila such as Tondo, but from as far away as Mauban on the eastern coast of Luzon. These datus claimed that because of the extortions practiced by the alcaldes their vassals were abandoning their towns and villages and fleeing to the still unconquered provinces. The result for them was not only loss of revenue but additional burdens, for the alcaldes continued to make them answerable for the tribute even of those who had fled. They concluded their deposition with the simple statement that "their afflictions and troubles are so many that they cannot be endured."[19]

From the data supplied by these and other informants the synod drew up a list of the more common abuses which alcaldes mayores should avoid. They ought not to govern their provinces *in absentia*. They ought not to charge more than the legal court fees. They ought not to encourage lawsuits in order that they may have fees to collect. They ought not to force the natives to sell their products to them at less than the market price. They ought not to engross prime commodities, such as rice and cotton; nor export them out of the province where they were needed, merely in order to fetch a better price. In fact, they ought not to engage in any, even legitimate trade within the limits of their jurisdiction, because this was clearly forbidden by law. Finally, they ought not to employ statute laborers drafted for public works on their private estates. The priests of the diocese were instructed not to give sacramental absolution to those guilty of these abuses until they had actually made good the damages resulting from them. By refraining from such questionable transactions, alcaldes mayores would have ample time to devote to the duties of their office, such as encouraging agriculture and industry and seeing to it that the natives were not idle and did not wander shiftlessly from place to place.

However, the synod adds, traveling merchants should not be stopped from going about their business. On the contrary, they should be encouraged to do so, and especially to bring their merchandise to Manila, for in this way the city and the larger towns will be better provisioned and by this constant intercourse and communications Spaniards and Filipinos will reach a better understanding of each other. The encomenderos are opposed to this because they want everyone to stay put so that he can be taxed; hence they try to stop native merchants from traveling on the plea that

they are mere regraters (*regatones*), buying cheap in one place and selling dear in another without adding to the value of the product. The alcaldes mayores should pay no attention to this.[20]

The synod next turns its attention to the duties of encomenderos. It begins with the reminder that "the principal reason for granting an encomienda is not so much to reward the encomendero for his labors in the royal service as to discharge the conscience of the king with reference to the natives of the encomienda."[21] It was a commonplace of Spanish law that the king's conscience was "charged" with certain obligations toward his colonial subjects, principally that of maintaining public order, defending the people from their enemies, and providing them with religious instruction. He "discharged" his conscience by entrusting a given territory with its population to an encomendero, who in accepting the encomienda with its attached emoluments also took upon his own conscience the obligations of the king. This is clearly brought out in the legal instrument or title by which encomiendas were usually awarded. Here, for instance, is the operative clause in an encomienda grant[22] made by Governor Tello in 1598:

By these presents, in the name of His Majesty, I grant in encomienda to you the said Captain Toribio de Miranda and Captain Antonio Freyle the natives of the towns and encomiendas which Juan Gutiérrez del Real, deceased, held on the coast of Caraga, the island of Cibabao, Catubig, Calbiga and the Mapono River with its highlands and hills, for you to hold and enjoy jointly and equally, the one as well as the other, in the same manner and form as they were held and enjoyed by the said Juan Gutiérrez del Real, in accordance with the law of succession regarding Indians ordained by His Majesty, with the obligation of instructing them in our holy Catholic faith to the end that they might attain to a true knowledge of it, and in this matter I charge your conscience and discharge that of His Majesty and mine in his royal name . . . and most of all I enjoin you to treat the said natives well, preserving them from all vexation and trouble . . .

This was in accord with the instructions to the governor of the Islands signed by Philip II at Segovia Wood in 1573:

After the land has been pacified and the inhabitants thereof and their rulers brought under Our sovereignty, let the governor divide the land among the settlers, with their consent, in such wise that each one shall have charge of the natives of his portion, with the duty of defending and assisting them and providing them with a missionary who shall teach them to live virtuously, besides the other services which encomenderos are required to render to the inhabitants of their territory . . .

In consideration of these services, the encomendero was authorized to collect tribute from the people of his encomienda:

The people who have been brought under Our sovereignty and distributed in encomiendas are to be persuaded to pay a moderate tribute of the fruits of the

earth in recognition of the universal lordship and jurisdiction which We have over the Indies; and We direct that the tribute thus rendered be given to the Spaniards to whom these encomiendas have been granted, to enable them to discharge their obligations.[23]

This tribute took the form of a head tax, payable annually. A married man paid one whole tribute for himself, his wife, and minor children; unmarried adults of both sexes paid one half-tribute. At the time of the synod great confusion prevailed as to the amount of the tribute and the form and manner of its payment, because the ordinances of the early governors were so ambiguous that they could be, and were, interpreted in various ways. We have alluded above to the reply made by certain encomenderos to Fray Martín de Rada's "Opinion," in which they claimed that the average tribute of that time (1574) did not exceed the modest sum of six rials, payable in whatever form—gold, goods, or currency—the taxpayer considered most convenient. In the 1580's, however, the generally accepted sum had gone up to eight rials, and it was being collected pretty much in the form which the encomendero, not the taxpayer, preferred. Since certain encomenderos preferred to be paid in those commodities whose real value, through scarcity or for some other reason, exceeded their assessed value, their tributaries were paying an actual tribute of fifteen, twenty, and even thirty rials a year.

Moreover, tribute was being collected from encomiendas in which the encomendero provided none of the services whereby he was supposed to "discharge the conscience of the king." Indeed, there were encomiendas whose villages never saw their encomendero except once a year when he came with an armed escort to collect the tribute; sometimes he did not even bother to come personally, merely sending paid agents to do the collecting for him.[24]

With these conditions in mind, the synod bluntly informed encomenderos that unless they provided their people with the services specified in the encomienda grant and the royal ordinances, namely justice, defense, and religious instruction, they could not in conscience demand any tribute. Unpacified territories could be granted in encomienda, but then the encomendero was obliged to go there personally to establish peace and order. While actually engaged in this work he could ask the natives for support, but not take anything by force. Only when peace and order had been effectively established, and all or morally all of the inhabitants had accepted Spanish rule could he impose the full tribute. This tribute could be imposed on all, non-Christians as well as Christians, "for as Saint Gregory the Great says, *Decretals* I, 5, the infidel ought not to be favored in his infidelity by allowing him a greater liberty than the faithful; for if he is exempt from tribute as an infidel, he will not want to be converted."

Nevertheless the encomendero should as soon as possible obtain the

services of a missionary to instruct the natives, providing him with a house and the subsistence allowance specified in the laws. He should also see to the construction of churches and chapels, the cost of which were to be shared equally by the royal government, the natives, and himself.

But the synod's conception of the encomendero's duties went far beyond the essential services specified by the royal decrees. More than a ruler, he was to be a father to his people; stand surety and plead for them at court; provide emergency relief in time of public calamities such as droughts, floods, and typhoons; have particular care of the poor, the aged, the sick, and the disabled; gradually gather the scattered clans together into larger communities, the sites of which were to be carefully chosen in consultation with the datus and the missionary, and, by thus introducing them to the settled life of towns, enable them to acquire the arts and usages of civilization.

If the encomendero was to attend to all this, he ought obviously to reside in his encomienda, taking care to choose for his place of residence some region where supplies were fairly plentiful, so as not to be a burden on the inhabitants. He ought to go in person to collect the tribute so that he might observe local conditions for himself and grant exemptions in necessary cases. The law permitting the tribute to be paid in money or in kind at the taxpayer's choice should be carefully observed; and tribute in kind should be assessed in accordance with the schedule of fair prices drawn up by the government. While on collection tour, the living expenses of the encomendero and his entourage should be charged to the tribute, and not imposed as an added burden on the villages. The tribute should be collected individually and by households according to an up-to-date census list, instead of demanding it as a fixed quota from the village headmen and forcing them to make up the difference if the actual collection falls short of the quota. In fact the datus ought not to be made responsible at all for the tribute of their villages, although their good offices could be requested to make the collection easier and more orderly. Once again, as in the case of the alcaldes mayores, the synod directs priests who hear the confessions of encomenderos to question them closely on their performance of these duties, and to insist on full compensation for damages inflicted before giving them sacramental absolution.[25]

On the vexed question of corvée labor, which many held to be absolutely indispensable to the very existence of the colony, the synod took a strong position in favor of the fullest possible liberty for the native. Taking for its starting point the principle that "the Indians are as free in their own country as the Spaniards are in theirs, and neither the king nor the gospel has deprived them of this liberty," it declared that the Filipinos could not be compelled to serve as rowers in the galleys of the royal navy or as laborers in the shipyards and lumber camps. Free contract labor should

take the place of forced labor even in these allegedly necessary tasks; for, if the nature of the necessity is carefully considered, the building of galleons for the Manila-Acapulco trade and the fitting out of expeditions for new conquests may be necessary to the Spaniards but hardly so to the Filipinos. Hence, if not enough Filipinos contract to work at the wages the government is willing or able to pay, "let the Spaniards perform these services for each other, for it is absurd that a man of low degree, merely because he emigrates to the colonies, should acquire the prerogatives of a knight and lord of vassals, doing violence and a thousand injustices to the miserable native, who because he is deficient in intelligence and strength of character is unable to stand his ground against the arrogance of the Spaniard and the tyranny of his own chieftains."[26]

Another point which the synod strongly recommended to the civil authorities was that the Filipinos should be given a share in their own government, at least on the local level. The passage deserves to be quoted for its surprisingly advanced views.[27]

> On the supposition that the king and his governor exercise a just sovereignty in this land (as we have said), we affirm that the governor is obliged not only to appoint alcaldes mayores, but also to authorize in the larger and more settled towns native magistrates, elected by the natives themselves, who shall have charge of public peace and order and the hearing of ordinary cases. In the first place, in order that the alcaldes mayores, who try cases of greater moment, may not always be among the natives, since this is not advisable. Secondly, because this is of natural right, and nature itself enjoins it even on brute animals. Thus we see that cranes, ants and sheep have governors and chiefs belonging to their respective species and not to others; and what rules the members of the body is itself of the body, namely the head, and St. Thomas shows that the head must be homogeneous with the body, that is, of the same nature. . . . Thirdly, because the magistrate should be familiar with the laws, customs, uses and abuses of his community, and this the alcalde mayor cannot be, because he has to depend on an interpreter, and if the interpreter is a native he has no command of Spanish, whereas if he is a Spaniard he understands the native but ill. And so even with the best of intentions he is liable to commit serious errors, to the scandal of the natives, who see only what is done and not what is intended. It follows from this that the alcaldes mayores are not qualified to attend to the details of administration. Let them leave these matters to the native magistrate, who without incurring the expense of hiring interpreters and scribes, but solely by word of mouth, can administer them better than the alcalde mayor with his interpreters and scribes, because of his familiarity with local conditions.
>
> For this reason it is the opinion of the synod that the governor is obliged under pain of mortal sin and restitution of the damages that may otherwise arise to institute such native magistrates wherever possible. And let him not do so as a mere formality, but in such a way that they are truly magistrates; to this end he must prescribe the limits of their jurisdiction . . . and back them up with his

authority so that they will have the power to chastise those subject to them if they deserve it.

The rest of the proceedings of the synod prescribes the duties of other classes of persons in the colony, such as army and navy officers, public defenders or *protectores de indios*, wives, widows, and heirs of encomenderos, native rulers and magistrates, Chinese traders, and artisans, sometimes going into great detail. This was considered by the fathers to be necessary if the proceedings were to serve as a kind of *vademecum* for confessors in a region as remote from Europe as the Philippines was, where there were as yet no schools, men of learning were few, books hard to come by, and most of the laity so absorbed in warfare or commerce that they had little leisure to reflect on the justice of what they were doing.[28] They did not apparently give much attention to missionary methods and policies apart from making the important decision that native catechumens were to be instructed in their own languages rather than Spanish. This brought up the question of authorized translations of the catechism. Fray Juan de Plasencia, who came over from Mexico on the same voyage as Sedeño and his companions, composed a Tagalog catechism after several years' experience in the missions around the Lake of Bai; it was examined by the synod and approved. The *Doctrina cristiana* which was printed from wood blocks in Roman and Tagalog characters, under Dominican auspices, in 1593, was probably this synodal catechism; although how much of it was Plasencia's original work and how much the result of the synod's revision cannot now be determined.[29]

After two months of regular sessions the work of the synod was interrupted by the father provincial of the Augustinians and Alonso Sánchez falling ill almost simultaneously. Sánchez's illness caused Sedeño some concern, but he finally pulled through and went to one of the nearby Franciscan missions for a much-needed rest.[30] The synod resumed sitting when he returned but was forced to suspend its labors a second and a third time in 1582 and 1583 due to later absences of Sánchez. It finally completed its task in 1586, but its ordinations and decrees were probably made known to the public as they were taken up and approved.

The reception of these directives by the laity was, to say the least, not encouraging. Some of the conquistadores and others who had taken part in expeditions and "pacifications" stopped going to confession in order to avoid paying the damages prescribed by the synod. Considered particularly objectionable was the prescription that those who had committed depredations on the natives as a group, for instance, a detachment of troops in the course of a campaign, were held to restitution *in solidum*, that is, each member of the group was bound to pay the full damages in defect of the others. Very few if any such groups must have remained intact in the

1580's, so that the surviving members would have had to assume the obligations of all their dead or departed companions. Because of this the ruling was opposed so stubbornly that Bishop Salazar was compelled to withdraw it and merely demand that each one pay for his own share of the damage done, as far as this could be prudently determined. But even this reduced requirement was met by many colonists with great groans and grimaces, although according to Salazar all it amounted to in hard cash was 100, 200, or at the very most 500 pesos per man. These were, for them, ridiculous sums, considering the fortunes they had managed to acquire; but for the injured natives or their descendants they often meant the difference between survival and starvation.[31]

What influence did the other directives of the synod have on colonial policy and practice? As anyone even moderately acquainted with human frailty will suspect, a very limited one. Yet the influence that it did have was not negligible, as we shall have occasion to note. And, at any rate, it was something to have made so bold a bid for justice, when silence and conformity would have been by far the easier course.

Chapter Three

SÁNCHEZ IN CHINA

At the time when our narrative begins, the Philippines was a Spanish enclave surrounded by the advanced outposts of the far-flung, if thinly spread, eastern empire of Portugal. Portuguese garrisons held the Moluccas to the south and Malacca to the west, while to the north Portuguese traders had but recently succeeded in establishing a foothold, albeit a precarious one, in China, at a place called Macao near the great city of Canton. In fact, the Portuguese bitterly contended that the Spaniards had no business in the Philippines at all; for if the Tordesillas Line which divided the Spanish from the Portuguese spheres of influence in the West were prolonged, as it should be, into the eastern hemisphere, the Philippines would indubitably be found to belong to the Portuguese area of conquest. This however the Spaniards refused to admit, and, when in 1568 the captain-major Gonsalvo Pereira appeared with a squadron of ten ships before the Spanish settlement of Cebu, Legazpi gave him a coldly courteous reception behind fortified earthworks. Blandly assuming that the Spaniards had been driven off their course all the way across the Pacific by some extraordinarily persistent hurricane, Pereira offered to take them aboard, bag and baggage, and ship them out of Portuguese waters to Spain where they obviously belonged. Legazpi politely but firmly refused the invitation, and Pereira sailed off in high dudgeon after vainly trying for three months to starve the Spaniards to submission.[1]

Thus matters stood, with Spaniard and Portuguese warily watching each other across the China Sea and the Sea of Celebes, while in the distant Iberian peninsula which was their common home unforeseen events were moving swiftly to change the whole pattern of their relationship. In 1578 Sebastião I of Portugal fell fighting the Moors in Morocco. He was succeeded by his granduncle Dom Henrique, a cardinal of the Roman Church, old, sick, without issue, and not expected to live much longer. The succession after him was disputed by seven claimants, among whom were the Duke of Savoy, the Duchess of Braganza, a bastard of the royal line named Dom Antonio, and Philip II of Spain. Dom Antonio was by far the most popular among the Portuguese, but Philip had money and armies. When Dom Henrique died at last in January 1580, 30,000 Spanish troops that had been massed at the border since the previous year followed the Duke of Alba to Lisbon. Dom Antonio fled to Oporto,

whence he disappeared. None of the other claimants could be seriously considered, and in April 1581 the estates of the realm recognized Philip II King of Portugal at the Córtes of Thomar.[2]

Philip's agents were unable for some time to discover the whereabouts of Dom Antonio. Actually he was in France; but there were rumors that he had taken ship for India and the Orient with the intention of rallying the Portuguese establishments there to his cause. Dispatches were swiftly sent to Governor Ronquillo in the Philippines, instructing him to forestall Dom Antonio at Macao, and by getting there first with the news obtain for Philip the sworn allegiance of its citizens. As Ronquillo looked about him for an agent he could trust, his gaze lighted on the man upon whose zeal and discretion Bishop Salazar leaned so heavily in the conduct of the synod: Alonso Sánchez.[3] Neither Sánchez nor Sedeño, his superior, needed much persuading to fall in with the proposal that Sánchez leave at once for Macao on this business of the king's. Both were anxious to find out more about the mysterious and fascinating empire so close at hand, from whose dimly imagined cities came the glowing velvets, the delicately modeled vases, the thousand and one useful and ingenious articles of trade which the junk fleets yearly brought in ever increasing variety to Manila. What kind of people were these Chinese who made so many things so well and sold them so cheaply? What truth was there in the golden tales of travelers favored with a fleeting glimpse of that forbidden land? How interpret the tantalizing accounts which the sangleys tried to give in broken Spanish of their own country? Why did they keep their doors so resolutely locked against the foreigner? And was there, perhaps, a key?

The two Jesuits were not the only ones in the Philippines who dreamed of finding that key and flinging wide the doors before which Francis Xavier had been stopped by death. Augustinians, Franciscans, and a little later Dominicans crossed over to Amoy or Canton, but even when they managed to squeeze past the coastguard and the harbor police they were invariably stopped, haled before the magistrates, and firmly ushered out with instructions not to return. Governor Ronquillo did not look with favor on these attempts to, as the missionaries called it, "open China to the gospel." If the gospel was really their only concern, they had more than enough to occupy them in the Philippines without bothering their heads about China. He suspected, however, that it was at least to some extent a case of the grass always being greener on the other side of the China Sea. The Philippines was doubtless far less attractive than the Flowery Kingdom, but it was where the king had sent them, paying their passage half-way around the world and maintaining them there at great cost to the royal treasury; they ought not, therefore, to go traipsing about, abandoning their assigned stations "where they already have so many

native converts and are so badly needed, and where your Majesty has sent them at your Majesty's expense for the discharge of the royal conscience."[4]

Another reason why Ronquillo did not want Philippine missionaries to go to China was because it annoyed the Portuguese. Two Franciscans, Fray Pedro de Alfaro and Fray Agustín de Tordesillas, who left Manila in May of 1579 and were joined in northern Luzon by three more of their brethren, landed in Canton on 21 June and were promptly arrested. After being kept in prison and repeatedly questioned by the magistrates as to the purpose of their coming, they were finally permitted to go to Macao. The Portuguese received them, albeit grumblingly; but when they established a convent and looked as though they intended to settle down for good, the city officials trumped up charges against Alfaro and shipped him to Goa to give an account of himself to the viceroy. The vessel was wrecked and Alfaro drowned. His successor as superior of the Macao convent, Lucarelli, was also hustled out of the city and sent packing to Malacca. When the Philippine Franciscans heard of this they decided to send another expedition. Governor Ronquillo strictly forbade them to go, but Fray Pablo de Jesús, the custodian of the Manila convent, and seven other friars secretly went ahead with their preparations and stole out of Manila Bay sometime in March 1582, only a few days before Sánchez set out on his commission.

Ronquillo suspected, rightly, that the frigate chartered by the Franciscans would coast up Luzon and call briefly at Pangasinan before making the crossing, so that if Sánchez left immediately he had a good chance of overhauling them there. Sánchez was therefore given dispatches to the alcalde mayor of Pangasinan instructing him to detain the Franciscans and on no account to permit them to leave the country; but if Sánchez wanted to take one or two of them with him, he could.[5]

Sánchez set sail on 14 March in a royal frigate with a crew of about twenty Spaniards and Filipinos and a native of Bengal, christened, like himself, Alonso, to act as interpreter. Alonso of Bengal had only a smattering of Chinese, but was the best Ronquillo could provide. They made good time to Pangasinan and found the Franciscans still there. Sánchez delivered his dispatches and obtained permission to take Fray Juan Pobre and another friar with him. There were now twenty-six aboard the frigate. They decided that it was too small to make the crossing and at Vigan exchanged it for a larger vessel, which they stocked with additional stores. They followed the coastline to Cape Bojeador, at the northwestern tip of Luzon, and from there made the crossing in three days, sighting the bare hills and stunted pines of Fukien coast on 5 April.

They crept through a narrow entrance on the coast into a large sheltered harbor, where they ran right into the midst of a large squadron of the imperial coast-guard fleet. As soon as the strange little frigate was sighted,

a great pounding of gongs and whacking of drums arose from every ship in the harbor, and a war junk caused her to heave to by putting a cannon shot across her bows. A launch came alongside filled with soldiers with drawn swords; Sánchez climbed down to it with his interpreter and was conveyed to a large two-masted junk obviously kept in a state of high polish, with a black-lacquered hull trimmed in gold paint. He assumed, correctly, that it was the flagship. His escort ushered him into an audience chamber amidships which was filled with officers, and at the far end of it, standing apart, the admiral, an imposing figure in a scarlet gown embroidered with gold lions.

As soon as Sánchez entered, the whole assembly turned to the admiral and fell on their knees to make the ceremonial kowtow. Those nearest Sánchez made signs to him to do likewise, but he stoutly refused, declaring that Spaniards made that form of obeisance only to God; to men, they bowed, saying which, he bowed deeply. No one of course understood a word of what he said.

Before leaving Manila, he had taken the precaution of having Governor Ronquillo sign and seal a letter written in Chinese with the help of the captain of a trading junk and addressed to the viceroy of Kwangtung Province, under whose jurisdiction Canton fell. This letter accredited Sánchez as ambassador with powers to negotiate a treaty of friendship and commerce and to request permission for the Spaniards to establish a trading post on the coast similar to what had been conceded to the Portuguese at Macao. The obliging shipmaster was also asked to write out a statement to the effect that the bearer was a law-abiding person who wished to enter China to communicate a matter of importance to the viceroy of Kwangtung on behalf of the governor of the Philippines; in effect, a diplomatic visa, except of course that it was highly doubtful whether the captain of a trading junk had any consular authority. There was no serious intention of entering into these treaty negotiations, but Sánchez feared that he might land not at Macao, of whose location his pilot had only the vaguest notion, but at some other spot on the Chinese coast where he could not communicate with the Portuguese, in which case diplomatic immunity might afford him some protection from too zealous minor officials. These fears, as it turned out, were only too well grounded, and his foresight now enabled him to step forward and present his credentials. The shipmaster's statement read as follows:

To the captains and guards of the Chinese maritime frontier: Permit this priest to pass without doing him injury. He comes on an embassy from the Great Mandarin of Luzon to the Viceroy of Kwangtung Province. He is a man whose profession is to teach the law of God and to serve Him. The people with him are honest folk who come unarmed without evil intent.

The admiral questioned Sánchez closely, or as closely as Alonso of Bengal could interpret, regarding the way in which he obtained possession of this document, because, as Sánchez found out later, it was forbidden under pain of death for any Chinese to assist foreigners to enter China. However, it served its purpose; the admiral gave orders for the foreigners to be treated well and escorted to Liampo (modern Ningpo), the headquarters of the supreme commander of the coast-guard fleet. The interview with the supreme commander went well after an initial misunderstanding due to language difficulties. Sánchez and his interpreter were lodged with a line officer who had shipped to Manila and understood Tagalog. He served them a tremendous twenty-course dinner, but since it was Wednesday of Holy Week Sánchez excused himself and partook only of some oranges. Before retiring for the night the officer sought him privately in his quarters and asked for a letter of recommendation to the governor of the Philippines as he wanted to leave the imperial service and return to Manila to trade. Sánchez was glad to comply because it gave him an opportunity to send back a progress report on his mission.

The party was then taken inland by river boat, past thriving and populous villages, to a great city whose most distinctive feature was a massive stone bridge spanning the broad river. This was Foochow, the capital of Fukien Province. The prefect of the city, after examining Sánchez's papers, decided to permit only the priests of the party to proceed to Canton; the rest he detained until further orders. Accordingly, Sánchez and the Franciscans, after taking leave of their companions, continued their journey upriver for fifteen more days, then took to the road on horses provided by the government. Before reaching Canton, however, they were informed that the viceroy was at a place which Sánchez calls Tancon, where the imperial arsenals were located. Thither they went. Sánchez duly presented Governor Ronquillo's letter but apparently did not press for a reply, merely asking permission to go to Macao by way of Canton. This was granted, and in the morning of 2 May Sánchez and his companions, traveling once more by river boat, caught their first sight of Canton, with the tall tower of the imperial treasury in the midst of it.

They were ordered to disembark in a suburb at the outskirts of the city, but the officer in command of their escort whispered in their ear that if they gave him silver he would take them to where they could meet other foreigners of their sort. They promised him the money and he took them with great secrecy through narrow streets and back alleys to another section of the river, where a number of Portuguese vessels lay at anchor. They hailed the merchants on board, who came ashore to greet them, "and we were so weary with dealing with these Chinese," says Sánchez, "with their mean ways and flatteries and deceits, that when we saw the Portuguese, although they were different in countenance, dress and language from our

Spaniards, we embraced them as though they were angels from heaven." Sánchez's cup of joy was filled to overflowing when the welcoming party hustled up to him a totally unexpected fellow Jesuit. This was Francesco Pasio, who with another Italian, Michele Ruggiero, had just arrived from Goa to begin the China mission. It was a great moment for both of them, and they "embraced each other with great joy and gladness, giving thanks to the Lord that one of them having come by the eastern route and the other by the western, they had in that embrace encompassed the globe, like true sons of Ignatius, in fulfilment of their institute."

The Portuguese learned from the guardsmen that the fathers were being taken to the prefect of the city. This meant, if past experience was any warrant, that they were in for a pretty uncomfortable time, so the good-natured merchants pressed some silver coins into their hands and told them that they would probably be sentenced to a whipping, in which case the accepted procedure was to bribe the executioners not to lay on too hard. They made their way to the prefect's audience hall with this uneasy prospect before them. Fortunately, while their case was being dispatched, word came that an inspector-general from Peking was at the gates of the city. The session was at once adjourned with much rustling and bustling, for it was the custom that when an inspector-general arrived all the city officials went out to meet him, and after they had conducted him inside the walls, the city gates were sealed and all public business suspended for three days while the inspector-general made his inquiries. Sánchez had apparently managed to convey the intelligence that he belonged to the same religious association as Pasio and Ruggiero, for before going off the prefect ordered that he be taken to their lodgings.[6]

While the Portuguese had been allowed to establish their trading post at Macao and on rare occasions to come to Canton on business, no European had ever been permitted to reside in Canton permanently. This unprecedented privilege Ruggiero succeeded in obtaining. Not only that, but he became so proficient in the language and won the esteem of the viceroy and the prefect to such an extent that they came occasionally to visit him in his house. "This Italian father," Sánchez observed, "was of a mild disposition and very similar in his ways to the Chinese and for this reason they liked him a great deal." They liked him so much that they gave him permission to install a chapel in his residence, where they came several times to watch him celebrate Mass.

The three days of enforced leisure occasioned by the presence of the inspector-general in the city enabled Ruggiero to acquaint Sánchez with his plans for the evangelization of China. In 1573 Father General Mercurian appointed Alessandro Valignano visitor of the Jesuit missions in the East. He set sail from Lisbon the following year with a large expedition of forty-one missionaries, spent some time in Goa, and arrived

at Macao in 1577. He was naturally interested in realizing Xavier's dream of introducing Christianity to the Chinese, but was confronted with the hitherto insuperable difficulty of even gaining admittance to the empire. After a careful study of the problem he came to the conclusion that this policy was based largely on the Chinese view, reasonable enough if their millennial isolation from the rest of the world was taken into account, that foreigners unacquainted with the Chinese language and culture were mere barbarians who could not possibly have anything of value to impart, and on the other hand might if admitted do great harm by giving bad example to the people or spying out the country. If this inference was sound, then the only way to begin the evangelization of China was for the missionary to put himself to school with the Chinese; to learn the Chinese language and culture so thoroughly as in a manner to make them his own; and by adopting Chinese ways and customs as far as his Christian faith and religious profession allowed, to prove to the scholar officials who administered China that he was worthy of their attention and respect. Valignano wrote back to Goa for a man to undertake this exacting task, and Ruggiero was appointed. He arrived at Macao on 22 June 1579, only a few days after Valignano had left it to make his visitation of the Japanese mission. He threw himself wholeheartedly into the project conceived by the visitor, and after more than two years of patient effort achieved his first success, the permission to reside in Canton. Meanwhile Pasio, whom Sánchez met at the quayside, had come out to join him, and the following year they would be joined by the man destined by Providence to establish the mission in the very heart of the empire: Matteo Ricci.[7]

After the departure of the inspector-general, the prefect of Canton sent for Sánchez and the Franciscans, but instead of inflicting on them the expected bastinado, he told them that he was giving them a safe-conduct to Macao. It read:

> The bearers are certain priests who are on their way to Macao to see their brethren there. They are unarmed and harmless, and so may be permitted to proceed. They are, indeed, deserving of some punishment because they submitted a memorial to His Excellency the Viceroy which was inscribed on a small piece of paper without proper authorization and not couched, as it should have been, in the form of a petition addressed to a superior; however, since they are ignorant foreigners, they should be pardoned.[8]

He informed them, however, that this safe-conduct had first to be referred to the viceroy for approval, and possibly also to an even more august authority, the imperial commissioner at Chaoking. Meanwhile, they must wait. The imperial commissioner, Ch'en Chuei, was a man of advanced years but unimpaired intelligence. Soon after his recent appointment he had begun to ask embarrassing questions. Who, for instance,

had ceded Macao to the Portuguese? The matter had apparently been arranged between the provincial officials and the foreign traders to their mutual satisfaction, but no one had thought of informing the emperor, much less of telling him what sums, if any, the Portuguese might have paid for the privilege. Again, was it part of the bargain that the Portuguese should be free to bring Japanese and people of other nationalities into Macao without restriction, as they seemed to be doing? Further, had Macao ceased to be Chinese territory? For if not, why were the Portuguese administering justice and exercising other acts of jurisdiction there?

It was while Commissioner Ch'en was still waiting for a satisfactory explanation of these anomalies that the case of Sánchez was brought to his attention. Who was this Sánchez? A Spaniard, he was told; one of a band of seafaring barbarians who had only recently settled on some small islands in the South Sea. What manner of men were they? One of the officials present had served as an interpreter with the Macao Portuguese and acquired their unflattering opinion of Spaniards. He volunteered the information that the Spaniards were thieves and spies, "an evil folk who went about the world robbing kingdoms and killing their lawful rulers; and whatsoever land they entered they took for their own." Further information was supplied from the records which seemed to lend color to this description. It was recalled that other Spaniards had entered the province in small groups without permission, had gone about making inquiries and in general behaved very suspiciously. Highly indignant, Commissioner Ch'en dispatched a message to Canton ordering the prefect to detain Sánchez, and another message to Macao summoning whoever was in charge there to appear before him in person and explain the exact status of Macao, the intentions of the Portuguese, their relation with the Spaniards, and so on.

The captain-major of Macao, Ayres Gonçalves, saw at once that the matter was serious. He gathered together the sizable sum of 2,000 escudos, gave it to one of the *ouvidores* of the settlement, a man named Panela, and sent him to Chaoking with instructions to stop by Canton and take Ruggiero along with him. Leaving poor Sánchez under house arrest in the Canton residence, Ruggiero and Panela went to see if they could allay the commissioner's scruples. Ruggiero's sweet reasonableness got him calmed down sufficiently to agree that if he, Ruggiero, would personally guarantee the good behavior of the people from Luzon, he would approve their safe-conduct. The 2,000 escudos might also have contributed somewhat toward this compromise, as well as convinced the commissioner that there would be no point in disturbing the *de facto* arrangements regarding Macao.[9]

Thus, toward the end of May, two and a half months after his departure from Manila, Sánchez reached his destination. Macao stood on a tiny

peninsula of the Chinese mainland, about 1,200 acres in area, not far from Canton. It was established in 1557 or thereabouts, when the Portuguese transferred to it the trading post they had on Shang-ch'uan Island, where Saint Francis Xavier died. In spite of its narrow confines it was a much larger city than Manila, with a population of about 5,000, of whom 1,000 were Europeans. Because of the depredations of the *wako*, the Japanese counterparts of the Elizabethan sea dogs, who were traders when they had to be and pirates when they could, Ming China had broken off commercial relations with Japan. This gave the Portuguese the opportunity, which they were not slow to grasp, of preëmpting the carrying trade between the two countries, and it was on this trade that Macao waxed mightily prosperous. One rough but sufficiently revealing measure of this prosperity was that every third year, when a new viceroy of Kwangtung took office, he received the not exactly modest cumshaw of 100,000 ducats, as a reminder from the Portuguese of Macao that they would like to continue buying Chinese goods for sale in Japan.

In the beginning Macao was under the immediate and effective jurisdiction of a Chinese magistrate, but the Portuguese gradually assumed extraterritorial rights, setting up a government of their own which administered the city according to Portuguese law. The Chinese authorities gave tacit consent to this development, although they retained the right to conduct periodic inspections and searches and firmly forbade the peninsula to be fortified in any way. Finally, in 1573, they gave what amounted to recognition of an existing fact when they built a wall across the neck of the peninsula, the gate of which was opened one day in five (later fifteen) to permit trade, but otherwise kept under guard and sealed with a seal which bore the inscription: "Fear our greatness; respect our virtue."[10]

The Macao Portuguese thus had two good reasons for not caring to have anything to do with Spaniards. The first was that they meant to keep the profits of the trade they had developed for themselves; they wanted no interlopers. The second was that they were keenly conscious that the Chinese government did not particularly want them there and was quite capable of casting them out at any time; they did not want the proud Spanish temper exploding like a string of firecrackers on their precarious peninsula and attracting to it the wrathful notice of Peking. This was the city from which Alonso Sánchez had to coax an oath of allegiance to Philip, King of Spain.

While he was still at Canton, Sánchez had learned that Valignano, having completed his visitation of Japan, was back at Macao. He wrote to Valignano telling him in confidence of the purpose of his mission and asking him to do what he could to prepare the ground for him. Valignano did so by talking to the most influential citizens individually and getting them used to the idea of a dynastic union between Spain and Portugal as

a distinct possibility, in view of the latest news they had from Goa about the disputed succession. Sánchez upon his arrival continued this line of approach. He made no public announcements but told each of those whom Valignano suggested he should see, privately and in confidence, that Philip had been acclaimed king of Portugal upon his solemn promise that the two realms would be kept entirely separate and governed, as hitherto, according to each one's laws, institutions, and usages. No changes would be made in the administrative structure of the two empires, and no Spaniards would be forced on the Portuguese where they were not wanted. The only effect of the union would be that Spain and Portugal would present a common front to their common enemies, and each would be able to draw on the resources of the other in case of need.

Sánchez then asked Domingo Alvares, the rector of the Jesuit College of São Paulo, to invite these leading citizens to dinner. Heading the guest list were the bishop of Macao, Lionardo da Sá; the patriarch of Ethiopia and bishop-elect of Japan, Melchor Carneiro; the captain-major of that year, Joam d'Almeida, and the four *regidores* or burgesses of the city. After dinner Sánchez explained his mission to them collectively as he had already done individually. He presented the official dispatches and the accompanying documentary proof that the leading universities and jurists of Europe favored Philip's claim, and that that claim had in fact been recognized by the highest ecclesiastical and civil authorities of Portugal. He then asked them to take the oath of allegiance in behalf of their city.

All those present expressed their willingness to do so, but asked for time to consider how this could be best effected. They were against any public oath-taking, as this might arouse the suspicions of the Chinese, who were already extremely nervous about the continual Spanish violations of their exclusion policy. Moreover, though they did not perhaps tell Sánchez this, they wanted to hear from the viceroy of Goa first. Confirmation was duly received from Goa, and on 18 December 1583 the same personages met in the college and took the oath of allegiance. The ceremony was conducted very quietly and no dissenting voice was heard in the city, because Valignano, Alvares, and Sánchez had in the meantime taken the opportunity on Sundays and feast-days to explain to the people from the pulpit the nature of the new connection and persuade them of the wisdom of accepting it.[11]

The Macao authorities were grateful to Sánchez for the tact with which he handled a potentially explosive situation. With the cooperation of Valignano he gave them time and opportunity to get over the shock of what must have been initially a most repugnant idea. He kept strictly to the letter and spirit of Philip's instructions, making no demands beyond the oath of allegiance to the legitimate occupant of the Portuguese throne. He appreciated the importance of keeping things quiet so as not to alarm the Chinese. As a matter of fact the union of the two Crowns did not go

unperceived by the Kwangtung authorities. They asked questions about it and its possible implications; but since there was no undue disturbance or rejoicing in the settlement, they did not attach much importance to it.

At the same time the Portuguese were still not quite easy in their minds about the way the Spaniards in the Philippines intended to exploit the new connection. In their letters to Manila they stressed the fact that any Spanish intrusion into China would be not only fatal to Macao but extremely dangerous to the Spaniards themselves. Almeida, the captain-major, writing to Governor Ronquillo, thanked him for sending Sánchez to administer the oath of allegiance, but told him bluntly that Spaniards were in very bad odor with the Chinese, and upon hearing of the king of Spain becoming also king of Portugal their suspicion and dislike had increased considerably. Hence all communication between Macao and the Philippines should be kept to an absolute minimum, and the Spaniards in the Philippines should consult the safety of Macao as well as their own by staying away from China. Bishop Da Sá sounded the same apprehensive note, earnestly requesting Governor Ronquillo to prevent any Spaniard, whether layman, cleric, or religious, from coming to China; the very existence of Macao depended upon it. Valignano elaborated on this theme. The only way Macao could be preserved was by the Portuguese doing exactly what the Chinese officials told them, because the city was completely dependent on the trade and hence on the good will of the Chinese. The Chinese for their part were extremely suspicious of Spanish intentions and the possible consequences of the union of the two crowns. It was, then, of the highest importance to obey the stringent orders issued by the Chinese government forbidding Spaniards to come to China. In fact, if any Spaniard put in an appearance at Macao, the Portuguese might be compelled, though much against their will, to surrender him to the Chinese authorities.[12]

Sánchez, his mission accomplished, now prepared to return; but so insistent were the Chinese that no direct communication be established between Macao and Manila that they would not give him back his frigate to go home in. He therefore decided on the advice of Valignano and Almeida to return to the Philippines via Japan, sailing from Macao in July 1582 aboard the carrack that carried the annual cargo for the Japanese market.

All went well until they hit the open sea, when an early typhoon drove the lumbering carrack off its course and wrecked it on the island of Formosa. Several of the ship's company were drowned. The 290 survivors spent three miserable months on that inhospitable coast. They were able to salvage some rice and dry it in the sun soon enough to prevent its being spoiled. Otherwise they would have starved, for there was no forage to be had. Moreover, the hostile natives kept them under such constant attack

that they were forced to entrench themselves and post guards day and night. Under these trying conditions they tried to piece together from the planks of the wreck a seaworthy vessel that would take them back to Macao. They finally succeeded, and putting out to sea with only six jars of water and a little rice, they made Macao in eight days. Their arrival sent the whole city into mourning, for the carrack was a total loss, and there was no one in Macao who did not have his pennyworth invested in the voyage. In his letter to Manila reporting the disaster, Almeida paid tribute to the energy and leadership with which Sánchez kept up the spirits of the castaways and enabled them to survive.

The wrecked carrack belonged to a great friend of the Jesuits, a man by the name of Bartolomeu Vaz Landeiro. He was a merchant of no small means, as may be gathered from the fact that when he went abroad in state he was accompanied not only by his Portuguese familiars but "by eighty blackamoors and slaves with shield and halberd," and when he came to church servants went before to lay out his carpet and place thereon his cushioned chair of crimson velvet studded with golden nails. Sánchez felt that to ask Landeiro to provide him with transportation to Manila would not be too great an imposition. Landeiro graciously consented to have the vessel which the castaways had constructed from the wreckage of his carrack taken apart and refashioned into a junk which would safely take Sánchez home. And since it was going to Manila anyway, it might as well carry a cargo of China goods for the galleon trade; which shows that Landeiro did not make his money merely by parading about with his eighty blackamoors.[13]

There remained the problem of getting the Chinese to authorize a direct voyage to Manila. Strangely enough, the permission was obtained by appealing to the same reasons that had caused the prohibition to be issued. It came about in this way. Soon after Sánchez's departure from Manila, the Franciscans sent another expedition to repopulate their Macao convent which neither Governor Ronquillo nor Bishop Salazar were able to prevent. The expedition consisted of seven or eight friars led by Fray Gerónimo de Burgos. Soon after they landed on Chinese soil they were arrested and brought to Canton. This time the magistrates were less indulgent. They were cast into the public gaol, where they suffered such great privations that the Portuguese out of pity ransomed them and took them to Macao. However, the Portuguese were determined not to let them stay, and in this they had the full concurrence of the Chinese authorities. To speed the parting guest, the prefect of Canton sent to Macao an exit visa for both Sánchez and the Franciscans. It read:

> Safe-conduct whereby, out of reverence to God, permission is granted to the Spaniards who came to China to return to Luzon, seeing they have committed no

piracy at sea. Because God willed it there came to our port of Quecheu [Kitchioh?] a frigate with eighteen men. They were captured by our fleet and brought before us. At first we were for putting them to death, but after further inquiry we found that they were good men. After that there came to another port of our land called Chana [?] another frigate with twenty-six on board. Our guards likewise brought them to us at Canton. Upon investigation we discovered that the masters of the frigate were priests of God and all of them good men. We set them free and sent their safe-conduct to the imperial commissioner who confirmed it and ordered the viceroy and prefect of Canton to send them to Macao.

This frigate came from the island of Luzon with a letter and presents. We consulted our laws and according to them it is forbidden to accept these presents and make friends with these people, because they are what our laws refer to as people with cat's eyes, against whom we should guard ourselves. We informed the imperial commissioner of this, and he declared that our laws permit free entry to all except the people with cat's eyes. For this reason he ordered the letter and presents returned and the people sent to Macao.

In virtue of this we order that the Spaniards return to Luzon and no longer permit themselves to be deceived by the Chinese who are there and who tell them that we will not punish and put them to death if they come here again. Let them take this safe-conduct with them and post it in a place where all the Chinese in Luzon may see it and be warned not to counsel the Spaniards to come hither. This time, because they are good men, we let them depart in safety. But let them tell the others who are there not to come any more because we will not let them in and our coastguard will put them to death. Here ends our safe-conduct. Let it be published for the information of all.[14]

It was represented to the Chinese that in view of their great anxiety to be rid of the Spaniards as soon as possible, they should allow them to go directly to Manila in Landeiro's junk. The Chinese saw no flaw in this reasoning and granted the permission. On 13 February 1583 the junk weighed anchor with Sebastião Jorge, Landeiro's nephew, in command and Sánchez and the Franciscans on board. After a slow crossing due to calms and headwinds it entered Manila Bay on 27 March.

Four days previously, Sánchez had transferred to a fast launch and gone ahead to warn the governor of the junk's arrival. He found Ronquillo dead and the city razed to the ground. Ronquillo's death occurred on 14 February, one day after the junk's departure from Macao. His body was laid out in state in the Augustinian church, which was of wood and thatch. The candles around the bier set fire to the building. Fanned by a stiff breeze the fire leaped to the adjoining houses and the whole city went up in flames, including the fort, the arsenal, the government food stores, the cathedral, the hospital, the bishop's house with its fine library, and the cargo which the citizens were preparing to load on the Acapulco galleon. In two hours Manila was in ashes.

Sánchez was received with such great joy that the citizens "ran coatless

out of their houses to tell each other the news." It may seem strange that they still had houses to run out of; but of course a bamboo-and-palmetto house can be put up in the Philippines in a matter of days. Their delight was not so much at seeing Sánchez again as on learning that the junk from Macao was bringing merchandise: Portuguese wine and oil, Indian cottons and linens, Chinese biscuit, taffeta, carpets, damasks, grosgrain silks, horns and ivories, rare and costly drugs—it would mean that they could send the galleon after all, and have a little port to wash down their evening rice while waiting for it to bring their silver back.

Diego Ronquillo, who succeeded his cousin Gonzalo as governor, made sure that the Portuguese were given a royal welcome. Captain Jorge dined every day at the governor's table, and the cargo of the junk was soon sold, on terms so profitable to both parties that it was agreed the Portuguese would come every year to trade.[15]

Sánchez discussed his experiences in China with Governor Ronquillo and Bishop Salazar; and it was apparently during these discussions that the fantastic China enterprise—*la empresa de China*—took shape. This was a project to send an armed expedition from the Philippines to China with the object of compelling the Chinese government to permit the entry of missionaries into China, and of providing the missionaries with an armed escort to ensure their safety while preaching Christianity to the Chinese. If the Chinese government resisted, war was to be declared and Spanish sovereignty imposed on the conquered territory. Sánchez claimed in a letter to Acquaviva[16] that he had broached this plan to the Jesuits at Macao, and that they were all for it as the only means, humanly speaking, of bringing salvation to countless souls who would otherwise be lost. Without calling the veracity of Sánchez in question, it may be doubted whether they gave it any such approval, at least in the form which it ultimately assumed at Manila. For, as we have already seen, the Jesuits at Macao were hard at work on a diametrically opposite approach, originally conceived by Valignano, put into execution by Ruggiero, and ultimately to be carried to its full development by Ricci—an approach which sought to attract the Chinese to Christianity by peaceful persuasion based on a sympathetic understanding of the Chinese mind and a deep respect for the humane elements in Chinese culture. We have, moreover, a letter of Valignano himself to Governor Ronquillo[17] in which, without bothering to argue the hypothetical and largely sterile question of whether, when, how, in what circumstances, by what means and to what extent a conquest of China would be justified, he shrewdly advised him as a practical man of affairs not to think of attacking China until he knew a great deal more about it.

The advice was not followed. To men sitting in nipa shacks amid a gutted town China, silken China, Marco Polo's China, was irresistible. Bishop

Salazar proposed the project to Philip II[18] in glowing terms. He prefaced his remarks by saying that he had been "raised on the doctrine of the Bishop of Chiapa," that is, Las Casas, the great champion of Indian rights. During the twenty-three years that he spent as a missionary in Mexico, he had stoutly maintained with many other missionaries and theologians that the wars waged against the Indians whereby the New World was conquered were unjust, and that the Spaniards who took part in them were held to restitution for the deaths and damages they had inflicted. With regard to the China project, however, he had after mature thought arrived at the following conclusions. First, that the king of the united realms of Spain and Portugal was justified in sending an army into China to compel the emperor of that country to permit the preaching of Christianity and to guarantee the safety of the missionaries. Second, that the cost of this expedition could lawfully be imposed on the Chinese; and if they refused they could be compelled, "always observing the equity and moderation demanded by the purpose we have in mind." Third, that the king could legitimately tax the Chinese and bestow portions of Chinese territory on the soldiers who took part in its "pacification." Finally, "if the emperor of China should be so stubborn as not to be induced to permit the preaching of the Gospel in his empire, even after every reasonable inducement has been tried, then your Majesty may take his empire away from him. This proposition is as certain as the others, but since it may be quite difficult to determine when and how this can and should be done, a more lengthy consideration is required."

Salazar realized that many objections would be raised against the projected expedition. It would undoubtedly be said that this manner of preaching the gospel was unjust; that no one could be compelled against his will to accept Christianity; that to secure the liberty of preaching in an alien kingdom by making war upon it was to do evil that good might result; that this manner of conversion was more in conformity with the teachings of Mohammed than with those of Christ. Nevertheless he said, he was confident that he could give a satisfactory answer to these objections.

Ronquillo was quite willing to take Bishop Salazar's word that the enterprise was justified; indeed, that Philip II could "without any scruple" take possession of all the kingdoms of the Indies. In his own letter to the home government[19] he confined himself to discussing whether it was feasible. His conclusion was that with ten or twelve galleons and 8,000 Spanish troops he could overcome any resistance the Chinese might be able to offer. But he could not undertake an expedition of this size without the express approval of the king, who would have to send him the necessary men and supplies. He therefore proposed that Sánchez return to Spain to take up the matter personally with Philip. Sánchez replied that by himself

he was not equal to a mission of such importance, but he would go if the bishop went too. Salazar, in the first flush of his enthusiasm over the project, agreed. It would be well worth the journey. The king should be made to see that all other business must be put aside, for what was "the reduction of a thousand Flanders" to the conquest of China? "Not even Julius Caesar nor Alexander the Great ever had an opportunity such as this; and, on the spiritual plane, nothing greater was ever projected since the time of the apostles." But sober second thoughts made him change his mind. He was the bishop of the Philippines, after all; he could not leave his diocese, even on such an errand. What would the king say if he suddenly turned up at court without so much as giving notice of his coming?[20]

So the great *empresa* was postponed for the time being, much to Ronquillo's disgust; postponed, but not abandoned. It would come up again, and Sánchez would get his chance to lay it before the king. Meanwhile something else came up which resulted in Sánchez going to Macao a second time. In June 1583 the galleon *San Martín*, Captain Francisco de Mercado, left Manila for Acapulco. She left on schedule and should have had no trouble; but Captain Mercado claimed that she ran into heavy weather and was blown off her course all the way up to China. It may have been so; but, according to another version of the story, Captain Mercado allowed himself to be persuaded by certain members of his crew that it would be far more profitable for all of them if they sailed the galleon to Macao, took in additional cargo, and then made off with it to Peru, where they could live the rest of their lives in opulence while the Manilans whistled for their silver. At any rate, they ran into difficulties on the uncharted Chinese coast. To lighten the vessel they had to land most of the cargo; the Chinese coast guard, seeing the cargo, seized it. However, they were able to get away with the galleon and eventually to limp into Macao harbor. Here the crew mutinied and stripped Mercado of his command. The chief officer, the navigator, and the notary then went ashore and got a Portuguese court to adjudicate the vessel to them. This settled, they declared that they were ready to take in cargo for Peru, to the great delight of the Macao merchants.

News of what had happened to the *San Martín* reached Manila in March 1584, when Landeiro came with two junks to trade as agreed upon the previous year. He brought with him Captain Mercado and the loyal members of his crew, whom the mutineers had put off the ship. In the circumstances it was useless merely to write to the Macao authorities and request them to detain the galleon. Someone had to go there with a sufficient force to repossess it before the mutineers could get away. Ronquillo decided to send the royal factor, Juan Bautista Román, and, to help him in any difficulties he might get into with the Portuguese, Alonso Sánchez.[21]

Sedeño was most reluctant to let Sánchez go this time.[22] He was beginning to doubt whether these diplomatic missions were the kind of missions

a priest and religious can or ought to undertake. Sánchez himself felt the need of explaining to Acquaviva[23] why he accepted the previous assignment, as though he realized that it would raise eyebrows in Rome. Someone, he said, had to step forward to repair the poor opinion that the king and his officials had of the Society. It had become a common saying that Jesuits were interested only in making themselves comfortable in large cities and dealing familiarly with the nobility; that they loved nothing so much as moving about amid the silks and velvets of the houses of the rich. As for discharging the king's conscience among poor natives or going wherever the king sent them, they were singularly lacking in enthusiasm. This was what decided him to "come out of his corner" and leave the retirement which he loved, to show that Jesuits were ready to go anywhere, risk any danger, to serve the king.

Both the governor and the bishop were most insistent that Sánchez should once again be given an opportunity to prove his zeal in the royal service. It was not as though he was being sent merely to help recover a stray galleon. They had more important business for him to transact at Macao than that. This time they wanted him to take up seriously with the Chinese authorities the matter of a Spanish trading post on the coast of Fukien Province. This was apparently to be a test of whether the Chinese were willing to extend the hand of friendship to the Spaniards and eventually open their country to Spanish missionaries; for if the negotations failed, "I say again," Bishop Salazar wrote to Philip, "that not only can your Majesty enter China sword in hand and by force of arms open a gate for the gospel, but . . . your Majesty is in duty bound to do so."[24]

Sedeño was unable to resist these representations. Sánchez left with Román toward the end of 1583, taking with him Simón de Mendiola, whom Sedeño had received provisionally as a postulant for the lay brotherhood of the Society; on the first day of May 1584 he arrived at Macao. Román proved both resolute and ruthless. He boarded the *San Martín*, overcame the mutineers, gave the ringleaders a summary trial and ordered them garroted. He then hired a new crew and sent the galleon to Acapulco. The Macao merchants tried to stop him from executing his commission on the grounds that it was a violation of Portuguese sovereignty, but Sánchez succeeded in convincing them that no such violation was involved, since the crime was committed on a Spanish vessel, and the punishment would be inflicted on the same vessel where it lay at anchor in Macao roads, outside Portuguese territory.

The affair of the galleon settled, Sánchez applied to the viceroy of Kwangtung for permission to visit Ruggiero. By this time Ruggiero, Pasio, and Ricci had been allowed to transfer their residence from Canton to Chaoking, the capital of the province. Ruggiero had written to Sánchez asking him if possible to send a clock, "which the Chinese make much of."

Sánchez wanted to deliver the clock personally, because he needed Ruggiero's help in the negotiations for a trading post. His application was refused, but Ruggiero was permitted to come and confer with him in Macao.[25]

While waiting for Ruggiero to turn up, Sánchez busied himself at the Jesuit college in writing a lengthy report to Acquaviva on what he considered the worldly ways of his hosts.[26] The college, he said, employed far too many servants. He counted forty-four of them. Practically every member of the community had his personal servant. When not otherwise employed, these servants swaggered about in silks and taffeta hats and daggers and made a great racket all day in the patio, playing cards and bawling ballads. When they tired of these diversions they sprawled on the benches along the corridors and napped.

The house was full of pet dogs and pigeons in cages. The fathers wore silk caps on their heads and the collars of their shirts outside the cassocks. They wore buttons on their cassocks. They wore slippers about the house. They took frequent baths. They changed their underclothing very frequently. They kept food in their rooms and porous jars to cool their drinking water and lemons and pears and other fruit scattered about on their desks among their books. They slept on mattresses and had pillows with silk slipcovers and left their windows open at night. The bell for meals might just as well not be rung; everyone came late for them. Some of the fathers were served special dishes sent in by their friends. They went into one another's rooms to talk whenever they felt like it, and their conversation often turned on secular affairs. They were inordinately fond of music. They taught their students of grammar chiefly how to sing; grammar was just an excuse.

Valignano, the visitor, reformed none of this. (By this time Valignano was back in Rome.) Sánchez admitted that Father Valignano was a holy man and had been of great help and comfort to him personally. But—and Acquaviva could show him this letter if he wished—he was a man who liked to deal with the great of this world upon great affairs, while neglecting the little details that made up the religious life: the keeping of the rules, prompt obedience to the bell, silence, religious dress, order in the running of the house, and so on.

The hot climate of Macao might be alleged as an excuse for the creature comforts which the Portuguese fathers permitted themselves. But the Philippines was a much hotter country; so much so, in fact, that the Macao merchants who went to Manila broke out in rashes and could not wait to get out again. Yet the Spanish fathers there stood it tolerably well while keeping up the regular observance which they learned at Alcalá and Rome. This was because they did not even think of the various relaxations of rule that had been discovered or contrived at Macao.

But Sánchez's principal complaint was the buying and selling in which the Macao fathers engaged. According to him, they had as much as 20,000 crusadoes invested in the Japan trade. At the time of writing they had just sent 100 quintals of crude silk to Japan, which was more than six merchants together could send. And now people were saying that the Jesuits in Japan were no longer content with selling this merchandise at the ports, but were transporting it further inland where it fetched a better price. Sánchez passed on to Acquaviva what a shipmaster who had gone on a voyage to the Moluccas told him, that he was inclined to doubt whether the Portuguese fathers there were really Jesuits because they were not like other Jesuits he had known; they acted more like merchants than the merchants themselves.

These criticisms seem to have got back to the Portuguese Jesuits in China and Japan who naturally felt very bad about them. They also felt very bad about a conference which Sánchez gave to the community of the college in which he made certain statements which sounded very much like criticisms of Valignano and even of Xavier himself. The vice-provincial of Japan, Gaspar Coelho, wrote about it to Sedeño, who did his best to defend at least the sincerity if not the prudence of his subject.[27] Sánchez did not really mean to find fault with Xavier. He merely said that Xavier, who was a saint, did certain things, such as hobnobbing with common seamen and even playing cards with them, which his brethren would be rash to imitate. After all, he was a pioneer, and so in a measure exempt from the rules that must govern his more pedestrian successors; just as Adam who sprang full-grown from the hands of God had no need for swaddling clothes and milk, whereas his descendants who must begin life as infants could not do without them. And all that Sánchez really said about Valignano was that he could not very well as visitor descend to the small details of domestic discipline. His task was to lay out the grand lines of mission policy; it was up to the local superiors to work out the details.

As for the hearsay reports retailed by Sánchez regarding the commercial operations in which the Portuguese Jesuits were allegedly involved, the best way to evaluate them is to compare them with the financial report which Valignano drew up after his visitation.[28] Until 1574 the total income of the Jesuit mission in Japan consisted of a subsidy granted by the Portuguese government to the amount of 500 ducats, payable annually at Malacca. In 1574 the King Dom Sebastião increased this to 1,000 ducats in order to enable the fathers to open a seminary college for Japanese students. Then Luis d'Almeida, a Macao merchant who later entered the Society, invested 4,000 ducats in the trade in favor of the mission. The investment was managed entirely by some merchant friends of his; the Jesuits merely received the interest.

In 1578 Valignano entered into an agreement with the merchant guild

of Macao whereby, of the 1,500 *picos* of silk annually shipped to Japan by Macao, 50 picos would be to the account of the Jesuit province of Japan. The province paid the purchase price of these 50 picos at Macao and received their first wholesale price when landed in Japan, the net income averaging 1,500 ducats. Approval of this arrangement was requested and obtained from Pope Gregory XIII in 1582.

In 1568 the *daimyo* (feudal lord) of Nagasaki applied the anchorage fees of the Portuguese carrack and other vessels visiting that port to the construction and maintenance of the Jesuit church, and subsequently the daimyo of Arima applied the revenues of certain lands of his to the Jesuit province; but when Hideyoshi, the shogun, obtained control of southern Japan these donations were rescinded. Finally, Pope Gregory XIII granted a subsidy to the province of 4,000 ducats annually, payable from the funds of the Holy See in Spain.

Thus, Valignano concluded, the regular income of the Jesuit province of Japan, apart from occasional gifts, was in the neighborhood of 7,500 ducats a year. With this sum it supported 130 religious distributed in 20 houses, and 100 Japanese seminary students.

Even with Ruggiero's help Sánchez failed to persuade the Chinese government to consider the Spanish request for a trading post. However, Román took in some Chinese merchandise as return cargo, and when the ship was ready to leave port the Chinese customs officials came to measure it, inspect the cargo, and collect harbor fees and duties, exactly as they did with the Portuguese. Sánchez interpreted this action as implying without actually saying that the Canton authorities would welcome the establishment of normal trade relations between their city and Manila; with this he had perforce to be content.

They cleared Macao on 1 October 1584. Román commanded the vessel; the passengers were Sánchez, Mendiola, and two Franciscans. They had no sooner left their anchorage than a northeaster of hurricane force drove them towards the island of Hainan. They jettisoned not only cargo but even all movable furniture and partitions to lighten the ship. Cabinless and bedless they stretched a mat across one corner of the poop deck and huddled under it as their only protection from the weather. They were soaked to the skin most of the time and with the wind knifing through their thin cotton cassocks they were thoroughly miserable.

They did not dare to land on Hainan because of the notorious ferocity of its inhabitants, nor would the gale suffer them to steer for Manila, so they sought haven somewhere along the coast of Annam. Here the natives refused to let them take in any provisions, although they sat patiently watching them from the shore and waited for the ship to be dashed against the rocks so that they could claim salvage. Finally about twenty-four of the ship's company became so bored that they took the ship's boat and

went ashore. The natives laid an ambush for them and took most of them prisoner, the others scuttling off in all directions. The natives then seized the ship's boat and with other boats of their own prepared to board the ship itself. Those left aboard hauled up the anchors hurriedly and scrambled out of the haven as best they could, Sánchez and Mendiola helping to pole the ship off the rocks.

It was nightfall as they drew away from land, seeking the open sea, and through the dusk they could hear their shipmates ashore crying out to them to come back and not abandon them in that hostile land. "Let each one here consider," Sánchez wrote afterward, "what the Christian hearts aboard that vessel felt at seeing themselves defenceless against wind and wave in those uncharted seas, surrounded by treacherous rocks and shallows, with winter and the dark of night upon them, and their brothers ashore, some prisoners, some wounded, others screaming out to them from the depths of their bowels, and they with no power to help them at all."

Still the monsoon drove them southward, and a month later they were riding off the coast of Cochin China. Some, wearying of the struggle, were for taking port in Siam, even though white men were not usually made welcome there, but the majority decided to take the ship to Portuguese Malacca. It was a risky choice, because they could easily miss the strait and keep on sailing blindly to the Moslem countries further south. As a matter of fact they did miss the strait and only became aware of it when they overhauled the vessel of a courier of the sultan of Johore. The Malay told them that they had bypassed the strait by 50 or 60 leagues, but would not guide them to it until they laid hands on him and forced him to take them there.

In this way they finally reached Malacca where the fathers of the Jesuit college hospitably received them. The royal treasury officials advanced Román the money which enabled him to repair the vessel and take in provisions. They scraped together a thousand crusadoes more from various sources and left them with the Jesuits to ransom their shipmates whom the Annamese had taken prisoner. After three or four months they were ready to return to Manila, which they made in forty days' sail. At the mouth of Manila Bay they sighted a frigate with a strange lateen rig. They overtook it and discovered to their great joy that their companions whom they had given up for lost were aboard, all except one who had been killed in the ambush. They had managed to elude their captors and find their way to Siam, where a Portuguese shipmaster agreed to take them to Manila. Thus, giving praise to God, they entered the city on 6 June 1595.[29]

Chapter Four

SURVEYING THE FIELD

In 1582, some time after Sánchez sailed on his first voyage to China, the house which Governor Gonzalo Ronquillo had ordered built for the Jesuits was completed. Sedeño was delighted with it. It stood facing the bay, about one hundred paces from the beach, solidly constructed, in Sedeño's phrase, on posts of "incorruptible" wood, the kind that lasts for centuries. Sedeño was a trifle carried away; though *molave,* which is probably what it was, is undoubtedly one of the most durable of Philippine hardwoods. The floor of the house was raised three fathoms off the ground, which must have been quite damp because the back door opened on a tidal inlet of the Pasig River. Compared with the shack in which he and Brother Gallardo took their meals on top of the book case it looked enormous to Sedeño, with room enough for a community of ten or twelve, spacious and airy, "the best house there is in the city." Within the property were more than 300 coconut trees, those versatile palmifers that provided the Filipinos with food, drink, shelter, clothing, light, tableware, and firewood. As many as twenty Jesuits, Sedeño thought, could live on them alone. But they did not have to; Brother Gallardo discovered that at high tide fish came up the inlet near his kitchen, so that by stretching a reed barrier across it he could catch quite a number of edible ones when the water receded. They could have fish with their coconuts.[1]

While Sánchez was away winning Macao for Philip, Sedeño continued to apply himself to Tagalog grammar and was soon able to make himself understood by his friendly neighbors. He also went regularly to the city, about a mile away, to hear confessions and preach in the cathedral. He kept his eyes and ears open for all the information he could gather, and gradually began to perceive beneath the surface of his first impressions the salient features of this prospective mission field.

The Philippine archipelago consisted of the island of Luzon, the largest, on which Manila was located; several smaller islands south of it whose people, the Visayans, tattooed themselves, and so were called by the Spaniards *Pintados,* that is, Picts. Still further south was the second largest island, Mindanao, some of whose inhabitants were Moslems, hence to the Spaniards *Moros,* like the Moors they had been fighting for eight hundred years. There were still extensive areas which had not yet been subjected to Spanish rule, especially in northern Luzon and southern Mindanao. The

known population of the conquered and tribute-paying territory was about half a million; there were, perhaps, a million more in the rest of the archipelago.

Besides Manila, the capital, four other settlements had been established by the colonists: one at Cebu in the Visayas, the earliest to be founded, called the City of the Most Holy Name of Jesus; another close by it on the island of Panay, called Arévalo (native name, Ogtong, hispanicized into Oton); a third in southern Luzon called Nueva Cáceres (native name, Naga); and a fourth in northern Luzon called Villa Fernandina (native name, Vigan). When Sedeño wrote this information into his first report to Acquaviva (June 1582) an expedition had just left to smoke out a nest of Japanese *wako* in another part of the northern Luzon called Cagayan and found a fifth settlement there. To these must be added the port and shipyard of Cavite, so called because it projected like a fish hook (Tagalog, *kawit*) into Manila Bay from its south shore. The deep-draft galleons could not come up to Manila itself because of the silting up of the river mouth; but here they could ride at anchor in deep water, load and unload, be hauled up the slips for caulking and careening; here, in fact, they were built.

These settlements were much smaller than Manila. In 1582 Manila had an adult male population of 300 Spaniards; Vigan, 60; Nueva Cáceres, 30; Cebu, 70; Arévalo, 20. In 1586 Manila had 329 Spanish men and youths capable of bearing arms; the most recently established settlement, Nueva Segovia in Cagayan, had 97; Nueva Cáceres, 69; Arévalo, 65; Cavite, 64; Cebu, 63; Villa Fernandina, 19.

Luzon was divided for administrative purposes into seven provinces, each with an alcalde mayor. Starting from the north they were Cagayan, with a population of about 120,000; Ilocos, 108,000; Pangasinan, 20,000; Pampanga, 88,000; La Laguna, 44,000; Balayan, 36,000; Camarines, 80,000. Two provinces had been created in the Visayas and named after their respective seats of government: Cebu, with jurisdiction over the island of the same name, and Samar, Masbate, Leyte and Bohol; and Arévalo, with jurisdiction over Panay, Negros, and the Calamianes group. The province of Cebu had an estimated population of 72,000; Arévalo, 88,000. Mindoro and Marinduque were attached to the Tagalog province of Balayan just north of them. Palawan in the west, the Sulu archipelago in the south and all of Mindanao save a narrow strip of the northern coast (at Butuan) were still unconquered territory.

In 1586 the Augustinians had twenty-seven *conventos* (parish or mission houses) chiefly in the provinces of Ilocos, Pangasinan, Pampanga, Balayan, and the islands of Cebu and Panay. This area had a total population of some 300,000, about half of whom were baptized or under instruction. The Franciscans had missions in the provinces of La Laguna and Camarines; together with the diocesan clergy, who administered the more

settled parishes near the Spanish settlements, they had the spiritual care of about 200,000 souls.[2]

What were the opportunities for Jesuit work in this situation? Sedeño in his 1582 report to Acquaviva underscored the two features of it which he considered significant. First, the Spanish settlers were few and their spiritual needs were being adequately taken care of by the diocesan clergy and the friars stationed in the settlements. Second, the provinces subject to Spanish rule had already been preëmpted by the Augustinians and Franciscans. True, they were short of men in relation to the number of natives still to be converted; but their Spanish and Mexican provinces had already begun sending large missionary expeditions on almost every Acapulco ship; and from the point of view of administration it was preferable that each religious order continue the work it had begun in the provinces where it was already established.

Hence, there seemed to be no need for a permanent Jesuit mission in the Philippines if the intention was merely to work among the Spaniards or the natives of the pacified provinces. What about the territory not yet, or not fully under Spanish rule? Sedeño suggested that before that possibility was explored the needs of the existing Jesuit missions in the East should be attended to. There were large numbers of neophytes in the Moluccas and Japan who were in danger of relapsing to paganism because the Jesuit province of Portugal could not send enough missionaries to them. Since these neophytes had been brought into the Church by Xavier and his successors, it would seem that the Society had a prior obligation to take care of them before opening any new missions. "And so," Sedeño concluded, "it seems to me that we ought not to start any new undertaking among natives in other parts of the world until your Paternity is satisfied that what the Society has taken upon itself is already well provided for, since it has a continuing obligation towards those whom it baptized and placed under the yoke of the Gospel." The Manila residence could be retained, but only as a center of diffusion whence the Spanish Jesuits could be sent as the need arose to help their Portuguese brethren. This proposal apparently met with Acquaviva's approval, for on the back of the letter is written the minute of a reply: let them stay in Manila because of the possibility of regular voyages being established between Japan and the Philippines.[3]

However, when Sedeño discussed this plan with Sánchez after the latter's return in March 1583, they both came to the conclusion that it would not work out. In the first place, there was little prospect of regular trade relations arising between Japan and the Philippines in view of the determination of the Macao merchants to retain their monopoly; this made it impossible or at least very difficult for missionaries to go to Japan via the Philippines. Moreover, it was much easier to supply the Japanese

missions as hitherto by the eastern or Portuguese route, which, as Sánchez had found out, was shorter by a full four months than the western or Spanish route. Thirdly, the Portuguese at Macao were very much against any kind of contact or communication with the Spaniards at Manila; and in any case the attitudes, usages, and methods of the Portuguese were so different from those of the Spaniards, even within the Society, that they would not be able to live and work together with the requisite harmony and efficiency. As for the Moluccas, all the Portuguese desired of the Spaniards was military aid in subduing the rebellious natives. Once peace was restored they would undoubtedly insist on the observance of Philip II's solemn engagement that the Spanish and Portuguese colonial establishments would continue to be entirely separate.

Thus the idea of Manila as a Jesuit base of operations covering the entire Far East originally proposed by Sedeño seemed to be out of the question. Jesuits sent to Manila would have to limit their sphere of activity to the Philippines. But again the question came up: was there enough work in the Philippines to keep them occupied? It was true that the few Spaniards in the colony would never lack for priests to provide them with the ordinary ministries of the Church. But there was one possibility which Sedeño had overlooked in his first report: education. An elementary and grammar school for Spanish boys, and even seminary studies for those who wished to enter the priesthood, would certainly not be out of place in Manila. Moreover, Sánchez did not agree with Sedeño that there was little opportunity for Jesuit work among the natives. If the Society was to remain in the Philippines at all, it should by all means share with the other religious orders the responsibility of converting the Filipinos to Christianity. He had compared notes in Macao with Jesuits who had worked among the Chinese and Japanese, and had come to the conclusion that the Filipinos were among all the peoples of the newly discovered lands the best disposed to receive the gospel. In his contacts with them he was specially struck by their simplicity and sincerity. The children in particular were intelligent, cheerful, easy to deal with, and well affected toward the missionaries. The Jesuits would do well to begin their missionary work with them. There was also the practical consideration that by establishing missions in the provinces they would be able to bring some land under cultivation and thus supply the needs of the Manila residence.

This was all very well, but now the problem arose of *how* precisely to undertake mission work in the conditions prevailing in the Philippines. Sedeño's instructions very clearly forbade him to accept any "cure of souls," that is, the stable administration of parishes or missions. This prohibition was based on the Constitutions themselves, in which St. Ignatius had written that "since the men of this Society ought to be always ready to set out to any part of the world whither the supreme

pontiff or their superiors might send them, they ought not to accept the cure of souls or that of religious women."[4] And St. Francis Borgia, in his instructions to Pedro Sánchez, the first provincial of Mexico, in 1572: "You are not to accept the administration of *repartimientos* of Christian doctrine, so called, or take upon the Society any cure of souls, but rather be of service through missions, as our institute prescribes, without accepting any stipend for it, although it will be proper to accept the alms necessary for your sustenance."[5]

What St. Francis meant by missions was, clearly, mission tours as then practiced by the Society in Europe, whereby Jesuits either singly or in groups went from town to town or from village to village preaching, hearing confessions, teaching catechism to children, instructing converts, reconciling enemies, and in general cooperating with the resident parish priests in a revival of Christian life and customs. These mission tours proved a phenomenal success in Europe; but would they be effective, were they even workable, in mission countries like the Philippines? Sedeño thought not, or not without considerable adaptation. There were no roads to speak of in the Philippines. Travel was mostly by water; by sea from island to island, or even from one part of an island to another; by river from coast to hinterland. Each traveler made his own arrangements; public transportation was unheard of. To go on a mission excursion of the sort described the missionaries would have to fit out a sailing vessel, hire a crew of from twelve to twenty, and lay in provisions to last them and their crew for several months. The cost of this would be prohibitive unless the government was willing to assign and the missionaries to accept a forced-labor crew, or unless the secular priests and friars in the mission stations were willing to defray the expenses of the expedition. Even if they were willing, it was extremely doubtful whether they could, as the subsistence allowance they received from the encomendero (or the king in a Crown encomienda) was barely enough to provide them with the necessities of life.

Sedeño and Sánchez thought the problem over and finally proposed the following solution to Acquaviva. Let a central residence be established in Manila, and let it be a college as understood in the Society, that is, one in which classes were conducted both for extern students and for Jesuits still in their studies (scholastics). In addition to the fathers engaged in teaching, let there be others available for the ordinary ministries among Spaniards and for missionary work among the natives. This last would consist not in going on mission tours or excursions but in establishing mission stations near Manila. These stations would be staffed by resident missionaries but they would not be parish priests in the strict sense; they would be members of the college community directly subordinate to its rector, and would from time to time be recalled and others sent in their place. Thus they would preserve their status as religious and their mobility as Jesuits, and

would not be altogether deprived of the religious discipline of community life.

This would mean a community of at least eight, and possibly twelve, to start with. Thus, more men should be sent, either from Spain or Mexico. Sending so many from so far was bound to be a very expensive proposition; Acquaviva should therefore consider whether the rector of the college at Manila should not be authorized to receive candidates for the Society. As a matter of fact, there were already two such applicants. One was the dean of the cathedral chapter, Don Diego Vásquez Mercado; the other, Simón de Mendiola, was asking to be admitted as a lay brother.[6]

A final problem remained, not the least important; how was such a college to be financed? A school for extern students would require a bigger and more elaborate plant than they had at Lagyo, and if they were to undertake ministries among the Spaniards they would have to have a church. The members of the community who were missionaries were entitled to the subsistence allowance provided by law; but the teachers, scholastics, and novices would have to be supported by an endowment, since no fees for tuition were charged in the Jesuit schools of the period.

This problem Sedeño and Sánchez took to their good friend, Bishop Salazar. They laid before him the substance of their report to Acquaviva, stressing their conviction that a school for boys and older students "from the first letters of the alphabet to the faculties of arts and theology" was one of the most useful contributions they could make to the colony, where no such school as yet existed. They were also very much interested in missionary work among the natives, but they must do it conformably to their institute, which called for some central residence where the missionaries could lead a community life and new members trained to take their places. This meant that they had to have some capital for construction and a stable income for the college, otherwise they did not see how they could remain in the Philippines.

Bishop Salazar at once wrote to the king (18 June 1583) to recommend very strongly that a Jesuit college be established at Manila and that its expenses be defrayed by the royal treasury until a patron could be found to endow it. The Jesuit provincial of Mexico, on whom the Philippine mission was dependent, should be instructed not to close it but on the contrary to send more men. They could teach not only Spanish boys but also mestizos and sons of the ruling native families. To make a beginning, a class of grammar and one of moral theology could be opened.

Such a college would admittedly be expensive, but it could be financed by applying to it the revenues of encomiendas which would otherwise be granted to soldiers, "who, as far as one can gather, will not put the income to as good use as the fathers." Moreover, it would really be a saving in the end because the college would be training priests and missionaries who

would otherwise have to be brought over from Spain at great cost to the royal treasury. There was also this to be considered, that the missionaries who came from Europe were quite often disappointed with what they found, and after a few discontented years in the country sought by every means to return or to go farther to what they imagined to be the greener pastures of China and Japan. Whereas those who received their vocation to the priesthood and were trained for it in the Philippines were already familiar with the country, knew the language and customs of the people, got along better with them, and would probably make better missionaries.

But the need for seminary studies was not only a prospective but a present one. The religious orders in the Philippines had admitted a number of applicants whom he, Salazar, was reluctant to ordain because they had had little or no theological training. He himself had brought in his entourage several clerics whom he ordained upon his arrival in Manila before they were quite finished with their studies; now he was worried about it because he had no means of completing their education. A Jesuit college would be the solution to these problems, besides serving as a house of formation for the Jesuits themselves.[7]

Bishop Salazar apparently asked Governor Diego Ronquillo to make the same recommendations, because he did. To the bishop's arguments he added a characteristic one from the point of view of the colonial administrator: such a college would serve to retain the Jesuits in Manila, who because of their connections with those of their own order in China and Japan would be very useful in the royal service. He thought that an annual subsidy of 1,000 pesos would be sufficient for such a college. According to Sedeño, the cathedral chapter also sent a similar letter of recommendation to the king.[8]

The reports of the Philippine Jesuits to Acquaviva were coursed through Plaza, the provincial of Mexico, who was their immediate superior.[9] Plaza was dubious about sending more men because he saw no clear-cut solution to the principal problem posed by these reports, namely, how to carry on mission work among the natives without accepting the cure of souls. He was still undecided when Doctor Santiago de Vera, who had been appointed governor of the Philippines and was on his way there, asked him so earnestly for some Jesuits to take with him, declaring that he would not go without them, that Plaza was forced to give way. His choice fell on three priests, Hernán Suárez, Ramón Prat, and Francesco Almerici, and a lay brother, Gaspar Gómez. He came to no definite decision one way or the other on the question of mission curacies, but merely repeated his previous instructions to Sedeño about learning the native language and working among the natives as much as possible.[10]

Hernán Suárez, the superior of the group, was a native of Granada. He taught philosophy and theology in Spain, went to Mexico in 1578 and,

before his assignment to the Philippines, spent a year as missionary among the Otomí Indians. Ramón Prat was a Catalan, born in 1557 in the little town of San Cugat near Barcelona. He was received into the Society in 1576, having finished arts, made his noviceship at Gandía, and was ordained priest after his arrival in Mexico in 1579. He adopted the Castilian form of his name and usually signed himself Raymundo de Prado. Francesco Almerici, an Italian, was born in 1557 in a town of the March of Ancona called Pesaro. He went to Mexico in 1579 and was ordained there with Suárez. Gaspar Gómez was born at Ocaña, near Madrid, in 1552. He entered the Society in 1570 and arrived in Mexico in 1580 as one of a group which included Brother Gallardo, the lay brother in the first Philippine mission. He performed the duties of porter for many years and as we shall see, was a knowledgeable man.[11]

Suárez was a good provider; according to the more frugal Almerici, excessively so. Doubtless he had read or heard of provisions giving out on long voyages, and how Magellan's men, crossing the Pacific, chewed leather from their rigging to stave off starvation. That was not going to happen to his expedition if he could help it. He browbeat the royal treasury officials at Mexico to release 3,600 pesos for the expenses of the four of them, more than twice the allowance given to Sedeño. With this he bought not only a generous quantity of the usual staples, but quite a number of luxury items, including live chickens (both Castilian and Indian), rabbits, pickled squab, cheese, four kinds of preserved fruit, candy, caramels, sweetbreads, raisins, almonds, olives, pickles, cocoa, and honey. Suárez was in fact something of a gourmet, and during the voyage would have little side dishes prepared specially for himself by the cook of one of his official friends. He also liked to play the affable host. Several times in the course of the crossing he invited the more prominent passengers to the Jesuits' cabin for dinner; at other times Suárez's friends would spend practically the whole day in the cabin talking, while the other Jesuits wandered unhappily about the deck. In spite of this orgy of spending there was quite a bit left over from the sum drawn at Mexico when the group reached Manila. Sedeño heard what had happened and sternly ordered Suárez to turn in all the cash in his possession to the Philippine treasury officials.[12]

It will be recalled that the contract whereby Gonzalo Ronquillo obtained the governorship of the Philippines for life and the right to appoint his successor was protested by the colonists through their agent, Ribera. Heeding Ribera's representations the king in council revoked the Ronquillo contract, appointed a new governor and established an audiencia at Manila. This audiencia was a board of four members, called *oidores*, who had the dual role of administrative council and supreme court. As administrative council they acted in an advisory capacity to the governor, who was

obliged to consult them on all important matters but not to follow their advice. As supreme court they heard appeals from the provincial courts of the alcaldes mayores and gave final judgment on all civil and criminal cases originating in the colony, except those involving sums beyond a specified amount, which could be appealed to Mexico. Government cases were prepared and presented by an attorney-general or *fiscal*. If the governor was a *letrado*, that is, a qualified lawyer with a licentiate or doctoral degree, he presided at all the sessions of the audiencia, both as council and as court; if not, only at the administrative sessions or *acuerdos*. In case of the governor's death or disability the audiencia as a body automatically assumed the civil administration of the colony and the senior oidor the supreme command of the armed forces.[13]

The new governor, De Vera, was being promoted from a post as oidor of the audiencia of Hispaniola; being a jurist he was by preference addressed as president—that is, president of the audiencia—rather than as governor. Making the voyage with him were his wife, Doña Isabel, and children; two of the oidores, Melchor Dávalos and Pedro de Rojas; and the attorney-general, Gaspar de Ayala. The Jesuits joined him at Acapulco, having left Mexico City on 15 February 1584. They made an uneventful crossing in two galleons and a frigate, clearing from Acapulco on 9 March and dropping anchor at Cavite on 28 May.[14] From the moment he landed De Vera took a dim view of his new domain. We have already quoted the few cutting phrases with which he dismissed the most noble and ever loyal city of Manila. As for the islands in general: "this land is very hot, lacking in all conveniences and even the ordinary necessities of life. Rice serves for bread, and buffalo and some evil-tasting chickens for meat. Fruit that abound in other lands do not grow here. It rains all year round." So much for climate and natural resources. The colony itself was "in ruins and confusion. Nothing was in its place; the governor new, the city burned, the citizens poverty-stricken and chapfallen for having lost all their property in the fire and in two ships, one of which was sunk and the other driven to port in China and so as good as sunk. I barely found a house for myself and a building in which to establish the audiencia and hold court. The affairs of justice, government and war are so disorganized that to repair them and get them in running order it has been necessary to bind them together, as they say, with baling wire (*poner cuero y correas*)."[15]

Suárez was no less critical of what he found within the narrower horizons of his Jesuit world. The orchard at Lagyo, with its noble coconut trees that could feed and clothe twenty Jesuits, produced, according to him, little of value. The house of which Sedeño was so proud was too far from the city. It was a great inconvenience for people to come and see the Jesuits, and a greater inconvenience for the Jesuits to go and see them, because the lay people could at least protect themselves from the hot

sun with parasols, whereas it was apparently not yet a custom for clerics to carry them. There was indeed a chapel attached to the residence, but it was small, only the size of two ordinary living rooms, with nothing to brighten it up but a scene with figures painted on one wall, and no furniture except some old altar equipment. It was such a dark, forbidding place that only about six people went to Mass there on Sundays.[16]

He found less comfort in the state of the colony at large a year after his arrival. As of June 1585 Manila had suffered from three destructive fires with great loss of property. Much merchandise had also been lost at sea. This had so impoverished the colonists that they simply could not afford the restitutions imposed by the synod of Manila. On the contrary, they felt obliged to continue oppressing the natives with forced labor and iniquitous contracts in order to recoup their fortunes. The new audiencia brought no remedy; rather, it compounded these evils. The colonists now took both each other and the natives to the law. Disputes which used to be settled summarily in an hour began to take weeks and months, earning fat fees for solicitors and notaries. The city gaols were full of natives awaiting trial; this, added to all their other burdens, made them bitterly regret having accepted Christianity; for, they said, to receive baptism was to become a slave.

Their smoldering resentment finally broke out in a serious uprising. The rebels tore apart several towns near Manila and then fled to the hills, vowing that they would come back to burn the city of the Spaniards to the ground. Troops had to be sent to break up their concentrations. The rebellion was put down, but there was no guarantee that there would not be others. It was obvious to the natives that the Spaniards were only a handful, that they could put a hundred fighting men on the field to every Spaniard, and that Manila did not even have a fortified enclosure to which the citizens could withdraw and defend themselves in case of need. There were secret enemies within, powerful enemies without. Of 300 men who went on an expedition to the Moluccas 200 had just returned, badly beaten, "with their hands on their heads." So precarious was their situation that many of the colonists wanted to abandon the Philippines. Yet, "in spite of all this God preserves us," Suárez concludes; then, gloomily, "He alone knows why."[17]

But anyone who concluded from this that Suárez merely sat in his room to wait for the last trump would be totally mistaken. Human nature is fearfully and wonderfully made; and the man who complains the most is not necessarily the man who works the least. Along with Prat and Almerici he threw himself with zest into the study of Tagalog until, a few months later, Sedeño stopped them. Sedeño had been making inquiries as to the possibility of setting up mission stations which could be serviced from the Manila residence, in accordance with the plan submitted to

Acquaviva, but had found out that all the likely towns, and indeed the whole Tagalog region, were already in the hands of the friars and the diocesan clergy. North and south of the Tagalog provinces there was no lack of places crying for priests, but they were far away and their inhabitants spoke languages very different from Tagalog. Sedeño therefore decided that instead of Tagalog they should all learn Chinese.

The sangleys or traders from South China were coming in increasing numbers every year (Suárez counted thirty junks in the bay when his galleon came in), and more and more of them elected to stay in Manila permanently. Prat calculated that during the annual fair, when the merchandise of the junks was put up for sale, there might be 5,000 or 6,000 Chinese in the city; of these, between 1,000 and 1,500 were permanent residents. A census of the residents taken by the city corporation in 1586 revealed that about 750 were shopkeepers and about 300 plied an amazing variety of trades; they were fishermen, truck gardeners, tile-makers, brick-makers, lime manufacturers, carpenters, ironworkers, tailors, shoemakers, candlemakers, pastry cooks, druggists, painters, silversmiths. A group or family of vegetable growers had leased part of the Jesuit property at Lagyo. They impressed Prat by their industry and intelligence; he thought that in these two qualities they would stand comparison with any Spaniard.

Here, then, was a splendid field right in Manila for their apostolic labors. The only difficulty was the language. It was reported to consist of 90,000 ideograms. But Prat was not to be daunted by this. Surely it was not impossible to learn; after all, the Chinese did. Suárez and Almerici shared this conviction and soon Suárez had learned enough of the Fukien dialect to be able to teach catechism in the Chinese quarter every Sunday and feast day. Both Bishop Salazar and President De Vera were delighted. Salazar offered to constitute the resident Chinese into a national parish and give the Jesuits charge of it. De Vera said that if they accepted this offer he would build them a house and church inside the city where they would be closer to their parishioners. Sedeño however felt that he had to decline the offer in view of his instructions about not committing the Society to parish administration. Still, there was nothing to prevent Suárez and Almerici from doing what they could informally.

Suárez had among his catechumens a Buddhist monk from Fukien, who told him that he came to Manila because the word had gone abroad in his land that there were men here who preached a holy law by which men could be saved, and he wanted very much to hear it. He was a man of grave aspect and good judgment, and very willing to learn. Suárez taught him not only the catechism but also how to read and write in Spanish. Because of his interest in Christianity his fellow Buddhists looked upon him as an apostate and subjected him to petty persecution of various kinds. Because of this De Vera thought of sending him to Mexico; but

whether he actually went or not we do not know, because the documents tell us nothing more about him.

We know a little bit more about one of Almerici's converts, a young Chinese scholar who was preparing to take the examinations for the civil service in his country when he was moved to inquire about the Christian faith and eventually made the voyage to Manila. After completing his catechumenate he was baptized by the bishop himself in the chapel at Lagyo and given the name of Paul. Paul became an exemplary Christian, but must have made himself somewhat obnoxious at times by inquiring whenever he saw a less than exemplary Spaniard, "is that person a Christian? Why, then, does he not observe the Commandments?"

The two Jesuits were proceeding happily with their catechetical work when Bishop Salazar suddenly decreed that all Chinese converts must cut off their queues before baptism and wear their hair in the Spanish fashion thereafter. Many Chinese took great pride in their queues and finding this requirement an insuperable difficulty stopped going to the catechism classes. President De Vera tried to convince the bishop that wearing a queue had no idolatrous implications but was merely a Chinese custom, just as not wearing a queue was a Spanish custom; but to no avail. De Vera seems to have misunderstood the bishop's motive, which was not unreasonable. Salazar had observed that some Chinese Christians, upon going back to China, apostatized. They could do so easily because there was no external mark of their ever having received Christianity. It was even suspected that certain sangleys made the best of both worlds, taking a Christian wife in Manila and a pagan wife in Canton. To make such practices more difficult and to provide a test of sincerity as well as a continual reminder to the convert of his new status and obligations as a Christian, the bishop hit upon the device of asking him to give up his queue. This, not a mistaken notion of the queue's heathen significance, was the origin of the decree. Suárez and Almerici apparently had no objections, for they continued their instructions as long as there were catechumens to instruct.[18]

Prat, perhaps the most eager to work among the Chinese, was not assigned to this ministry. Bishop Salazar pounced upon him as the man to conduct a class in moral theology for those of his clergy who had not yet studied it and so lacked the requisite knowledge to hear confessions. Prat began the course some time in 1585 with a series of lectures on the sacraments which lasted for about a year. At the same time he undertook with Suárez and Almerici a series of sermons in the cathedral for the benefit of the Spanish laity on the proper reception of the sacrament of penance and the duties arising from the virtue of justice. While giving this series and hearing confessions, the three of them found that the knowledge which some of the colonists had of their religion left much to be desired, so the following year, 1586, they planned and gave a second series of sermons on

the virtue of faith and what a Christian needed to believe in order to be saved.[19] The Manileños appreciated what the fathers were doing for them well enough, except that they thought Prat took too long over his Mass and sermon, so that the saying became current that:

Del Padre Ramón,
ni misa ni sermon.

Or, to put it another way:

Mass and sermon by Father Prat
Takes about an hour flat.[20]

While his subjects were engaged in these activities, Sedeño (and Sánchez after his return) was kept busy trying to settle the differences that arose between President De Vera and his oidores, and among the oidores themselves. We get a pretty good notion of what these feuds were about from their correspondence. De Vera, writing to his friend and patron Archbishop Moya y Contreras of Mexico, complains that he was having the greatest difficulty with Dávalos and Rojas. Dávalos he compares to a bad-tempered nag that cannot suffer saddle or bit, while Rojas—to continue the equine metaphor—kicks and curvets and cannot keep a straight course. His principal objection was that together with the attorney-general Ayala they kept interfering in matters which were his concern alone as governor. Moreover he accused Dávalos of advancing his own fortunes and prejuddicing his impartiality as judge by marrying his daughter to Estéban Rodríguez de Figueroa, a wealthy encomendero, and his son to one of Manila's most eligible heiresses, Doña Inés de Mendoza. This was in violation of the royal ordinances, which forbade colonial officials to marry or arrange marriages for their children during their term of office without explicit permission, precisely in order to prevent their playing favorites.

But Dávalos had his answer ready. The king had given him permission to take his children to the Philippines with him, and it surely was not the royal intention that all his boys should turn friars and all his girls nuns! As for favoritism, let the record speak for itself. De Vera married his niece to Pedro de Chávez and forthwith appointed his new son-in-law *maestre de campo*. He married another relative or maidservant of his to Gaspar Isla; and Don Gaspar Isla was now acting alcalde mayor of Pampanga. The new alcalde mayor of Tondo was Diego de Montoro; Diego de Montoro was also De Vera's majordomo, under whose name De Vera had embarked on the last galleon for Mexico five or six *arrobas* of gold and two or three hundred bales of merchandise. The command of that galleon, one of the choicest plums within the gift of the governor of the Philippines, went to Rodrigo de León, a cousin of De Vera's wife, who not six years ago was a shopkeeper in Mexico City, and sold sassafras and shirts. Dávalos

simply could not understand why he was being persecuted in this way by the president and the other oidores. The only explanation he could think of was that they disliked him because he was always reading, he never raised his eyes from his books; whereas none of them was much given to study. At least, said he, "I have looked through their books, and have never seen any underscoring or notes in them."[21]

Sánchez returned to Manila, as we have seen, early in June 1585. The Lagyo community now consisted of five priests (Sedeño, Sánchez, Suárez, Prat, and Almerici), two brothers (Gallardo and Gómez) and a postulant (Mendiola); big enough, Sedeño thought, for the regular domestic arrangements of the Society to be introduced. For this he made Sánchez responsible by appointing him minister, the minister in Jesuit houses being the official who assists the superior or rector in caring for the temporal needs of the community and seeing to the observance of external discipline. All would have been well if Sánchez had confined himself to enforcing the regulations and customs of the Society; but he went far beyond them, apparently in a grim effort to make the Lagyo house as unlike the college of Macao as possible.

He imposed an extraordinary rule of silence on the community, so that without his leave they spoke hardly at all to each other, even during the recreation periods. Anyone whom he saw walking about the house was sent back to his room with a reprimand. He made it a regular practice when they assembled for meals in the refectory to read out what he considered to be the violations of rule committed that day, imposing heavy penances for the lightest faults. After all the external activity into which he had been thrown or had thrown himself since his arrival in the Philippines, he now returned to his former obsession that the true life of the Jesuit should be a life of almost immobile contemplation. In this, indeed, he was a shining example. If no business called him to town, he would issue his orders for the day immediately after breakfast and then shut himself up in his room until lunch time, emerging only occasionally to check whether everyone was similarly shut up in his. He even made arrangements for the community meals to be brought in from the outside already cooked, so that the lay brothers would not have the distractions of kitchen, garden, and market place to take them away from their meditations. Although he was always available for consultation by the bishop, the governor, and the oidores, being much in demand as peacemaker, adviser, and confidant, and, although he continued to do yeoman's service in the resumed synod, he engaged in practically none of the ordinary ministries of a Jesuit priest. He heard no confessions, and preached only once in 1585.[22] This in spite of the formal admonition of Acquaviva, transmitted through the provincial of Mexico, that "any method of prayer which does not incline the soul to action and the ministries of our

vocation in the service of God and the salvation and perfection of our fellow men may cause great harm to the institute of the Society and should be looked upon as a delusion, inasmuch as it is outside of and alien to the grace and purpose which God our Lord has given to the Society."[23]

Perhaps he had no time to spare from the mound of paper work involved in the problems and projects passed on to him by the authorities; but it is disturbing to note that he seems to have discouraged the other fathers from such ministries. "Here we are," Suárez writes to Acquaviva, "five priests and three brothers, doing practically nothing, with our residence nearly half a league from the city. The townspeople grumble about this a great deal, and humble as well as gentle folk tell us to our faces that we live apart and have become Carthusians and are of no use to them when we could be of great assistance since the friars are all occupied with the natives." This was in October 1585; seven months later the people were still asking, according to Bishop Salazar, when the Jesuits would come out of their retirement and "open up shop," exercising those ministries which they were wont to elsewhere. There was a standing offer on the part of the bishop and some of the citizens to let them have a fine site for house and church in the best part of the city; the president of the audiencia joined the bishop in proposing all sorts of inducements to transfer there; but Sedeño on the advice of Sánchez kept putting them off with the excuse that he lacked authorization from the general.[24]

If there was no intention of establishing a permanent mission in the Philippines, then, Suárez pleaded, let them go to some other country where they would have something to do—Japan, China, the Moluccas, anywhere. Because of the lack of employment and the uncertainty of their staying the younger priests were restless and discontented and the two brothers, Gallardo and Gómez, were grievously tempted to return to Mexico. As Prat put it, spending most of the day in their rooms when there was so much to be done for God outside made the Lagyo residence a "seminary of temptations" rather than a religious house.[25]

But what of Sedeño, who after all was the superior? It must be admitted that he was completely overawed by his formidable minister. Everyone liked him, his brethren as well as externs; he was admired and respected; the authorities sought his advice and placed great reliance on his judgment; but Sánchez ran the community. Like Sánchez, he now spent most of his time in his room, studying or praying. He even refused to see visitors who had walked all the way out from Manila to see him, and the other fathers had to go down to make excuses for him. They had to go down because, according to one of Sánchez's house rules, they were not supposed to ask visitors up, but receive them at the door and send them away as soon as possible. They were forced to do this even to the Franciscans, who lodged Sedeño and Sánchez so hospitably for six months in their own

convent. And yet when Sánchez's high-placed friends among the laity came, they were taken right to his room.[26]

As a result of Sedeño's excessive retirement the two lay brothers and the postulant, Mendiola, got no direction whatever. They did pretty much as they wished whenever Sánchez was not around, with the result that their spiritual life became sadly disorganized. Gallardo and Gómez were good, simple, hard-working men, in the best tradition of the Jesuit lay brotherhood, but they had received their training in the College of Alcalá, where student philosophers and theologians argued all day long; in this environment they had acquired a tendency to be disputatious. Suárez gave them black marks, saying that they worked only when they felt like it and talked back to the priests. Almerici's judgment was milder and probably more just. It was true, he said, that you could not ask them the simplest question without their giving you an argument; and that if anything was discussed in their presence, even if it was something they knew little or nothing about, they were quite ready with their opinions; and that one of them, naming no names, even got quite huffy if contradicted; but this must be said for them, that whenever they were told to do anything, even if it was against their will, they did it. They did not particularly want to come to the Philippines, but they came, because they were ordered. And so with everything else; they did what they were ordered, and they did it well. But they knew quite well when they were being ordered to do something, or requested to do it, or consulted about it. It was in the latter case that you had to steel yourself for a minor disputation.[27]

Still, the peculiar regime of the Lagyo house must have been a sore trial even for such solid religious, and much more so for Mendiola, who had not even begun his noviceship. Sedeño did nothing about it until another applicant asked to be admitted to the Society. This was García Pacheco, a young man of twenty-five who had come to the Philippines from his native León to make his fortune. He had received a good education, still remembered most of his Latin, and even knew a bit of canon law. On Christmas Eve 1585 Sedeño received him as a scholastic novice. With Mendiola as a novice brother, they now had two novices, and a novice master was needed. Sánchez, of course, was appointed.

His first act was to divide the small community into two parts: a residence and a novitiate. In the novitiate part of the house he placed himself, Almerici as assistant master of novices, the two lay brothers, and the two novices. Sedeño, Suárez, and Prat stayed in the "residence" part of the house. They took their meals in common but met separately for the recreation period after lunch and supper. The master of novices being busy with other things, it was the assistant master of novices who gave all the conferences and exhortations. Suárez complained several times to Sedeño about these and other arrangements introduced by Sánchez, but all he got

for his pains was a lecture to the effect that if Sedeño could stand them he could, and that such complaints merely proved that he did not have the true spirit of the Society.[28]

We have seen that in 1582, during Sánchez's absence on his first voyage to China, Sedeño sent certain recommendations to Acquaviva regarding the future status of the Philippine mission. When Sánchez returned in 1583, the two of them agreed on another set of recommendations modifying those of 1582. The letters sent to Acquaviva in 1585 show that soon after Sánchez's return from his second voyage (6 June) the five fathers of the Lagyo community decided to reopen the whole question and reached substantial agreement on a third set of recommendations which each one formulated separately in individual letters.

It now seemed to the fathers that there was no way for them to undertake any ministries among the natives. First, because of the directive forbidding them to accept any stable missions or parishes. Second, because most of the available territory was already in the hands of the friars. The only possibilities left were the provinces of Ilocos and Cagayan; but neither of these seemed suitable. The climate of Ilocos was reputed to be fatal to Europeans, so much so that the friars who had charge of it for a while gave it up because the missionaries sent there either fell sick or died. Cagayan was not yet pacified; moreover, the latest reports were that the friars were going to take it over or had already done so. There were other provinces which had been subjected to Spanish rule but not yet evangelized. They could go there, except that the inhabitants had no desire whatever to become Christians and unarmed Spaniards who went among them never came back. The only way the encomenderos could collect the tribute was by paying troops to escort them.

There was not much they could do among the Spaniards either. The Spanish population of Manila was only about 300, and to take care of its spiritual needs there were a bishop, his clergy, and two convents of friars. The only time they came to the Jesuits was when they wanted advice on some particularly difficult moral problem or to ask them to settle the feuds that were continually breaking out among themselves.

A third possibility was for them to join their Portuguese brethren in China, Japan, or the Moluccas. But, from what Sánchez had observed on his two voyages, this too seemed to be out of the question. They could of course go back to Mexico; but what impression would that make on the king, who had already spent a considerable sum of money to send them out to the East?

Thus, it seemed that they had little to keep them where they were, and yet they could neither go back nor forward—a most uncomfortable position. They suggested the following solution. Let three of them remain in the Lagyo residence and the other four ask permission of the Portuguese

to transfer to Macao. Since there would only be four of them, the Portuguese might not offer any serious objection, and for their part they could make a really serious effort to adapt themselves to Portuguese ways. Those who stayed behind in Manila could devote themselves to the apostolate of the Chinese; this would certainly give them more than enough to do, and if the mission in China should develop so as to require more men, they would be ready for it.

Suárez also suggested that the Manila fathers could go on mission tours, as their instructions directed; but against this Sánchez repeated the objections outlined in previous reports, such as the variety of languages and the difficulties of transportation. On the other hand, Suárez saw no necessity for a college at Manila. Whom would they teach? The colonists were few, only a minority of them were married, and any sons they might have would want to follow in their fathers' footsteps as soldiers or merchants rather than study for the priesthood, "because here priests have short commons." However, he changed his mind a year later when he learned that there was a possibility of the king sending out farmers from Spain to settle the country and raise families. There would be some point in having a college then, especially if a recommendation which Prat made at this time, and with which he heartily agreed, was adopted. This was that the proposed college be not only a school for Spanish boys but also a *seminario* or boarding school for natives and mestizos.[29]

All this time, and until the middle of 1586, they received no word from Rome. The galleon that arrived in May or June of that year brought them two important communications. One was from the provincial of Mexico, informing them that Father General had as yet made no decision as to the definitive status of the Philippine mission, but that they could expect a decision the following year.[30] The other was a cédula to De Vera, signed by Philip II at Barcelona, 8 June 1585. It ran:

> I have been informed that the religious of the Society of Jesus stationed there have done and are doing much good by their teaching and example and that their preservation and increase in those Islands would be very beneficial. To this end it is proposed that they be given a subsidy toward the establishment of a college and the support of the religious who shall be employed there in teaching and instructing those who present themselves in grammar, sciences, and the proper conduct of life; this subsidy to continue until someone offer an endowment, because otherwise their lack of means would compel them to withdraw from those Islands.
>
> And since it is my will that they remain because of the great results that I am confident will follow therefrom for the service of God and the spiritual formation of those natives, I enjoin you to confer with the bishop of those Islands concerning the manner in which said college may be instituted, and the religious who shall live and teach in it be provided with what they need, and from what revenues; and you shall send me a report thereof. In the meantime you shall take what measures

you can that sufficient instruction is given in accordance with the proposals of the said religious.[31]

This was accompanied by another cédula granting the Jesuits 300 ducats outright to use as they saw fit and confirming Governor Gonzalo Ronquillo's grant to them of the usual missionary stipend. One of the Jesuits at Madrid writing to Sedeño informed him that these signs of the royal favor were due in part to the excellent reports received of the way Sánchez handled the business of Macao's allegiance.[32]

These dispositions considerably altered the situation from that in which the recommendations of the preceding year were made, and Suárez now proposed to Sedeño and the other fathers the following plan of action. First, they should build a church and residence of wood and nipa on some lots that were being donated to them inside the city, and that all or at least two of the fathers should go there to live, hold services and hear confessions in the church, and act as chaplains in the city hospital. Second, they should gather together in the church at stated times during the week the children, Negroes, and slaves of the city and give them catechism lessons. Third, they should all learn Chinese in order to be able to work among the sangleys and be ready to go to China in case they should be sent there. Fourth, as long as Sánchez did not seem to want to hear confessions like the rest, he should at least give a course of sermons in the cathedral, since he had a talent for preaching and the bishop and the citizens had requested him to do so. Lastly, they should try to interest some of the wealthier colonists in building a stone church and residence for them, in order that if Acquaviva should decide that they were to remain, construction could be started as soon as word was received.

Consultations were held on these proposals, but Sánchez offered so many objections that nothing was done about them except the third and fifth. A search for possible benefactors was almost immediately successful. A prominent citizen not named in the letters but almost certainly Gabriel de Ribera, offered to spend as much as seven or eight thousand ducats on a new church and residence as soon as word arrived from Rome. With regard to the study of Chinese, Sedeño ordained that since there was a possibility of opening a school for natives, only Suárez and Prat should study Chinese, while he and Almerici devoted themselves to Tagalog,[33] Nothing was said about Sánchez, for by this time he was involved in another piece of business which was to take him to Madrid and Rome as nothing less than the unanimously chosen representative of the entire colony.

Chapter Five

THE COLONIAL AGENT

On 19 April 1586 the president and oidores of the audiencia of Manila discussed in administrative session "the generally expressed desire of this commonwealth to take stock of its situation and to consider that if a remedy is not speedily procured for the many things which are said to require it, it may be too late to set them right." In order that all might have a voice in this stock-taking, it was decided to hold a general junta or assembly in the government house at two o'clock in the afternoon of the following day, which was a Sunday. Special invitations were issued to the bishop, the cathedral chapter, the superiors of the religious orders, the city corporation, and the commander of the Manila garrison; while the town crier read a proclamation at the street corners of the city calling upon all captains, encomenderos, and citizens to attend, for matters of the highest importance were to be debated and decided, to wit, what in the present state of the colony needed to be brought to the attention of the king in his Council of the Indies, and whether an agent should be accredited to go to Madrid on this business, and if so, who that agent was to be.[1]

That all was not well in the Philippines during the years immediately following the arrival of the first Jesuits has already been suggested. The clearest indication of this was the steep rise in the cost of living between 1580 and 1585,[2] but what dramatized the situation and gave it a sense of urgency was a series of recent reverses which filled the colonists with dismay and apprehension. In the Moluccas a general revolt had overwhelmed the Portuguese garrisons, repulsed with heavy loss the Spanish expeditionary force sent to their assistance, put the missionaries to flight and placed their more than 200,000 defenseless converts and catechumens at the mercy of the Moslem rebels. They were killing encomenderos on the island of Leyte, and in northeastern Luzon the entire Cagayan valley was up in arms; but even more disquieting was the fact that the native levies recruited near Manila to put down the insurrection had melted away upon reaching the combat area and turned up again in the ranks of the enemy. There did not seem to be anyone the colonists could trust except themselves, a mere handful surrounded by hostile multitudes, thousands of miles away from any hope of help. And now on top of all this intelligence had been received of what the heretical English—Drake, Hawkins, and others of that bloodthirsty breed—were doing to remote and solitary

outposts exactly like their own at Cape Verde, the Antilles, and even the Main itself. The emergency was too great and too pressing for ordinary government to deal with; the community itself must now consult about its own safety.[3]

De Vera gave the citizens an hour to assemble and called the meeting to order at 3 p.m. Among those present were "the president and oidores, army officers, many encomenderos, merchants, and citizens of Manila and some from other towns. Representing the clergy was the bishop of the said Islands and the cathedral chapter and the father provincial of St. Augustine with three of his religious and the father custodian of St. Francis with three of his and the father rector of the Society of Jesus with three others of the same Society, and other clerics and laymen."[4] The grievous state of the colony, De Vera said in his opening address, was known to all. The colonists were for the most part unable to support themselves because the land was poor and largely an uncultivated wilderness. This situation was aggravated by the fact that there was neither order nor method in the conduct of public business, for the colonial government had neither instructions, powers, nor means to undertake much that was necessary for the common good and safety. There could only be one remedy for this, and that was to send an accredited agent to propose to the king what they, the colonists, believed to be necessary for the preservation and increase of these dominions. He therefore charged them as a matter of conscience to consider what was to be done and then to express their opinions individually. Action would be taken according to the prevailing sense of the assembly.

Juan de Morón then rose in behalf of the city corporation and presented a written memorial which they had drafted, he said, by common consent, putting down in order the points which they believed should be called to the attention of His Majesty. The memorial was read to the assembly and then registered among its papers, the first of a pile that would in due course reach impressive proportions.

Bishop Salazar was the next to be recognized by the chair. He stressed the fact that the ordinary citizens, as distinct from government officials and merchants, suffered particular hardship because they were not rewarded for their merits and services. Nor, he added quickly, could the governor be blamed for this, for he had first to attend to the expenditures of government, as was proper, and funds were lacking even for those.[5] Thus the soldiers' pay was in arrears, had been for years, and they were dismayed and disconsolate because there seemed to be no hope of their ever getting paid. At the same time, because the land was newly acquired and still had to be put under the plow, and an orderly and stable government had not yet been organized, the cost of living was daily rising to impossible heights. These and other urgent considerations made it imperative to send a qualified and fully accredited agent to the king.

Melchor Dávalos, the senior oidor, commented with approval on the memorial of the city of Manila and proposed that the other estates of the colony, such as the clergy and the military, consult together on their particular needs and draw up similar memorials. This was endorsed by Fray Juan de Plasencia, the Franciscan father custodian, who announced that the bishop and the clergy had already decided to memorialize the king on the state of the Church in the Islands.

According to Pedro de Rojas, the junior oidor, the chronic financial embarrassment of the colony described by the governor and the bishop could only be relieved by an annual subsidy from Mexico. How big a subsidy? The colony's agent should propose the figure of 100,000 ducats. He should also make strong representations that funds be appropriated to fortify Manila and provide its hospital with an endowment. Fray Diego de Álvarez, the Augustinian provincial, warmly endorsed the idea of a subsidy, pointing out that the lack of funds was the greatest single reason why the religious had not been able to expand their missionary work.

The former staff officer of the Duke of Feria came to momentary life when Sedeño rose to recommend that Manila be provided not only with defensive works but with a strong military establishment consisting of regular troops. The mere presence of such an establishment would act as a deterrent on the numerous enemies surrounding the colony and prevent "brush-fire" wars and rebellions from starting. By the same token garrisons of regular troops should be stationed in every Spanish settlement throughout the Islands, instead of their defense being left entirely to the settlers themselves, as hitherto. Such troops would serve the additional purpose of protecting the missionaries stationed in the native towns and villages. Captain Bartolomé de Sotomayor, in seconding these proposals, added that their success depended on the troops being paid adequately and regularly; to guarantee this the king should be asked to determine their rate of pay himself and designate a definite source of revenue from which it could be drawn.

Alonso Sánchez, when called upon for his suggestions, said that among other things Manila needed a refuge or hostel for unmarried Spanish women where they could live in community and be trained in the proper conduct of a Christian household until it was time for them to marry. Fray Alonso de Castro, the prior of the Augustinian convent of Tondo, developed the timeliness of this suggestion by explaining that many settlers who came out to the Philippines as single men experienced great difficulty in finding suitable wives; such a hostel would supply this need. Sánchez's second suggestion was that a colonial navy "of moderate size" be organized capable of taking the offensive against any hostile power that threatened the safety of the Islands. In time of peace the elements of such a navy could be used as trading vessels whereby commercial relations

might be cultivated with Japan, Java, China, and other neighboring countries. In the course of their trading voyages these naval units could, incidentally, gather intelligence regarding the countries they visited and regarding the movements of the Portuguese; such intelligence would be of the highest value in determining the foreign policy of the colony.

In this connection Fray Juan de Quiñones, prior of the Augustinian convent of Manila, reminded the assembly that the fitting out of maritime expeditions required the drafting of large quantities of native labor, and that one of the principal abuses which cried out for a remedy was the manner in which these levies were imposed. He strongly urged that all statute labor be paid an adequate wage and that the funds to pay it be made a regular item of the government budget. Moreover in the recruitment of men for these expeditions care should be taken that the religious instruction of the natives be not interfered with.

The rest of the assembly endorsed one or the other of these various recommendations and all agreed that it was necessary to send an accredited agent to Madrid. Bishop Salazar then got up and proposed two additional points to be taken up with the king. First, that in view of the well-known poverty of the colony, the salaries of its officials be paid from other than local revenues. Second, that the abolition of the audiencia be considered. A lively general discussion of these points ensued. Sedeño expressed himself in favor of the first point, but suspended judgment on the second until he could give it more thought. Sánchez, speaking on the second point, said that in case the king was unwilling to discontinue the audiencia, he should at least be requested to modify its constitution so as to adapt it better to the needs of the country. Fray Alonso de Castro was opposed to abolishing the audiencia but in favor of the modification suggested by Sánchez. Luís de Barruelo, canon of the cathedral, and Luís Vélez, clerk, were in favor of continuing the audiencia provided its salaries were paid from other than local revenues. Otherwise it should be abolished and the encomiendas now reserved to defray its expenses awarded to deserving veterans. Juan Bautista Román, the royal factor, was for outright abolition with no ifs. The colony was small, its treasury poor, and "for 140 settlers, which are all there are in these Islands, a country of such slim resources, there is no need of so formidable a tribunal; moreover, the life of garrison and camp in a frontier outpost such as this consorts but ill with the legal formalities of an audiencia." Pedro Martín, merchant, begged to differ; the audiencia should by all means be retained, in order that the governor might have wise counselors to advise him; one head could not possibly rule the colony better than many.

The president and oidores abstained from expressing an opinion as the question concerned them personally. However, we know from other sources that De Vera was privately in favor of abolition. Like Román, he

believed that the colony was too small to need or to be able to support an audiencia. The salaries of president, oidores, attorney-general, and staff amounted to 20,000 pesos a year, chargeable on encomiendas reserved to the Crown; this was a sore point with the colonists who felt that those encomiendas should have been the perquisite of the veterans of the conquest.[6] Attorney-general Ayala also favored abolition, and, anticipating Martín's objection, made the practical proposal that the governor, who was usually chosen for his military qualifications, might be provided with an *asesor* or legal adviser; he cited the precedents of Cartagena, Chile, and Popayán.[7]

On the other hand, Dávalos expressed strong opposition to the audiencia being discontinued. He claimed that De Vera's real reason for advocating its abolition was because he wanted to rule the colony by himself, despotically. So too the bishop and clergy wanted to get rid of it because it imposed strict limits on the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in former times so ill defined as to be practically unlimited. But, if they had their way, what would follow? The very same evils that prevailed before the institution of the audiencia, and which the audiencia was precisely instituted to prevent. Once again the colonists would have to sue for their rights or defend them in the Mexican courts—a ruinously expensive process. Once again the death of a governor would be followed by disputes over the succession, as happened after the death of Gonzalo Ronquillo. Once again the ecclesiastical power would encroach unchecked on the civil. But the Philippines was too small a colony to have an audiencia! This was to take a very short view of the matter, Dávalos said. The Philippines would not be small and weak forever. It had a great future before it, and it was precisely to help make that splendid future come to pass that the audiencia was founded.[8]

Hernán Suárez made no speeches, but by sitting quietly in his place, watching and listening, he was able afterward to send Acquaviva an admirable summary of the general sense of the assembly. One solid fact emerged from the discussions, and that was that the Philippines in its present state of cultivation produced enough and even more than enough to support the native population, but not quite enough to support them and the Spaniards and Chinese besides. For this reason the China trade, while doubtless profitable to a few, had an adverse effect on the whole economy, because by increasing the numbers of the resident Chinese it caused an increase in the cost of living.

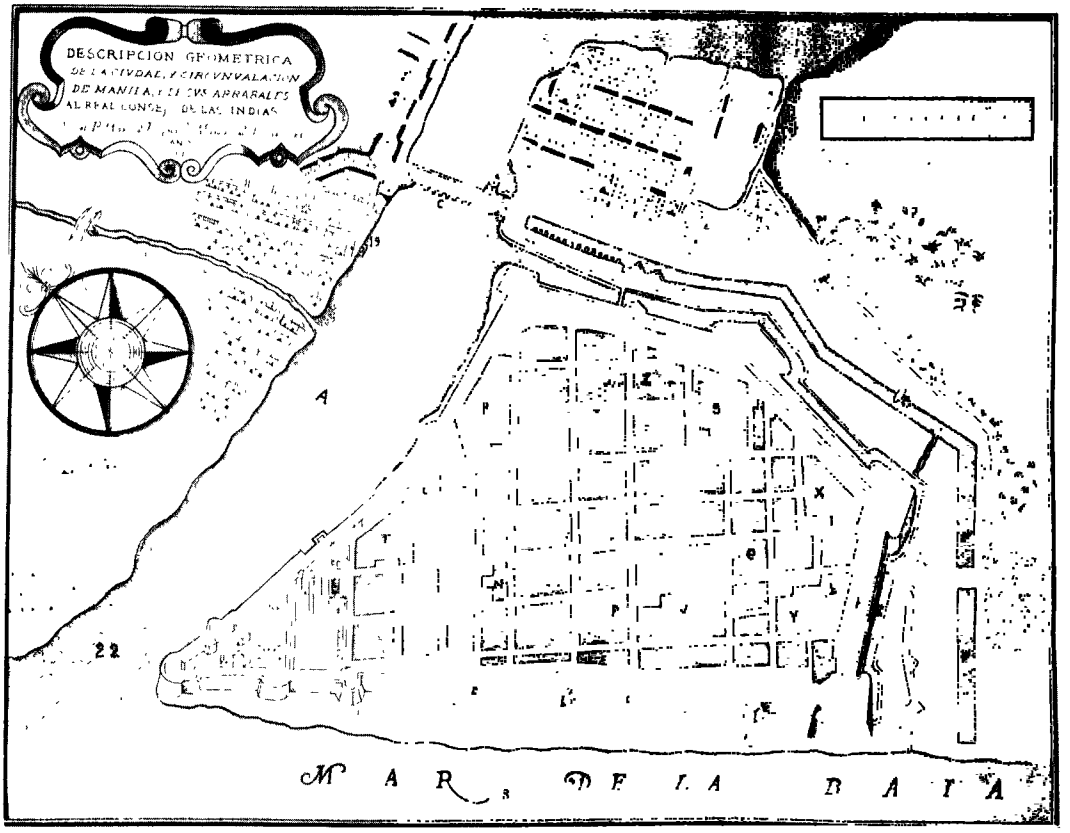
Another contributing factor to this was that the colony was top-heavy with bureaucrats who used their official position to extract from the natives the gold, wax, cotton, and textiles which they sold at such fantastic profits in Mexico. This unregulated exportation created a scarcity without providing any incentive for increased production; prices rose as a consequence.

Although the natives were the hardest hit by these dislocations of their traditional economy, the ordinary Spanish settlers were also finding it difficult to meet the rising commodity prices. Small investors derived little profit from the Manila-Acapulco trade because most of the cargo space in the galleons was pre-empted by the officials and wealthier merchants; while the colonial government's income was so small that after paying the salaries of the top bureaucrats there was usually nothing left for the minor functionary or common soldier.[9]

The assembly now proceeded to elect the agent who should present their petitions to the king. There seems to have been no serious doubt as to the results of this election. Earlier that April, even before the audiencia thought of summoning an assembly, Bishop Salazar had held several meetings of the religious superiors and their principal assistants to consider whether someone from among their number should report to the king on the perilous state of the colony. It was proposed that the bishop himself go; but on further reflection the fathers advised him not to leave his diocese. Nevertheless, someone certainly had to go, and Sánchez seemed to be the man with all the necessary qualifications. Still in the prime of life, he had the health and strength to undertake the long, difficult, dangerous journey. He had the learning and perception necessary to explain the colony's complex problems and answer the questions which would be put to him by the king's councilors. To a large measure of prudence and dexterity in the management of affairs he added personal and first-hand knowledge not only of the Philippines but of practically all of the neighboring countries as well.[10] So the bishop's advisers; and the assembly saw nothing to modify in this generous judgment. When, therefore, Bishop Salazar rose to withdraw his previous offer to go as the colony's agent and cast his vote instead for Sánchez, all those present followed his vote without dissent. Sedeño as Sánchez's superior then declared that "since the voice of all is often found to be the voice of God," he granted Sánchez permission to undertake this business for the common good. This *viva voce* election in the general assembly was later ratified in writing by the estates of the colony meeting separately; by the military on 8 May, the cathedral chapter on 20 June, and the city of Manila on 25 June. On 26 June the proctor of Nueva Cáceres, Captain Hernán Gutiérrez de Céspedes, transferred his commission to Sánchez; and on 27 June the bishop and his chapter granted him full proctorial powers to act for them not only in the royal court at Madrid but also in the papal curia at Rome.[11]

Having chosen their agent, the assembly now set up a kind of central committee to draft the general memorial of the colony as distinct from those of the separate estates. Appointed to this committee were: Bishop Salazar, chairman, two prebends of the cathedral, one of the royal treasury officials, the former agent of the colony, Don Gabriel de Ribera, the

1 Street plan of Manila, 1671





II. Landscape with figures

commander of the Manila garrison, two officers representing the military, two aldermen and two householders representing the city of Manila, the proctors of the other Spanish towns, and the three religious superiors with their advisers. Only one other session of the full assembly was held; on 26 June when the general memorial drawn up by the central committee was ratified.[12]

While the central committee was meeting by day, a smaller group composed of Bishop Salazar, the oidor Rojas, Attorney-General Ayala, the factor Román, and Sánchez met at night in the bishop's house to prepare a detailed plan of the *empresa de China* for presentation to the king. The need for continuous consultation on this and the other memorials was so great that Sánchez left the Lagyo residence and lodged temporarily with the bishop.[13]

Meanwhile Sedeño began to have serious doubts as to the wisdom of the permission he had so blithely given. If Sánchez's two previous missions were open to criticism as unbecoming a religious, did not this third one mean an even greater involvement in secular business expressly forbidden to Jesuits by their institute? Sedeño took his doubts to the other fathers, who advised that he could permit Sánchez to accept the agency in view of the exceptional circumstances, but only on two conditions; first, that he should be accompanied by another agent, equally accredited, so that if the provincial of Mexico should forbid him to go any further, there would be someone to take his place; second, that all dispatches, memorials, and instructions given to Sánchez in his capacity as colonial agent should be shown by him to his fellow Jesuits, who would decide which of them he as a religious could accept and which he would have to decline.

Sánchez absolutely refused to go on these terms. The president and oidores, convinced that no one else could fill the post as well as he, resolved to force Sedeño's hand. On 5 May they issued a decree in the king's name declaring that the appointment of Sánchez was a matter of public necessity, and hence that they "commanded, besought and charged" Sedeño to grant the requisite permission. Sedeño complied.[14]

Bishop Salazar invited Sánchez to have supper with him on his last evening in Manila. The following day, having embarked on the galleon at Cavite, Sánchez received the following affectionate note from his old friend:

> The tears I did not shed last night in your pleasant company I shed after your departure and am shedding now as I write this. I fear I shall have little to console me in your Reverence's absence. May God Himself be my consolation, and may He lead you by the hand and bring you back to us safe and sound. The usual prayers and petitions will be offered here and public rogations held for your Reverence and the success of your enterprise. May God grant you all the assistance you need to secure the welfare of these realms. Amen.[15]

Sánchez made the voyage to Acapulco on the *San Martín*, the same galleon that brought him and Sedeño to the Philippines and that he helped Román recover at Macao. He was accompanied by Brother Nicolás Gallardo, the novice Juan García Pacheco, and a ten-year-old Pampangueño named Martín Sancho. Young Martín was to have the rare privilege of being quizzed on his catechism by Philip II himself, and the even rarer privilege of being the first Filipino to be admitted to the Society of Jesus. This took place in 1593 at Rome, whither he had accompanied Sánchez. He was attached to the province of Toledo and spent some time in the college of Murcia, whence he returned to Mexico in 1599. He sailed for home in the group of Jesuit missionaries headed by Gregorio López in 1601, but died that same year soon after setting foot once more on his native land. He was twenty-five years old at the time of his death and a Jesuit eight years.[16]

The *San Martín* entered Acapulco harbor early in January 1587 after a stormy six-months' passage. When the Jesuit provincial, Antonio de Mendoza, learned the nature of Sánchez's mission, he refused to let him go any further, just as Sedeño's consultors predicted. The colonial agency appeared to Mendoza so obviously incompatible with the religious profession that he insisted on Sánchez waiting in Mexico for Acquaviva's explicit permission before proceeding to Spain. Sánchez represented that he was confident the permission would be given, but to wait for it would delay his arrival in Spain for at least two years, according to the most probable schedule of Atlantic crossings. Such a delay would be fatal to the business entrusted to him by the Philippine colony. Moreover he had with him many important letters and messages both of officials and private persons to their correspondents in Spain, of a nature that could not suffer delay. He had sums of money, too, which Philippine residents had asked him to invest for them in Europe; they would be lying idle and unprofitable while he waited in Mexico. Nor could he write back to Manila and ask his principals to make other arrangements; there was no time for that. He therefore begged Mendoza to let him proceed at least to Seville and there await Father General's decision, or from Seville go directly to Rome without presenting himself at court in order to give an account of himself to Acquaviva personally.[17]

This last alternative, however, Villamanrique, the viceroy of Mexico, quickly ruled out. It would never do, he said, for Sánchez to go to Rome first with the dispatches and documents which he carried for the king. Whether he should have accepted the commission or not, Sánchez was in point of fact an agent in the royal service, and it was his clear duty to present himself and his papers to the king as soon as possible.[18] This gave Mendoza no alternative but to allow Sánchez to proceed. However, he got Villamanrique to agree that Sánchez should at least be made to show his papers to a special commission of inquiry, for he had had disquieting

reports from the other Jesuits in the Philippines regarding a China project. Suárez in particular had registered his violent opposition to it, which was apparently one of using force to win a hearing for Christianity in China. The only way to win a hearing for Christianity in China, Suárez had said, was Ruggiero's way, patiently to cultivate the good will of the emperor and his officials and make it clear to them that the missionaries had no intention of subverting their government. Mendoza completely agreed with this, writing to Acquaviva in his turn that "we have little liking for his [Sánchez's] doctrinaire assertions that nothing can be done in China by means of peaceful preaching, but that it is necessary and completely licit to send an army to conquer it—that is the very word he uses, conquer."[19]

Among those appointed to the commission of inquiry was José de Acosta, one of the Society's most distinguished writers on missionary affairs. He had gone to Perú as a missionary in 1571, was made rector of the College of Lima in 1574 and provincial in 1576. After his term as provincial he served as theologian to the Third Council of Lima (1582–1583), and was in Mexico City on his way to Europe when Sánchez arrived from the Philippines. He set down his comments on the *empresa de China* in a memorandum to the government dated 15 March 1587,[20] and in another to Acquaviva dated 22 March of the same year.[21]

The just causes alleged for making war on China, he said, were four. First, the Chinese policy of exclusion whereby the Chinese government forbade all communication and commerce between its nationals and foreigners of whatever sort, contrary to the natural law and the law of nations. Second, ill-treatment of Portuguese and Spanish nationals by the Chinese port authorities, continued in spite of formal protests and amounting to a *casus belli*. Third, the right to preach the gospel to all nations, which induced in all nations an obligation not to interfere with its being preached; this obligation could be lawfully enforced by military action. Fourth, persecution by the Chinese government of Chinese converts to Christianity; the Catholic king in virtue of his protectorate over the missions could use force to safeguard the faith of these converts. None of these causes, either separately or collectively, justified making war on China as proposed.

With regard to the first cause, the grievance alleged did not concern Spaniards alone but all foreigners seeking relations with China, hence if any action was to be taken it ought not to be unilateral but collective. But what action could lawfully be taken? It was not clear what right of the nations interested was being violated since the Chinese government did not itself enjoy—nor, indeed, did it seek—any commerce or communication with other countries. As for its being a violation of the natural right of free association and intercourse among the members of the human race, it would have to be established that the Chinese adopted their policy of

exclusion without provocation or without being given grounds to suspect that that was their wisest course if they wished to preserve their territorial integrity. But that was precisely what had induced the Chinese to exclude Europeans,

> . . . for the Chinese have reason to fear the Spaniards in particular, as being a nation warlike and ambitious of rule; and because of the public record of the past ninety years with which the whole world is familiar, namely that they have eventually acquired dominion over those nations where they first gained admittance under the guise of friendly intercourse and commerce. And if not, let me ask those who are so much in favor of the conquest of China if their real purpose is other than to make themselves lords of it, of its greatness and its wealth?[22]

As for the second cause, the injuries alleged to have been committed against Spanish and Portuguese nationals were not such as to justify a war; and as for the third, what exactly was the nature and extent of this so-called obligation to hear the gospel, or not to interfere with its being preached? Where did it reside? In individual pagans? In their communities? In their governments? And, even granting that it existed, was it the kind of obligation that could be enforced by military action? Lastly, even if military action were valid as a last resort, had the last resort, in point of fact, been reached? Had every peaceful means been tried to win a peaceful entry into China for the gospel of peace?

The fourth reason cited could admittedly be a just cause for military intervention, but only under very definite conditions: first, it must be certain that the injuries committed against the Christian Chinese were committed against them precisely as Christians, that is, in hatred of the faith; second, that the intervention proposed would not result in more hatred of the faith than existed already; third, that all means short of war had been tried and found ineffectual; and fourth, that the intervention was not permitted to develop into a full-scale invasion, but strictly limited to purely punitive measures and the necessary protection of the Christian converts. None of these conditions seemed to be verified; hence, this cause too should be rejected.

The concluding paragraphs of Acosta's memorandum to the government deserve to be quoted in full:

> Someone may object that according to this view the Spaniards will not be able to make war at all on any pagan people, for some one or other of the difficulties here proposed will always be present. My answer is that that is quite correct if the pagans referred to are not Moors or Turks or any of that sort but those that have recently come to the knowledge of Europeans. I say that they have no right to make war on these for the sake of spreading the gospel; for it is not surprising that what holy Church has not done in fifteen hundred years and which when attempted has always resulted in such grievous sins against God and widespread harm to the neighbor should seem to us objectionable.

It will also be argued that if New Spain and Peru had not been acquired by conquest the faith would never have found in them a permanent lodgment; and that the same will be true of China unless some Christian king were to take possession of it and rule it. My answer is that this is a distinct possibility; I will go further and say that it is highly probable and to be expected. But what God, who can draw good even out of evil, suffers us to do is one thing; what He ordains and wants us deliberately to seek and procure is another. Unless some radical change takes place in my general attitude I cannot pronounce such a war lawful, nor will I for anything in the world take upon my conscience the numberless evils that will follow upon it.[23]

This measured judgment by an impartial fellow Jesuit seems to have made little impression on Sánchez, whose only recorded comment was that there was no agreement in Mexico on the merits of the China project. Two members of the commission of inquiry who objected to it, he says, admitted that it would be perfectly in order for the Catholic king to station troops at Macao and a fleet in Chinese territorial waters if these measures were likely to compel better treatment of missionaries. In Sánchez's opinion a "gunboat" policy of this sort was tantamount to a declaration of war, and hence those who considered it lawful had no reason to jib at the *empresa de China*.[24]

While Sánchez was waiting for the silver fleet to take him to Seville, the first expedition of Dominican missionaries destined for the Philippines arrived in Mexico City. Some of them had the intention of using the Philippines as a base for still another attempt to enter China. Sánchez, apprised of this, took it upon himself to inform them that the authorities in the Philippines were very much against any religious passing over to China, and that once in Manila they were not likely to get permission to go any further. Acting on this information, several of the Dominicans voluntarily decided to remain in Mexico; as for the rest, the viceroy acting on his own authority forbade any of them to sail if their intention was to go on to China.[25] It is difficult to justify the action taken by Sánchez in this matter. It is true that one of the petitions in the general memorial of the colonial assembly to the king was that no religious be permitted to go to the Philippines who did not intend to stay there; still, Sánchez's mandate as colonial agent was merely to present this memorial to the king, not to communicate it to others or to take action upon it on his own account.

It was not until August of that year that Acquaviva learned what Sánchez was up to. "I would have much preferred," he wrote with admirable restraint to Acosta, "that Father Alonso Sánchez had saved us all the trouble this embassy of his is sure to cause, especially since it is concerned with matters totally foreign to the religious state." Still, since the affair had apparently reached the point of no return, steps should be

taken to control what could no longer be prevented. One of these steps was communicated by Acquaviva to Sánchez himself: "In order that all may proceed with all decency and edification, I have decided to give your Reverence as your immediate superior, with the same powers as provincials, rectors, and heads of houses have according to the custom of the Society, Father José de Acosta, whom your Reverence will consult on all the matters you may have to take up with his Majesty or with anyone else, and in all of them you will follow his judgment and direction."[26]

This directive did not find either Sánchez or Acosta in Mexico, as they sailed for Seville on 18 May; but it probably caught up with them at Madrid, where, on 15 December, Sánchez presented himself for his first interview with Philip II. According to Sánchez it lasted two hours by the clock, Philip plying him with questions and listening attentively to his answers on the state of his most distant possession. At the end of the interview he left with the king the general memorial of the colony, the particular memorials of the several estates, the special memorial on the China project, the original copy of the proceedings of the Synod of Manila, and a memorandum written by himself.[27] We are already familiar with the proceedings of the synod; the contents of the memorials are best considered later when we see what the King did about them; but it may not be out of place to summarize briefly here what Sánchez had to say in his personal memorandum.[28]

He begins with an explanation of why he thought it necessary to add such a memorandum to the already extensive series of memorials he was submitting. He tried to write, he said, from the point of view of a disinterested observer, as objective an account as he could of the possibilities and present state of the Philippines, something that the king could use as a kind of control for the various memorials which, to a greater or less extent, were necessarily *ex parte* pleadings by highly interested persons and parties.

> No one can speak fairly of the Philippines unless he has seen it and has no particular axe to grind; and so there are few who are worthy of credence, although almost everyone speaks ill of it and gives it a bad name. The governors and other officials do it in order to enhance in your Majesty's eyes their hardships and services; but the fact is that nowhere do they live more like lords and have greater opportunities of becoming rich. The bishop and canons complain that their stipends are not paid; but this is hardly the fault of the country itself. The religious who are discontented are so because of some personal grievance or because they are anxious to pass on to China and Japan and see strange sights. The merchants, if they say anything, do so to conceal their profits, which are greater than any that I know of anywhere else. The captains and soldiers complain that they are treated like slaves and work harder than troops in other stations, and that they do this with neither allowances nor pay nor the option to transfer to some other command; this is perfectly true, and that they should blame the country for

it is understandable, but erroneous. Thus a mistaken impression of the Philippines is derived from all these sources, and this it is which keeps it in its present sorry state, for because of it it receives no increase of settlers, whether lay or clerical.

What, in fact, was the Philippines? It was a country with a population of between 250,000 and 300,000 tribute-paying subjects of the Crown and over a million more who were still outside Spanish jurisdiction. These natives were organized for the most part in small communities under petty chieftains. Feuds between these communities were endemic; for this reason the small band of conquistadores found it easy to divide and conquer them, unlike the Portuguese who had great kingdoms and powerful rulers to contend with. Though warlike in their free state, the Filipinos were peaceable once subjugated.

They are of a happy disposition, candid, loyal, simple, and sociable. They love to speak our language, even if they can only manage a few words. They have a lively intelligence and easily learn Christian doctrine and how to read and write in our alphabet; most of them read and write in their own.

The climate was hot, but with a heat less oppressive than the summer in Seville or even in Toledo. The soil was extraordinarily fertile. Much rice and other edible plants were grown; wild fowl and game abounded; buffalo in herds of 300 and 400 roamed the plains and valleys; many species of fish filled the rivers, lakes, and seas. Whatever foodstuffs were not locally available could be brought in from China.

The people wove cloth of various kinds from native materials. There were many gold mines which the Spaniards had not yet found the opportunity to exploit or even locate, but the natives knew where they were, for almost everyone, men and women, wore gold ornaments. And as with foodstuffs, so with manufactures; whatever was not produced locally could always be imported from China.

So much for the country itself; what of its geographical position? It lay almost at the center of the great half-circle whose perimeter was formed by Japan, Korea, China, and the countries of Southeast Asia. This made it the logical base for the defense of all the Christian establishments in the Far East and for the further expansion of Christianity in that hemisphere. As such, if for no other reason, it should be retained at all costs. The Portuguese route into the China Sea was a precarious one. It could be severed easily at two points: the Straits of Malacca and the Straits of Sunda. If it were—and the Moslem powers in those areas were already threatening to do exactly that—the trading post at Macao and the Christian missions in Japan would be completely cut off from India, and could be defended and supplied only from the Philippines. Furthermore the Philippines was the nearest base from which Malacca and the Moluccas

could be supplied with men and arms in case of attack; while any expedition into China or Southeast Asia, whether missionary or military, must necessarily be mounted in the Philippines.

How came it, then, that a colony of such varied resources and strategic importance should now, so soon after its discovery and conquest, have reached its last extremity? In the first place, Sánchez says, because of its enormous distance from Spain. This results in that the only settlers who cared to go there were for the most part impoverished adventurers in search of quick riches, unprincipled, turbulent fellows who cared nothing for authority or the common good. Secondly, the governors and other officials appointed to that distant post were far more interested in enriching themselves than in promoting the colony's welfare. Moreover they usually brought with them a whole rabble of hungry protégés who gobbled up all the patronage and perquisites of government at the expense of the older and more deserving colonists. Thirdly, public funds were always short because the territory was parceled out to private persons as encomiendas as soon as it was conquered and little or nothing set aside to provide a revenue for the colonial treasury. Thus there was never any money even for the most essential public works, nor for the salaries of any but the highest government officials; this in turn encouraged officials to compensate themselves by taking what they wanted from the natives. Fourthly, the military establishment was completely demoralized; as the old regulars from Spain died or left the service, they were replaced by "runaway boys, half-castes, exiles, and convicts" from Mexico. Finally, the encomenderos made little or no provision for the religious instruction of the native population. In view of all this it was not surprising that the colony should now feel its very existence to be imperiled both by rebellious natives from within and by powerful enemies from without.

What remedy should be applied? Sánchez proposes several. First and most important: send the best available man as governor. He should be well paid and at the same time strictly forbidden to engage in business during his term of office. He should be unmarried, or at least he ought not to bring his family with him. He should be bound by as few ties of gratitude or blood relationship as possible either to persons in Spain or to the members of his entourage. He should be a man of simple tastes, not given to ostentatious—and expensive—living. He should have a genuine affection for the colony and a desire to promote its welfare. Second: send at least 400 regular troops with the corresponding officers. Their base pay should be 100 pesos a year, with suitable differentials according to rank, and this pay should be given them regularly and promptly. To provide the necessary funds for this, abolish the audiencia. An audiencia is useless in a colony still on a war footing. The present audiencia has done its work by introducing some semblance of law and order; it can now be dispensed

with. Third: forbid private shipping between Mexico and the Philippines. All trade should be carried in royal bottoms. Thus cargo and passenger rates can be reduced to a minimum to encourage investment and emigration. Fourth: compel encomenderos to be as solicitous in providing missionaries for their encomiendas as they are in collecting tribute from them. Lastly: let his Majesty remember the distance of the Philippines, the urgency of its present need, and the consequence that immediately follows: any action taken, to be effective, must be prompt.

It took exceptional hardihood to urge the prudent Philip to be prompt at any time, but especially so at this time when the aging monarch, tormented by gout, wrestled grimly with the colossal preparations for the invasion of England. Still, Sánchez had an unusual faculty for making his presence felt and his wishes considered, even in the endless corridors of the Escorial. In March 1588, only two months before the great Armada sailed from Lisbon, Philip found the time to appoint a special commission to examine the Philippine memorials and report on them. Its members, drawn from the principal royal councils, included Archbishop Pedro Moya y Contreras of Mexico and Bishop Hernando de Vega of Córdoba from the Council of the Indies, Juan Idiáquez and Cristóbal de Mora from the Council of State, Pedro de Cardona and Alonso de Vargas from the Council of War, and Juan de Ibarra and Andrés de Alba, royal secretaries.[29]

The commission sat through that burgeoning spring, March through July, until the disaster of the Armada fell like a sudden blight upon the year. Sánchez as colonial agent sat with them to answer questions and supply additional information. The decision was apparently taken to examine the whole Philippine problem with as few assumptions as possible, for the first question the commissioners wanted Sánchez's opinion on was whether the king had any right to the Philippines at all. Sánchez replied orally with a *razonamiento* or exposition which he afterwards committed to writing.[30]

Sánchez began by saying that there were really two questions involved, namely, how temporal sovereignty might be justly acquired in the Indies, and how it might be justly retained. He did not feel called upon to enter into the first question, and so would limit his discussion to the second, which was what the commission was mainly concerned with. Starting with the fact that the Spaniards were already in the Philippines, he would undertake to show that they were justified in retaining and ruling it.

But first, it was necessary to clear the ground by rejecting certain false titles to sovereignty which were sometimes put forward. That the Filipinos were a barbarous people in a state of servility and ignorance; that they were infidels who did not worship the true God; that they were idolaters who indulged in superstitious rites and practices; that they committed sins

against nature; none of these assertions, even granting that they were true, provided sufficient grounds for imposing temporal dominion over them.

> One word is enough to refute all such theories: neither pope nor king nor any other lord spiritual nor temporal possesses dominion over lands and peoples he has never hitherto seen nor heard of; and if he possess neither dominion nor authority over them, it follows that he cannot give them man-made laws nor compel them to observe the natural or the divine law; nor, consequently, punish them nor take their land away from them because of any sin they might commit against any of the aforesaid laws.[31]

The true basis for the retention of Spanish sovereignty in the Philippines was to be sought in the nature and needs of the four communities or kinds of people by which that colony was composed. The first of these was the community of Spaniards. They were there already as a self-governing commonwealth subject only to the king of Spain; hence they had a presumptive right to maintain themselves as such. But how did they come to be there in the first place, not as private persons residing in a foreign country but as an organized and autonomous community independent of any local government?

This touched on the question of the acquisition of sovereignty from which Sánchez said he would prescind; he now found that he could not altogether avoid it. Well, then, the right of the Spaniards to be in the Philippines as a separate community had its origin in the natural law and the law of nations, which gave men of whatever nationality the right to go to foreign lands and there enjoy the use of what was by nature common to all, such as the seas, rivers, coasts, pastures, woods, and game. The same source gave them the right to occupy territory which was not already private property; to acquire such property by exchange or purchase; to build houses and towns on property thus acquired, and if necessary to fortify and defend them; and finally, if the lords and rulers of the lands where they held such property were to forbid them the free exercise of these rights, to wage war upon them, and if victorious to take the lawful reward of victory.

It should be noted that Sánchez says nothing about the lawfulness of occupying property which though not privately owned might be public domain; it might have been his view that the concept of public domain did not exist among primitive peoples.

So much for natural right; in addition, the original Spanish establishment in the Philippines was justified by divine right, for the Spanish Crown by papal delegation was authorized to communicate to the pagans of the newly discovered lands the faith, laws, and usages of Christianity, which it could only do by establishing permanent, autonomous Spanish settlements. It should be noted further that while this right could be abused

and often was, abuse did not abolish it. Hence, while the Spaniards were bound to restitution for the injuries they committed in the process of acquiring dominion, their unjust methods did not vitiate the essential justice of their claims.

The second community or class of people in the Philippines consisted of the natives who had accepted Spanish rule and the Christian faith. Their need created in the Spanish colonists a new duty and hence a new right to remain in the country. For these recent converts could not be left to themselves. They needed preceptors to teach them both by word and example the fullness and not merely the essentials of the Christian message. They needed rulers who would strengthen their new-found faith with paternal solicitude. They needed protectors capable of defending them from those who would take away or corrupt their faith. In short, they needed the Spanish community, which alone could provide the missionaries to teach them, the troops to defend them, and settlers from an older Christian tradition by whose guidance and example they might learn to live the faith they had received.

The third community or class of people consisted of the natives who had been conquered but not yet converted. They lived intermingled with the Christian population like cockle among wheat, so that if the tender faith of the newly converted was not to be smothered by their ancient paganism, they had to be effectively restrained by Spanish sovereignty, which ought for that reason to be firmly established over both the Christian and the pagan communities.

The fourth and last community or class of people consisted of those who had not yet been either conquered or converted. They too made the continuance of Spanish rule in the Philippines imperative, both in order to defend those already Christian from their attacks and to compel them, by force if necessary, to permit the preaching of the faith in their territory and not to hinder those who freely wished to embrace that faith.

Sánchez now took up what he considered to be the principal objection to his thesis, one which we have already seen proposed at the Synod of Manila, to the effect that the Spanish conquest of the Islands had been accompanied by so many outrages that it could not be looked upon otherwise than as an unjust aggression. Sánchez replied that in this matter there were two extreme positions to be avoided. One was to consider all use of force to be unjust. This was the position of those who held that it was possible to introduce the faith permanently in pagan lands by means of missionaries preaching in them without armed protection. Of such virtuous and learned individuals he could only say that their trust in fallen human nature was greater than their experience of actual mission conditions. The other extreme position was that of those who looked upon the natives of the newly discovered lands as naturally inferior races against

whom certain kinds of aggression and compulsion were not necessarily unlawful.

The truth of the matter was that, while these peoples were fully human beings with all the rights inherent in human nature, they were also for the most part barbarians brutalized by their savage way of life, insensible in their present state to purely moral or spiritual considerations unless they were backed by a pretty tangible manifestation of physical power. It was therefore naïve to expect them to receive peaceably missionaries who came armed only with the power of the gospel.

But was it right for missionaries to preach the word of God accompanied by troops? It was, provided the purpose of the escort was clearly understood. The divine mandate by which missionaries went forth to teach all nations would be meaningless if it did not imply an obligation in those to whom they are sent not to hinder them in the execution of their mandate. If obliged, they could be compelled; by moral compulsion, where practicable, but if not then by physical. This was what justified a military escort for the missionary, and, in a larger sense, a civil protectorate of the missions. Its purpose was not to despoil the pagans of what was rightly theirs, whether they be goods of the temporal order such as property, or of the spiritual order, such as liberty. Far less was it to intimidate them and in that sense to compel them to accept the faith. It was merely to command their respect for the person and function of the missionary—a respect which mere moral suasion was ordinarily powerless to command in primitive or savage communities—and thus create the conditions whereby the faith could be freely taught and freely received. It was precisely this support which the Spanish Crown gave to missionary enterprise that in Sánchez's view constituted its most solid title to retain the Philippines and rule it.[32]

The commissioners apparently found this analysis completely acceptable, for the question of withdrawing from the Philippines was definitely shelved; if, indeed, it was ever seriously considered. They completed their examination of the memorials in July, and in late July or early August Sánchez brought their recommendations to Philip II at the Escorial. The king who had just lost 32 ships and 10,000 men in one of the most stupendous disasters in the history of naval warfare received him with unruffled calm, took his papers, and steadily went through them all, noting down in his own hand on the margins of the memorials his answer to the petitions of his Philippine subjects. His comment on the loss of the Armada is well-known: "I sent my ships to fight men, not the elements."[33] It was perhaps the consciousness that in turning to the problems of the Philippines he was turning to at least partly manageable human problems that nerved him to the task.

Instead of following Philip in the tedious process of examining the memorials paragraph by paragraph, we may be permitted the easier and

possibly clearer method of summarizing the action he took under the heads of defense, finances, civil and ecclesiastical government, agriculture, commerce, social services, and native rights.[34]

Defense

The various proposals for putting the colony in a better posture of defense received Philip's full approval. Manila was to be provided with a citadel and a fortified wall, and four other forts were to be constructed at strategic points in the archipelago. Six companies (400 men) of regular Spanish infantry were to constitute the hard core of the military establishment. Philip built up their wage scale on a base pay of 72 pesos a year, considerably lower than the figure suggested by Sánchez. However, to ensure that that at least was paid regularly and promptly, he reserved a fixed proportion (15 per cent) of the tribute for the army pay roll, and decreed an annual bonus of 1,000 pesos to be divided equally among the six companies. Servicemen were subject to martial law, but they could neither be imprisoned nor their weapons distrained for debt. On the other hand, if a serviceman or an officer engaged in any other occupation or acquired some other source of income, such as an encomienda, his salary was automatically to cease. Troops recruited in Mexico for service in the Philippines should not be mere boys, servants, or rabble, but qualified soldiers, at least fifteen years of age, not bound by any indenture, and dispatched with full equipment.

Philip went along at least part of the way with Sánchez's proposal of a colonial navy of "moderate size"; he approved the formation of a squadron of eight galleys and frigates for coast-guard service.

Finances

The principal measures by which Philip tried to provide the Philippine government with an adequate income were the following. He imposed a customs duty of 3 per cent *ad valorem* on all merchandise entering or leaving the Philippines. He decreed that the freight charges already being paid on goods carried on the Manila-Acapulco galleon, and the sales tax collectible at first sale of such goods in Mexico (*almojarifazgo*), were to continue in force; but all this revenue was to be sent back to Manila as Philippine government funds. He fixed the tribute or head tax to which all his Philippine subjects were liable at a uniform 10 rials *per annum*, to be divided as follows: 8 rials to go to the encomendero, $1\frac{1}{2}$ to the army pay roll, and $\frac{1}{2}$ to the bishop and his clergy for their support. To provide the city of Manila with a stable revenue, he granted it half the fines collected in Philippine courts and half the land rents paid by the Chinese residents.

Civil Government

The audiencia was abolished. The China project was shelved. These are the first two measures to catch the eye. The others are less striking but not less important. The extension of Spanish sovereignty, for which "pacification" rather than conquest was the term Philip wanted used, could continue within the limits of the Philippine archipelago as long as it was conducted according to the ordinances regulating such pacifications. Priority was to be given to territories threatened by Moslem penetration. Because of the distance of the colony, the governor could authorize expeditions for this purpose without first referring them to Madrid, and either finance them from government funds or enter into contracts (*asientos*) with private adventurers, granting them titles of governor, *adelantado*, marshal, and so on, subject however to royal confirmation.

A lucrative source of royal revenue in the Spanish colonial system was the sale of government offices; nevertheless Philip granted the colonists' petition that at least clerkships and secretaryships in the Philippines be awarded on the basis of merit.[35] To ensure prompt and full payment, government salaries were to be paid out of Philippine funds; only when these were insufficient were employees to be given drafts payable in Mexico. Philip obviously believed that with this assurance of their receiving their salaries regularly, colonial officials no longer had any reasonable excuse for engaging in those commercial operations about which there was so much complaint. These were therefore forbidden once more under new penalties both to government officials during their term of office and to encomenderos within the limits of their encomiendas.

As to encomiendas: they were to be granted only to bona fide colonists on the basis of meritorious service and length of residence in the Philippines, the minimum requirement being three years. Encomienda grants to relatives of governors or oidores were to be considered null. The encomiendas granted should be of sufficient size; that is, the head tax of the encomienda population should be such as to enable the encomendero to meet his obligations, especially that of providing his people with a resident missionary. In encomiendas not yet completely pacified, no tribute was to be collected, but only a nominal sum in recognition of Spanish sovereignty. The practice of commuting encomienda grants for annuities in Mexico or elsewhere reflected a growing tendency to look upon the encomienda merely as a source of revenue. Philip forbade it, thus reaffirming the principle that the encomienda was a wardship which required the encomendero's personal attention.

Ecclesiastical Government

The governor of the colony was charged to cooperate with the bishop in seeing to it that opportunities to learn the Christian faith were provided

everywhere in the Islands. To this end he authorized the sending of more missionaries (40 Augustinians and an unspecified number from other religious orders) at the royal expense. Each missionary was allowed 500 ducats for his transportation and equipment. The annual stipend of 100 pesos and 100 fanegas of rice was confirmed. Missionaries thus sent were to go to the Philippines with the intention of staying and working there. They were not to go elsewhere without the explicit permission of the bishop, and the governor was not to provide them with transportation without this permission. A grant of 12,000 ducats was authorized for the construction of the Manila cathedral.

Agriculture

As an encouragement to agriculture Philip authorized the sending of 100 farmer settlers and their families to the Philippines at the royal expense. These settlers were to be exempted from taxation and, with the approval of the bishop, from tithes. Both they and the natives in their employ were also to be exempted from statute labor. They were to give bond that they would actually engage in farming for a specified period after their arrival in the colony, the length of this period to be determined by the governor. Public land was to be assigned to them and natives encouraged to seek employment with them so as to learn European methods of farming. Encomienda grants were henceforth to contain the added condition that the encomendero would engage in agriculture himself and promote it among his people. The breeding of farm animals was to be started with twelve mares, two stallions, twenty-four cows and two bulls which were to be sent from Mexico at the royal expense. Moreover, cattle and horses were to be imported from China or Japan and native buffaloes domesticated.

Commerce

Philip made the galleon trade a monopoly of the Philippine colonists by forbidding residents of Mexico and *a fortiori* of other parts of the empire to invest in it. On the other hand, he denied the petition that the Portuguese of Macao be forbidden to export China goods to Mexico or Peru. The question of whether the Chinese should be obliged to sell their merchandise wholesale through a merchants' committee (the *pancada* system) was left to the governor for settlement.

Social Services

An annual subsidy of 1,600 pesos, chargeable on the royal revenues, was granted to the hospital for Spaniards in Manila and 600 pesos to the hospital for natives. The bishop and the governor were enjoined to consider

how the hostelry for unmarried women suggested by Sánchez might best be founded and endowed. They were also to consider how these women might be provided with dowries. A fund of 12,000 pesos was set up to enable impoverished conquistadores to make the restitutions required by the Synod of Manila for injustices committed during the conquest.

Native Rights

The ordinance forbidding Spaniards to keep native slaves was reaffirmed; if any were still being held, they were to be freed at once. The natives themselves were not henceforth to reduce anyone to slavery. Children born of slave parents were to be accounted free. Their present slaves were not, however, to be emancipated immediately. Those who had been enslaved for ten years or less were to be freed at the end of twenty; those who had been enslaved for more than ten years were to serve five years more. Any slave was to have the right to ransom himself at any time, the ransom price to be determined jointly by the bishop and the governor.

Lawsuits of natives were to be disposed of summarily by verbal process to save the parties expense. Money fines were to be avoided as much as possible. Natives were to be exempted from tithes (if Christians) and also from the royal *quinto*, whereby one-fifth of all newly mined gold was reserved to the Crown.

Encomenderos were again reminded that the natives had the option of paying the tribute in currency or goods of equal value, whichever they preferred.

Such were the measures taken by Philip to remedy abuses and improve conditions in the remote colony which bore his name. Some of them would prove unworkable because unfitted to local conditions; others would become a dead letter through lack of adequate sanctions; still others, such as the abolition of the audiencia, would have to be revoked. On the whole, however, they reflect great credit on the statesmanship both of the monarch who framed them and on the colonial representative who informed and advised him. But to frame good laws is one thing, to put them into execution another. The success of the latter depended largely on the next governor of the Philippines, who would indeed have to be, as Sánchez insisted, a pearl among governors. It was not perhaps without irony that Philip told Sánchez to pick his man.

Don Juan de Idiáquez, one of the members of the special commission on Philippine affairs, asked Sánchez one day what qualities he sought in his prospective governor. Sánchez replied that the man must be "neither too young nor too old, but of mature years. He should have neither wife nor children, neither debts nor dependents. He should not be openhanded, nor, on the contrary, avaricious. He should be both extremely brave and excep-

tionally prudent, and should already have proved his ability to govern in some office of trust. A great gentleman, in short, yet for all his breeding simple and approachable; and, above all, an exemplary Christian." Idiáquez laughed at him and so did the other councilors, saying that no such man was to be found. "But," says Sánchez, "the last laugh was mine." He found Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas.

Dasmariñas had at least the right background for the job. He was a Galician gentleman who entered the royal service under the aegis of Bishop Antonio de Pazos, president of the Council of Castile. After three years as commander of the galley fleet on coast-guard duty against the Barbary pirates he was appointed *corregidor* of Cartagena and Murcia. He caught Sánchez's attention while at court on his way to a similar position at Logroño. Inquiry revealed that he was a widower with one grown son, Luís Pérez. Philip II approved Sánchez's choice and conferred on the new governor the knighthood of St. James. His appointment, issued at the Escorial on 9 August 1589, gave him the supreme judicial as well as civil and military authority in the Philippines, the only limitations being that civil cases involving more than 1,000 pesos were to go to the audiencia of Mexico, and that the same audiencia could hear appeals from his decisions.[36]

Before Dasmariñas could leave for his post Sánchez had gone on to Rome. There, in May 1589, he sat down and scribbled a few items of friendly advice.[37] Dasmariñas ought not to bring too many dependents with him. If anyone wished to join his entourage let it be at his own expense and risk. Failure to observe this simple rule smothered Gonzalo Ronquillo with a swarm of rapacious alcaldes and brought him in sorrow to an early grave. Let him not upon his arrival try to change everything at once, but after familiarizing himself with conditions introduce little by little the necessary reforms. To this end he should show himself willing to listen to everyone, though taking counsel only of a few.

Let him bear in mind that the land he was being sent to govern was 5,000 leagues from the center of Christendom and of the empire. Everyone there was accustomed to act with great freedom and to look upon himself as a lord; whence arose two dangers. For, if the governor was not tactful, he was bound to make enemies right and left who would flood Mexico and Madrid with complaining letters and probably succeed in having all his orders countermanded. On the other hand, if he were tactful to the point of timidity he would accomplish little of value and much against his conscience and reputation. Because he had to pick his way carefully between these two extremes he needed divine grace; let him therefore even at his busiest devote a certain amount of time to prayer and the calm consideration before God of how he was performing the duties of his office.

He should expect to run into difficulties with the bishop, "not because of the person, for the present bishop is a saint, but because of the basic relationship between the two offices" of governor and bishop, both in their respective spheres supreme yet compelled to operate in close conjunction within the narrow confines of a frontier outpost. He would find that the bishop made a good friend but a bad enemy. Let Dasmariñas therefore strive to win his good will by making much of him and asking his advice on matters in which he was competent. Let him make all the concessions that he could without diminishing the royal prerogative. To priests and religious in general he should show great reverence, giving an example in this to the other colonists and the natives. At the same time, he should not forget that being human, they were sometimes guilty of very human faults, and even of exploiting the natives in the collection of tithes, alms, construction of churches, convents, and so on; he should take the necessary precautions with this in mind.

We shall see later how Dasmariñas tried to put these *avisos* into practice; meanwhile we must follow Sánchez to Rome. Sánchez's success in gaining Philip's prompt and favorable attention to the problems of the Philippines came as a pleasant surprise to Acquaviva, for the attitude of the royal government toward Jesuits in general was at that time distinctly cool.

A small group of malcontents belonging to the Spanish provinces of the Society had succeeded in getting to Philip and half convincing him that certain internal arrangements of the order (such as the frequent interchange of members and information among the various European provinces) not to mention certain provisions of its fundamental law (such as the wide powers wielded by a general elected for life) interfered with the work of the Spanish Inquisition and came into conflict with his own royal authority over his subjects. Philip, who was very touchy on these points, arranged with the reluctant consent of the Holy See that the Jesuit provinces in Spain should be subjected to a visitation by a visitor of his choice, the Bishop of Cartagena. Acquaviva was perfectly willing that such a visitation should be made, but not on the king's terms, which called into question not only the conduct and loyalty of the Spanish Jesuits, but the institute itself of the order as approved by the Holy See. Nevertheless, only with the greatest difficulty was he able to persuade Philip to allow that the visitation be conducted instead by two Jesuits, Gil González Dávila and the recently arrived José de Acosta, with the obligation of placing a full report of their findings in the royal hands.[38]

When Sánchez was received at court in the midst of these strained circumstances with every appearance of cordiality, Acquaviva could not fail to be impressed; and he was even more impressed when Sánchez, having been given Acosta as his immediate superior, readily consented not to press his advocacy of the dubious *empresa de China*. "I am delighted," Acqua-

viva wrote, "that your address to the throne [the *razonamiento*] was so well received; it will I hope contribute with the divine assistance to the welfare of those Islands. Your Reverence was well advised in not doing anything about the China affair, for besides its being alien to your [religious] profession, I am convinced that nothing would have been done about it in any case. The prudence and integrity with which you have handled the rest of your commission pleased me greatly." Shortly afterward, in the autumn of 1588, Sánchez was on his way to Rome, and the following August, 1589, on Lady Day, he made the solemn profession of four vows at the hands of Acquaviva himself.[39]

He was graciously received by the reigning pontiff, Sixtus V (1585–1590), who listened for nearly an hour to what he had to say in behalf of the bishop and clergy of the Philippines, and then asked him to present their memorials to the cardinals of the Holy Office for more detailed examination. In one of these memorials[40] Bishop Salazar invokes the pope's assistance in removing certain obstacles to the work of the Church in the Philippines. For the civil authorities consistently took no account of the bishop in sending out expeditions of conquest. Yet if the principal purpose of such expeditions was the conversion of the natives, as admittedly it was, they were bound not only to consult him but not to send them without his consent.

Another obstacle to orderly ecclesiastical administration was the tendency of the religious missionaries to exempt themselves from the jurisdiction of the bishop on the strength of their apostolic privileges, especially the so-called *omnimoda* faculties granted by Adrian VI. Salazar believed that the bishop should have the right to limit these faculties in accordance with local conditions in his diocese. If this was not advisable, then his Holiness should at least ordain that what the bishop decreed with the advice of his clergy regarding the good government of his diocese, as in the synod recently held, should have the force of law, and religious superiors should not thereafter feel free in virtue of their omnimoda faculties to disregard or modify them.

Various other petitions accompanied this memorial, the tenor of which can be learned from the pontifical documents issued in response to them. Sánchez faithfully and tenaciously followed their course through the curia under five different pontiffs, for Sixtus V was followed in rapid succession by Urban VII (1590), Gregory XIV (1590–1591), Innocent IX (1591), and Clement VIII (1591–1605). Sixtus V died before the cardinals of the Holy Office could make their recommendations; Urban VII lived only a few weeks after his election; it was Gregory XIV, therefore, who received the cardinals' recommendations and was able to act upon them.

In a brief dated 18 April 1591[41] he granted the principal petitions of Bishop Salazar, decreeing that the bishop of Manila was authorized to

determine the amount and manner of compensation due to the natives from the conquistadores; that his synodal decrees were binding on all the clergy of his diocese; that he had the right to reserve cases to himself from which the religious could not absolve even in virtue of their omnimoda faculties; that he was empowered to make a visitation of all the parishes of his diocese, even those administered by religious; that without his permission the religious in his diocese could not go as missionaries to neighboring lands which lay outside the Spanish jurisdiction; and finally that he could add pontifical confirmation to the royal ordinances forbidding the Spanish colonists to enslave the natives. In another brief dated 28 July[42] of the same year the pope approved the doctrine that the civil power may, whenever necessary, lawfully give armed protection to missionaries or avenge injuries done to them, and praised the services rendered to the Church in this connection by the Spanish Crown.

These and other papal concessions obtained by Sánchez were in due course referred to Philip II to see whether he had any objections to their being promulgated. Apparently he had, for some time later a request from Madrid was transmitted to Clement VIII through Cardinal Toledo that five of the briefs obtained by Sánchez be suspended. The reason given was "because the manner of executing them needed more mature consideration, in order that the good intended by your Holiness and the Apostolic See may be obtained without the disadvantages that can easily follow."[43] It is not clear exactly what "disadvantages" were adumbrated in this excessively discreet representation, but the thorny problems connected with episcopal visitation were almost certainly among them. At any rate Clement VIII thought it prudent to accede to the request and decreed the desired suspension on 6 February 1596. However the numerous indulgences, favors, and privileges of a purely spiritual nature obtained by Sánchez for the Philippines remained in force and eventually reached their destination, together with an unusually rich collection of relics representing 155 different martyrs which he put together for the Jesuit church in Manila.

If Sánchez expected congratulations from his good friend Bishop Salazar for his successful fulfillment of a difficult commission, he was promptly disabused. In late 1591 or early 1592 the information reached him from Madrid that he had been denounced to the king by Bishop Salazar as having exceeded his mandate and grossly misrepresented the mind of his principals, and that his razonamiento in particular ought to be delated to the Inquisition as savoring of heresy.[44]

The train of events that brought about this startling development began when Sánchez was still in Madrid expediting the affairs of the Philippine colonists.[45] There happened to be there at the same time two religious who were trying to get Philip II to approve and finance a project of theirs for the conversion of China. They were Fray Juan Volante, a Dominican, and

Fray Gerónimo de Burgos, the Franciscan whom the Macao authorities sent back to Manila with Sánchez in 1583. Their project was to transport two large missionary expeditions—60 Dominicans and 100 Franciscans—from Spain to China via the Philippines at the king's expense. In order that the authorities at Manila might place no obstacles in their way, they asked that these missionaries be exempted while in transit from any subordinate civil or ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Once on Chinese soil, they were to be given complete freedom of action, for their plan was to enter the Chinese empire as the first apostles did the Roman, without armed escort or civil protection of any kind, relying solely on the inherent power and persuasiveness of the faith they preached.

It was an enterprise nobly conceived, and one which as we have seen the Jesuits Ruggiero and Ricci were already attempting, though on a much smaller scale. Nevertheless Volante and Burgos had had no success in arousing official interest in it, although they preceded Sánchez at court by almost three years. Finally, some time after Sánchez's arrival, they were given a hearing by the Council of the Indies. It is not clear exactly what happened in the council room, but apparently either the indifference of the councilors or the numerous frustrations to which the poor friars had been subjected ruffled their tempers and caused them to speak with some heat. The councilors, resenting this, dismissed them coldly with the instruction that if they had anything further to propose they could submit it in writing.

It was probably at this juncture that they appealed to Sánchez for assistance. Sánchez refused.

He explained his reasons for refusing in a letter to Volante dated 27 July 1588. He was, he said, the agent at court of the Philippine colonial assembly, and one of the petitions which he had to submit in behalf of the assembly was that no Spanish missionaries be permitted, at least for the time being, to go to China. The repeated attempts of missionaries from the Philippines to enter China had all ended in failure and had merely served to arouse the hostility of the Chinese authorities against the Spaniards, whom they suspected of spying out their country with a view to subsequent invasion. They had also placed the Portuguese, whose foothold at Macao was at best precarious, in a most embarrassing position; the authorities at Macao were quite insistent that the Spaniards desist from any more such attempts; and since the Portuguese were now equally Philip's subjects, their interests had to be taken into consideration. Hence, Sánchez said, he would be acting contrary to his mandate if he assisted Volante in his project instead of trying to dissuade him from it and doing his best to obtain approval of the Philippine assembly's petition.

If Sánchez had stopped here, all might have been well; unfortunately he went on to express quite gratuitously his personal opinion of the project

itself. It could not possibly succeed, he said, because whatever might have been the case in apostolic times, experience proved that in the times in which they lived the expansion of Christianity into pagan lands had to have the backing and support of the civil power. The case of Japan might seem to be an exception, but was not really so; for if the Portuguese Jesuits had found an entry there it was only because the Japanese were interested in the Portuguese carrying trade. Thus if China was to be converted, it could not be by the method advocated by Volante (and, Sánchez might have added, by his fellow Jesuits Ruggiero and Ricci), but by missionaries operating under a civil protectorate, as described in his razonamiento.

It may be imagined with what feelings Volante read this letter and the razonamiento to which it referred; and he can hardly be blamed for understanding Sánchez as saying that the Chinese ought to be compelled by force of arms not only to allow the faith to be preached but to accept and embrace it. It was in this sense that he reported what Sánchez was about in Madrid to Bishop Salazar. The bishop was naturally highly indignant. It was never his intention, he wrote to Philip, nor that of anyone in the Philippines, to spread the gospel by fire and sword. They were not Moslems. And anyway even the Moslems, at least those in the Philippines, did not compel anyone to accept their religion by force. They used persuasion and the example of a good life; that was why they made so many converts; would that Spaniards who prided themselves in being Christians did the same! It was true that he was at one time in favor of an armed invasion of China, but he based this opinion on reports that the Chinese could not be persuaded by any other means to open their doors to missionaries. He knew now that these reports were false, and hence thoroughly endorsed Volante's project and condemned Sánchez's opposition to it.

When Sánchez learned of the bishop's denunciation he wrote an apologia which he directed to Sebastián Hernández, one of the Jesuits at Madrid, doubtless with instructions that it be shown in the proper quarters.[46] Bishop Salazar had urged the king to have the razonamiento examined by the Inquisition. Nothing, says Sánchez, would please him better. Aside from the fact that the doctrine it contained had been approved by many eminent authorities, the bishop himself had defended it on numerous occasions, at the Synod of Manila, in a sermon before the governor and dignitaries of the colony, and at the colonial assembly. In fact, the plan for the expedition to China which was based on that doctrine was drawn up in the bishop's house with the bishop's active participation. The members of the special commission on Philippine affairs to whom the razonamiento was addressed saw nothing wrong with it; on the contrary, they asked Sánchez to put it in writing and furnish them with copies. When he came to Rome he requested the Spanish ambassador to the Holy See to check his papers, the razonamiento among them, before submitting them to the

pope; the ambassador found nothing objectionable in any of them. He personally gave a copy of the razonamiento to Sixtus V, who promised to read it and did read it. But of course Sixtus V could not very well disapprove of it because he held the same doctrine himself; he said so. Finally, the cardinals of the Holy Office, to whom his memorials were referred, had every opportunity to examine the razonamiento. Not only did they see nothing wrong with it but their consulting theologian, Francisco de Toledo, told Sánchez that the right delegated by the Holy See to the Spanish crown of compelling a hearing for the gospel extended even further than Sánchez claimed.

What, then, did Sánchez say in the razonamiento that won so many and such authoritative testimonials? He did not say, as Bishop Salazar apparently thought he said, that the ministers of the gospel cannot and ought not to go into mission territory without an armed escort. What he did say was that they could and might go with such escort, not for aggression but for protection, and that it was often foolhardy to go without such escort, or to make converts who would be defenseless against persecution for lack of such escort or some sort of civil protectorate.

It should be clear from this that Bishop Salazar, Volante and Sánchez were writing at cross-purposes, for Sánchez never advocated conversions by force, as Salazar and Volante thought he did, nor did Salazar, as Sánchez claimed, approve the armed invasion of China and then denounce both it and him to Philip II. If Salazar changed his mind about the China enterprise it was not because he had abandoned the theory of a civil protectorate but because the facts that justified the application of that theory had not, apparently, been correctly reported. It is not recorded that Salazar and Sánchez ever met again. They could have, at Madrid, for Sánchez went back to Spain in 1592, and Salazar, having fallen out with Governor Dasmariñas on the question of tribute, left the Islands to report personally to the king in 1591. One hopes that they did meet again, and in their meeting cleared the cloud that had fallen over their long friendship.

Sánchez returned to Spain with the powers of visitor. The conspirators against the institute of the Society had not been completely silenced by the visitation of González Dávila and Acosta. Headed by Dionisio Vásquez, they were still pulling strings at court to detach the Spanish provinces from the main body of the order. Acquaviva was not mistaken in the man he chose to deal with this danger. Sánchez acted quickly and decisively. He expelled two of the principal conspirators, and then persuaded Philip II and the officers of the Spanish Inquisition to refer any outstanding doubts they might have concerning the Jesuit institute to a general congregation of the Society. Summons went out to all the provinces to elect their delegates to the congregation, which was to meet in Rome in 1593. Sánchez

was elected one of the delegates for the province of Toledo, but when he was told of it he said that he had another journey to make shortly, the last and most important of his many journeys. He spoke of the journey of death, which took place on 27 May 1593 at Alcalá de Henares, whence as a young man he had set out to see the world.[47]

Chapter Six

PERMANENT ESTABLISHMENT

The departure of Sánchez from the Philippines seemed to release the Lagyo community from the state of suspended animation to which his one-year term as minister had reduced it. Sedeño with the advice of the other fathers promptly accepted the lots which were being offered by several benefactors at the southwest corner of the city. Twenty-eight of these were scattered residential lots, but fourteen were contiguous and occupied two city blocks, sufficient for a church and residence. He then approached Don Gabriel de Ribera and asked him to build a temporary structure of nipa on this site, which could serve the Jesuits as a church until they could build a permanent one. Ribera not only consented with alacrity but improved on the suggestion. Scorning to use nipa, he raised for them the biggest church in the city, walled in wood and roofed with tile, and completed it in six months.[1]

As soon as it was finished, very probably in the early part of 1587, the Jesuits, while still residing at Lagyo, transferred to it their center of activities, putting into operation the plan suggested by Suárez of holding catechism classes for children and slaves in addition to the usual services. Suárez himself, however, was not to see this realization of his plan. He seems to have thrown himself too vigorously into the active ministry after Sánchez's departure, as though to make up for lost time. He preached and heard confessions regularly in the cathedral, and these continual trips back and forth between Lagyo and Manila, made in all kinds of weather after long hours in the pulpit and the confessional, undermined his health. He fell sick, and at midnight on 2 September 1586, having received the last sacraments at the hands of Sedeño, died.[2]

His death pointed up the need of the Jesuits having a house near their church. Ribera offered to build it for them of the same materials, wood and tile, but the fathers after thinking it over decided to put up with the inconvenience of the Lagyo residence a while longer until it was definitely settled whether they were to stay or go. Sedeño did not want good money spent on a second temporary residence; the next house he built would be of stone.[3]

Both Prat and Chirino claim for Sedeño the distinction of having introduced the art of stone construction in the Philippines. According to Chirino[4] it was he who after the fire of 1583 persuaded Bishop Salazar to



Map III. The Tagalog region, showing towns mentioned in the narrative.

rebuild the episcopal residence in adobe, the most readily available building stone. He drew the plans himself and directed the construction, showing the Filipino and Chinese workmen how to quarry the stone, dress it and lay it, and how to mix mortar and use the plumb line. This was the first adobe house in Manila. Other citizens followed suit, asking Sedeño to do them a similar service. Chirino, who arrived in the Philippines in 1590, saw him actually at work on the house of Captain Juan Pacheco Maldonado. He was not quite satisfied with the hang of the staircase, and had the workmen take it down and do it over again. He was always patient and gentle with them but very exacting.

When President De Vera decided to start the fortification of Manila without waiting for authorization from Madrid, Sedeño helped him with the plans. As pointed out earlier, the city had the river on its northern and the sea on its western side. East of it, in the area occupied today by Plaza Lawton and its approaches, was a marsh. The Chinese were beginning to drain it to make room for their quarter or *parián*, but it was still sufficiently swampy to afford the city a measure of protection. The south side, looking toward Lagyo and Malate, was the only completely open side, that by which the corsair Limahong almost took the city. It was therefore the logical place to start a system of defensive works.

The system[5] devised by De Vera and Sedeño was based on a tower at the southwest corner of the city from which light artillery could command both the beach and the southern approach. This was constructed first; wings with covered platforms for heavy artillery were added later. From this point a ditch was commenced, to run east along the city line and then north between the city and the marsh to the Pasig River. It measured 34 feet across and was being dug deep enough so that even at low tide it floated the barges that brought in the materials for construction. It was not yet finished when De Vera reported to Philip II in June 1587. The old wooden fort commanding the river's mouth at the northwest corner of the city was left standing, but a stone parapet was run from it to the point where the ditch entered the river. Thus, Prat says in the obituary which he wrote of his superior, Sedeño

> . . . helped in the war plans department with both military and naval fortification. His presence was required at all staff conferences. He attended town meetings, helped to build churches, and made positive contributions to public affairs, for he started the fashion of stone buildings in this city, which previously was all of wood. He began the manufacture of lime and fired the first tile. He imported silkworms, planted mulberry trees and set up looms in an effort to develop a local silk industry, so that the money draining out of this land to China every year might be retained.[6]

Colin[7] adds that he sought out painters among the Chinese and put them to work in a studio near the Jesuit house on pictures of saints and sacred

subjects, not only for the Jesuit church but for other churches as well. While there is no reason to doubt that Sedeño had a great deal to do with these industrial and artistic beginnings, it should be pointed out that others had an equal share in the credit. Bishop Salazar, for instance, discovered the adobe which made stone construction in Manila possible. According to one account, it was he who went prospecting up the river with some Chinese until he came upon the quarries of San Pedro Makati.[8] Moreover, it is unlikely that Sedeño needed to teach Chinese workmen how to mix mortar; surely they brought this art with them from China, along with the process of making lime from seashells.

At any rate, Sedeño's services to the community explain in part the readiness of many of the citizens to help the Jesuits out with their permanent church and residence. Among the first to come forward was Estéban Rodríguez de Figueroa. Figueroa, born of Portuguese parents in North Africa, had come with Legazpi's expedition as a penniless young adventurer. He rose from the ranks to a captaincy, took part in Ronquillo's invasion of Brunei, led an expedition of reconnaissance to Sulu and Magindanau, and was rewarded for his services with two extensive encomiendas, one in Camarines with a population of 4,700 and another on the island of Panay with a population of 4,800. As conquistador and encomendero he won the right of being styled a Spanish gentleman: *hijodalgo de solar conocido*. He offered not only to build the Jesuit church and residence but to provide the community with an endowment consisting of investments either in the Philippines or Mexico which would yield an income of 1,000 pesos a year. To get the stone church started he gave 1,000 pesos in cash, but Sedeño asked him not to draw up the legal instrument finalizing his offer until permission could be obtained from the general. This was in 1586; soon afterward Figueroa married the daughter of the oidor Dávalos, and Sedeño concluded that with a family on the way he had given up the idea of a foundation. He had not, as we shall see.[9]

Another offer to build the Jesuit residence inside the city came from Captain Juan Pacheco Maldonado, previously mentioned as the owner of the house whose construction Sedeño directed in 1590. He and his wife, Doña Faustina de Palacios y Villagómez, declared that if for some reason Gabriel de Ribera was unable to make good his prior commitment, they were ready to spend as much as 5,000 pesos on the new building. And still another wealthy citizen, Don Luís de Sahajosa, reputed to be worth 100,000 pesos, was talking about leaving his entire estate to the Society.[10]

These offers suggest that the acute financial embarrassment of the colonial government, so heavily underscored in the memorials taken to Madrid by Sánchez, did not prevent some at least of the colonists from amassing sizable private fortunes. What enabled them to do so was of course the galleon trade. Spanish silver was very highly valued in China,

so that the goods brought by the annual junk fleet went very cheaply, at least during this first phase of the trade. "One would think," De Vera was moved to exclaim, "that they manufacture them in China without labor, and everything there grows on trees."[11] On the other hand, Chinese silks and knickknacks fetched top prices at the Acapulco fair, regularly making for investors profits of 200 per cent, and in good years as much as 600 per cent. More could be made by an enterprising merchant who carried or shipped European goods to Manila, for these also fetched high prices from the colonists there, and bought China goods with the pesos realized for sale in Spanish America. "Here I have remained," a merchant wrote from Panama in 1590, "these twenty days, till the shippes go for the Philipinas. My meaning is to carie my commodities thither; for it is constantly reported, that for every hundred ducats a man shall get six hundred ducats cleerely." And Sebastián Vizcáino, writing to his father from Mexico the same year, "Foure moneths past, I came from China, and landed in Acapulco . . . I can certifie you of one thing; that two hundred ducates of Spanish commodities, and some Flemish wares which I caryed with me thither, I made worth 1400 ducates there in the countrey. So I make account that with those silkes and other commodities which I brought with me from thence to Mexico, I got 2500 ducates by the voyage."[12]

According to a report of the city corporation of Manila in 1586, the annual junk fleet from South China consisted ordinarily of twenty vessels, each with a crew of at least one hundred. The trading season was from November to May. The total value of the trading goods they brought was 200,000 pesos, plus 10,000 pesos' worth of perishable commodities intended for consumption in the colony, such as flour, sugar, biscuit, fruit, bacon, ham, and live cattle. In 1587 the galleon *Santa Ana*, 600 tons, commander Tomás de Alzola, cleared from Cavite with an exceptionally rich cargo of silks and brocades, 22½ arrobas of musk, a large quantity of civet, pearls from Sulu, and 122,000 pesos' worth (102.3 lbs. troy weight) of registered gold, with an unknown quantity unregistered. So lucrative was the trade that vessels from other Asian nations were beginning to make Manila a regular port of call. That same year two ships came from the kingdom of Patani to open trade relations and a merchantman from Japan which brought Sedeño letters from the Jesuits there.

In the crew of the latter vessel was a zealous Japanese Christian named Gabriel, who in the course of the voyage succeeded in converting eight of his pagan companions. He taught them catechism and upon arriving in Manila turned them over to the Jesuits for further instruction. They must have known some Portuguese to make this possible; at any rate Bishop Salazar examined them, found them worthy, and solemnly baptized them himself in the Jesuit church, with President De Vera and other notables standing as sponsors.[13]

The master of this vessel, however, known to the Spaniards as Juan Gayo, made other contacts during his sojourn in Manila and became involved in a darker sort of business. To understand the events now to be related it is necessary to observe that the ancient ruling class of the Tagalogs had gone down considerably in the world since their displacement by the Spaniards. True, they were exempted from tribute and statute labor and their lands were for the most part left untouched. But their wealth and power was derived principally not so much from land as from slaves, and from the tribute and services they collected from their serfs. The colonists, being forbidden to own native slaves themselves, were naturally not disposed to allow the datus the free enjoyment of this privilege, even though the royal ordinances explicitly enjoined temporary toleration of local customs in this matter. Thus slaves of native lords who applied to the Spanish courts for relief usually obtained their freedom without difficulty. Moreover, the Spanish head tax tended to channel away from the datus the tribute (*buwis*) which in former times were paid to them by their vassals; or, when the exactions of the new government became particularly onerous, the people simply moved away out of the reach both of the Spanish tax collector and their former rulers. It will be recalled that this was the principal grievance of the datus who came to see Bishop Salazar in 1582.

Thus the datu families now had to manage on a considerably diminished income; but more than that, they had to do so in the new money economy introduced by the Spaniards and the China trade. The lesser folk among the Tagalogs made out fairly well in spite of this change, for they had the products of their farms and looms to sell, but their erstwhile rulers, accustomed to leisure and command, had neither the ability nor the inclination to work for a living. They were reduced to selling their lands piecemeal and sitting in their half-empty houses, thinking dangerous thoughts.

One of the most influential of the datus of Tondo, the Tagalog town across the river from Manila, was Don Agustín de Legazpi.[14] After serving a term as petty governor of Tondo under the Spanish government, he was subjected to the usual residencia, and having been found guilty of maladministration sentenced to imprisonment, Released, he began to consider ways and means of ridding the country of the Spaniards. It seemed to him that if anything was to be done about it, it had better be done quickly, before the fortification of the Spanish settlement which was then in progress could be completed.

Meditating thus, he happened to strike up an acquaintance with the Japanese shipmaster, Juan Gayo. It soon transpired that Gayo was not only a peaceful trader but a soldier of fortune. He had approached President De Vera himself and inquired whether the Spaniards were contemplating any enterprise for which professional troops were needed. For, he said, whether the expedition be to Brunei, or Siam, or China, or the Moluccas, he, Gayo,

would engage to recruit from among the vassals of his lord, the daimyo of Hirado, and others as many as 6,000 men. Unfortunately De Vera was not the man for foreign adventures that Doctor Sande was, and Gayo was reduced for the nonce to ignoble buying and selling. However, he spent a great deal of time with Don Agustín, eating and drinking in his house in Tondo, and the acquaintance quickly ripened into friendship. Neither could speak the other's language, but they got on well enough with the help of Dionisio Fernández, a Japanese who knew Tagalog.

One day Don Agustín invited a number of other datus to meet Gayo in his house. Among those who came were Magat Salamat, a son of the Old Raja (Raja Matanda) who was lord of Tondo when the Spaniards came; Gerónimo Basi, Don Agustín's brother; Felipe Salalila, datu of Meysilo; and Salalila's son, Agustín Manugit. It quickly became apparent that they all heartily agreed on one thing: the Spaniards had to go. The only question was how to make them.

Don Agustín, who had been giving the matter considerable thought, asked Gayo through the interpreter Fernández whether he would be interested in ruling the country in place of the Spaniards. It was simple. All he would have to do was to return to Japan, collect a band of warriors as resolute as himself, and bring them in his ship to Manila. The Spaniards, believing that they came to trade, would let them land their merchandise as usual. But it would not be as usual. This time, arms would be their merchandise. Meanwhile, Don Agustín and his friends would rouse all the provinces around Manila. Their warriors would be ready. The war horns would sound from village to village, the signal fires flash from headland to headland for the massacre of the Spaniards; and after it was all over the datus would do homage to Gayo as their lord. They would retain the Spanish tribute system, except that now the tribute would not go to the hated foreigner but to Gayo and to them.

Gayo eagerly consented, and they sealed the pact in the manner of the Tagalogs, splitting an egg over their oath, desiring to be broken as the egg was broken if they were ever false to it. As proof of his good will, Gayo gave Don Agustín a quantity of shields, arquebuses, and other weapons for distribution among his men. Special markings were painted on the shields by which the Japanese, when they came, would recognize their confederates.

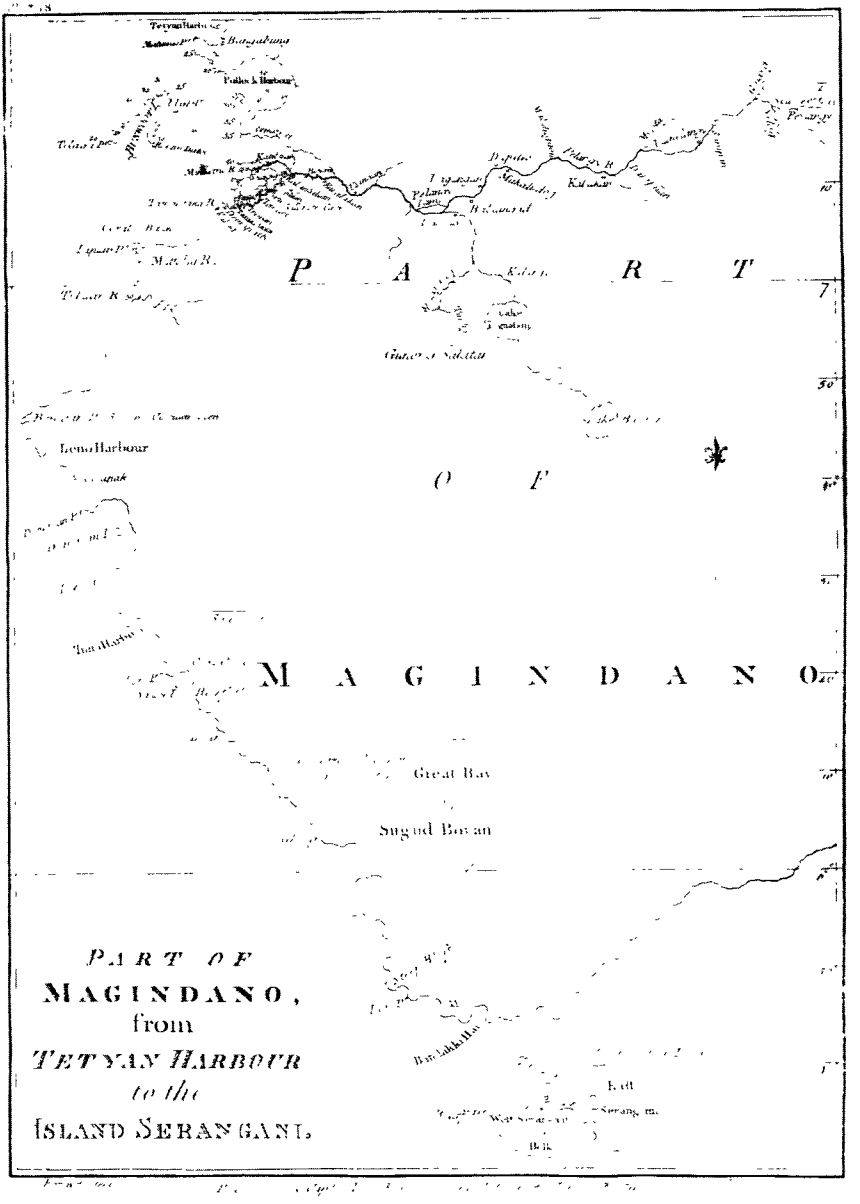
After Gayo's departure Don Agustín began to bring others into the conspiracy. He made Amaghikon, the datu of Navotas, privy to his counsels and gave him some of the Japanese equipment. Then he went to Tambobong. Don Martín Panga, also a former petty governor of Tondo, was in exile there, banished by the Spanish courts for adultery. There were others too who had felt the rigors of a Spanish gaol: Gabriel Tuambakar; his son, Francisco Akta; Pitong Gatang. They were told what was afoot,

and they swore an oath "to come to one another's aid with their persons and their worldly goods in whatever enterprise might present itself relative to the freedom of their communities or any other object."

These men secured, Don Agustín gave a great feast in Tambobong, bidding to it, besides the principal conspirators, datus of nearby towns and their retainers. Don Pedro Bolingit of Pandakan came, and Kalaw of Tondo with his father Don Luís Ama ni Kalaw, and Don Dionisio Kapolo of Candaba, and his brother Felipe Salonga of Polo, and Don Felipe Amarlanhagi of Catangalan. For three days Don Agustín feasted them and their warriors. Having well drunk, they spoke their minds, as Don Agustín intended they should. Behold them, they said, cast down from their former honorable estate, no longer feared and obeyed as of old by the common folk, for they had neither slaves nor gold any more, and skulked about in daily expectation of being haled before a Spanish court of justice. Even their women, whom they had fairly won in war, were being taken from them and given to whomsoever had them first to wife. Therefore their hearts were sad; but if anyone knew of a way whereby they could shake off the Spanish yoke and be lords of the land again, let him speak. Then Don Agustín told them of what had passed between Gayo the Japanese and himself, in the presence of Magat Salamat and others. They acclaimed the plan and swore the oath.

But now it was 1588 and no word had come from Gayo. They dared not strike by themselves, and yet delay was dangerous. The suspicions of the Spaniards had been aroused. Some of the datus had not known to keep their counsel. They had sold their lands and chattels openly for ready cash and held hostings of their clans and spoken imprudently before men of doubtful allegiance. Then, in February, word reached Manila of the Englishman Cavendish, how he had captured the galleon *Santa Ana*, crossed the great sea, and was even then cruising among the southern islands, waiting for an opportunity to slip into the bay and attack the city. In Tondo, Tambobong, Polo, Candaba, men held themselves in readiness, their spears and shields beside them. The Englishman would serve their purpose as well as Gayo; let him but engage the Spanish artillery and they would do the rest. But they failed to make contact with Cavendish; he sailed away; the opportunity was lost.

Then Estéban Tasi, datu of Bulacan, sought out Don Martín Panga in Tondo and demanded to know why they had always to be waiting for some foreigner to help them. Did not the Tagalogs and the Pampangos by themselves suffice to carry out this business? If Panga would speak to the datus of Cavite, he, Tasi, would raise the towns from Tondo to Bulacan. The other conspirators were called into consultation, and they decided that they would need levies from the other provinces too, from Bataan, from Komintang (Batangas), and from the villages around the Lake of Bai.



III. Map of Magindanau


Sangleyes, ô Chinos.
Christiano. Gentil principal. Pescador con chanchuy y salacot. Cargador con pinga.

IV. Sangleys

They set to work immediately. The petty governors of Malolos and Giginto were won over quickly. A delegation of datus from Pampanga were in Manila to petition the government to suspend a recently published edict emancipating their slaves. They claimed that it would cause confusion during the rice harvest which was imminent. Approached by the Tondo datus they listened willingly at first, but when the question was raised of a closer union than a loose confederation, of a supreme commander over all the clans to ensure unity of action, they could reach no agreement. The Pampangos refused to have any part in it and returned to their homes. Still, there were the other Tagalog provinces east and south; but time was lacking. Before any of the war bands could take the field it was May, and harvest time. The golden stalks drooped under their load of grain; there was the reaping to be done, the winnowing and storing. No one could be spared from the fields, and few wished to leave them even if they could, for there was the harvest festival in the offing, the drinking and the dancing. And this opportunity too passed by.

Don Agustín de Legazpi went back to his old plan: a surprise attack from the sea by a foreign confederate, and then all the back country piling on top of the Spaniard while his cannon was turned the other way. He sent Magat Salamat, Manugit, and Juan Banal to the Sultan of Brunei with some of the Japanese shields and arquebuses as presents, and the message to come quickly with a fleet, for the land was ready to make an end of Spanish rule. Let Brunei make a feint at the Cavite shipyard; this would give the Spaniards time to do what they always did in a crisis, send to the provinces for auxiliary native troops. The datus would recruit these troops most zealously; they would come quickly; they would enter the city, but not to defend it. As soon as the Brunei fleet hove into sight they would turn on their masters, fighting them if necessary from house to house. Their forts and palisados would serve them little then, with Brunei in command of the sea and the clans pouring in through the breaches made by their fellows.

Magat Salamat and his companions called at Cuyo, one of the Calamianes islands, because it was on their way and they wanted to alert Sumadub, the lord of Cuyo, who was of their mind. But word of their presence and mission leaked to the encomendero of Calamianes, Don Pedro Sarmiento, through his majordomo Susabau. Sarmiento acted quickly. He arrested the three envoys, took them to Manila, and delivered them to the authorities. The whole conspiracy was laid bare; the leaders, taken by surprise, were rounded up, tried, and sentenced promptly and ruthlessly. There was little of the law's delay on this occasion.

Don Agustín de Legazpi and Don Martín Panga were dragged on hurdles to the gallows, hanged, and beheaded. Their heads, stuck on pikes inside wickerwork baskets, were exposed to public view; and their houses

were pulled down and the land on which they stood plowed and sown with salt, so that no green thing might grow on the soil that had borne traitors. Magat Salamat, Salalila of Meysilo, Basi of Tondo, Tasi of Bulacan, Amaghikon of Navotas, and the Japanese Fernández were condemned to death. The lesser datus involved in the conspiracy were banished to Mexico. The land of the Tagalogs lay quiet; none of the villages moved to save their former lords. For this was a conspiracy of marhalika, not a people's rebellion. That was not to come until centuries later, when a warehouse worker would gather a handful of farm hands about him and raise the cry of Balintawak.

There was in fact no consciousness among the Spaniards of Manila that any great danger had been averted. They were much more concerned about the loss of the *Santa Ana*, for many had invested heavily on the voyage. There was much futile grinding of teeth that that fellow Candes or Iskander or Cavendish or whatever his name was, a mere youth of twenty-two with two infinitesimal ships, should take it all away from them, and adding insult to injury breeze through the Philippines as coolly as you please, dropping the saucy message that he would return shortly with enough powder to blow up Manila.[15] Indeed, 1588, the Armada year, was not a particularly cheerful year for any of the Spanish dominions in Europe or overseas. However, it did bring the Philippine Jesuits the long awaited decision of Acquaviva.

To give the background of this decision: Sedeño and his companions had been sent to the Philippines at the request of the colonial authorities, but only on a temporary basis, with instructions to inquire into the possibilities of Jesuit work in the area and to report on their findings. They made this clear to Bishop Salazar, who informed Philip II that this was "the custom of this order before they settled down anywhere."[16] In 1584 the first group of three was joined by a second group of four, but no change was made in their temporary status. They duly sent their reports both to the general directly and to the provincial of Mexico, to whom they were immediately subordinate. On 6 November 1585 the provincial, Antonio de Mendoza, laid these reports before the provincial congregation for discussion. Taking into account the various suggestions made therein, and the prospect of the royal government subsidizing a college at least until it could be endowed, the congregation recommended that the mission be permanently established; that it consist for the present of a college in Manila and a house in some nearby town where ministries among the natives could be undertaken without, however, any parish responsibilities; and that more men be sent to staff these two houses.[17] It was after this *postulatum* had gone to Rome that Mendoza sent instructions to the Philippine fathers that they carry on as they were doing until an answer was received from Rome.

Acquaviva replied to the Mexican postulatum on 9 May 1587. First, with regard to the proposed college; the Society had so many commitments already that it could not possibly accept the responsibility for any more colleges for extern students. Hence instructions were being sent directly to Manila that the fathers there were not to think of opening a school, "because that would be to commit us antecedently to the charge of a college without first being able to consider whether this is advisable or not; for, clearly, we cannot open a school and then close it again without causing great indignation and scandal." For the same reason they were not to establish any residence among the natives, because with no house of formation there, and men so scarce in Europe, it would be impossible to staff such a residence. It was extremely difficult as it was to staff the residence they already had.

What then was their status to be? They were to be a permanent mission, resident in Manila as a single community, accepting no stable parishes or mission stations but devoting themselves principally to traveling missions, going from town to town among the natives and helping them with the ministries of the Society. The difficulties urged against this by Sedeño, Sánchez, and Suárez had apparently made little impression on Acquaviva, for the same system was being successfully operated by the Jesuits in Japan, India, and Brazil, and he saw no reason why the Philippine fathers could not follow their example. Finally, whereas the first instructions to Sedeño left the possibility open of their being sent on to China, they were now told that under no circumstances were they to go there or to Japan.[18]

Not long after these instructions reached the Philippines, Sánchez arrived in Rome and began his negotiations with the papal curia as colonial agent. He was most anxious, however, to discuss the future of the Philippine mission with Acquaviva, and Acquaviva with him. Doubtless they did so orally, but a memorandum dated 1589 has been preserved which, although unsigned, contains corrections in Sánchez's handwriting and is pretty much in his style.[19] We may safely assume that it is a summary of the views expressed by Sánchez to the general.

He begins by marshaling the arguments against the continuance of the Philippine mission. The country is admittedly populous and the population well disposed toward the Christian faith; in this respect there are unlimited opportunities for missionary work. However, the Augustinians and Franciscans are already there in large numbers, and a sizable group of Dominicans are on the way. They have taken over the spiritual administration of the entire territory or the best part of it, and it is extremely doubtful whether they will want Jesuits working in their respective areas, even as traveling missionaries.

The natives are not yet accustomed to contribute to the support of their pastors, so that even where the Jesuits can go as traveling missionaries they

will have to bring their own provisions. The cost of this and of transportation is bound to be prohibitive, especially since they will have to go quite far to bypass the territory already occupied by the friars.

A missionary establishment in the Philippines is very difficult to govern from Mexico because of the distance, and it will certainly be impossible for the provincial to inspect it personally. Moreover, if the mission consists only of one residence, as seems to be the plan, it will not be easy to make any changes in the community even if this should become necessary. On the other hand, an establishment independent of Mexico does not seem possible, as there is no endowment to provide support and no house of formation to provide personnel.

These are the principal arguments against remaining in the Philippines. The arguments in favor of remaining are in Sánchez's opinion much more convincing.

First, not only the Spaniards in the Philippines but the king himself and his ministers will take it very ill should the Society suddenly decide to close the mission. They are giving us every assistance they can on the assumption that we mean to stay. The king is looking for ways and means to establish a Jesuit college. The president of the Council of the Indies told Sánchez personally that they want to send Jesuit missionaries by preference to the Philippines. This is hardly the time to disappoint them, in view of the strained relations that exist between the Society and the Spanish monarch.

Second, the very fact that the Philippines is such a remote and difficult mission gives it a special claim on the apostolic zeal of the Society. Moreover, the difficulties should not be exaggerated. Alms may not be forthcoming from the natives, but the government and the encomenderos will see to it that the necessities of the fathers are taken care of; and the natives themselves, once they realize what we are trying to do for them, will give us their very lives. We already have a fine house at the outskirts of the city and one of the wealthy citizens has offered to build us a house and church in the city itself and endow a college.

Suppose, then, the mission retained; what is there for the Society to do in the Philippines? A number of things. Our fathers can do a great deal for the Spanish settlers over and above the ordinary ministries of preaching and administering the sacraments. The colony is new and many problems of conduct and policy arise which Jesuits trained in theology and law can help solve. It is far from the centers of government, ecclesiastical as well as civil; this remoteness from central control often leads to friction between church and state officials; we may be of some assistance in preventing or at least mitigating such conflicts.

We can also do a great deal of work among the natives, even without going outside Manila. Manila has a large native population of slaves, ser-

vants, and workmen whose religious needs are not being regularly attended to; if we had a church in the city it could well be their church. Without necessarily accepting the cure of souls in permanent parishes, we could take charge of mission stations on a temporary basis, organizing and developing them until we are able to turn them over as formed parishes to the bishop and his clergy. Mendoza, the provincial of Mexico, talking this over with Sánchez, expressed the opinion that missions of this sort could well be undertaken for a three-year period.

But by far the most important contribution the Society could make in the Philippines would be the establishment of a seminary or boarding school for native boys and a college for Spanish students. A building for the boarding school can easily be constructed on the property being offered to the fathers in the city, which is large. It will cost very little to run such a school, for native food, consisting mainly of rice and fish, is abundant and cheap. Great good will result from it,

> . . . for the children are of a happy and affectionate disposition, not at all bashful or shy, well affected toward us, lively and very intelligent. By winning them we shall also win their parents, brothers, and relatives, and almost the whole region, so as to get them to come to catechism lessons, confession, communion, and spiritual conferences. Moreover, the children will learn our alphabet, language, culture, civil, and Christian usages, and spread them in their villages afterward. Not only will they supply the colony as a whole with trusted interpreters, but some of them can serve as companions to our fathers on missionary expeditions; in fact, many of them could be missionaries and catechists themselves. Teachers of reading and writing could be recruited from them and almost the whole charge and care of the boarding school could be transferred to them, for the work that they are now doing for the other religious communities and in our own house proves that they are quite capable of all these things.

The college will take care of Spanish boys who are capable and desirous of more than an elementary schooling and also of soldiers and merchants who may receive a vocation to the priesthood. A start can well be made with one grammar master, one lay brother to teach reading and writing, and one priest to supervise the school. As many as 200 boys can be supported adequately with an annual income of 500 ducats.

These are the opportunities open to the Society now; many more will offer themselves in the future, for the colony is sure to grow and prosper. If then we are to remain in the Philippines permanently, the following points should be considered.

First, more men should be sent, because it is difficult to maintain the order and discipline of a religious community with so few. Second, it should not be subordinate to Mexico, because of the difficulties previously mentioned. Third, it should consist of a college in Manila which would at the same time be the central house of the mission, and possibly in the

course of time a novitiate and house of studies for the training of our own men. In addition to this central house, one or two residences subordinate to it could be established among the natives; these could be the temporary mission stations suggested above. A farm or ranch could be started in one of them to supply the central house with country products. Fourth, a vice-provincial directly responsible to the general should be put in charge of the mission. He should be given some of the powers of a provincial, especially that of admitting candidates to the Society and acquiring or alienating property with the advice of his consultors. Fifth, the men sent to the Philippines should not only be fully trained intellectually, but of more than ordinary virtue in view of the hardships and privations they will have to undergo. They should be young enough to be able to learn the language but mature in prudence and the practice of mortification. They should have no designs to go to China or anywhere else, and in order to prevent such ambitions from developing it may be advisable to forbid them to accept any ministry among the Manila Chinese. There are many other priests able and willing to do that work.

After studying these recommendations, Acquaviva revised his instructions of 1587. The new instructions raised the residence at Manila to the status of a college and Sedeño to the rank of rector. Permission was given to establish mission stations with resident missionaries, but only on a temporary basis. After two or three years they were to be turned over to the bishop. However, the proposal that the mission be made an independent vice-province was rejected and the subordination to Mexico retained. Moreover, no decision was made for the present as to the nature of the studies to be conducted in the college.[20]

Sánchez expected to be sent back with these instructions, but Acquaviva had other plans for him, as we have seen. Instead, the dispatches were sent to José de Acosta in Spain, then functioning as visitor. Toward the end of June 1589 Acosta summoned a young Jesuit named Pedro Chirino from Jerez de la Frontera, where he was giving a popular mission. Chirino had been ordained only two years previously. He had volunteered for the American missions but had received no reply. He was now told that he was going to the Philippines. It was the first time he had ever heard of the place. Acosta gave him his dispatches and some advice which Chirino was able to recall twenty years later; to perform his religious duties faithfully; to put his trust in God; to exercise the ministries of the Society on board ship, as far as circumstances permitted; in his dealings with others, to be affable rather than severe; and not to forbid soldiers and sailors their ordinary recreations.

Chirino was joined at Seville by his lay brother companion, Francisco Martín. They attached themselves to the entourage of Governor Dasmariñas and with it left Sanlúcar de Barrameda on 18 September, arrived

at San Juan de Ulúa in Mexico on 18 December, and cleared from Acapulco for the Philippines on 1 March 1590. Two ships made the Pacific crossing. Dasmariñas in the flagship reached Cavite without incident on 31 May. The second ship, however, to which Chirino and Martín were assigned, was dismasted by a typhoon and wrecked on the coast of Marinduque. No lives were lost, and the two Jesuits entered Manila on 20 June.[21]

They found the Manila community already installed in a brand-new residence on the Jesuit compound inside the city. Sedeño had it begun as soon as he received Acquaviva's 1587 instructions, that is, early in 1588. One wing, paid for by Pacheco Maldonado and his wife, was completed in the latter part of 1589. It had accommodations for fourteen or fifteen and was of brick, the first religious house to be constructed of this material in Manila. Because it was such a novelty, it was thrown open for inspection by the public until the Jesuits moved in, some time in April 1590. Meanwhile work was begun on a new stone church and a second wing of the residence, capable of accommodating ten more. This second wing was at right angles to the first and contiguous with the church.[22]

It is impossible on the available evidence to tell the precise location within the Jesuit compound either of Ribera's wooden church or the new stone church. We know that the compound itself consisted of the two blocks bounded on the north by Calle Victoria, on the east by Calle Real, on the west by Calle Basco and on the south by the Muralla, that is, the street on the other side of which the city wall was soon to rise. These names were not, of course, given to the streets until much later, although Calle Real was called such quite early because it ran from the *casas reales*—government house—in the north end of the city to the south gate, which was called the Royal Gate—*puerta real*. A street, later called Calle San José, ran east and west between the two blocks, but Sedeño obtained permission from the city authorities to close the street to traffic, on condition that it was not built over, for since it led directly to De Vera's fort they wanted to be able to use it in an emergency.

I think we can safely assume that Sedeño's church stood on the same site as the later church completed in 1632; that is, on the northern block, alongside Calle Real, facing north with a plaza in front of it. St. Paul's of the Augustinians, which is on the same street further north, is oriented in the same way. If this assumption is correct, then the first wing of the residence ran west along Calle Victoria and the second wing south alongside the church. These wings were called *cuartos*, fourths, because the intention was to build two more sections so as to complete a square enclosing an inner patio.

The Jesuits were very happy about their new residence, especially since it brought them closer to the center of their activities; but being in the city

and cut off from the sea breezes it was much warmer than their old house in Lagyo. So at least we gather from the twenty-seventh postulatum of the provincial congregation of Mexico in 1592: "The men in the Philippines request a general dispensation from the twelfth of the common rules in order to be able to sleep with their windows open, because of the extreme heat." Thus were the Jesuits of Macao vindicated against the strictures of Sánchez! The dispensation was readily granted, but even so, an Italian Jesuit who came somewhat later confided to a friend that "one perspires continually, so much so that undershirt, shirt, and cassock become wet through many times during the day and night, even if one does no work. Only a breeze brings some relief. In short, of all the Indies and lands I have seen, this country is the most apt to make a man a saint in a hurry—*questa e celeste per farsi l'huomo presto santo.*"[23]

Dasmariñas found the colonial government in an appalling state; or so he reported to the king. It had no ships; no galleys; no iron; no copper; no gunpowder; no ship's cables; not enough shot to service ten pieces of artillery. The artillery itself consisted of only four stone mortars and one big piece that was "neither culverin nor cannon nor saker nor anything recognizable." What was referred to as the royal stores was nothing but a bit of rice in a mud hut, a stockade in which were deposited the wood and gear of three rotten galleys, and a magazine in which gunpowder was kept —when there was any. The treasury owed more than 30,000 pesos in unpaid wages and requisitioned materials to the natives and arrears of pay to Spanish employees and servicemen. The troops were still quartered in private houses because they had no barracks and all the rations they drew was three fanegas of rice a month. Under these conditions not even the semblance of military discipline could be maintained; the soldiers spent their time either running errands for their hosts or in gaming and idleness.

Dasmariñas did not think much of the fortifications constructed by De Vera and Sedeño. The so-called fort at the southwest angle of the city, which cost the enormous sum of 24,000 pesos, was of no use whatever; merely a loosely cemented tower which immediately began to fall apart. They tried to shore it up with four buttresses which they fondly believed to be cavaliers, but this only made it worse. As for the covered artillery platforms, they were death traps. Anyone could see they would cave in on the gunners at the first direct hit. But this was only to be expected, since "there is neither engineer nor architect in these Islands, aside from a few natives." So much for Sedeño's excursion into military engineering![24]

What Manila needed, Dasmariñas thought, was a proper wall, and to this he immediately applied himself. First, how finance the project? He called the bishop and other leading citizens to a consultation and proposed a tax on all Chinese imports for two years, a 2 per cent export tax on all merchandise shipped on the Manila galleon for one year, and application to

the wall of the revenue from the government monopoly of playing cards. They agreed, and construction began in 1591. De Vera's fort was remodeled into a bastion and christened Nuestra Señora de Guía. The wooden fort at the northwest angle of the city was torn down and replaced by a citadel mounting eight pieces of artillery. Dasmariñas christened it Fort Santiago, a name which it bears to this day. The course of the wall that ran from Santiago to De Guía along the beach was provided with screens and traverses, according to the latest style of fortification. Spanish Manila began to assume the forbidding aspect which it was to keep for three centuries and could now be referred to as the walled city—*intra muros*. By 1593 the work was substantially complete.

Dasmariñas next turned his attention to the garrison. He had brought with him 270 seasoned troops of the Spanish *tercio* or infantry. For these and for the veterans he found in Manila he built a barracks and leveled a parade ground in the citadel. The veterans, used to the freedom of life in the town, were inclined to be obstreperous. Officers were liberal with punishments, but the guardhouse held no terrors for these hard-bitten old campaigners and even the rack made little impression on them. They did not expect discipline to go much further than that; a reprimand, a few days of acute discomfort, and back to the ranks had been their experience. The colony could not afford to lose soldiers. But they failed to take the measure of their new captain-general. A private started an argument with his sergeant and when a lieutenant intervened, struck him and caused an uproar in the barracks. Dasmariñas had him executed. There was no trouble with discipline for a long time thereafter.

The town too felt his heavy hand. He appointed a regular night watch of garrison troops to patrol the streets and challenge nocturnal prowlers and late revelers. Because no watch used to be kept citizens had got into the habit of going about armed, and street brawls were common. Dasmariñas ordered that civilians were to be disarmed henceforth.

Naval construction was his next concern. He found upon landing at Cavite that the keels of two galleons had been laid but their hulls left unfinished. He finished them. He built four galleys for coast-guard duty and bought all the iron, lead, cables, and other naval stores he could lay hands on, storing them along with considerable rice reserves in four new warehouses opposite the barracks.[25]

All this government spending must have entailed no little sacrifice on the part of the colonists, but there was surprisingly little grumbling. Quite the contrary; on 31 May 1592 the "householders and common folk" of Manila informed the king that in the two years since Dasmariñas took office much had been accomplished. The city wall and fort almost finished; two galleons launched in two years; the city policed on a twenty-four-hour basis; new royal storehouses; artillery being cast in a new royal foundry;

new quarries and lime kilns opened. The governor attends personally to all these projects, by night and day, in all kinds of weather. True, he is austere and exacting and insists on discipline, and for this is disliked by some; but he is just, blameless in his private life, and a devout Christian. Under his administration the city has grown and prospered; private fortunes have increased; the galleons make regular sailings; more and more trading junks come from China; new churches are rising; whole streets are being lined with stone residences; the citizens feel more secure in their houses with the wall around them and the voice of the watch marking the hours of the night.

Still, a great deal remained to be done. The city needed a new town hall, a new gaol, a slaughterhouse, a grain market. The river and its inlets, which were used as canals, needed to be dredged; the waterfront needed wharves. The city had no drainage to speak of; in the rainy season the streets which were unpaved became flooded and mired. Drinking water had to be brought in by carriers from as far as two leagues away. In order to finance these improvements, the city corporation asked that the monopoly on playing cards be assigned to it for six years.[26]

It would seem, then, that Dasmariñas was achieving a fair amount of success in putting through the reforms suggested by the colonial assembly and approved by the king. Trouble arose, however, over the question of rowers for the galleys. Dasmariñas obtained them from Camarines by impressment, although he undertook to pay them at the rate of one *tostón* per man per month. Camarines was Franciscan territory, and Fray Pedro Bautista, who was later to be martyred in Japan and is a canonized saint, denounced the impressment as forced labor and the wages as miserable. Dasmariñas admitted the difficulty but could think of no better solution than to propose that lascars be imported from India to serve as galley slaves.[27] But this was a relatively minor problem. It was over the old question of tribute that a major controversy arose.

An official report of 1591[28] states that there were in the Philippines as of that date 31 crown encomiendas and 236 private encomiendas with a total population of 166,903 "tributes," that is about 667,000 persons, understanding by one tribute that paid by a man, his wife, and minor children. As we have already seen, the tribute-paying territory was divided for administrative purposes into provinces, each with an alcalde mayor. In 1591 the number of provinces had been increased to twelve: Manila, Pampanga, Pangasinan, Ilocos, Cagayan, La Laguna, Camarines, Masbate, Cebu, Panay, Balayan, and Calilaya (later to be called Tayabas).

Of the encomiendas enumerated in this report Bishop Salazar claimed[29] that those in the Visayan provinces generally (Masbate, Cebu, and Panay), with the exception of a few encomiendas on the island of Panay, had the benefits of Spanish justice but not those of religious instruction.

In others religious instruction was given but inadequately, either through lack of missionaries or because the population had not been sufficiently organized to permit their being properly instructed. As examples of these, Salazar cited Pangasinan and Ilocos, and the uplands of the Tagalog provinces where the people still lived in small scattered clan villages, such as Tagaytay Ridge and the Marikina watershed. Finally, there were encomiendas reserved to the Crown or granted to private persons about which the report was discreetly silent, for in them there was neither effective government nor religious instruction. Yet—and this was Salazar's whole point—the full tribute was being forcibly exacted from the people of these as of all the other encomiendas.[30]

He took his position on a principle established in the Synod of Manila: that the king's government could levy tribute only on subjects of the king. Now the people of the colonies were not subjects of the king unless they received some at least of the benefits enjoyed by subjects. Among the most important of these benefits were the protection of the laws and the opportunity to become a Christian. Hence, those who received these benefits in full could be taxed in full; those who received them in part could be taxed only in part; and those who did not receive them could not be taxed at all. In effect, taxation without justice and religion was tyranny.

Encomiendas should therefore be divided into three categories: those in which religious instruction was given, those in which no religious instruction was given but in which effective government had been established, and those in which there was neither religious instruction nor effective government. In encomiendas belonging to the first category the full tribute could be collected, but only from the natives who were actually Christians; in those of the second, one-third or one-half the tribute; in those of the third, nothing. Moreover if anything had hitherto been collected in violation of these rules full restitution was to be made.

Bishop Salazar embodied these views in a memorial which he presented to Governor Dasmariñas. But before Dasmariñas could act upon them—and quite possibly in order to force his hand—Salazar cast them in the form of twenty-five mandatory "conclusions" which he caused to be read from the cathedral pulpit. Certain religious, apparently with the bishop's approval, took this to be a directive to be enforced through the sacrament of penance, and refused absolution to those who were not prepared to comply with all of its articles.

The encomenderos at once appealed to Dasmariñas. They asked him for a definite statement of policy to allay the scruples raised by the twenty-five conclusions, adding that if they were compelled to collect the tribute on those terms they would be unable to maintain themselves in the colony and would have to request his Excellency to let them take the next galleon for Spain, where their services would doubtless be better appreciated.

Dasmariñas' first move was to seek expert advice. He had copies made of the bishop's proclamation and sent them to the heads of the four religious orders for comment.

The Jesuit reply, signed by Sedeño, Prat, and Almerici,[31] was in substantial agreement with Salazar's conclusions but tried to mitigate some of their more rigorous requirements. Accepting the principle that justice and religious instruction provided the justifying basis for any system of taxation, the Jesuits argued that in those encomiendas where effective government existed and adequate religious instruction was given the full tribute could be collected not only from the Christian but also from the pagan natives. Their reason was that the encomendero fulfilled his obligation by providing the opportunities for learning the Christian faith; if the pagans failed to take advantage of these opportunities it was their own fault.

They agreed with Bishop Salazar that in those encomiendas where effective government was established but no religious instruction was given the full tribute could not be collected. The deduction of one-half or one-third, however, they considered arbitrary and too great. Only that amount should be deducted which was normally spent on the support of the missionary and his work, namely, one-fourth. Hence there was an obligation to restore this amount wherever the full tribute has been collected, unless there was a reasonable hope of missionaries being assigned to the territory in the near future; in which case the one-fourth could be retained and used to start the missions.

With regard to encomiendas which offered neither the benefits of justice nor religion, the Jesuits fully endorsed the bishop's conclusion: no tribute could be collected.

This opinion coincided in all essential respects with that of the Augustinians. The Dominicans approved Bishop Salazar's conclusions without reservations. The Franciscans submitted an alternative scheme which we need not go into. On 28th February 1591 Dasmariñas issued the policy statement requested by the encomenderos. He accepted Salazar's conclusions with the reservations suggested by the Augustinians and the Jesuits, and added one of his own: that in encomiendas which belong to the third category because the population are in a state of revolt after having once submitted to Spanish rule, a certain proportion of the tribute must be insisted on as a token of vassalage until the rebellion is put down.

These revisions were not acceptable to Bishop Salazar, but Dasmariñas felt that he had to insist upon them. Other conflicts arose between the two heads of the colony on which they could reach no agreement. Salazar withdrew from the position he held regarding the use of armed force when he advocated the China enterprise. He now held not only that it was unlaw-

ful to reduce any new territory to Spanish rule by conquest, but that it was unlawful to use force even on rebels. He was no longer disposed to grant any concessions to the conquistadores in the matter of restitution. He insisted that the natives could not be compelled to work for the government even for a wage, or forced to sell their products to the government at a fixed price. He refused to recognize that the patronal privileges of the Spanish Crown gave the governor any right to approve or disapprove ecclesiastical appointments; these were the sole concern of the bishop.[32]

Unable to obtain satisfaction from Dasmariñas on any of these points, the aged prelate determined to take his case to Philip II personally. In June 1591 he left the Philippines with a Dominican companion, Fray Miguel de Benavides, and the members of the suppressed audiencia. It must be said that he got little satisfaction from the king either. Spanish rule in the Philippines continued to be rounded out by conquest; rebellions were put down by force; statute labor and requisitioning became permanent colonial institutions. However, Philip II did accept two of his recommendations. The first was that the audiencia be restored. Salazar had, indeed, been among the first to advocate its abolition, but subsequent experience taught him that in case of conflict with the governor neither he nor anyone else in the colony could obtain a hearing, since there was no other authority to counterbalance that of the governor. The audiencia was restored in 1598. The second recommendation was that in view of the rapid spread of Christianity in the Islands, the single Philippine bishopric be increased to four, with Manila as the archiepiscopal see and Nueva Segovia (Cagayan), Nueva Cáceres (Naga), and Santísimo Nombre de Jesús (Cebu) as suffragan dioceses. A petition to this effect was submitted to the Holy See on 17 June 1595 and approved in the August consistories of the same year. Bishop Salazar having died in the meantime (4 December 1594), Fray Francisco de Santibáñez O.F.M. was appointed archbishop of Manila, Fray Miguel de Benavides O.P. bishop of Nueva Segovia, Fray Luís de Maldonado O.F.M. bishop of Nueva Cáceres, and Fray Pedro de Agurto O.S.A. bishop of Cebu.[33]

While Bishop Salazar's repudiation of armed force as an instrument of colonial policy did him great credit, the practical difficulties which Dasmariñas found against it should not be minimized. Shortly after the bishop's departure a situation arose in central Luzon which brought out some of these difficulties. The clans inhabiting the Zambales mountains were accustomed to make forays on the Pampango villages in the rich and fertile plain below. In 1591 the damage they inflicted was exceptionally great and Dasmariñas sent troops against them. The Zambal chieftains sued for peace and promised that they would settle down as law-abiding farmers. Dasmariñas thereupon withdrew the troops; but no sooner had the tips of the Spanish arquebuses vanished below the horizon than the

clans zestfully returned to their old way of life, raiding through the plain, ravishing and killing.

Early in 1592 Dasmariñas sought the advice of the superiors of the religious orders in Manila. Would he be justified in making war on the Zambales with fire and sword, in view of their broken promises and the harm they did to the peaceful lowlanders? The replies he received were unanimous; such a war, given the circumstances, was justified. Sedeño, however, pointed out that a distinction should be made between a formal war and a punitive expedition. War was made against a people that recognized a single government, for whose acts they were all to a greater or less extent responsible. To make war on such a government was necessarily to make war on the people whose government it was; and if the war was just, then the people justly suffered for the evils committed by their government. But there were peoples, and the Zambales might well be one of them, who had no single government recognized by all, but were divided into many tribes or clans living and acting independently of one another. Such groups were a people not in the political but only in a racial or geographical sense. Hence the whole people could not be held responsible for the crimes committed by one or a few tribes. These guilty tribes could and should be punished; but the punitive expedition should be instructed not to harm the other tribes which, although living in the same district and going by the same collective name, took no part in the depredations.

A further question was whether even the innocent tribes could be compelled to come down from the hills and settle in designated areas where they could be more easily kept under government surveillance. To this question Sedeño replied in the affirmative, because it seemed to be a necessary measure of security for the whole region, and while entailing immediate hardship to the tribes, would in the long run be beneficial to them.[34]

Unfortunately Dasmariñas did not see fit to make these distinctions. He dispatched 120 Spanish and 600 Pampango troops in several columns on a deep penetration of the Zambales country, with orders to destroy methodically everything in their path—villages, granaries, even the standing grain of the upland fields. All who resisted were to be killed; all who surrendered brought down to concentration camps in the lowlands while their former homes were completely laid waste. Two thousand five hundred Zambales were either killed or captured. Those who survived were told where they could make their clearings and rebuild their villages. Four hundred of the male captives were sent to Cavite as galley slaves, thus relieving Dasmariñas of the bother of importing lascars. "I believe," he said in his report to the king, "that they will not raise their heads after this or commit any more acts of insolence. If they do, they can be promptly wiped out."

But the Zambales campaign was a relatively minor police action. What began to engage the attention of Dasmariñas at this time was a much bigger operation: an expedition to regain the Moluccas. The islands of Ternate, Tidore, and Halmahera were the original home of the clove tree. In 1513 the Portuguese after years of effort finally succeeded in tracing this precious spice to its source, and obtained from the Moslem sultans of Ternate and Tidore permission to establish trading posts in their respective territories. These two sultans were the heads of rival confederacies, so that when the Spaniards led by Elcano and Loaisa put in an appearance via the western route the islands promptly broke up into two factions, the Portuguese allying themselves with Ternate and the Spaniards with Tidore. St. Francis Xavier, following in the wake of the Portuguese traders, founded a mission in the islands which his successors built up into a community of 40,000 Christians. Not without great difficulty; for Portuguese rapacity (Xavier wrote ruefully that they showed an amazing capacity for inventing new tenses and participles of the verb *rapio*) alienated even their Ternate allies. When they murdered Sultan Hairun after making peace with him, Ternate rose in revolt. Baabullah, Hairun's successor, laid siege to the Portuguese fortress on the island and took it in 1574. The Portuguese retired to Tidore, which the Spaniards had abandoned in the meantime, and carried on the war from there. But their hold on it was, to say the least, precarious, and the Jesuit missions were in danger of going under altogether. Frantic calls for help to Goa failed to obtain either troops or missionaries. The superior of the mission, Antonio Marta, went to see the viceroy personally, but all he could bring back with him was a small contingent of 100 troops. Seeing that no help was forthcoming from that quarter he turned to the Spaniards in the Philippines.[35]

Ronquillo's expedition has already been mentioned; it met with disaster. Dasmariñas realized that if another expedition was to succeed it must be prepared for by better intelligence work and closer coordination with the Portuguese garrison. Some time early in 1592 Dasmariñas went to the Jesuit residence and after having bound Sedeño to secrecy told him that he was preparing to strike a decisive blow in the Moluccas. A few months back he received a letter from Marta informing him that thousands of Christians were being compelled to apostatize by the sultan of Ternate and begging him to send even a small expedition; as few as 400 men, he said, would be sufficient to regain the islands for the Crown.

Dasmariñas went on to say that he had authorization for this, as the king wanted him to do something as soon as possible about the situation in the Moluccas. For this reason he had at once dispatched an officer disguised as a merchant to contact Marta and to spy out the country, but this officer was killed by a wild boar while hunting before he could return. Hence he,

Dasmariñas, still did not have the information which he needed before he could send the expedition.

Someone had to go quickly; could Sedeño send a Jesuit? With the advice of his consultors Sedeño gave Dasmariñas the lay brother Gaspar Gómez. Dasmariñas' instructions to Gómez were to tell Marta that the expedition was on its way and to bring back as soon as possible accurate information as to the effective strength of the Ternate forces and the location of suitable anchorages and landing beaches. Speed and secrecy were essential; not even an inkling of what was being planned should be allowed to reach the sultan of Ternate until the expedition was actually upon him. Gómez left at once and returned late that same year or early in 1593, his mission accomplished.[36]

Meanwhile the people of Siau, a small island midway between the Philippines and the Moluccas, threatened with invasion by the sultan of Ternate, decided to place themselves under Spanish protection. The population was almost entirely Christian, having been converted by the Portuguese Jesuits. The chieftains of the island asked their king, Don Gerónimo, to take the oath of allegiance in person at Manila; Don Gerónimo, in turn requested the missionaries Antonio Marta and Antonio Pereira to go with him. They set sail from Siau in May 1593 and reached Manila on 28 June. Dasmariñas acceded to the petition of the people of Siau and on 16 August Don Gerónimo took the oath, with the Jesuits acting as interpreters and witnesses. Dasmariñas then asked the delegation to go to Panay, where the main body of the Moluccas expedition was assembling, and await him there.[37]

Dasmariñas had decided to lead the expedition in person, but before leaving Manila he wanted to make sure that it was in a position to hold out against a possible Japanese attack until his return. The previous year a certain Faranda Mangoshiro, who claimed to be an envoy of the shogun Hideyoshi but brought no letters of accreditation, had come to Manila and presented the blunt demand, supposedly from the shogun, that the Spaniards acknowledge the suzerainty of Japan. Dasmariñas dispatched a Dominican, Fray Juan Cobos, accompanied by an officer not so much to negotiate with Hideyoshi as to find out whether Faranda Mangoshiro was what he made himself out to be. In 1593 Faranda Kiemon, the uncle of Mangoshiro, came, but still with no accreditation from the shogun. He brought letters from Cobos, but they merely asked for Franciscan missionaries to join him. Dasmariñas, now on the point of joining the Moluccas expedition, sent Fray Pedro Bautista and three other Franciscans with a letter to Hideyoshi offering to negotiate, on a basis of equality, a treaty of friendship and commerce. This, he felt, would gain him time; meanwhile he hurriedly completed the city wall and entrusted its defense to his adviser Rojas.[38]

By October the expedition was ready. The fleet consisted of one galleon, six galleys, several frigates, and smaller vessels and transports of various types; almost 200 sail altogether. The troops consisted of 900 Spanish infantry, 400 Pampango and Tagalog arquebusiers, 1,000 Visayan archers and spearmen, and 400 hired Chinese rowers. The main body of the expedition was concentrated at the port of Oton in Panay under the command of Estéban Rodríguez de Figueroa; a smaller squadron under Luís Pérez Dasmariñas, the governor's son, waited at Cebu.

On 17 October 1593 Governor Dasmariñas left Cavite in a 28-oared galley manned by Chinese rowers. He was accompanied by his secretary, a Franciscan chaplain, and his staff officers, altogether about 60 Spaniards. His baggage included part of the expedition's payroll, amounting to 12,000 pesos, and his dinner service of silver plate. The Chinese rowers were not chained to their benches, as was customary, at the governor's orders. They were not slaves but paid laborers, and Dasmariñas thought that leaving them free would be good for their morale.

The galley ran into a headwind near the shallows of Tuley on the Batangas coast, but by dint of hard pulling the oarsmen were able to bring her round Azufre Point, below which they slipped anchor on 25 October to spend the night. In the early hours of the morning of the 26th the Chinese rowers executed a design which they had apparently been contemplating for some time. Putting on white shirts so as to be able to recognize each other in the dark, they crept up the gangway, overpowered the watch, and slew the sleeping Spaniards with their own weapons. Only 18 of the 60 were able to escape by leaping overboard and swimming for shore. Dasmariñas, who had a cabin to himself, was awakened by the scuffle, but a waiting assassin killed him with a swordstroke as soon as he put his head out of the door. Taking up anchor and setting sail they ran before the wind to China, stopping only at Ilocos to set down the governor's secretary and the Franciscan, whose lives they had spared.

The news of the governor's death reached the expedition in mid-November. A council of war met at Cebu, and the captains advised Luís Pérez to postpone the enterprise until the question of who was to succeed his father was settled. He returned to Manila, taking Don Gerónimo of Siau and the two Portuguese Jesuits with him. Gómez Pérez had been authorized by the king to designate his successor; before leaving Manila he had executed a document designating his son. This was recognized as valid and Luís Pérez Dasmariñas took the reins of government. He took a more serious view of the Japanese threat of invasion and definitely called off the Moluccas expedition, but Don Gerónimo and Father Marta were sent with men, munitions, and supplies to reinforce the Portuguese.[39]

Pereira, Marta's companion, stayed on at Manila, where he was instrumental in founding the city's oldest and most illustrious charitable

association, the Hermandad de la Santa Misericordia. In 1591 there arrived in Manila a secular priest named Juan Fernández de León. He had led a hermit's life in Mexico and planned to continue it in the Philippines. For this purpose he built himself a retreat near a wayside shrine just outside the city walls which was dedicated to Our Lady of Guidance, Nuestra Señora de Guía. His hermitage later gave its name to the entire district, which is called Ermita to this day.

The good hermit took the alms which were given him by those who sought his spiritual ministrations and distributed them among the poor. He paid special attention to families who had lost their fortunes but were ashamed to beg; there were many such in a city dependent on the vicissitudes of the galleon trade. Soon he had a long list of people dependent on his charity, and in order to take care of them all he was compelled to emerge from his retirement and beg from door to door. He did not however keep the money himself but deposited it with a pious layman named Juan Ezquerra, who made the disbursements as needed. The work grew to such proportions that Father De León asked Ezquerra and others to help him with the begging; they did so willingly, but it soon became apparent that some kind of formal organization was now necessary.

Someone suggested that this organization could well take the form of a Confraternity of Mercy along the lines of that founded at Lisbon by Queen Eleanor in 1498. Prat, Ezquerra's spiritual director, thought the idea an excellent one, and when Pereira arrived he was immediately called in, being Portuguese and familiar with the Lisbon association, to help draft the constitutions. In 1594 an organizational meeting was held in the Jesuit residence. Among those present besides Fathers De León, Sedeño, Prat, and Pereira were Fray Cristóbal de Salvatierra, the administrator of the diocese, and other prominent clerics and laymen. The younger Dasmariñas, now governor, was elected the first president of the association with the title of *hermano mayor*.

One of the first works undertaken by the confraternity was to take over the maintenance of the hostel for unmarried women which Sánchez had suggested and which the elder Dasmariñas had started in accordance with the king's instructions. Appropriately enough it was named after the city's patroness the College of Santa Potenciana. Later on the Misericordia opened a hospital for the slaves and servants of Spaniards and then took charge of the Spanish hospital itself, merging the two in one institution. The association held its meetings in the Jesuit residence until it was able to acquire a building of its own. Meanwhile, Father De León returned happily to his hermitage, which he transferred for greater seclusion to the island of Corregidor; and there, full of years and merits, he died in 1601.

The Jesuit church (still Ribera's wooden one, for the stone church was not yet finished) had now become by preference the church of the native

servants and serving maids of the extensive Spanish households. This was because the fathers, taking Acquaviva's directive to heart, devoted themselves almost exclusively to the Tagalog ministry, preaching, hearing confessions, and teaching catechism in that language. Although they now had Acquaviva's permission to open a college, lack of men kept Sedeño from taking the step. The royal subsidy too had not yet materialized, but he did not expect any action to be taken on it for some time. In 1587 President De Vera had reported to the king that he and Bishop Salazar conferred as directed by the cédula of 1585 on the ways and means of founding a Jesuit college, and came to the conclusion that it could only be financed by a subsidy from Mexico. The following year, 1588, the other members of the audiencia wrote that they doubted very much whether there were enough students in Manila to start a college. The Dominicans, they said, opened a grammar school soon after their arrival, but were forced to close it down due to lack of students. In view of these reports the king would be sure to take his time over the subsidy.[40]

However, Sedeño was already making his own arrangements so that even if a subsidy were denied he could still start a school as soon as he had the teachers for it. In 1593 he bought a small ranch with 240 head of China cattle which Figueroa owned near Taytay, about twelve miles from Manila. In 1594 he bought a farm in Mayhaligi, the district north of Tondo, from Don Gabriel Tuanbakar, one of the leaders of the Tagalog conspiracy, who had apparently returned from exile. The following year he purchased land adjoining the Tuanbakar farm from other Tondo residents. These purchases were doubtless made possible by donations received from citizens interested in a college, such as the dean of the cathedral, Don Diego Vázquez Mercado, who in 1594 donated some property which he had in the district of Quiapo.

The ranch at Taytay Sedeño decided to operate himself and stationed two lay brothers there. The lands in Mayhaligi and Quiapo he leased to Chinese fruit growers, truck gardeners, and poultry raisers. By 1595 two hundred leaseholders were paying the college a monthly rental of three rials per leasehold. With this income and what the ranch produced, Sedeño believed, as he wrote to Acquaviva, that he could well support a college even without a subsidy, if he only had the men.[41]

But where were the men? Sedeño was getting pretty worried because the Manila residence had been a "college" since 1590 and everyone was waiting for them to open school and he kept telling everyone to be patient, that the next galleon would bring the teachers, and the next galleon came but no teachers. Every letter he wrote to Acquaviva contained an impassioned plea for more men; he even wrote to Alarcón, the Spanish assistant, beseeching him "to help us with our father, so that we may not be so completely forgotten."[42] But men were hard to come by, and it was only with

the greatest difficulty that the Spanish provincials could be persuaded to part with any. At last, however, on 30 September 1594, five priests, seventeen scholastics and eleven lay brothers destined for the Philippines disembarked at San Juan de Ulúa in Mexico. The Mexican provincial, Estéban Páez, seeing that most of them were young men still in their period of training, decided to retain all but three. To these three he added six of his own men, all priests, so that the group that actually sailed from Acapulco on 22 March 1595 consisted of eight priests and one lay brother: Father Alonso de Humanes, superior during the voyage, Fathers Juan del Campo, Mateo Sánchez, Juan de Ribera, Cosme de Flores, Tomás de Montoya, Juan Bosque, and Diego Sánchez, and Brother Denis Marie.[43]

They arrived in Manila on 11 June 1595; a great day for Sedeño, who now had the men not only for the college but for the mission stations which he planned to found. The college, however, was the first item on his agenda. He informed the governor, Don Luís Pérez Dasmariñas, that he was now in a position to comply with the request of the citizens for a Jesuit college. Two courses would be offered, one in moral theology for candidates for holy orders, under Father Juan de Ribera, and another in grammar for Spanish boys, under Father Tomás de Montoya.[44] He seems also to have acquainted Dasmariñas with the financial status of the college, which was that while it would be able to support the teachers with the income from its investments, and hence give tuition free of charge according to the custom of the Society, that income was not enough if a boarding school with endowed residential scholarships was desired.

This appears from the document issued by Dasmariñas on 5 September 1595,[45] assigning a subsidy from the colonial treasury to the college of 1,000 pesos a year. This sum was to be used for the construction of a residence hall and for the board and lodging therein of twelve scholars chosen from among the sons of the conquistadores of the Islands or of other settlers of good standing. The candidates for these scholarships whom the rector of the college considered eligible were to be presented by him to the governor for approval. The hall was to be called the College of San José, and since it was a royal foundation its edifice was to bear the royal arms. Note, however, that this hall or college was a distinct and separate unit from the Jesuit college, the College of Manila, although its resident scholars would, of course, attend their classes there. For "these 1,000 pesos," the document goes on to say, "are to be spent on the said college, which is to be called San José, only for its construction and for the necessities of the said scholars and for nothing else, even though it be in the same house, and not for the fathers of the Society, either in large or small quantity."

This document, then, besides authorizing the College of Manila to open classes, made provision for the construction and endowment of an attached hall or residential college, the College of San José, the scholars of

which would be supported therein while taking courses in the College of Manila. This was, however, still in the future. When the College of Manila opened, some time in September 1595, the students in attendance were day scholars and the classes were held in the Jesuit residence itself. The inaugural lectures were attended by practically everyone of consequence in Manila: the governor, the cathedral chapter, the city corporation, citizenry, and clergy. The man chiefly responsible for the event, however, was absent, for, on the last day of the previous June, Sedeño sailed for Cebu to attend to the second item on his agenda: the mission stations.

Chapter Seven

MISSION STATIONS

The first of the Philippine Jesuits to engage in mission work, properly so called, was Pedro Chirino. Before his arrival in 1590 the fathers were permitted to give missions, that is, to go on mission tours from town to town as was the custom of the Society in Europe, but not to take charge of missions as resident missionaries. They found, however, that mission tours were impracticable under Philippine conditions, and so requested permission to accept mission stations as did the other religious orders. Acquaviva granted the permission, but only for two or three years; this permission Chirino brought with him.

As soon as it was received the priests of the Manila community got down to a really serious study of Tagalog. They borrowed the grammar and vocabulary which the Franciscans had composed and held daily classes for three months (July–September 1590) with Prat acting as instructor.[1] Chirino was charmed by the language; he found in it the weightiness of Hebrew, the variety of Greek, the elegance of Latin, and the courtliness of Castilian. As more or less the same thing has been said by a great many missionaries about the languages they have had to learn, we need not take such praise too seriously. However, one who is himself a Tagalog may be permitted to make it a matter of record.

Some months afterward Chirino was given an opportunity to undergo a kind of apprenticeship in mission work. Don Luís de Salinas, the parish priest of Balayan, asked for a Jesuit to take over his parish temporarily during Lent. Chirino was appointed. The town of Balayan was in the Tagalog province of Batangas, 14 leagues (35 miles) south of Manila. The parish included two smaller towns nearby, Lian and Maniswa. It had been a Franciscan mission, and Fray Juan de Oliver had made many conversions there.

The people of Balayan were great seamen, making regular trading voyages to the sultanate of Brunei. When Governor Sande went on his expedition to that country in 1578, he took along with him two Balayan datus, Magat and Magatsina, as interpreters. In this capacity they went ashore to deliver Sande's terms, which were written in both Tagalog and Brunei, to the sultan. Magatsina was killed for his pains, but Magat was ransomed by a Brunei friend of his named Biandi, and lived to tell the tale.[2] It is quite

likely that he was among those who welcomed Chirino when he came to Balayan.

Chirino discovered when he arrived that an epidemic of smallpox was raging. This was a scourge before which the early missionaries were almost as helpless as the people they served. They did what they could to feed the sick and make them comfortable, hoping in this way to give nature the advantage over the disease. When this failed, they prepared them for death. Chirino's day at Balayan began with Mass, followed by a catechism class in the church for the children and older catechumens well enough to attend. He then went on a round of house-to-house visits, once in the morning and again in the afternoon. In this way he was able not only to bring the last sacraments to many Christians, but to instruct and baptize quite a few pagans as well before they died.[3]

Two months later he was recalled to take charge of the first mission station to be assigned to the Society in the Philippines, that of Taytay and Antipolo. These were two Tagalog towns 15 and 20 miles east of Manila which the Franciscans had been forced to give up for lack of personnel. They were comprised in the encomienda of Sedeño's friend, Juan Pacheco Maldonado, who persuaded Bishop Salazar to assign them to the Jesuits.[4]

Taytay stood in the fertile valley of the Marikina River, and consisted of about 400 households belonging to four different barangays. Antipolo was a smaller town of about 100 households farther west, on the foothills of the great Sierra Madre range which forms the backbone of Luzon island. The rest of the people belonging to the encomienda and mission lived in scattered barangay villages. The encomienda roll listed 600 whole tributes, which places the population at 2,400 to 3,000 souls. The majority were still pagan. When Chirino wrote his *Relación*, a dozen years later, he could say with St. Gregory the Wonder-Worker that there were scarce forty Christians when he came, and not four pagans when he left.[5]

Taytay was a farming community, raising rich harvests on the well watered land. After plowing and harrowing the Tagalogs diked their fields into small plots which held the rain water. The seedlings were transplanted from their beds to the flooded fields in July. In good years the rains were constant from August to October, so that the green rice ripened golden brown in the standing water, and had to be reaped from boats.

The people of Taytay loved the water. They built their houses right up to the edge of the river and spent much of their time in it. Even the crocodiles with which it was infested could not deter them from their daily dip. They simply staked out an enclosure with bamboo poles and hoped that the Old One (*nono*, the name by which they addressed that rapacious beast) would stay out of it. Chirino could not get over his amazement at this passion for washing, for like most sixteenth-century Spaniards he considered frequent bathing a menace to health. "These islanders," he says,

"take to the water as soon as they are born. Men and women, even as very small children, swim like fish. To cross a river they have no need of a bridge. They bathe at all hours both for comfort and cleanliness."[6]

He was willing to concede that this strange practice might not be such a bad idea after all in the tropics; the trouble was that with the town so near the river it was flooded several months of the year, and so was his little church, right up to the altar platform. There was some high ground nearby and he suggested several times that they move both church and town there. The people listened respectfully but kept putting him off, for the place used to be a cemetery, and they did not relish living among the dead. Finally, Chirino decided to force the issue. He took the four datus of the town to the choir loft of the church and showed them the expanse of sea below. It was impossible, he said, to say Mass in such a church; moreover, his rectory was flooded too, and he was tired of living like an amphibian. Unless they built him a new church and rectory where it was dry, he was moving bag and baggage to Antipolo. Seeing his determination, they hastened to do as he asked. Those who were brave enough to move their houses with the church found that their fears about the dead troubling them in their sleep were groundless, and soon the whole community followed. Chirino placed the new town under the patronage of St. John the Baptist and christened it San Juan del Monte. But the people continued to call it Taytay, and Taytay it has remained to this day.[7]

This incident brings out one of the strongest beliefs of the Tagalogs, that of survival after death. They believed that the dead lived on a plane which made them invisible to mortals, but which cut across the present life so that they were never very far away. This was because in their shadowy half-existence the dead needed nourishment, just as the living did, and it was a sacred office to make this provision for one's departed by laying food and drink on their tombs on stated occasions. If this office was neglected, the spirits walked abroad unquiet and angry, blighting the crops, driving the game away, and visiting the ungrateful living with sickness and sudden death. They were also very touchy about their resting places being disturbed; these were *tabu*, and must be given a wide berth or approached only with fear and trembling.

There were other spirits as well, called *anito* or *diwata*, who lived in the trunks of ancient trees, in caves, in birds of ill omen and beasts of prey; in short, whatever in nature was of dreadful aspect or injurious to man was either a spirit or its instrument. The Tagalogs attempted to represent these spirits visibly to themselves in the form of images (*larauan*) which they fashioned out of wood, bone, or metal. The forbidding appearance of these little idols, of which a few have survived, shows that the beings they bodied forth were looked upon as malignant or at least redoubtable; to be feared rather than loved.

They were propitiated by sacrifice. Sacrifice was a private, not a public act. It was commonly offered to release a man from sickness, for almost every serious ailment was considered to be the handiwork of some aggrieved anito. The minister of the sacrifice was thus a medicine man rather than a priest. Among the Tagalogs the medicine man (or woman, for the office could be held by either sex) was called a *katolonan*. The katolonan was considered to have, by birth or special training, a perception of the spirit world and an access to it not given to ordinary mortals.

When anyone fell sick, his family sent for the katolonan to discover what spirit had laid the sickness upon him. A pig or chicken was chosen for sacrifice and tied to a stake in the center of an open space. Around it, to the measure of gongs and bells, the katolonan circled in ritual dance, slowly at first but with gathering frenzy, uttering wild cries to the invisible watchers of the spirit world. The climax of the dance came when they consented to enter into him, speak through him as their oracle, and guide his spear or knife to the throat of the waiting victim. After this brief shuddering contact with the unknown, the katolonan revealed in human terms what it was that the spirits wanted, whether they would accept something else in exchange for the sick man's life, or whether they were inexorable, and the man must die.

When a man died, they perfumed his corpse with storax and embalmed it with *buyo*. They laid him out in state and lamented for three days. In this lamentation not only the family took part but professional mourners also, who served for a fee. During this time the family itself fasted on beans, but all who came to pay their last respects were feasted. At the funeral feast, if there was a minstrel present, he would be called upon to sing the *kumintang*, which was a chant in praise of the dead, partly traditional and partly improvised, relating the man's illustrious ancestry and his brave deeds in battle. When a datu died, complete silence was enforced in his village; the penalty for breaking the silence was death. If he died by violence this mourning period was not lifted until his barangay had propitiated his spirit by other deaths, not necessarily of those who killed him, but of anyone encountered on the warpath who was not of the barangay.

Men were buried with their weapons, women with their utensils and jewelry. Everything else that they would need to continue in the next life a shadow of the present was laid beside them. Slaves were killed to accompany their masters, but this was a custom that had pretty much died out when the Spaniards came. The valiant who fell in battle were believed to attain a special state of blessedness called *kalualhatian*. Others who distinguished themselves in other ways, by wisdom or upright rule or beauty, might reach it too. But not many; for the way to that blessed land was perilous. There was a chasm to be crossed, with only a single plank for

bridge, flung across the vast abyss. No woman might hope to cross it unless she had someone who loved her well in life to help her.[8]

This was how the Tagalog conceived his universe. Behind it all was a figure dimly discerned, an Origin, the maker of heaven and earth: *Bat-hala Meikapal*, Bat-hala the Fashioner. But little was known about this beneficent being; only fitful glimpses of him came through the host of jealous and exigent anito that filled the foreground of the spirit world. It was this unknown God that Chirino had come to preach to the people of Taytay, as long ago Paul preached him to the Athenians. He might almost have used the same words:

> What therefore you worship in ignorance, that I proclaim to you. God, who made the world and all that is in it, since he is Lord of Heaven and earth, does not dwell in temples built by hands; neither is he served by human hands as though he were in need of anything, since it is he who gives to all men life and breath and all things. And from one man he has created the whole human race and made them live all over the face of the earth, determining their appointed times and the boundaries of their lands; that they should seek God, and perhaps grope after him and find him, though he is not far from any one of us. For in him we live and move and have our being.[9]

Like all primitive religions that of the Tagalogs was closely interwoven with their culture and traditions. It governed not only ritual and sacrifice, fast and festival, but almost the entire life of the individual and the community. It covered household tasks, planting and harvesting, traveling and hunting, war and love with a network of prescriptions and tabus. It was the burden of song and story; indeed, it was by stories heard in childhood, songs pounded on the festive board, chants beating time to the oar that it was chiefly transmitted. This, rather than any reasoned conviction, was the source of its strength and vitality. In a primitive culture religion touches everything; there is nothing completely profane.

The missionary methods adopted by the Philippine Jesuits were shaped by this fact. Ricci began his apostolate among the Chinese by discussing philosophy with scholar officials. Chirino began his among the Tagalogs by instructing children. In either case the objective was the same: to find the logical point of insertion by which Christianity could permeate the culture. In a primitive community that point was, as Francis Xavier showed, the children. They were strangers to the community, in the sense that they were as yet uncommitted; their attitudes had not yet hardened in the old pagan molds. They were also members of the community, wanted and loved; whatever interested them was likely to interest their parents.

As in Balayan, Chirino conducted his catechism class every morning after Mass. His first task was, of course, to teach the children their prayers:

the Our Father, the Hail Mary, the Creed, the Hail Holy Queen. He taught them not merely to recite these prayers but to sing them, using the measure of the traditional Tagalog chants. Here was another point of insertion; the music that from time immemorial was the vehicle of pagan belief would from henceforth be the vehicle of Christian belief. As soon as the children had learned to chant the prayers, the catechism class began with a procession. They would gather at one end of the village and go through it singing to the church. Many of the parents would follow, and catechism class would begin for both children and adults.[10]

Chirino almost certainly used the Tagalog catechism adopted by the Synod of Manila, which the Dominicans printed from wood blocks in 1593, the year after his arrival in Taytay.[11] This catechism contained, after the four prayers mentioned above, the following sections in the order given: the fourteen articles of faith, the ten commandments of God, the five commandments of the Church, the seven sacraments, the seven spiritual and the seven corporal works of mercy, the act of contrition, and a catechism proper consisting of thirty-three questions and answers. The emphasis with both children and adults was very heavily on learning by rote memory, but understanding too was tested in regular question periods.

The catechumenate in Taytay as finally constituted had the following weekly order. On Sunday morning the services began with the children's procession through the town. The people fell in line behind them as they passed and all went to church. When all were assembled the catechism class began. The entire catechism was recited. This was followed by sung Mass with organ accompaniment and a sermon during Mass. On Mondays the Mass of the dead was celebrated and on Saturdays the Mass of Our Lady. On these two days the young men and women assembled in church for a sermon or conference, that is, for postbaptismal instruction. The children held catechism classes every day. Adults who had not yet learned their prayers or the responses to the catechism questions were obliged to attend these classes. The more proficient boys were told off to give them individual tutoring. As soon as their boy tutor passed them they were exempted from attendance. The church bell rang the angelus at daybreak, noon, and nightfall. All were supposed to stop whatever they were doing when they heard it and recite the angelic salutation. At night before retiring a handbell was rung through the streets to remind the people to pray for the souls in purgatory. No fixed period seems to have been assigned to the catechumenate. The catechumen was baptized as soon as the missionary decided he was ready for it.

This program was modified as the number of Christians increased. The general catechism class on Sunday morning was dropped down to the afternoon, when only those who were still catechumens were obliged to attend. On the other hand, the children's procession with the chanting of

the prayers and sections of the catechism was extended to twice a week, just before the evening angelus. Bodily penances were introduced during Lent to commemorate Christ's passion, especially the procession of *penitentes,* in which volunteers carried crosses or scourged themselves.[12]

Chirino, using Taytay as his base, made regular trips to Antipolo and the upland villages. At Antipolo he made one of his most important converts, a mighty hunter named Sayor. Progress had passed Sayor by. In an age of settled farming and increasing trade, he tarried in the age of epic. He lived by himself in his highland lair, stalking the deer and trapping the wild boar. Broiled boa constrictor was his favorite dish. His prowess with spear and bow, magnified in the telling, made him the terror of the region. Whenever he entered a village everyone fled. Sayor found this convenient, as it enabled him to inspect the houses at his leisure and take what he needed before melting back into the forest. However, there were brave men who would occasionally stop to talk with Sayor, and through them he learned about the white priest at Antipolo. He came to see for himself. Chirino ever afterward retained a vivid recollection of the strange apparition that materialized suddenly and silently at his door, naked save for a G-string, bow and sheaf of arrows in hand.

Sayor took an instant liking to the priest and came to visit him often. Rarely did he find so willing and appreciative a listener. Whenever the silence of the forest palled on him and he felt like boasting of his exploits, he came down to Antipolo. He spent many happy hours telling Chirino how he hunted the boa constrictor; what a tremendous big serpent it was, easily able to swallow a full-grown man or a buck of the fallow deer; yet no match for him, Sayor, the hunter. He appointed himself Chirino's bodyguard on his mission journeys. While the people of Antipolo watched in wonderment, they would take off together to visit the hill settlements. As they trudged along, Sayor would point out the hidden lairs of the wild creatures, and when he ran out of conversation, Chirino would give him bits of Christian doctrine to chew upon.

Even after Chirino left Sayor continued to drop in at the mission house. Finally he announced that he was ready to settle down and become a Christian. The fathers put him through a catechumenate somewhat longer than usual and in 1599 baptized him with great solemnity. He took the name of Paul, and liked his new name so much that whenever anyone called him by his old name inadvertently, he would frown and say, "Sayor? Do not call me Sayor. I am not Sayor; I am Pablo." After diligent search he found a woman courageous enough to marry him, and he became for many years one of the pillars of the Antipolo church.[13]

In June 1592 Chirino was joined at Taytay by Father Martín Enríquez, a recent arrival from Mexico. He was a Navarrese and had the same headlong zeal as his countryman St. Francis Xavier. By September he was

preaching in Tagalog and hard at work on a manual for confessors in that language. In January 1593 Chirino was recalled for reassignment to Panay and he took charge of the mission. Soon afterward an epidemic of malignant fever struck Taytay. To help him care for the victims of the epidemic Sedeño sent Brother Juan Próspero. Próspero had come with Enríquez from Mexico in response to Sedeño's appeal for a lay brother who knew something about medicine. The disease they had to contend with was probably malaria, for Enríquez fell a victim to it and the reason given is that he did not bother to protect himself from the mosquitoes that abounded in his waterlogged mission. He died on 5 February 1593 at the age of twenty-eight.[14]

His place was taken by Almerici who promptly fell sick himself and had to be called back to Manila. This left only Sedeño and Prat, who took turns taking Taytay for a week. They could not keep this up for long because of the growing demands of the Manila church, and Sedeño seriously considered giving up the mission. The arrival of the expedition of 1595 enabled him to retain it. Almerici, now completely recovered, was sent back, and the following year Father Diego Santiago was sent to join him as his assistant.[15]

The reason for Chirino's recall from Taytay was a request from Rodríguez de Figueroa, whom we have already met as one of those who came forward to help the Jesuits build their church in the city. He wanted a missionary for the people of his encomienda in Panay, and Chirino was given the assignment with Brother Francisco Martín as his companion. They arrived in Panay in February 1593.[16] Rodríguez de Figueroa's encomienda was called Tigbauan ("field of reeds") from its principal settlement, fourteen miles west of the Spanish town of Arévalo. Arévalo (Visayan Ogtong or Otón, now incorporated into the city of Iloilo) was founded in 1581 by Governor Gonzalo Ronquillo on the southeast coast of Panay in front of the smaller island of Guimaras. The protected anchorage formed by the two islands made Arévalo a suitable port for a naval station. In fact, Chirino arrived just as the main body of Dasmariñas' abortive expedition to the Moluccas was assembling there. In 1586 Arévalo consisted of only twenty Spanish householders with encomiendas on the island and a garrison of thirty soldiers; but in 1593 the preparations for the expedition must have filled it with unwonted life and movement. It was the official residence of the alcalde mayor of the western Visayan islands. It had a parish church with a beneficed priest, and an Augustinian convent. The Augustinians had four other mission stations on the island. The population paid tribute in gold, beeswax, cotton cloth, rice, and chickens.

The Visayans of Tigbauan were a settled, peace-loving, industrious folk. The men were farmers, fishermen, and hunters; the women wove the white and colored cottons called *lompotes* whose fineness and durability created a

demand for them at the Acapulco fair. Chirino speaks of an encomendero, possibly Figueroa himself, who cleared 150,000 pesos in a few years by shipping his tribute lompotes on the Manila galleon. The language of the region was a dialect of Visayan called Haraya. Visayan belongs to the same linguistic group as Tagalog, but a knowledge of Tagalog does not enable one to speak Haraya immediately. Chirino therefore had to start by learning his second Philippine language, with such effect that in a few months he was able to compose the first catechism written in Haraya. This catechism was never printed and its manuscript has unfortunately been lost.[17]

Chirino had no assurance that the Tigbauan mission would be retained, for no one had been assigned to the Philippines since Father Enríquez and Brother Próspero arrived in 1592. He therefore taught Christian doctrine to all who would listen but did not baptize many. Most of his baptisms were administered at Tigbauan itself and two other nearby villages which could be reached by the parish priest of Arévalo. However, he and Brother Martín started a school at Tigbauan for Visayan boys, in which they taught not only the catechism but reading, writing, Spanish, and liturgical music. These schoolboys soon were able to act as Mass servers and choristers. This added greatly to the attractiveness of the church services for the people of Tigbauan, who had a passionate fondness for music and pageantry. Chirino then sent them in pairs to the outlying villages of the mission, having first assured himself of their thorough knowledge of the catechism, to teach the faith they had received. He had gone before them to these villages and caused a small chapel of reeds to be built in each; here, in the late afternoons after work in the fields, the young catechists gathered the villagers together and began to teach their own people, in their own language, the things of God.

The Spaniards heard of the school and wanted Chirino to teach their boys too. He replied that he could not leave Tigbauan to open another school in Arévalo, but he would be glad to have the boys come to stay with him at Tigbauan and go to school there. The Arévalo parents liked this proposal, and Chirino at once put up a dormitory and school house for the Spanish boys near his rectory; the first Jesuit boarding school to be established in the Philippines. It did not last very long because Chirino stayed at Tigbauan only two years and no one took his place; but during that time it managed to produce at least one distinguished alumnus. Juan Núñez Crespo came to the boarding school with the modest but assured reputation of being Arévalo's wildest boy, and a firm determination to win additional laurels as the holy terror of Tigbauan. This youthful ambition was destined never to be realized. Chirino claims with justifiable pride that he took young Núñez Crespo in hand and knocked enough sense and virtue into him to last him a whole lifetime, for the boy grew up to take holy orders and lived for many years an exemplary secular priest.[18]

With the elementary school for Visayan boys, the boarding school for Spanish boys, the Tigbauan church, and the catechism in the villages, Chirino and Martín must have had their hands full. Luckily, they received temporary but most welcome assistance from the two Portuguese Jesuits, Marta and Pereira, who accompanied Don Gerónimo of Siao when he came to join the Moluccas expedition at Arévalo. With the break-up of the expedition due to the murder of the elder Dasmariñas they returned to Manila. Chirino and Martín stayed on for a year longer, but with Enríquez dead, Almerici sick, and no replacements in sight, Sedeño had no choice but to recall them. They left Tigbauan on 25 April 1595. Pereira was sent to take care of the mission as long as he was available.

Sedeño, Prat, Almerici, and Chirino talked the situation over and decided that if no reinforcements arrived that year they would simply have to give up the two missions of Taytay and Tigbauan and concentrate their efforts in Manila. They hoped and prayed that this would not happen, and that June their prayers were answered. Two galleons dropped anchor at Cavite with the biggest expedition of Jesuits so far sent to the Philippines, eight priests and one brother.[19]

They brought with them dispatches from Rome creating a Jesuit vice-province of the Philippines dependent on Mexico, with Sedeño as vice-provincial and Prat as rector of the college of Manila. Permission was granted to accept resident missions without limitation of time. These decisions had been made on the recommendation of Diego de Avellaneda, whom Acquaviva had sent to make a visitation of the Mexican province. Important dispatches were also received by the colonial government from Madrid. They directed that the Philippines be divided into several mission districts, each of which were to be assigned to a separate religious order, which would be in complete charge of its spiritual administration. It was hoped that this would make for more efficient work and avoid possible friction between missionaries of different orders.[20]

Sedeño at once asked for and obtained the islands of Leyte and Samar. He had had his eye on them as a possible mission field for some time. Spanish rule had been extended to both and the settled regions divided into encomiendas, but no missions as yet established. Leyte was reported to have a population of 70,000 of which 30,000 paid tribute.[21] No figures were available for Samar. A serious revolt had broken out on the eastern coast of Leyte, but the rest of the people were quiet and well disposed. The eighteen encomenderos who shared the island between them were anxious for the Jesuits to come. The distance of these islands from Manila, over 300 miles, presented difficulties of transportation and communication. Sedeño believed these difficulties could be met by starting on a small scale with one or two stations on the island of Leyte and establishing at the same time a central house in the nearby city of Cebu, whence they could be more

immediately supplied and supervised. The Jesuits had a standing invitation from the citizens of Cebu to found a house in their city, so they were sure of a welcome there.[22]

Sedeño chose three priests, Chirino, Juan del Campo, and Cosme de Flores, and one lay brother, Gaspar Garay, to open the mission of Leyte, appointing Chirino superior of the group. Their instructions were to go to Panay first, explain to Figueroa that they would have to close the Tigbauan mission at least for the time being until Leyte was taken care of, and take Pereira with them. They were to explore the island for suitable mission sites while awaiting Sedeño, who would proceed to Cebu as soon as he had wound up his business in Manila. At Cebu he would see to the founding of the central residence and then join them in Leyte with more missionaries.

Chirino and his companions left Manila in the middle of June 1595, performed their errand at Panay, and landed in northern Leyte, near the town of Carigara, in the morning of 16 July. It was the day on which the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross was celebrated in Spain. The priests said Mass on the beach and Brother Garay received communion. They erected a cross to mark the day and place of their landing and proceeded on foot to Carigara, where they were welcomed by Cristóbal de Trujillo, the encomendero of the region. Trujillo called an assembly of the people of the town and the surrounding villages to announce the arrival of the missionaries and arrange for the construction of a residence for them. There was already a chapel in the town which would do as a temporary church. Leaving Del Campo, Flores, and Garay at Carigara to study Visayan and organize catechism classes, Chirino and Pereira sailed east and then south along the coast of the island to find a place for a second mission station.[23]

Beyond the green luxuriance of lowland vegetation they could see the principal topographical feature of the island, a range of mountains running like a backbone down its length and dividing the eastern from the western coastal plain. Because of it the wet and dry seasons alternated in the two coastal plains, enabling the people to raise two rice harvests a year. The harvests were ordinarily so abundant that many people from neighboring islands came to buy rice in Leyte. Dulag on the eastern coast was one of the principal centers of this trade. There were not, however, many towns the size of Dulag. The population was widely dispersed in little clan villages, which stood usually at the mouths or along the banks of rivers, for it was chiefly by these that one gained access to the interior of the island. There were, of course, no roads. In the dry season, with an expert guide and a sharp *bolo*, the long native knife, one could slash one's way along the hunters' trails that wound through the rain forests between river and river.

The people were Visayans, but spoke a dialect somewhat different from



Map IV. The Eastern Visayas, showing principal Jesuit mission stations.

that of Panay. In other respects they were very similar to the Tagalogs both in social organization and religious beliefs. They too had their datus, their freemen, and their various degrees and kinds of less-than-free. They too believed in the survival of the dead, and the wild and willful spirits that peopled rock and tree, forest and plain, the thunder and the typhoon. For them too folk memory preserved the faint remembrance of an origin of all things; not the Fashioner, as with the Tagalogs, but *Laon*, the Ancient of Days. Two of their customs Chirino found wholly admirable. One was their hospitality toward strangers. Any traveler overtaken by night or weariness was certain of a meal and a lodging for the night in any house. The other was that the price of rice never varied, whether the harvest was good or bad.[24]

Chirino and Pereira agreed that Dulag, the principal town on the eastern coast, was the most suitable location for their second mission station. When they returned to Carigara toward the end of July they found their companions already occupying the residence that the people had built for them.

Meanwhile, Sedeño, having made the necessary arrangements for starting the courses at the college, left Manila for Cebu on 30 June. He took with him two priests, Alonso de Humanes and Mateo Sánchez, and a lay brother. They made the voyage in the sailboat of Alonso de Henao, an alderman of Cebu, who had come to fetch them. The vessel was an undecked *caracoa* with no cabins, so that when they ran into stormy weather they were drenched to the skin and remained so for days. When they finally arrived at Cebu on 21 July, after three weeks of exposure, Sedeño was not feeling well.

Henao, Captain Antonio Freile, and other leading encomenderos had assured him that they would provide the men he assigned to Cebu with a residence and secure support. However, the details still had to be worked out, and of course everyone wanted to hear and speak to the fathers. Sedeño, not wishing to disappoint them, did as he was asked in spite of his indisposition. He lodged at Henao's house, gave several sermons in the parish church, received visitors, and held several meetings with prospective benefactors. The sum of 500 pesos was immediately contributed, sufficient to buy a house near the beach in a pleasant section of the city. The interior arrangements of the house needed to be adapted to Jesuit use, and this work was begun immediately. The city corporation deeded some empty lots which it owned adjacent to the house in order to provide it with a yard and garden. Definite arrangements were made to take care of the fathers with regular alms until the usual royal subsidy could be obtained. The strain of attending to these matters made Sedeño really ill. He took to his bed after dispatching a note to Chirino asking him to come at once.[25]

Chirino decided to take Pereira and Garay with him. They reached

Cebu in the middle of August and were shocked at the condition in which they found their vice-provincial. A high fever had wasted his frame down to skin and bones and his old complaint, asthma, racked him. Knowing that his end was not far off, he called his men together and made the decisions that still had to be made. Humanes and Sánchez were to go to Leyte, Humanes as superior of all the Jesuits there. They were to keep Carigara and open a second mission station at Dulag. Chirino, Pereira, and Garay were to remain at Cebu with Chirino as superior. At his death the sealed letter that had come with the other dispatches from Rome was to be opened. It contained the name of his successor. He then requested Chirino to get the new residence ready for occupancy as soon as possible, because he wanted to die at home, in a Jesuit house. Chirino was able to have him carried there on 21 August. He rallied a little, and then began to sink. They gave him the last sacraments, which he received devoutly, just before he fell into a coma. He died on 2 September 1595, and was buried in the domestic chapel on the ground floor of the house. Three years later, when the Jesuit church was finished, Chirino transferred his remains to a wooden urn beneath the main altar, and placed over it the following epitaph:

FATHER ANTONIO SEDEÑO,

after having for several years administered the German College in Rome, was among the first members of the Society of Jesus to preach the gospel of Christ in Havana and Florida, and the first to do so in Mexico and the Philippines. He was a truly apostolic man, and the recipient, though from so great a distance, of the gifts and favors of the Apostolic See. He merited well of the Society of Jesus, the King, the royal government, the people, and the Catholic religion as the first Jesuit rector of Manila and the first vice-provincial of the Philippines. Born at Cuenca, he went to his reward while laying the foundations of this Jesuit college of Cebu on 2 September 1595, in the sixtieth year of his age. To him, with filial affection, as to his father in the Society and in Christ, Pedro Chirino humbly dedicates this memorial, and trusting in the resurrection of the flesh, places his venerable bones in this small repository on the fourteenth of the calends of March, which is the sixteenth day of February, of the year 1598.[26]

The one designated by Rome to succeed as vice-provincial in the event of Sedeño's death turned out to be Prat.[27] He it was, therefore, whom Figueroa approached to renew his offer of endowing the College of Manila. Prat accepted the offer gratefully. Sedeño had overestimated, as he often did, the income that could be derived from the college property. The ranch near Taytay and the lands in Mayhaligi and Quiapo were now yielding an annual revenue of a little under 1,000 pesos. This was sufficient to provide for the needs of the present community, but not for any future increase. Moreover, the college as the principal house of the vice-province necessarily had to assume its common expenses, such as the transportation

of the vice-provincial on his visits of inspection, of missionaries assigned to the various stations, and of procurators sent to Madrid and Rome. This would certainly amount to another thousand or so a year. Finally, the church was still incomplete, and since Pacheco, his wife having died, had left or was soon to leave for Mexico, he was no longer able to finance its construction.[28]

Accordingly, on 20 October 1595, Figueroa and Prat drew up an instrument of foundation[29] the principal terms of which were as follows. Figueroa was to complete at his expense the church and residence which the Jesuits had under construction and to make over to the vice-provincial the sum of 21,000 pesos to be invested at the current rate so as to yield a revenue of 1,500 pesos a year. In consideration of this endowment Figueroa was to be acknowledged as the founder and patron in perpetuity of the College of Manila, with all the rights, privileges, and graces which the Society was accustomed to impart to the founders of its colleges.

Among these rights, privileges, and graces were that every year, on the day designated by the founder, all the priests of the college would say a Mass, and all the scholastics and brothers a rosary, for his or his successor's intention. A solemn Mass would be sung in the church on the same day, during which a candle with his armorial bearings stamped upon it would be offered to him or his successor as a token of continuing gratitude for so signal a benefit. In the beginning of every month one Mass or more, depending on the size of the community, would be said for the same intention. At the death of the founder every priest of the Society throughout the world would offer three Masses for the repose of his soul. He would be buried before the main altar of the church and his coat-of-arms would be carved above the portals both of the church and the residence.

On 8 November the signers of the original document added a clause to clarify the purpose of the endowment, namely, that the college might be a house of studies "in which instruction was given and lectures held as opportunity offers and the usage and custom of the Society demand." The nature and scope of these studies were left to the judgment of the vice-provincial. At the ratification of this or soon thereafter Prat received from Figueroa 14,000 pesos of the foundation agreed upon; the remaining 7,000 pesos would be paid from Figueroa's funds in Mexico.

Figueroa's presence in Manila at this time and his desire definitely to conclude the endowment of the college was because he was about to leave at the head of an expedition for the conquest of Mindanao. This second largest island of the Philippine archipelago (45,356 square miles) had not yet been brought under effective Spanish rule. Its conquest presented greater difficulties than that of the other islands, not only because of its distance from the capital, but because the Moslem population of its southern portion was politically more mature and better able to put up an

organized resistance. The two principal centers of Moslem rule were the islands of the Sulu group between Mindanao and Borneo, and the great plain of the Pulangi River which was then called Magindanau and is the present province of Cotabato.

Like the Tagalogs and Visayans these peoples of southern Mindanao were Malays, though belonging to a more recent wave of migration and speaking a language more akin to that of their cousins in Indonesia, Brunei, and the Malay archipelago. With these they had close and continuous contact, for they were excellent seamen, and it was through them that they received in the course of the fifteenth century, just before the coming of the Spaniards, the Moslem faith. The fact that they were Moslems put them, as far as the Spaniards were concerned, in a different category from the rest of Filipinos. They were Moros—Moors—the immemorial enemy of Christian Spain; war with them was a crusade and could be assumed as just without further inquiry.

If further justification was needed, however, it was supplied by two facts. The first was that the Moros were accustomed to go on slaving raids among the Visayan islands. Their geographical location made this particularly advantageous, for the slave-owning states south of them provided an assured market, while the clan settlements to the north, more primitive and incapable of organized defense, provided a convenient source of supply. To the Spaniards their assumption of sovereignty over the Visayans imposed on them the clear duty of putting a stop to these raids by breaking up their centers of origin. The second fact was that, when Governor Sande attacked Brunei in 1578, he sent Figueroa with a squadron to Jolo, the principal island of the Sulu group and the residence of its raja. Figueroa offered to conclude a treaty of friendship and commerce if the Sulus abandoned their piratical ways and settled down to more peaceful pursuits. Instead of accepting this offer the reigning raja, Pangiran, chose to fight.

Figueroa thereupon landed his troops and beat the Sulus in two encounters, one inside their town and the other at the foot of the rock which was their citadel. Pangiran sued for terms and on 14 June 1578 ratified the capitulations whereby he "acknowledged himself and his descendants vassals of his Majesty Don Philip, King of Castile and León, and as a token of his fealty and vassalage gave twelve pearls and thirty-five taels of gold in his own name and in the name of his subjects of the islands of Jolo, Tagima, Samboangan, Kawit, and Tawi-tawi, these being his dominions."

Figueroa then proceeded to Magindanau, but here he was less successful. The Magindanau datus abandoned their fortified enclosures and fled to the hills without even stopping to parley, and Figueroa, his provisions failing, was forced to return to Brunei. However, the following year, 1579,

Gabriel de Ribera returned with an embassy and was able to confer with several of the datus. These negotiations were inconclusive, but they provided the Spanish government with a sufficient excuse to plead a breach of faith. Thus a Spanish expedition to Mindanao could be justified as enforcing a vassalage which had been accepted and subsequently renounced.[30]

The elder Dasmariñas, already committed to the more important Moluccas expedition, felt that the conquest of Mindanao could well be left to private enterprise. He approached Figueroa as the logical man to undertake it in view of his previous experience and present means. Figueroa agreed to discuss terms, and on 10 May 1591 he and Dasmariñas duly signed an asiento.[31] Figueroa bound himself by this contract to organize and equip an expedition for the conquest of Mindanao within three years after its ratification by the king. He was to take command of the expedition in person. If successful, he would be recognized by the Crown as governor of the conquered territory for life, with the right to designate his successor. He would also have the right to award encomiendas to those taking part in the expedition, retaining for himself as many as would yield an annual revenue of 15,000 pesos. Four years later, in June 1595, Figueroa at Arévalo received word from the younger Dasmariñas that royal approval of the asiento had been received, and that his presence at Manila was required to settle the final arrangements. Since there was a distinct possibility that he might not return alive from the expedition, Figueroa took advantage of this opportunity to complete the foundation of the College of Manila. He also, upon returning to Arévalo to organize the expedition, drew up his last will and testament. The terms of this will and the curious way in which it affected the Philippine Jesuits we shall see later.

The expedition got under way early in April 1596. It consisted of 50 sail and a force of 214 Spanish and 1,500 native troops. Figueroa had asked Prat for a Jesuit to act as chaplain, and Juan del Campo was detached from the Leyte missions for this purpose. He joined the expedition with Brother Gaspar Gómez as his companion. Figueroa's plan was to deal with Magindanau first, leaving the Sulus till later. On 22 April his ships stood breasting the current at the principal mouth of the Pulangi River.

The Pulangi, or, as the Spaniards called it, the Rio Grande de Mindanao, spills down the southern slopes of the Bukidnon massif at the center of Mindanao and snakes south and west across a low-lying marshy plain to the Moro Gulf. Twenty miles from the seacoast it forks into a north branch and a south branch. It was around the delta formed by these two branches that the principal Moro strongholds stood. Twelve miles above the fork, near the present town of Dulawan, was Bwayan. The raja of Bwayan was Sirongan, at that time the most powerful lord of the Magindanau confederacy. On the south branch, sixteen miles below the fork,

was Tamontaka. Four miles across the delta, on the north branch, was Magindanau town, from which the whole region took its name. It stood on a hill called Tantayan ("prospect"), easy to fortify and defend; this fact has given its name to the present city of Cotabato, which means stone fort.

Figueroa, learning that Sirongan of Bwayan had taken up a strong position at Magindanau, landed a small force under his second-in-command, Juan de la Jara, to reconnoiter the place. The reconnaissance took longer than expected, and Figueroa, impatient at the delay, went ashore to find out for himself what De la Jara was about. Sword in hand and shield on arm, he strode through the tall marsh grass ahead of two Spanish aides and a Cebuano spearman, his only companions. At a turn of the path where the thick grass grew to a man's height, two of Sirongan's warriors lay in ambush. They wore the crimson tunic of the *amok*, having sworn that morning to kill as many of the enemy as possible before they were killed themselves. When Figueroa was close enough one of them leaped out of concealment with a cry, his *kampilan*, the long blade of the Moros, upraised. Figueroa met the stroke with his shield as it fell, and with a wide swinging blow of his sword cut the man down. Stepping over his dead adversary, he called back to his companions who were racing down the path that all was well. He had not gone more than a few paces forward when the other Moro was upon him, and this time the kampilan came down more quickly than he could parry. The blade clove through his bare head (he had pushed aside his helmet impatiently when he was arming) and fell, just as the Cebuano, running up, drove his spear through the breast of the Moro, killing him instantly.

They picked their fallen leader up quickly and ran for the ships; but the wound was mortal. Figueroa never recovered consciousness, and died within forty hours. Brother Gómez took the embalmed corpse to Manila where it was given solemn burial in the Jesuit church. Over the grave in front of the main altar the fathers caused to be cut the following inscription:

Occubuit ferro, sed non superatus ab hoste:
Ensis qui vitam sustulit ipse dedit.

"He died by the sword, but was not vanquished by the enemy; for the same blade that took away his mortal life gave him an eternal."[32]

De la Jara now took charge of the expedition. Many of the captains, disheartened by Figueroa's death and the unexpected strength of the Magindanau confederacy, were for going back to Arévalo. It was only with the greatest difficulty that De la Jara was able to persuade them to establish a fortified camp near Tampakan, a settlement of friendly Moros at the mouth of the river, there to await reinforcements and a more favorable opportunity to resume operations. Conditions in the camp were far from

ideal, and Juan del Campo performed his duties as chaplain with a zeal more generous than prudent. Though of delicate health he took no precautions against the violent alternations at that time of the year of torrid heat and torrential rain. A brief illness laid him low and he died on 11 August 1596 at the early age of 33. He left behind him a note in which, after commending his soul to God and asking for the suffrages of his brethren, he added the following counsel to future missionaries: "I pray you, be very zealous for the honor and glory of God and the good of so many souls that here await salvation; but do not be carried away by indiscreet fervor, for it is by little and little that a great work is done." His place was taken by Juan de Sanlúcar, who had just arrived that June.[33]

The group of Jesuits sent from Mexico in 1596 was composed of fifteen priests and three lay brothers. They came as part of the expedition led by the new proprietary governor of the Islands, Francisco Tello de Guzmán, which included 300 troops, 25 settlers with their families, and 70 missionaries belonging to various orders. They disembarked at Sorsogon and made their way overland to Manila, some arriving on 14 June and others on 1 August.[34]

Prat had little difficulty in finding work for them. Diego Santiago was dispatched to assist Almerici at Taytay, and Juan de Sanlúcar to fill the chaplaincy of the Mindanao expedition vacated by Del Campo's death. Francisco de Vera, whom Governor Tello had chosen as his father confessor, and Brother Juan de Herrera were assigned to the Manila community. The rest, fifteen or sixteen altogether, he took with him to the Visayas. They left Manila on 3 October 1596 and called first at Tinagon, on the western coast of Samar, where they landed on the 22nd of the same month. Here Prat left Fathers Francisco de Otazo and Bartolomé Martes and Brother Domingo Alonso to establish the first mission of the island. With the rest he proceeded to Leyte, where to the two stations already in existence, Carigara and Dulag, he added three new ones: Palo, Ormoc, and Alangalang. The assignments were as follows: at Dulag, Father Alonso de Humanes and Brother Denis Marie; at Carigara, Father Francisco de Encinas and Brother Alonso del Barco; at Palo, Fathers Cristóbal Jiménez and Miguel Gómez; at Ormoc, Fathers Alonso Rodríguez and Leonardo Scelsi; at Alangalang, Father Cosme de Flores and Brother Pedro Díaz. The remainder he took with him to Cebu.

Several of the Cebu colonists who had encomiendas on the island of Bohol and the region of Butuan in northern Mindanao had been urgently requesting missionaries for them. Before leaving Manila Prat asked permission from the authorities to accept these missions. The permission was readily granted. In fact, the cathedral chapter, administering the diocese *sede vacante*, gave him more than he asked for, assigning to the Society the work of evangelizing not only Butuan but the entire island of Mindanao.

To Bohol Prat sent Fathers Juan de Torres and Gabriel Sánchez; to Butuan, Fathers Valerio de Ledesma and Manuel Martínez. This left Chirino, the superior of the Cebu residence, with a community of three priests, himself, Mateo Sánchez and Pedro López de la Parra, and three brothers, Gaspar Garay, Francisco Martín, and Cristóbal de Tapia.[35]

The work done in these missions should be briefly surveyed.[36] Antipolo, which as we have seen was a small town of 100 households when the Jesuits first took charge of it, increased considerably in population during 1595 and 1596. Whole barangays which had previously been scattered in the surrounding hills came to settle there. Nine hundred people altogether, all pagans, flocked to Antipolo in 1595, and by 1596 its 100 households had become 700. Even the Aetas came down from the high sierras to see what was afoot. These small black people were the earliest surviving inhabitants of the islands, and the most primitive. The Tagalogs found them in possession when they first came and gradually drove them from the lowlands they coveted further and further into the mountains, so that they came to be known as Itas or Aetas, the upland people. Like the ravens of the gospel they neither sowed nor reaped nor gathered into barns. God fed them with the fruits of the forest through which they wandered by families, stalking the wild pig and the mountain deer with bow and arrow. They had no fixed abode; what they killed or plucked they ate on the spot, and when they were hungry again, they moved on. It was perhaps mere curiosity that made them leave their mountain fastnesses to watch, from a safe distance, the strange white priests at Antipolo. But Almerici's transparent kindness had a great deal to do with their consenting to stay. Not in the town; they could not yet bring themselves to do that; but in little hut villages near it, where the fathers were able to teach them how to grow their food and take care of them when they were ill. Almerici gave them some instruction in Christian doctrine but not baptism until he was quite sure they had settled down for good. This precaution was necessary, for the wild freedom of the forest still tugged strongly at their hearts, and every now and again an Aeta family would vanish as silently as it had come.

Because of the growth of Antipolo and because of its more salubrious climate, Prat decided in 1596 to make it instead of Taytay the center of the mission and the ordinary residence of the missionaries. In 1597 a third town, Cainta, about two miles from Taytay, was added to the mission. The work of conversion proceeded rapidly in all three towns. In Antipolo alone 500 adult baptisms were administered in 1595. Chirino estimates that by the end of the century the Jesuits had baptized about 7,000. The converts as a rule found little difficulty in abandoning their pagan beliefs and practices. Of their own accord they brought their little idols to the missionaries to be destroyed. "As I was writing this," Almerici says in a letter to a friend in Rome in 1597, "they brought me four or six little

gold idols to be broken up."[37] The practice of the missionaries in the case of gold idols was to have them melted down and the gold returned to their owners. Wooden idols were simply burned. A big bonfire of them and of the furniture used in their worship was made at Antipolo in 1598.

Only the katolonan, the men and women shamans of the old religion, caused the missionaries some concern. In 1597 it was discovered that a number of female katolonan were operating secretly in Taytay. One of them bore involuntary witness to the stronger appeal of Christianity by claiming Christian attributes for her particular anito. It too, she said, had come down from heaven, and was in fact a good friend to all Christians; there was no reason why it should not be worshipped alongside the Christian God. The Christians of Taytay did not think the argument good enough, and reported the katolonan and her companions to the fathers. They must have been converts who had apostatized, for the fathers had them make a public abjuration of their idolatry in the church. After that they were made to live for several years in a house by themselves, apart from the community and under the tutelage of a reliable Christian family.

Several medicine men, more canny than their female counterparts, practiced their arts in the wilderness outside the towns and villages, and the sick whose faith faltered would sometimes have recourse to them. They were arrested by the civil authorities and handed over to the missionaries, who put them under instruction and tried to persuade them of the error of their ways. Most of them eventually received baptism and became exemplary Christians.

The fathers did not communicate the eucharist to their adult converts immediately after baptism, but only after a period of postbaptismal instruction. However, once they began to receive it, the effect of the sacrament on their lives was quite noticeable. So much so that the people would sometimes say to Almerici, pointing out some old sinner, "Father, give communion to that one, so as to force him to be good." Frequent recourse to the sacrament of penance was, however, stressed from the beginning. In 1598 Prat reported that in the Antipolo mission many went to confession regularly every month, and some every two weeks or even weekly. The practice was promoted by a pious association or confraternity of men which the fathers organized in each town, one of the principal aims of which was the frequent and regular reception of the sacraments.

In general, the fathers never destroyed or forbade a pagan usage without introducing a similar Christian usage to take its place. This was in line with the policy of making Christianity permeate the culture and its institutions in the same way as the popular pagan beliefs had done. It was not perhaps a fully conscious policy, but actual practice both at Antipolo and the other missions fairly consistently conformed to it. Chirino set the prayers and formulas of the catechism to the music of the chants by which

the deeds of gods and heroes were told among the Tagalogs. Almerici and Santiago continued and extended this practice. The custom arose in the villages of the mission of people gathering in the late afternoons around the wooden cross erected by the missionaries in each village and singing not only the set words of the catechism but hymns and cadenced prayers of their own composition based on what they had heard in church. The melodies used must have been those of the *awit,* employed in love songs and lullabies, simple tunes to which each one fitted his or her own verses as the spirit moved. Women especially were very skillful in these impromptu compositions. After Mass one Sunday one of the fathers heard a woman across the way from the mission house chant the sermon he had just preached in its entirety, put into verse adapted to a traditional melody.

For the propitiatory sacrifice which the people used to offer to the spirits that they might not harm the crops, the missionaries substituted the blessing by a priest of the rice to be sown and of the sprouted seedlings. The Annual Letter of 1599 reports that

> . . . at planting time all bring to the church part of the seed rice which they intend to sow in order that the father might bless it. This year the people of one of our towns asked for the priest to come specially in order to say Mass and impart a blessing to the rice; and they brought so much of it that the path to the doors of the church was lined for quite a distance on both sides with baskets of rice. At the same time they gave a good-sized alms, placing it on the altar as is their custom while Mass is being celebrated. Alms of this sort is received and spent on charitable works to relieve the necessities of the people themselves.

Another blessing was given to the seedlings as soon as the first green blades appeared, and blessed crosses were set up in the fields as a protection from locusts. Locusts were among the most dreaded plagues of the period, for no one knew whence they came nor how to stop them, and yet these insatiable insects, descending like a dark cloud on the countryside, could destroy a whole harvest. The missionaries encouraged the people to strengthen their prayers against them by vow and promise. Thus in 1598 the people of Taytay made a promise that if they were preserved from the locust plague they would celebrate the feast of the Immaculate Conception that year with special solemnity and contribute what was needed to dower an orphan girl. Their prayers were answered, and they came to the Mass of the feast in fulfillment of their promise with enough rice and money for the girl's dowry.

The incident also serves to illustrate how the fathers tried to introduce the idea of Christian charity into the life of the community. The adoption of orphan children by the well-to-do was encouraged, and in general the giving of alms to the poor. Debt slavery could not obviously be abolished all at once, nor did the missionaries attempt it; but they undermined its

foundations by holding up the granting of loans to the needy without interest as an act eminently worthy of a Christian. They also attacked the pernicious custom of the funeral feast, at which the bereaved family was practically eaten out of house and home by those who came to mourn with them. So expensive were these funeral banquets that the heirs of the deceased sometimes had to mortgage their property and even their own persons in order to pay for them.

In counteracting this custom the fathers made use of the gregarious instinct which had led to the abuse. They assigned attendance at funerals as one of the activities of the confraternity mentioned above. The members accompanied the bier to the cemetery with lighted candles, and after the burial went with the family of the deceased to church to say prayers for the dead. Thus the offices of piety and friendship were fulfilled without laying a burden on the bereaved.

However, the missionaries were not so foolish as to try to impose a ban on all feasting. What they did try to do was to divest the customary festivals of their pagan implications and accompaniments, and to reduce them to moderate proportions. Two feasts were required to conclude a pagan marriage, a betrothal feast and a wedding feast. The fathers tried to limit the festivities to the actual wedding by making the betrothal ceremony a simple promise made before the elders of the village.

The Tagalogs feasted sitting or reclining on the floor before low tables. Food was served in plenty, but, as Chirino observed, "they eat little, drink much, and are a long time at it." When all are filled, the tables are taken away and the singing and dancing begin, lasting sometimes all night. But, he added

> . . . we never see them so inflamed and excited by drink as to become disorderly. On the contrary, they retain much of their ordinary manner, and address one another when drunk with the same courtesy and decorum as before, except that they are a great deal more lively and talkative and exchange many witticisms. It is a common saying among us that none of them, no matter how drunk he leaves a banquet or how late at night, ever failed to find his house. And if some business awaits him there, whether of purchase or sale, he is not only fully equal to the transaction, but if there is need of weighing the price in silver or gold (a practice so common that everyone carries his scales around with him) he does it with such steadiness that his hand never trembles nor misses the exact point of balance.[38]

However, it is pretty obvious that in spite of this amazing capacity to hold their liquor, they did get drunk. In preventing these and similar excesses the missionaries made use of an official whom they appointed, called a *fiscal*. Every parish and mission station in the Philippines had its fiscal. There is no satisfactory English translation for this term; the fiscal was a kind of deacon without orders. An example was Don Mateo Apay,

who held the office in Taytay. Don Mateo belonged to the datu class, as did his wife, Doña Magdalena Polosin. He had wide lands and a large family. His duties were to take care of the church, help instruct catechumens, visit the sick, and bury the dead. But, more than that, he was a kind of "living rule," who set an example of Christian living to the community and admonished those who were inclined to set the opposite example. Or, in the delightful definition given by the Annual Letter of 1605, the fiscal

> . . . teaches catechism to the ignorant, strengthens the weak, visits the sick, and if they are dangerously ill sends for the priest. He incites sinners to confession, solicits alms, helps bury the dead, reprehends the guilty, gives advice, promotes charity, inflames zeal, corrects what he can, and what he cannot, deplores.[39]

By 1599 a new stone church was rising in Taytay, with fourteen Chinese stonemasons and several Tagalog workmen engaged in the work of construction; and not far from Antipolo the Aetas had finally decided to establish a permanent village, to be called Santa Cruz.

Humanes lost no time in carrying out Sedeño's orders to establish the mission of Dulag.[40] Juan del Campo shared the enterprise with him until he was called away to act as chaplain of Figueroa's expedition. After constructing a church, making a preliminary census of the population, and starting catechism classes, they set to work organizing a school. Some sixty boys, mostly the sons of datus, were selected from the three encomiendas of eastern Leyte—Palo, Dulag, and Abuyog. As in Chirino's school at Tigbauan, classes were held in Christian doctrine, reading, writing, and music. However, Humanes improved on Chirino's idea by having the boys live in the Jesuit compound itself, in a house which he built for them with donations collected from the encomenderos. The school at Dulag was thus the first *seminario de indios* or boarding school for natives to be established by the Philippine vice-province. It was a completely free school, the living expenses of the boys and the salary of a lay schoolmaster being paid for out of the annual stipend received by the missionaries.

After the school was fairly started, Humanes and Del Campo went on a series of methodical tours to cover their extensive territory, which had a population of some 10,000. In every village and settlement they set up a cross and a chapel and gathered the people together for instruction. They baptized no one, even if he asked for it, because Humanes did not believe in mass baptisms. He wanted to wait until they knew the language better so that they could assure themselves that their catechumens had the proper dispositions. It was not until Christmas eve of 1595, three months after their arrival, that they baptized their first converts in the church of Dulag. Of the 45 who received baptism many were children, and most of the adults were servants and bearers attached to the mission. Before baptizing

them, the fathers made it clear to each one individually that they were not to ask for the sacrament unless they understood what it meant and really wanted to receive it.

In 1596 Brother Denis Marie joined the mission and Father Del Campo left. Humanes continued to insist on a long and thorough catechumenate. In 1597 he baptized only 190 altogether, and of these 80 were children and sick people in danger of death. One datu became impatient at being put off so often and said, "Father, was it not to baptize that you came? Why then do you not start?" The reason why was clear in this case; the datu had three wives and did not want to give up any of them, chiefly because he stood to lose a lot of property if he did. He was also worried that if he became a Christian they would not permit him to be buried in the fine carved coffin he had ordered for himself. He finally decided to make these sacrifices and was baptized Diego. Humanes allowed Don Diego to keep only one wife, but, after inspecting the coffin, he saw no reason why he could not await the resurrection in it.

Because of the dispersal of the population in scattered clan villages, Humanes had to be continually on the move. If they were concentrated in larger communities near Dulag he could devote to their instruction the time he spent in traveling. He picked out eight possible town sites and proposed the idea to the encomenderos. They opposed it vigorously, for such a shift in population would mean that some encomiendas would lose tribute payers to others, since the tribute was collected on a territorial basis. Humanes had to desist from his plan, at least for the time being; but this question of gathering the people into towns was to remain a major issue between the missionaries and the encomenderos of Leyte for some years to come.

The mission of Palo was founded in October 1596 by Fathers Encinas and Jiménez.[41] Palo was (and is) a town on the eastern coast of Leyte north of Dulag; but when the missionaries arrived, they found that the entire "town" consisted of two small houses in which the encomendero's servants lived. The dispersal of the population was, if possible, greater here than in the Dulag mission. Some boys who had gone to the Dulag mission school welcomed the missionaries and undertook to teach them Visayan. Encinas was called away to Carigara soon afterwards and Brother Goméz took his place as Jiménez's companion. When he had learned enough Visayan to make himself understood, Jiménez started on a tour of his mission. The people were suspicious, probably thinking he was another tax collector, and few doors opened to him. Then he learned that there were many sick in the villages, and this gave him an idea. He put himself to school with the best herb doctors he could find. These Palo herb doctors were not mere quacks. Doubtless by trial and error they had found some effective remedies for common diseases. Their fees were high. If they

cured a person of an ordinarily fatal illness they charged him his worth as a slave, or his ransom if captured. They charged comparable fees for instructing anyone in their craft. Jiménez paid cheerfully because it was worth it. After his first few cures, he had an entry everywhere. Here, the people said, was a Spanish herb doctor who charged nothing. He baptized only a few, and those mostly infants, but he made many friends.

Some of the Palo datus were Moslems of a sort, and their rudimentary belief in one God probably helped them to understand the Christian doctrine better than their subjects. When they consented to be instructed and baptized, their timawa usually followed their example. Whenever possible, Jiménez waited until all the members of a family were ready for baptism; he then baptized them all together, in order that the neophyte's break from paganism might be complete, at least within the family.

Jiménez's most important convert was Kanganga of Malirong, the most powerful datu of those parts, whom the Spanish government had appointed petty governor of Palo. In order to make his baptism as solemn and public as possible, he timed it to coincide with the dedication of the completed church of Palo, which took place on the feast of the Immaculate Conception, 8 December 1598. Humanes performed the rite and the corregidor of Leyte, Ensign Francisco Rodríguez de Ledesma, stood as sponsor. All the datus of the surrounding country came with their retainers to see the neophyte christened Don Juan Kanganga, and afterward performed a ceremonial dance in front of the church to celebrate the occasion. Don Juan was of great assistance to the missionary in choosing suitable town sites where the clans could be brought together; but here as in Dulag the opposition of the encomenderos made it slow and difficult work.

When Encinas left Jiménez at Palo it was to take charge of the mission of Carigara, with Brother Alonso del Barco as his companion. The mission included three other towns besides Carigara: Leyte, Barugo, and Sampuatan. Encinas and Del Barco visited all four every month. During their stay in each town daily Mass was followed by catechetical instruction in the church. Encinas, taking his cue from Chirino, put the principal truths of the creed and several hymns into the verse form of the traditional Visayan folk songs. These achieved instant popularity, especially at Carigara, where they sang Encinas' compositions not only at Mass but in their houses in the evening. Encinas also started a day school for boys at Carigara, with a Filipino schoolmaster who taught reading, writing, and music. By 1597, two-thirds of the population of the mission had received baptism.[42]

The mission of Ormoc, on the west coast of the island, was founded by Fathers Rodríguez and Scelsi in May 1597. Here the people were not only eager to receive instruction but most of them were literate in Visayan. They asked the missionaries for the catechism in writing so that they could make copies of it on the bamboo strips which they used for paper. The

two missionaries made a positive contribution to the development of the catechumenate by applying to it some of the principles of what was later to be the Jesuit *ratio studiorum* or pedagogical code. They divided the catechism course into grades. Each grade had to learn a part of the catechism, progressively more difficult, and pass an examination on it before going on to the next grade. The catechumens wrote down what they were taught in their own language and script and took the bamboo strips home with them to study. The class procedure was, first, to take the lesson down from dictation, then to repeat it orally, and then to commit it to memory. After the memory period the bamboo strips were laid aside and the lesson was recited, either individually or in unison. Finally a discussion period was devoted to getting the catechumens to put the lesson in their own words by answering questions on it.[43]

Alangalang was the only one of the five Leyte missions located in the interior of the island, about twelve miles south of Carigara. It was founded by Father Cosme de Flores, one of the first Jesuits to come to Leyte, and Brother Pedro Díaz. The Alangalang church was dedicated on Trinity Sunday 1597. Flores followed an exacting schedule, visiting each of the five or six villages which composed his mission every week. His health was not equal to it, and he died on 8 September of the same year at the early age of 28. Before he died, however, he had brought the people of his villages together in two towns, one of 300 and the other of 500 households, thus achieving the first notable success in the Jesuit plan of bringing together the dispersed population of Leyte.[44]

The island of Samar lies northeast of Leyte and is separated from it only by the narrow strait of San Juanico. Another strait, San Bernardino, the embocadero of the galleons, separates it from Luzon. Its eastern coast is washed by the Pacific, and Cape Espíritu Santo on its northeastern corner was usually the first landfall made by the Acapulco ship. It is the third largest island in the Philippine archipelago, with an area of 5,049 miles. The interior is a tangle of low, heavily forested mountain ranges, but one river, the Ulut, cuts almost across the island from west to east. It was on the western coast of the island, not far from the headwaters of the Ulut, that Fathers Otazo and Martes and Brother Alonso founded the mission of Tinagon.[45]

The people, who knew the Spaniards only as conquerors or tribute collectors, fled at their approach, abandoning houses and villages. Only by the exercise of the greatest patience and kindness were the missionaries able to convince them that they had come not to take away but to give. 1596 and 1597 were years of the locust in Samar; the harvests were poor and there was famine and sickness everywhere. Otazo and his companions went from village to village with rice and medicines, doing what they could to relieve the sufferings of the people. They had a high total of baptisms—

2,057 in 1596–1598—but most of these were administered at the point of death.

Otazo opened a boarding school for boys at Tinagon similar to that of Dulag, but it did not apparently last very long, because after an intensive course in Christian doctrine the boys were sent back to their villages to help instruct their own people. Longer-lived, and in some ways more interesting, was another school founded in the little village of Paranas by the fiscal of the place, Don Gonzalo. Don Gonzalo, with the approval of the fathers, toured the clan villages of the coast like a pied piper of Hamelin, collecting all the boys whose parents would let him have them. He brought over a hundred back with him to Paranas, where he put them under a regular boarding school regime; morning prayers, classes morning and afternoon, night prayers. One of the best features of the institution was that the fathers did not have to worry about supporting it. It was completely self-supporting. The older boys did some fishing, and when the rice stocks ran low they simply went back to their clan villages for more.

Two welcome additions to the Samar mission were Father Miguel Gómez and Brother Juan Ontiñeda. They were at once sent on an extended mission tour of the eastern coast of the island, where they won the warm affection of the people by their charity toward the sick. They erected a chapel at Catubig, but due to the shortage of personnel no resident mission was established there for the time being.

The mission of Bohol was opened at the request of Doña Catalina de Bolaños, the mother of Pedro de Gamboa, the encomendero of the island, who was a minor.[46] Legazpi stopped there in 1565 and entered into a blood compact with Katunau (Sikatuna), one of the principal datus, who showed him how to get to Cebu. At that time the small and hilly island had a fairly numerous population estimated at 10,000. There were gold mines in the interior and the Boholanos traded widely north and south, acquiring everywhere a reputation for enterprise and for having a high opinion of themselves. A series of slaving raids by Ternate Moslems and the Portuguese based in the Moluccas, however, considerably reduced both their numbers and prosperity. The Boholanos fought back stubbornly, in spite of inferior organization and equipment, under their paramount datu, Warai Tupueng (the Peerless One). Warai Tupueng could have called the Spaniards on the nearby island of Cebu to his assistance, but he did not believe in foreign entanglements. To the end of his life, despite heavy losses, he tried to cope with the raiders by himself. After his death, however, his four sons felt that they could do no more. They sent for the Spaniard and paid tribute in exchange for protection.

Hearing of this, a *babailan* or female shaman (the counterpart of the Tagalog katolonan) became possessed of the spirit of prophecy and wandered about the island foretelling the disaster that would befall at

the coming of the Spaniards. In every village she sang her wild chant: "My doom to them that dwell here! My whisper to the people of this place! For this settlement shall be dispersed; this place shall be moved. Yea, this town shall fall; this place shall be uprooted."[47]

The behavior of the tribute collectors must have given some color to this prophecy, for when the Jesuits came in 1596 they got a cold reception. There were two of them, Juan de Torres and Gabriel Sánchez, both priests. They left Cebu on 17 November and established themselves first at Baclayon, where they spent some time in gaining the confidence of the people. From Baclayon Torres went to Loboc, an inland market village where the fishing folk of the seashore exchanged their catch for the sugar cane, sweet potatoes and bananas of the highland clans. This trading was done chiefly by women.

Torres beckoned to some of them and after allaying their fears sat them in a circle around him. He opened a box which he had brought, took out knives, scissors and needles and passed them around. The women were still chattering delightedly over these presents when their menfolk came. They had been out hunting, apparently without much success, for they were very cross indeed. They gathered about Torres, fingering their spears, and inquired what he was doing in the *bukir*, that is, the hinterland. Let him stay where he belonged, they said; the bukir had no use for Christians.

Torres replied that that was a question they could more profitably discuss after they had eaten together, for it was now midday and he could see they were tired and hungry. He brought out his provisions, gave them a good meal, and then had recourse once more to his treasure box. This time there came out of it pieces of linen cloth, sheets of brass and more needles. He pressed them on his guests and told them they could keep them. One of them asked, suspiciously, whether he would ask for the things back when they died? Torres replied that when he gave, he gave for good. They spent the afternoon sitting at their ease and talking, after the unhurried custom of the country. Torres told them what had brought him there from so far away, that he had come to teach them matters of great importance concerning God which would much advantage them in life and after death. He spoke of other things too, especially farming, for he was born and grew up in Montilla, in the rice country of Andalusia. What he said about Spanish farming caught their interest, and they exchanged notes on different methods of cultivation. Long before sunset they were fast friends.

Torres explained that he wanted to build a church there, if they would help him, and then perhaps they could bring their barangays and form a town. The Boholanos found this to their liking; so much so that they straightway picked out a site for the chapel and promised to start the very next day to fell the logs for it. They were as good as their word, and soon

eleven barangays had settled down near the chapel to form the town of Loboc.

Another mission expedition Torres made was to the gold mines of Talibong, five or six days' journey from the coast. Here a Spanish prospector had already built a chapel, and there were Christians among the miners. Torres invited everyone, Christians and pagans, to his first Mass. After reading the gospel he turned around and told them why he had come. It was not for gold; he was not interested in gold. And suiting the action to the word, he took a handful of gold dust from the altar, let it trickle through his fingers to the floor and ground it under his heel. The Boholanos, who were not accustomed to the noble metal being treated in this contemptuous fashion, were deeply impressed. The datu of the region agreed to gather his scattered clans together and found a town at Talibong. Thus was the babailan's prophecy fulfilled. The villages and settlements were indeed being uprooted, but a new kind of community, the Christian town, was taking their place.

Meanwhile Sánchez discovered that Katunau, Legazpi's friend, was still among the living. He was by this time over a hundred years old, and his wife not much younger. Both consented to be instructed and baptized. A year later, on his deathbed, the old patriarch set all his slaves at liberty and willed to the Bohol mission one of his coconut groves.

The mission of Butuan was founded in the same month and year as that of Bohol in response to a similar request from the corregidor and encomenderos of the province. Valerio de Ledesma, the first missionary, was joined the following year by Manuel Martínez. The population was pagan, although some memory survived among them of a white man who came and spoke to them of the Christian God. He did not tarry, and they never saw him again. This was that remarkable Portuguese lay missionary, Captain Francisco de Castro, who set out from the Moluccas in 1538 and circumnavigated Mindanao, preaching in all the settlements and baptizing those in danger of death.

The establishment of the Jesuit mission was, however, the first serious attempt to convert the people of Butuan to Christianity. Ledesma and Martínez began auspiciously with the instruction and baptism of the most respected datu of the place, Elian, whom everyone affectionately called "father." As one of the other datus put it, "If the father of all becomes a Christian, how can the rest of us do otherwise?"

Ledesma, following the practice of his confreres, cast the prayers, creed, and commandments into Visayan verse adapted to the traditional planting, rowing, and weaving chants of the region. These he taught to the children, and the children in turn to their households. In this way the chanting of the catechism became the evening's entertainment in many homes, where it was sometimes sung antiphonally, a child singing one verse and the

company present coming in with the next. The mission church of Butuan was dedicated on the feast of the Nativity of Our Lady, 8 September 1597.[48]

Both Bohol and Butuan missions were founded from Cebu and were considered dependent on the Jesuit residence there.[49] The superior of the residence was Chirino, to whom Sedeño gave the title of rector, although technically only heads of colleges were so designated in the Society. Under Chirino's administration the Cebu Jesuits not only ministered to the Spanish residents, but undertook two other works of importance: education and convert work among the Chinese.

In 1595 Father Antonio Pereira opened a free primary school in which he taught Christian doctrine, reading, writing, arithmetic, and deportment. The school was originally intended for Spanish children, but Visayan and Chinese pupils were apparently admitted as well. Toward the end of that year Pereira was recalled to the Moluccas mission; his place as schoolmaster was taken by Brother Gaspar Garay. Three years later courses in grammar were added at the request of the first bishop of Cebu, Fray Pedro de Agurto. Bishop Agurto arrived in Manila on 23 May 1598 with two Jesuits in his entourage: Luís Gómez, a priest, and Francisco Vicente Puche, a scholastic. He asked Prat if he might take them with him to Cebu to teach grammar both to those who had already learned their first letters in the primary school and to his nephews and other boys who had come with him as members of his household. Prat needed Gómez in Manila but readily agreed to let the bishop have Puche.

The grammar school was formally inaugurated that same year with the presentation by the students of an academy in Latin and Spanish in honor of Bishop Agurto. It was held in the cathedral and lasted three hours. According to Chirino, the academy took the form of a *comedia*, that is, a play in prose and verse, and was composed by Puche during his voyage from Manila to Cebu. He wrote it "to the measure of the oar stroke and the swing of the sailors' chanteys," but, alas, when he was half way through it a sudden breeze blew his manuscript off the vessel. Nothing daunted, he started all over again, and when, a month later, he stepped ashore at Cebu, the comedia was ready to go into rehearsals. Puche was a Catalan, which leads one to suspect that his name ought really to be written Puig; fortunately, this is one problem we do not have to settle, as he gave it up as a bad job and decided to be called simply Francisco Vicente. He was already a deacon when he arrived and was priested by Bishop Agurto soon afterward.

In 1595 Cebu had a small Chinese quarter with about 200 residents. In order to be able to work among them Chirino applied himself to the study of the language (his third since his arrival in the Philippines) under a young Christian Chinese whom Dasmariñas the Younger sent from Manila

to be his tutor. He learned enough to be able to conduct convert classes with the tutor's assistance. On Pentecost Sunday 1596 his first converts were solemnly baptized. They included two prominent members of the Chinese community, Don Lorenzo Ungac and Don Salvador Tuigan. In accordance with Bishop Salazar's ruling, they submitted their queues to the shears before receiving the sacrament. Puche, or Vicente, took up the study of Chinese in his leisure time and was soon able to assist Chirino in this ministry. By 1599 the Chinese Christians of Cebu had built their own church, which the bishop gave to the Jesuits to administer.

The Cebu residence subsisted for a time entirely on the alms of the citizens, to which the colonial government later added the usual subsidy for two missionaries, 200 pesos and 200 fanegas of rice per year. Chirino tried hard to make ends meet on this income, but found the going difficult. As the central house of the Visayan missions the residence had to take care of the men who got sick at the stations or needed a rest or were awaiting assignment. Moreover, the building itself which was of wood was deteriorating rapidly and major repairs were urgently needed, or, better still, a new house. In view of this Prat requested the municipal authorities of Cebu on 6 April 1600 to hold public hearings on the ministries of the Cebu Jesuits and the sufficiency or insufficiency of their income, and, if their findings justified such a course, to request an increase of the royal subsidy.

Bishop Agurto and many prominent citizens testified at the hearings. They declared that the Jesuits were fruitfully engaged in priestly ministries among Spaniards, Visayans, and Chinese, and that they performed these services free of charge in accordance with the custom of the Society. In particular, they ministered to the Chinese in their own language. They also conducted an elementary school and a grammar school without charging any tuition fees. They lived in a small wooden house which was now too small for them and which needed to be repaired and enlarged. The government subsidy which was their only stable income, besides being too small, was appropriated from a variable and uncertain source of revenue. This was the so-called *caja de las cuartas*, a fund made up from one-fourth of the tribute derived from encomiendas where there was as yet no religious instruction. On the basis of these depositions the city corporation of Cebu endorsed Prat's request for a more adequate subsidy to the audiencia of Manila. And there the matter ended, for all the good will in the world could not fill up the void in the public purse.

Chirino and his community had to struggle along as best they could, trusting in divine providence and the generosity of their many friends. Occasionally they would receive an extraordinary donation or a legacy, and by careful husbanding of these Chirino began to put together the endowment of a future college. In 1599 he accepted the gift of a ranch which had twelve or thirteen head of cattle in one pasture and five or six in another;

probably the tiniest beginning of a college endowment in the annals of Jesuit education.

A provincial or vice-provincial of the Society is obliged by the rules of his office to make a visitation of all the houses under his jurisdiction as far as possible every year. Prat made his first visitation, as we have seen, in 1596. Transportation difficulties obliged him to skip a year, but in 1598 he made a second visitation. At the end of each of these visitations he drew up a set of ordinances for the guidance of local superiors and subjects. These ordinances are of great interest.[50]

They fall roughly into three groups. The first group is concerned with the administration of the sacraments of baptism and matrimony. Prat tells his men not to worry about statistics, but to see to it that they did not baptize anyone who had not been properly instructed.

> Let them not put their care in that as many as possible are baptized, but rather that those who are baptized are ready for it and lead Christian lives, and even though few give good example to their people. Make sure of two things: that those whom you baptize are well instructed in the truths of our holy faith, firmly believe them, and are convinced of the error of idolatry; and that they have formed a real attachment to the Christian way of life, and are resolved in future to avoid their pagan sacrifices, their usurious practices and their drunken feasts.[51]

The very old may be baptized if they have an understanding of what they must believe in order to be saved; it is not necessary for them to know any of the prayers by memory. On the other hand, children and young people should know the prayers and the entire catechism before baptism. As for those of middle age, they should be required to know how to bless themselves, and how to say the Our Father, the Hail Mary, and the Creed from memory, although in certain cases these requirements could be dispensed with. The missionaries should see to it that there are several Christians in each town or village who know how to administer baptism in case of necessity, and that all their converts are familiar with the method of making an act of perfect contrition in danger of death when a priest cannot be sent for.

With regard to matrimony, it seems clear that the marriages contracted by Filipinos in their infidelity are for the most part not true marriages because there was no intention of entering into a permanent union. Hence, if both husband and wife are willing to become Christians, let them be baptized and then married before the Church. If one of the parties is not ready to be baptized along with the other, let them be told that they are not truly married until they give their consent to a perpetual union. This consent should be given before the party who is ready for baptism is given the sacrament. If one of the parties is absent and will not be back for some time, and the other wishes to become a Christian, let him or her be bap-

tized. If the absent party returns and is willing to be a Christian, he should be baptized as soon as possible even without undergoing the full catechumenate. If he is not willing, then the Christian party may be permitted to live conjugally with him if there is any probability that the marriage contracted in infidelity was valid. If no such probability exists, they are to be forbidden to live together as man and wife until the pagan party consents to be baptized, or to live peaceably with the Christian party in a perpetual union.

All the baptized in our missions are to be obliged to attend the whole Mass on Sundays and holy days, and catechumens the first part of the Mass up to and including the sermon. During Mass the lay brother should be present in the congregation, in order to show the people when to stand, when to kneel, and how to participate devoutly in the holy sacrifice.

The second group of ordinances regulate the relations of the missionary with his flock. In all his dealings with the people he should show gentleness combined with gravity and modesty. Hence he should never lay a hand in anger on anyone, even a child. The ordinary punishment for faults should be admonitions, either public or private, according to the nature of the offence. More serious faults, such as rebellion or disobedience, may be punished by whipping or a term of enforced labor on public works, such as church construction or repair, clearing of town sites, road or bridge building. However, if it is necessary to inflict physical punishment, the missionary should not do so himself. He should notify the petty governor of the town or the headman of the village in order that he may administer the punishment.

In general, pecuniary fines should not be imposed. True, the bishops permit the fiscal to collect certain fines and keep them as a prerogative of his office; this may be permitted as long as it is clear that such fines do not in any way redound to the benefit of the missionaries. Our missions should have neither stocks nor jails, and the people should be notified that fiscals have no authority to arrest or punish anyone without the express authorization of the missionary in charge. In particular,

> . . . the boys in our schools should be treated with great gentleness. Let them be given ample time for games. As for the older catechumens, let them be given an occasional treat of sweet potatoes or *tuba*, so that both the fathers and their teaching may be more acceptable to them.[52]

One of the missionaries should be designated to act as arbiter in disputes voluntarily submitted by the parties for settlement, and all such disputes should be referred to him. This is in order that the people may feel perfectly free to approach the other fathers for advice or spiritual consolation.

Besides being gentle and affable the missionaries should be very strict on themselves in all matters of justice and give to everyone what is due him.

Let the natives be paid a fair wage for their work, even the *tanores*. Whatever the fathers buy should be paid for at the current market price, and not at the price fixed by the central government or the alcalde mayor, unless this is considered to be a just price. In general the people may be exhorted to practice almsgiving and other good works; but in particular cases let this be done with great caution. No alms should be received for the mission without making sure that it is freely given and that in giving it the donors do not deprive their children and relatives, whom they are obliged to support.[53]

The tanores (from Tagalog *tanod*, watchman) referred to in the above passage were the young men of the village or town who by a government ordinance were assigned in rotation for a week of work or guard duty in mission churches and residences. Because the government made no provision for their payment, Prat here enjoins that in the Jesuit mission stations they should be compensated for what they lose in being thus withdrawn from their ordinary occupations. These wages should be included as a regular item in the missionaries' budget, along with food, clothing, and other necessities. Another item to be included in the budget of mission stations without a regular boarding school for natives is the support of a few selected boys whom the fathers will cause to live with them in the mission residence and train as catechists, hiring a teacher for them if necessary.[54] The subsidy received by the missionaries from the encomendero for their living expenses should be made to cover all these expenses, and if anything is left over at the end of the year, it should be spent on the poor; nothing is to be retained for the Society.

Superiors of mission stations should be careful not to make any loans, either of money or rice, to the people. In cases of real necessity, as when a farmer has no seed rice during the planting season, what is needed should be given as an outright gift. A loan merely serves to alienate the borrower from the priest.

Special care should be taken to win the good will of the datus and headmen because of their great influence for good or ill on the rest of the people. The missionaries should treat them with respect and insist that others do the same. If individual missionaries should have occasion to communicate with the Spanish authorities on mission matters, they should send their letters to the rectors of Cebu or Manila unsealed, and it shall be at the discretion of these superiors to transmit or not such communications.

The third group of ordinances pertains to the personal conduct and domestic arrangements of the missionaries, and are obviously designed to safeguard their religious spirit and good name. Priests ought not to go on sick calls or visit private houses without a companion. In fact, it is preferable to have the people bring their sick to the church to receive the last sacraments if this can be done without injury to the patient. This is not

always possible in the Visayan missions, where the people are dispersed in scattered villages; hence, where these conditions exist, the missionaries not only may but should bring the sacraments to the sick in their homes, even if a companion is not available.

The lay brothers should come home from work before the evening Angelus. The door of the mission house is to be locked every night before retiring. The superior should see to this himself and keep the key. No women are to be permitted inside the house or even in the yard, which is to be fenced.

One day a week, preferably Thursday, should be set aside as a vacation day not only for teachers and students but for missionaries also, for they need this day of rest as much if not more than those in studies. During these weekly holidays something extra in way of food, such as a *merienda*—high tea—should be provided, and parlor games such as chess, checkers, and *molinillo* may be permitted.

It will be gathered from these ordinances that the Philippine vice-province had found in Prat a superior very much like St. Ignatius in his happy combination of high ideals with solid sense. Two major criticisms are made of his method of government in the reports sent to Acquaviva by the Philippine Jesuits. Juan de Ribera, who succeeded him as rector of the College of Manila, found his generosity to the mission houses excessive, especially since he indulged in it at the expense of the college. The books, furniture, and sacred images which he kept sending to the missions had by 1598 cost the College of Manila 2,000 pesos. Where would it all end? Ribera made vigorous representations, but to no avail. He was also of the opinion, and in this Chirino agreed with him, that Prat had overextended himself, taking on more mission stations than his available personnel could reasonably handle. This had the effect of dispersing the fathers and brothers over too wide an area in fractional groups of two or three. This was especially disturbing to Chirino, as he knew from his own experience that this kind of distribution, with its lack of companionship and of the safeguards and incentives of community life, exposed a religious to many temptations and dangers. He suggested the alternative policy of forming larger communities in fewer residences and taking care of the other stations by the method of mission tours.

Prat was fully aware of the disadvantages of dispersal, but he wanted to stake out a claim, as it were, to mission territory which would be wide enough to give full scope to a full-fledged Jesuit province. The mission stations would be understaffed in the beginning, but he hoped as more men came to assign four or five to each. According to Ribera, he kept insisting that God would provide, but when his men began to die on him, he decided that not to shorten his perimeter would be tempting Providence. in 1598 the missions of Catubig in Samar and Butuan in Mindanao were closed.[55]

Chapter Eight

VISITATION

A project in which Prat took great interest was the foundation as part of the College of Manila of a boarding school for native boys, which Alonso Sánchez had suggested some years earlier to Acquaviva. It will be recalled that Governor Dasmariñas the Younger had assigned a subsidy of 1,000 pesos a year for the maintenance of a residential college for Spanish scholars taking courses in the College of Manila. Some months after Figueroa had provided the College of Manila with an endowment, Prat saw the governor and persuaded him to transfer the government subsidy from the proposed college for Spaniards to a college of natives. We do not know what arguments he advanced in favor of this change. He may have pointed out that most of the Spanish students came from families resident in Manila, and hence that there was less need of a residence hall for them than for native students coming from the provinces, supposing that the idea of opening a school for them met with the governor's approval. He may also have suggested that Figueroa's endowment might, with careful management, be increased so as to be able to support in the future not only the Jesuit community but the Spanish college desired. At any rate, Dasmariñas fell in with Prat's proposal, transferred the subsidy to a college of natives, and approved an additional grant of 600 pesos to pay for the construction of a building.

The purpose of the institution as Prat conceived it was to give the sons of the native ruling families an education which would not only make Christians of them, but fit them for the local magistracy; for as town governors and village headmen they could exercise a profound and salutary influence on their own people. They were to live together in community under a Jesuit priest and brother, and receive instruction in Christian doctrine, reading, writing, vocal and instrumental music, and handicrafts. In addition to educating Filipino boys, the school would grant resident scholarships to poor Spaniards who wished to study for the priesthood. This arrangement would provide them with excellent opportunities for learning the native languages while pursuing their seminary studies in the College of Manila.

Work was started at once—in late 1595 or early 1596—on a building within the Jesuit compound. It cost more than the estimated 600 pesos (as Jesuit buildings often do) and Prat was obliged to borrow 1,000 pesos

from the endowment of the College of Manila to continue the work. Moreover, in his eagerness to make a beginning, he opened the school before the building was ready, reserving a part of the Jesuit residence as temporary quarters and classrooms for the school boys. He also hired two lay teachers for them, one of music and another of reading and writing. By 1598 the building was not yet finished and the debt of the college of natives to the College of Manila had grown to 2,000 pesos. This worried Ribera and his consultors greatly, but Prat assured them that it would all be paid back as soon as the government started to release the annual subsidy.[1]

Unfortunately, the government never did. Tello, Dasmariñas' successor, confirmed the grant in 1596, but the royal treasury officials were unable to make it good. Prat was left with an unfinished building, a debt to the Figueroa endowment, and a group of scholars he could no longer support. Much against his will he was forced to disband them. On 6 July 1601 Governor Tello wrote to the king that the whole project had fallen through because of lack of funds, and on 15 July 1604 his successor Governor Acuña, put the final quietus on it.

> It seems to me [he reported to Philip III] that although this work is very good and holy it would be preferable that said college be founded for poor Spaniards, sons of residents or those who come to settle, in order that they may study and learn virtue and letters so as to be more fit later on to govern and administer the colony and be parish priests and missionaries. This would be a greater benefit than any which can be derived from a college of natives, since the sum of what these will learn is reading and writing and nothing more, for they can neither be priests nor officials, and after they shall have learned something they will return to their homes and take care of their farms and earn their living.

Against this paragraph some royal secretary in Madrid scribbled the notation: "No answer required;" and that was that. The idea of a boarding school of natives in Manila was never revived, although it was realized on a smaller scale in Leyte by Humanes, as we have already seen, and later on by the Jesuits in Bohol.[2]

Meanwhile the grammar and moral theology classes in the College of Manila settled down to serious work. It is not known how many students there were in the moral theology class. In the grammar class there were 18 or 20 in 1596–1597, 30 in 1597–1598, somewhat more than that in 1598–1599, and at the beginning of the next school year it became necessary to form two classes of grammar, one for beginners and another for the more advanced.

Classes were held for two hours in the morning and two hours in the afternoon during a long school year: from St. Barnabas' Day (11 June) to the end of April. This was thought to be reasonable, "considering the

oppressive heat of the country." Moreover, no classes were held on Thursday afternoons, and this even if a holiday should occur during the week. But this comparatively light regular schedule was made up for by a "summer session" lasting from 1 to 18 May, during which classes were held for one hour in the morning and another in the afternoon. Only on 19 May, St. Pudentiana's Day, the patronal feast of the city, were the grammarians left in peace, and this vacation lasted a bare 20 days until St. Barnabas came around again.

Montoya, the grammar master, was not impressed either by the talent or the application of his scholars; "one does what one can," he said. However, he succeeded in making them bestir themselves sufficiently to present a program of welcome for Archbishop Santibáñez, Bishop Agurto, and Bishop Benavides when they arrived in 1598. The program was staged in their classroom and consisted of three dialogues and the recitation of epigrams and eulogies in Latin. Aside from this they seem to have made reasonable progress in their studies, for on 28 June 1597 Governor Tello, looking ahead, recommended to Madrid that the College of Manila be authorized to open courses leading to a university degree, "for the sake of the students of this land which is so far away from the universities of Europe." There were, then, some at least in Montoya's class who showed an interest in and capacity for higher studies. The response to this recommendation was the usual one; Prince Philip, acting in behalf of the aged Philip II, directed the archbishop of Manila to send a detailed report on higher studies in the Philippines. Were there any? Where given? In what form? To what students? With what results? And what did he, personally, think of the advisability of having an institution in the Philippines empowered to grant university degrees? We shall see in due course how this matter developed.[3]

The college church begun by Sedeño was finally completed in 1596 and dedicated on the feast of St. Anne, 26 July. Its general plan followed that of the Jesuit church in Rome, with which Sedeño was familiar. Two balconies ran up the body of the church from the choir loft, supported by two courses of pillars which divided the church into three naves. Above the main altar was a statue of St. Anne, which a benefactor had donated along with a silver lamp to burn perpetually before it. The statue seems to have been replaced in 1604 by a new retable consisting of a large painting of Our Lady with the Child Jesus and St. Anne, and two smaller paintings on either side of St. Catherine and St. Ursula. The triptych was executed by Chinese workmen.

On 12 January 1597 the relics obtained by Sánchez in Rome were solemnly enshrined above the altar on the epistle side of the church. The pomp-loving Manilans made this enshrining the occasion for elaborate festivities.

The caskets containing the relics were carried in procession from the Augustinian church through the principal streets of the city. Taking part in the procession were groups of Chinese, Japanese, and Tagalog dancers in their national costumes. To the music of flutes and flageolets they stepped and pirouetted solemnly beneath elaborately decorated arches erected by the citizens. From the first-story windows of some of the houses along the processional route fountains of water and palm toddy flowed, presumably to fortify those who took part in the procession so that they might not faint by the wayside. One particularly opulent citizen went his neighbors one better by providing a fountain of fresh milk and another of genuine wine from Castile. It is to be hoped that the refreshment derived by the marchers from their occasional potations enabled them to decipher the numerous inscriptions in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Spanish, and Tagalog with which the church was festooned. The festivities were prolonged for eight days after the actual enshrinement. On the last day a poetical joust was held and prizes distributed to the winners. Two grammarians delivered declamations and apparently acquitted themselves creditably, but Father Montoya had to write their pieces for them.[4]

The Jesuit church continued to be by preference the church of the native population of the city, which in 1597 had grown to 6,000. Two priests, Diego Sánchez and Luís Gómez, were assigned full time to this ministry. They conducted a series of catechetical instructions on Sunday afternoons which was so well attended that many people who could not squeeze into the church stood outside in the street and the plaza to listen. After the instruction vespers were sung by a Tagalog choir, with an orchestra of nine Negro musicians, bequeathed to the college by Figueroa, furnishing the accompaniment. Noting the great delight the Tagalogs took in church music, Prat permitted all the Sunday Masses in which a sermon was given to be sung with choir and orchestra.

Diego Sánchez usually took the Mass for the Tagalogs on Sundays. At the end of it he gave a fervent exhortation to charitable works, and after unvesting would take his cloak and sally forth to the hospital for natives outside the walls, followed by a large part of his congregation. There they would spend the rest of the day making beds, cleaning pots and pans, washing dishes, sweeping the wards, fetching water, pounding rice, serving meals, and doing whatever else they could to make the patients comfortable.

Another popular devotion which attracted great crowds was the Saturday Mass of Our Lady. Saturday was a market day in Manila, and many people came from the surrounding towns and villages at daybreak, as soon as the city gates were opened, to bring their wares to market. But instead of going directly to the town square, many got into the habit of stopping at the Jesuit church, leaving their baskets of greens and fruit and other merchandise at the door and going in for Mass.

The piety of the Tagalogs who frequented the college church encouraged Prat to form a religious association or confraternity of laymen similar to that founded at Antipolo at about the same time. He placed it under the advocacy of All Saints, with special devotion to the martyrs venerated at the altar of relics. Admission was limited to a few. Members were required to go to confession and communion regularly; to visit the sick and supply them with food and medicines; to accompany funerals and pray for the dead; and to provide a free meal to the poor of the city on the three feasts of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. The meal consisted of several courses and was served by the members personally. Chirino witnessed one of these banquets, at which there were over 100 persons. After the meal the members of the confraternity washed the hands of their guests, kissed them and sprinkled them with perfume. The food left over they took to the prisoners in the city gaol and the convicts condemned to hard labor in the royal foundry. Diego Sánchez was the first moderator of this confraternity.

Besides the Sunday school for Tagalogs in the college church, the Manila Jesuits conducted two other catechism centers, one in the city square for the Spanish children and another in Fort Santiago for the Spanish troops. These were held every Sunday afternoon from All Saints to Easter until with the increasing occupations of the fathers Prat limited them to the Sundays of Advent and Lent. During Lent the catechetical instruction to the troops was followed by a course of sermons which the governor and the members of the audiencia attended. The Lenten series of 1599 was so effective that the fathers heard at the end of it 290 general confessions, which could not have been much less than the total number of officers and men in the garrison.

The College of Santa Potenciana continued to be a Jesuit chaplaincy. There were 60 girls in the college by 1598. The superior of the house and several of the girls had applied for permission to take religious vows, and in anticipation of ecclesiastical approval had begun chanting the office in choir, making mental prayer, and adopting other practices of a religious community. The girls who had no vocation for the religious state were suitably married when they came of age, the dowry being provided by the Misericordia. The college also served as a hostelry for the wives of army and navy officers and merchants, who took up their residence there while their husbands were away on protracted missions or voyages.

The Manila Jesuits did not neglect that most important ministry of the Society, the giving of the spiritual exercises of St. Ignatius. Popular missions were given during Lent to both Spanish and Tagalog congregations. One feature of these missions was a public discipline for men which took place in the church three times a week. The congregation assembled after dark, and after the reading of a chapter from Fray Luís de Granada or some other pious author, they scourged themselves in penance for their sins while

the psalm *Miserere* was chanted. Closed retreats were also given in the college to ecclesiastics and laymen, among whom the documents of the time mention the schoolmaster of the cathedral, the admiral of the fleet, and several army and navy officers.[5]

These ministries in addition to the school work kept the college community fully and fruitfully occupied. They rose a little before 4 A.M. and made their morning meditation from 4 to 5. This was followed by Mass and breakfast. Dinner was at 10 A.M. and supper at 7 P.M. At 9 or shortly thereafter they retired. If modern Jesuits do everything an hour later, they can blame (or thank) the electric light for it; the order of time in the old Society was obviously planned to take full advantage of daylight.

But if these stalwarts rose an hour earlier, they also dined more heartily. The ordinary fare of the college community was beef or pork at dinner and supper except on days of fast and abstinence. Prat's ordinances of 1596 allowed two pounds of meat to every three men at dinner and half a pound to every man at supper. Vegetables were served with the meat, and fruit for dessert. Chicken and preserves made their appearance only on feast days. On fast days the main meal consisted of a bowl of soup and fish or eggs. Chinese candy and comfits, which could be had cheaply, were sometimes provided as a treat during the recreations after dinner and supper; not, however, the expensive confections imported from Europe, unless they came to the house as gifts.

The cassock worn by the Philippine Jesuits was of dark brown or dark grey cotton, apparently because black cloth was more expensive. The Jesuits of India and Japan, however, wore black, and this custom was adopted in the Philippines early in the seventeenth century. A clerical cap or *bonete* was worn with the cassock indoors; this was exchanged for a wide-brimmed hat out-of-doors as protection from the sun. As a further concession to the tropical climate, Prat in his ordinances of 1596 allowed each man to keep two changes of underwear in his room. However only the lay brothers, because of the amount of physical work they did, could have two cassocks. Preachers were issued a biretta to wear in the pulpit.[6]

On 8 July 1598 Francisco de Vera left Manila for Mexico and Rome as procurator of the vice-province. His principal commission was to persuade the father general and the king to send more missionaries; but there were several other things that Prat wanted him to do. At Mexico he was to try to obtain from the brothers of Figueroa the rest of the endowment which the latter had settled on the College of Manila, and to pry loose from the Jesuit provincial there the men who had been assigned to the Philippines but whom he had retained on various pretexts. At Rome he was to ask Acquaviva's permission to institute courses in arts and theology in the College of Manila both for Jesuit and extern students, and to grant degrees in these faculties in accordance with the Society's privileges. If

Acquaviva approved, the king's authorization was also to be obtained. Other proposals which De Vera was to lay before Acquaviva were that the vice-province be raised to the status of an independent province and the residence of Cebu to that of a college; that candidates for the lay brotherhood received in the Philippines be allowed to learn how to read and write and do sums; and that the vice-province be authorized to publish books in the native languages.[7]

Prat had a special reason for sending De Vera on this errand. It was the most effective way he could think of to detach De Vera from Governor Tello, who had appropriated him as his father confessor and confidential adviser. There was nothing wrong with this in itself, but it was a continual source of embarrassment for the Society, since the Jesuit behind the gubernatorial throne was bound to be blamed for everything Tello did which the citizens did not like. This happened with alarming frequency. Where government officials were concerned, Manilans were not disposed to be indulgent. Morga, writing in a black mood to the royal secretary Juan de Ibarra, describes Manila as

> . . . a small town populated by persons of little worth who have come hither from New Spain and other parts on account of poverty and other embarrassments. For this reason they are difficult to get along with, frauds and intrigues abound, and everyone lives as he pleases. One of their bad habits is to try the patience of his Majesty and the royal ministers with letters and reports against the governor and judges who do not fall in with their wishes. Moreover they induce others to write in order to throw discredit on such officials and win favor for those who are partial to them and do what they want. They spend the greater portion of the year in this pastime.[8]

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that Tello gave them a number of things to complain about. When the audiencia was re-established in 1598, he gave the oidores very clearly to understand that he considered their advice superfluous, and on one occasion showed his supreme contempt for them by coming to a session not only carelessly dressed but "almost naked," according to the oidores' pained report. When the audiencia ordered the arrest of a certain Pedro Cid on suspicion of murder, Tello extracted him from durance vile, gave him sanctuary in his own house and married him to one of his maidservants. To Archbishop Santibáñez, he was "a vicious and tyrannical Heliogabalus"; for the king to comprehend the full extent of his iniquity, it was not enough to imagine him as being endowed with particular vices; he must conceive, if he could, "a universal idea of all vices, raised to the *n*th degree and predicated of a lawyer; this would be Tello, who is your Majesty's governor in the Philippines." He was in fact so unpopular that a plot to assassinate him was rumored.[9] One reason for his unpopularity, according to the oidores,

was that he devoted more time to advancing his private interests than to conducting public business. And in this De Vera, unfortunately, encouraged rather than restrained him.

We have already called attention to the royal ordinance strictly forbidding colonial officials to engage in trade. Tello apparently consulted De Vera as to the force of this ordinance. De Vera in turn consulted his older confrere, Pedro López de la Parra, who had taught theology in Mexico. Parra, a man of strong opinions and little tact, declared both to De Vera and others that the ordinance was obviously merely a penal law, that is, one was not obliged in conscience to observe it, but merely to pay the penalty if convicted of breaking it. This opinion might well be argued in the abstract, but in the concrete circumstances of the Philippines it was at least gravely imprudent to sustain it publicly. Accordingly, when Prat learned about it, he ordered Parra to keep his opinion to himself. Instead of obeying, Parra wrote it all out and gave it to De Vera, who gave it to Tello. Not only that, but to make matters worse, he told Tello that it was the official doctrine of the Society on the matter.

This was too much. Since Prat was away on visitation at the time, Ribera, the rector of the college, called a meeting of his consultors, and with their advice forbade Parra in virtue of holy obedience to teach or publish his opinion. When Prat returned, he dealt with De Vera in the manner described, by sending him out of the country on a mission which Tello could not very well interfere with.[10]

As it turned out, De Vera did not get beyond Mexico. Shortly before his arrival there, dispatches were received from Rome commissioning Diego García to make a visitation of the Philippine vice-province. It was decided that the matters which De Vera was supposed to take up at Madrid and Rome could wait until after the visitation. De Vera, relieved of his procuratorship, remained in Mexico with his lay brother companion, Gaspar Gómez, while García prepared to embark for the Philippines on the next galleon. He left Acapulco on 16 March 1599 and arrived in Manila on 17 June of the same year, accompanied by two priests, Melchor Hurtado and Francisco González, and a lay brother, Diego Rodríguez.

García was a happy choice for the important task of organizing the work of the vice-province on a stable basis. He had joined the Society in 1572 while a student in the University of Alcalá, and went as a missionary to Peru in 1577. Two years later his provincial, Juan de la Plaza, took him to Mexico as his companion when he was appointed to make a visitation of that province. He thus had firsthand knowledge of the problems and difficulties which were likely to confront a visitor. When Plaza was appointed provincial of Mexico after the visitation, García remained his companion and secretary. He retained the office under succeeding provincials until he was appointed rector of the College of Tepotzotlan, and

thereafter of the colleges of Valladolid, Puebla, and Mexico City. He was master of novices when he received the appointment as visitor of the Philippines, a man of proven ability and wide experience in Jesuit government. Jesuit letters and reports are maddeningly silent on the physical appearance even of those whose words and actions they describe in great detail. We have no idea of what Sedeño or Prat looked like, and of García we are merely told that at 47, when he came to the Philippines, his hair and beard were competely white.[11]

As soon as García arrived in the Philippines, it occurred to him that he could get no better advice on how to conduct his visitation than from Alessandro Valignano, who had by this time returned to Japan. Valignano replied in a letter dated 1 October 1599 that since the two mission fields, Japan and the Philippines, were so different, he felt he was in no position to make any specific suggestions. "However," he added,

> . . . what is essential and ought to be common to all of us who come to this part of the world from Europe, is that we should not make any change in the methods used by our missionaries, even though they seem strange to us, until we have acquired by experience a thorough knowledge of local conditions. Otherwise we shall easily deceive ourselves, for many things that seem strange at first are found in the course of time to be necessary, and hasty changes can diminish considerably the authority which a superior ought to have.[12]

Words of wisdom which were not lost, as we shall see, on Valignano's counterpart. Four days after his arrival García had a frightening experience with a highly consoling sequel. An earthquake which brought down several buildings in the city cracked the vault of the college church so badly that it had to be torn down completely and replaced with a temporary bamboo and nipa roof. The faithful of Manila contributed over 1,000 pesos toward the expenses of this work, and more than 1,000 persons, young and old, men and women, volunteered their services to remove the debris and put up the new roof. Many of those who helped repair the church were sent by the Augustinian, Franciscan, and Dominican parish priests of neighboring towns. They worked with such good will that the job was finished in a week. This unusual testimonial of the esteem with which the people of Manila regarded their Jesuits was not lost on the visitor. At the same time he noted with cold objectivity that the church was very badly constructed to begin with, and that this was due to ill-considered economies motivated by a false notion of religious poverty, for what was saved on a loosely mortared vault was lavished on a purely ornamental tower and an excessive amount of gilding on the altar of relics.[13]

He spent July, August, and part of September with the community of the college, which consisted of six priests, five brothers, and seven novices. The first change he introduced was to give the novices a separate section

of the house for their living quarters and a full-time master of novices, for up till then the rector had doubled as master. The second was to require the younger fathers who had not yet made their tertianship or third year of probation to join the novices at least for two or three months.

He then called the fathers into consultation as to the future development of the college. Should the grammar school be continued? All were agreed that it should, for, although it would never have many more students than it had, considering the size of the colony, it was performing a distinct service. Already there were boys in the city who had learned their first letters and were waiting to enroll the following year. Should higher studies be started? The fathers were unanimous in recommending it, and García was inclined to agree with them. The governor, the audiencia, the bishop of Cebu, and the cathedral chapter of Manila were all sending strong representations to Madrid that the college be authorized to grant university degrees. The two grammar masters reported that eight or ten of their students would be ready to begin the arts course the following term. Two of the novices about to take their first vows could join them.

There was another consideration which weighed greatly with García. His experience as provincial secretary had taught him that the provincials of both Spain and Mexico were much more willing to send scholastics rather than priests to the Philippines, for a priest was no sooner ordained than two or three rectors engaged in a grim tug-of-war for his services. If, then, the vice-province had the means to complete the training of scholastics, it would have a much better chance of obtaining the necessary personnel for its rapidly expanding work. Finally, a school of higher studies would not only give the Society a wider influence in the colony; it would fill a real need, since there was no one else there, as he put it, "to attend to this ministry of the education of youth." This was perfectly true at the time, for it was not until 1611 that the Dominicans opened the College of Santo Tomás.

García brought with him a patent from Acquaviva appointing Chirino rector of the college. When Prat learned of this he was horrified. Chirino, he said, was a tireless missionary and exceptionally gifted as a preacher; but he had a truly terrible temper. The poor man was perfectly aware of it and had been trying to get it under control for years, with a singular lack of success. If he was such a Tartar as a subject, what would he be as superior? García was sympathetic, but did not feel free to change Acquaviva's mind for him; Chirino was accordingly sent for from Cebu and installed as rector.[14]

On 17 September García proceeded to Antipolo and spent two weeks inspecting that mission and the cattle ranch of the College of Manila near Taytay. He was much impressed by Almerici's work. The patience and tact of the gentle Italian had won the people over completely; so much so

that many had abandoned their immemorial way of life, leaving their scattered clan villages to take up their residence in the towns, simply because he wished it. On 4 October García returned to Manila and eleven days later set sail for the Visayas with Prat, Juan de Ribera who acted as his secretary, Melchor Hurtado and Francisco González, the two priests who came with him from Mexico, and four lay brothers. They reached Tinagon on 4 November after a stormy voyage. From Tinagon García proceeded to Carigara and thence to the other mission stations of Leyte.[15] Writing Acquaviva, he tried to convey as accurate a picture as he could of the arduous conditions under which the fathers and brothers carried on their apostolic labors.

> The climate of this land is excessively hot and oppressive. Mosquitoes and poisonous vermin abound; snakes as thick as a good-sized beam; vipers which, though small, are so poisonous that few survive their sting; a great many crocodiles, here called *cayman* or *buaya*, which in some of the missions devour quite a number of people. Travel is mostly by water, with the usual attendant perils. Where one can go by land it must be on foot, because up to now there are no mounts to be had in the Visayan islands. And even if there were, the roads are so steep in places that there is no going on horseback; one must clamber. Where the ground is level the mire is so deep, especially during the rainy season, which is the greater part of the year, that horses would simply get stuck without being able to move. In fact, our missionaries must do their travelling not only on foot but barefoot.[16]

He found the men cheerfully putting up not only with these difficulties but with great privations as to food, lodging, and medical care. As he told Governor Tello when he returned to Manila, he had lived in five provinces of the Society both in Europe and America, but in none of them had he seen such poverty as in the Leyte missions. The sixteen Jesuits stationed there had no other means of support except the 800 pesos and 800 fanegas of rice given them as their annual stipend by the encomenderos, for in accordance with the policy of the Society they accepted no fees whatever for Masses, marriages, and burials. Out of this income they had to manage to feed and clothe themselves, build and furnish their houses, pay and feed the bearers and rowers when they went forth on their missionary expeditions, and support the dozen or so boys who lived with them in each house and were being trained as catechists.[17]

However, the love of God and the zeal for souls have often been able to impart a surprising elasticity to the most tenuous of means, and so it was in this case. It was surely an echo of what the missionaries themselves told García when he added in his report to the general that

> . . . these hardships are not really as formidable as they appear. The climate is hot but healthy, provided one lives temperately; the poisonous vermin rarely do harm to Europeans [!]; and a readiness to rough it makes the difficulties of travel, the

dangers at sea, the unpalatable food and the poor lodgings bearable. Without this readiness, of course, those who are sent here will hate this kind of life.[18]

Having completed his tour of inspection, García summoned all the missionaries of Leyte and Samar to a conference at Palo. The conference began on 6 January 1600 with twenty-six Jesuits in attendance. It lasted for almost a month during which daily meetings were held. García began by promulgating the decrees of the fifth general congregation and commenting on some of the more recent ordinances of the fathers general. He then announced an important communication which had recently been received from Rome. Acquaviva had apparently anticipated the concern which Chirino and others felt lest the vice-province spread itself too thinly over too large an area. In particular, he questioned the wisdom of assigning Jesuits in small groups of two or three to isolated mission stations, thus depriving them of the safeguards and incentives of community life. Accordingly, he directed that no new mission stations be opened for the time being, and that the missionaries in the existing stations be withdrawn to a few central residences, each of which should consist of not less than six members. The towns thus deprived of a resident priest could be taken care of from the central residence by the missionaries going out in pairs at regular intervals on a circuit of the surrounding district.

This directive received the complete approval of those present at the conference, who asked that it be put into effect at once. García complied by merging the two stations on eastern Leyte, Dulag and Palo, into one residence at Dulag, with a community of three priests and three brothers under Francisco de Otazo as superior. Carigara, Alangalang, and Ormoc were reduced to one residence at Alangalang, with a community of four priests and four brothers under Mateo Sánchez. Tinagon was the only station on Samar, Catubig having been closed earlier by Prat; García enlarged its community to six—three priests and three brothers—and placed Alonso de Humanes at its head. In accordance with Acquaviva's directive he ordained that the missionaries of each residence should tour the district assigned to them in pairs, spending several days in each town or village to instruct the people and administer the sacraments and returning at the end of their tour to the residence while another pair went out, and so on. In the residence itself the regular daily order of a Jesuit house was to be kept. Four times a year the members of each community were to spend several days together in the residence to make the annual retreat, the semiannual renovation of vows, and to confer on the state of the mission and the effectiveness of their methods.[19]

Prat did not agree entirely with these dispositions. If the objective was to have the missionaries lead the full common life of a Jesuit house they did not go far enough, The residential communities were not big enough

for one thing; for another, at least two out of the six or eight were always out of the house on tour, except during the four stated times during the year when the whole community returned to the residence for a week or so. The only really effective change was that, instead of the old mission stations' being permanently staffed, the personnel was rotated every three or four months. He proposed the more radical change of establishing only one central house in Leyte and another in Samar, with a community of ten or twelve in each. Only a community of this size could, he claimed, maintain the order and discipline of a religious house even if two or four members were away on tour, Moreover, it could undertake works of importance which a smaller community could not, such as the conduct of a bigger boarding school for natives and a more methodical course of studies in the native languages for new missionaries. This proposal was discussed and found impracticable due to the size of the two islands and the difficulties of transportation.[20]

Sánchez, the superior of Alangalang, urged the same difficulties against the choice of Alangalang as the residence for the northern and western districts of Leyte. In his opinion a seaport town such as Carigara would have been preferable. García, however, decided to let the arrangement stand, with the modification that Ormoc, the most distant town of the district, was to be administered by a priest and a brother in permanent residence, who were to be relieved from Alangalang every three or four months.[21]

From his own observations and the reports of the missionaries García learned that the biggest single obstacle to their work was the dispersal of the population. Many of the so-called towns where chapels had been erected were such only by courtesy. They had few if any permanent residents. The "townspeople" were strewn by families and clans all over the surrounding countryside, wherever they had their farms or hunting grounds. They came to town only on Sundays to chant the catechism and, if there was a priest, to hear Mass; but, Mass over, they dispersed at once to their microscopic settlements without the missionary's being able to detain them for a few days' instruction. To do this, to hear the confessions of those already Christian, and to baptize the sick in danger of death, the Jesuits were forced to travel continually from one small settlement to another.

In a few cases they succeeded in persuading the people to form larger communities. But, even where the people were willing, the encomenderos, motivated by self-interest, vigorously opposed this change. For this reason Prat felt obliged to have recourse to the King, representing in a petition which he sent a year before García's visitation that

> . . . the Pintados Indians who were assigned to us and are under our care are scattered over the hills and river valleys just as they were before the arrival of the Spaniards, for which reason it is impossible to give them religious instruction

unless they are gathered together in convenient townships. The encomenderos whose duty it is to do this are not only of no help but some even oppose it. I beseech your Majesty to command strictly that it be put into execution, for it is . . . for the service of God and the good of the natives both spiritually and politically.[22]

This petition set in motion the cumbrous machinery which ordinarily operated in such cases. A royal cédula floated slowly back across two oceans instructing governor, audiencia, and archbishop to confer on the problem and draw up a report on how the reduction of the natives to town life could best be carried out with the help of the encomenderos. The cédula was received, one of many; circulated and annotated; the data for another massive dossier began to be compiled; meanwhile things remained as they were. The missionaries, all too familiar with the process, realized that if they wanted anything done they had to do it themselves. Therefore, they went ahead and tried to form the townships in spite of the opposition of the encomenderos. The latter appealed to the alcalde mayor, alleging that by interfering with native customs the Jesuits were driving their people to the hills or to other islands. The Jesuits were ordered to desist, and there seemed to be nothing else to do but abandon the whole project when, as the Annual Letter of 1599 relates,

. . . it pleased Our Lord to touch the hearts of the encomenderos by means of one of our missionaries, persuading them to account the eternal good of souls of greater worth than a slight temporal loss, and thus to withdraw their objections. As one of them, who happened to have the deciding vote, remarked: "Well, since this is for the service of God, we have no option but to allow it, whether we lose the people or not"; for this is the reason why the encomenderos are opposed to the project. Thereupon the alcalde mayor gave orders under specified penalties that the new towns be organized within two months.[23]

In order to build the churches in the new towns the missionaries wisely decided to hire workmen instead of using forced labor, as the law permitted them. In order to defray the expenses of this work the colonial government with commendable generosity appropriated 1,500 pesos from the fund of the fourths. It was slow, uphill work, nevertheless, for, as the encomenderos had warned, many of the natives preferred the wild freedom of the hills to the discipline of town life. Seeing their tributaries dwindling, some of the encomenderos went back on their word and began to undo what the missionaries had accomplished at the cost of much weary trudging over muddy trails and endless argument with mulish datus. This was a sore trial; an occasional Jesuit temper wore thin and snapped; hot words were exchanged, regretted as soon as said. One of the tasks which devolved on García was to smooth down ruffled sensibilities and restore harmony

between the encomenderos and the missionaries in order that the work of God might go on.[24]

At the end of the Palo conference the missionaries separated to set up their new residences while the Visitor, accompanied now only by Prat, Ribera, and Brother Diego Rodríguez, proceeded by way of Ormoc to Cebu, where he arrived in the early part of February. Fifteen of the missionaries stationed in Cebu, Bohol, and Butuan assembled at his summons for a conference similar to that of Palo. After listening to their reports and suggestions, García decided to close the Butuan station, return the Chinese parish in Cebu to the bishop, and set up only one residence at Cebu city for the two islands of Cebu and Bohol. Bishop Agurto, realizing the advantages of concentration of effort, gave his consent to these measures, but requested that in lieu of Butuan and the Chinese parish the Jesuits take charge of two Visayan towns: Mandaue near Cebu and Tanay on the eastern coast of the neighboring island of Negros. García accepted Mandaue, which could be easily administered from Cebu, but declined Tanay as a resident mission, although he promised the bishop to include it in the regular circuit of the Cebu Jesuits.[25]

In fact, he made good his promise immediately by dispatching Gabriel Sánchez thither on a forty-day mission. Tanay was a beneficed parish held by Don Diego Ferreira, the archdeacon of the Cebu cathedral, but since Don Diego knew no Visayan he had been able to do little for his parishioners and apparently did not even reside among them. Sánchez found that many of the people had been baptized with little or no knowledge of the religion they had embraced. He began the mission with a series of conferences on the creed held daily in the town church. After explaining each article he would call on different members of his audience to repeat in their own words what they understood from the lecture, or to retell the story they liked best among those with which he had interspersed his explanation. The garrulous people of Tanay, who liked nothing better than a prolonged exchange of views, took to this with great enthusiasm, the datus especially trying to outdo each other in eloquence. He repeated this course five times to different groups until he was sure that most of the townspeople had been through it. Then he had them memorize the question and answer part of the catechism in a verse form suitable for chanting, so that it might serve as a perpetual catechist in their gatherings during the long periods when they would have no priest. At the end of the forty days he returned to Cebu.[26]

By thus concentrating the missionaries formerly dispersed, García was able to form at Cebu a sizable community of four priests and four brothers, over whom he appointed Valerio de Ledesma rector. This was a bold move, for the finances of the residence continued to be shaky in spite of the fact that the twenty head of cattle which Chirino had accepted as a gift were

placidly multiplying at a steady rate and had now become fifty. Prat, always the stickler for religious poverty, wanted to get rid of them, alleging that the residence was not really a college and hence had no right to a stable income. However, since permission to make it a college had been requested, García thought that the community, as a *collegium inchoatum* or college-in-the-making, could retain its little herd.[27]

Having made these dispositions, García returned to Manila with his entourage. His report to Acquaviva, dispatched on the galleons of 1600, was written in sections from 8 June to 26 July.[28] It contained some consoling statistics. The Philippine Jesuits had under their spiritual care a total population of 54,330, of whom 12,696 were already Christians. All of the latter, with the exception of a few in the Antipolo mission and the recently accepted stations of Mandaue and Tanay, had been instructed and baptized by them. Table 1 gives the figures for the individual

Table 1. Jesuit Missions in 1600

Mission	Towns	Churches	Christians	Total population
Antipolo	4	4	3,500	3,500
Tinagon	10	10	2,600	8,430
Ormoc	3	3	646	4,000
Palo	5	5	1,200	6,000
Dulag	8	8	1,400	8,000
Carigara	4	4	1,100	2,500
Alangalang	5	5	600	4,000
Bohol[a]	–	4	700	9,500
Tanay	–	0	600	8,000
Mandaue[b]	1	0	350	400
Total	40	43	12,696	54,330

a. Although the four churches listed had been built, the towns were still in process of formation.

b. The people of Mandaue attended services in the Jesuit church in Cebu.

missions. In addition to the settled population there were an estimated 25,000 or 30,000 more within the confines of the Jesuit missionary district to whom the gospel had yet to be preached. This tremendous enterprise rested on the shoulders of only fifteen priests and their lay brother companions; a fact which García did not fail to point out in order to underscore the urgent need for more missionaries.

Acquaviva's instructions were that as soon as he had completed the visitation García was to succeed Prat as vice-provincial. But the Visitor

had fallen in love with mission work, and felt that the long dull years he had spent in administration entitled him to make at least one bid for freedom. He wrote to the provincial of Mexico begging him to appoint someone else, left the disgruntled Prat in office, and took off for Antipolo without a care in the world. There, while Almerici devoted himself to enticing his beloved Aetas to abandon the jungle for the sown field, García went happily to work among the Tagalogs, resolved to shape them into a Christian community that could serve as a model for the rest of the vice-province.[29]

His first care was to establish a mission school similar to that of Humanes at Dulag, for he was more than ever convinced after his visitation that the hope of the missions lay in the children. "I would like to see one of these boarding schools," he wrote to Acquaviva, "established in each of our residences, because the future of these Christian communities depends in great part on the proper education of youth." The school building which he caused to be erected in the mission compound was a long low bamboo structure large enough to contain a dormitory, a dining room which had an altar at one end and doubled as a chapel, and a classroom which served as a parlor on holidays. He decided not to make it a completely free school, as were those of the Visayas, doubtless in order to accustom his Christians to the idea of supporting their Church. Thus the boys who belonged to datu families were required to pay for their board and lodging; only poor boys were awarded free scholarships. The school opened some time in late 1600 or early 1601 with twenty-four scholars carefully selected on the basis of ability, regardless of social status.

The inauguration ceremonies took place on a Sunday. Mass over, a procession was formed with the flageolets leading, then the young men of the mission, then the children of the catechetical school, then the violins, then a group of boys doing a Spanish dance, and finally the boarding scholars in their new uniform, the main feature of which was a long *camisa* like a surplice. García and the other fathers of the mission brought up the rear. A banquet was served in the parlor-classroom to which all the prominent people of the town and the surrounding countryside had been invited. There were sixty guests altogether, among them sixteen datus of the highland clans (*tagabundok*) who were probably not yet Christians. It was a very impressive affair, well calculated to impress upon the people the importance of what was being undertaken. Regular classes ensued, with courses in Christian doctrine, deportment, reading, writing, arithmetic, and vocal and instrumental music, taught by García and a Spanish layman who had taken an interest in the school and volunteered his services. Besides the boarding students, day scholars from the town were admitted to the classes.[30]

In 1602 the Annual Letter, speaking of Antipolo, mentions the fact that

"a play in Tagalog, which is the language of this island, was performed by the boys of the boarding school of this town, to the great delight and satisfaction of the people. The boarding school makes great progress both spiritually and temporally, the natives helping to support it with sizable donations."[31]

García's next project was a hospital, for which he erected another building on the compound. Its purpose was two-fold: not only to take care of the sick and make them well, but also to get the people to bring even the sick who were beyond cure to the compound and thus enable them to receive the last sacraments. Meals for the patients were prepared in the fathers' kitchen and served by the members of the laymen's confraternity, who also did the nursing and cleaning in the hospital.

The building of a new church was proposed by García to his people in a similar way, as a community enterprise. The royal government had given 100 pesos toward the construction, but this was obviously not enough, even for the wooden structure which they planned. How were they to account for the rest? The response of the Antipolo Christians exceeded his expectations. Two families donated a house and lot each; another donor gave the money to purchase a set of vestments; a third turned in 70 fanegas of rice; other gifts raised the church fund to 400 pesos. Those who could contribute neither money nor goods gave their labor, going deep into the forest for the best timber they could find and hauling the logs back through runways which they had to clear themselves. By 1603 the people of Antipolo had almost finished their new church, a structure well and stoutly made, according to the Annual Letter of that year, but best of all, their very own.[32]

Meanwhile the stone church begun some years earlier by the more opulent Christians of Taytay needed only a roof to cover it.[33] But Diego de Santiago, the missionary under whose direction the work had been begun, was not fated to see it finished. In October 1600 two Dutch warships sailed without warning into Manila Bay, grim harbingers of the mortal struggle for naval supremacy in the Far East in which the Philippines would become embroiled for the next half century. The flagship, *Mauritius*, Admiral Oliver van Noort, had a crew of 100 men and mounted 24 guns; her companion vessel, ironically christened *Concordia*, Captain Lambert Biesman, carried 40 men and 10 guns. After parading before the walls of Manila and the galleons at anchor near Cavite Hook, Van Noort took up his station outside the narrow entrance to the bay, resolved to capture or drive off the Chinese junks upon whose trade the very life of the colony depended.

The Spaniards had no choice but to give battle. A merchantman, the *San Diego de Cebu*, was hastily fitted out and placed under the command of Antonio de Morga. For *almiranta* or companion vessel he was given a small

lateen-rigged *galizabra* under Juan de Alcega as captain. The two ships carried a complement of 150 Spaniards and as many Filipinos. Appointed chaplain of the flagship was Father Diego de Santiago. He came aboard with a young lay brother, Bartolomé Calvo, as companion. Calvo had been admitted to the Society in Manila. The two were of the same age: twenty-nine.

On 14 December Morga sallied forth to try conclusions with the enemy. He sighted the *Mauritius* about half a league from the little island of Fortun and closed in. Van Noort, seeing that he was heavily outnumbered, signaled to the *Concordia* to come alongside, took aboard all but fifteen of her complement, and told Biesman to take to his heels. He then turned to deal with the two Spanish ships singlehanded. Morga wisely declined a gun battle and closed in to grapple as quickly as he could, for the Dutch, like the English, were deadly with their cannon, but in a hand-to-hand fight with pike and cutlass the advantage might well be on his side. So it turned out. His men swarmed aboard the *Mauritius* and after a desperate melee which lasted four hours captured the enemy standards and drove the surviving Dutch below their own decks.

The *San Diego*, however, was so ill-made that in the process of grappling and boarding she began to list, shipping a considerable amount of sea. In the heat of the combat no one noticed what was happening until it was too late. In a desperate effort to save his ship Morga called back his men, just as Van Noort was about to yield, and had them cast off the grappling irons to separate the two ships. But the *San Diego* was finished. She rolled over on her side and began to sink rapidly. While the jubilant crew of the battered *Mauritius* spread every rag of sail to make good their escape, Morga had just enough time to leap overboard, still clutching his cutlass and the captured standards. A handful of his crew followed him, swimming to safety on the bare beach of Fortun. They beckoned to their chaplain to leap in with them, but just as he was about to do so a wounded officer on the deck behind him cried for confession. He turned back to do his priestly duty. Brother Calvo stayed with him. They perished with the ship, as did 109 Spaniards and all the Filipino and Negro members of the crew.

Meanwhile Alcega on the galizabra—at Morga's orders as he claimed afterward, without them according to Morga—set off in hot pursuit of the *Concordia*, overhauled her, dismasted her with a well aimed shot, and towed her back in triumph with Biesman and 12 of his crew in chains. The prisoners were condemned to death out of hand as pirates, but since they were also heretics an effort was made to assure their eternal salvation by convincing them of the error of their ways. All were converted except Biesman, stubbornly Protestant to the last. The rest were merely hanged; he was garrotted and his body cast into the sea.[34]

Almost exactly a year after young Santiago's heroic death, his old superior

Almerici went to claim the reward of a long and fruitful apostolate. His final illness overtook him while organizing a settlement of Aetas five or six miles from Antipolo, to which he gave the name of Santiago. It was his hope that the 1,200 Aetas whom he had encountered in his ceaseless rounds of that mountainous district would one day make Santiago their home, but he was obliged to bequeath this ambition to his successors. Chirino hurried to the side of the stricken veteran and with loving care had him taken by litter to the College of Manila. There, on 2 December 1601, just as the bells of the city were ringing the evening Angelus, Almerici died.[35]

The loss of these two men was compensated for in part by the arrival the previous May of seven priests and three lay brothers. The priests were Gregorio López, the superior during the voyage, Gregorio Baroncini, Fabrizio Sarsali, Tomás de Villanueva, Diego Laurencio, Pedro de Segura, and Angelo Armano. The brothers were Francisco Simón, Diego de Zarzuela, and Martín Sancho.[36] Sancho, it will be recalled, was the little Pampango boy who had accompanied Sánchez to Europe fifteen years earlier. The unaccustomed cold of winter, especially in unheated Jesuit houses, must have been too much for him, for he died of tuberculosis less than a month after his arrival.[37]

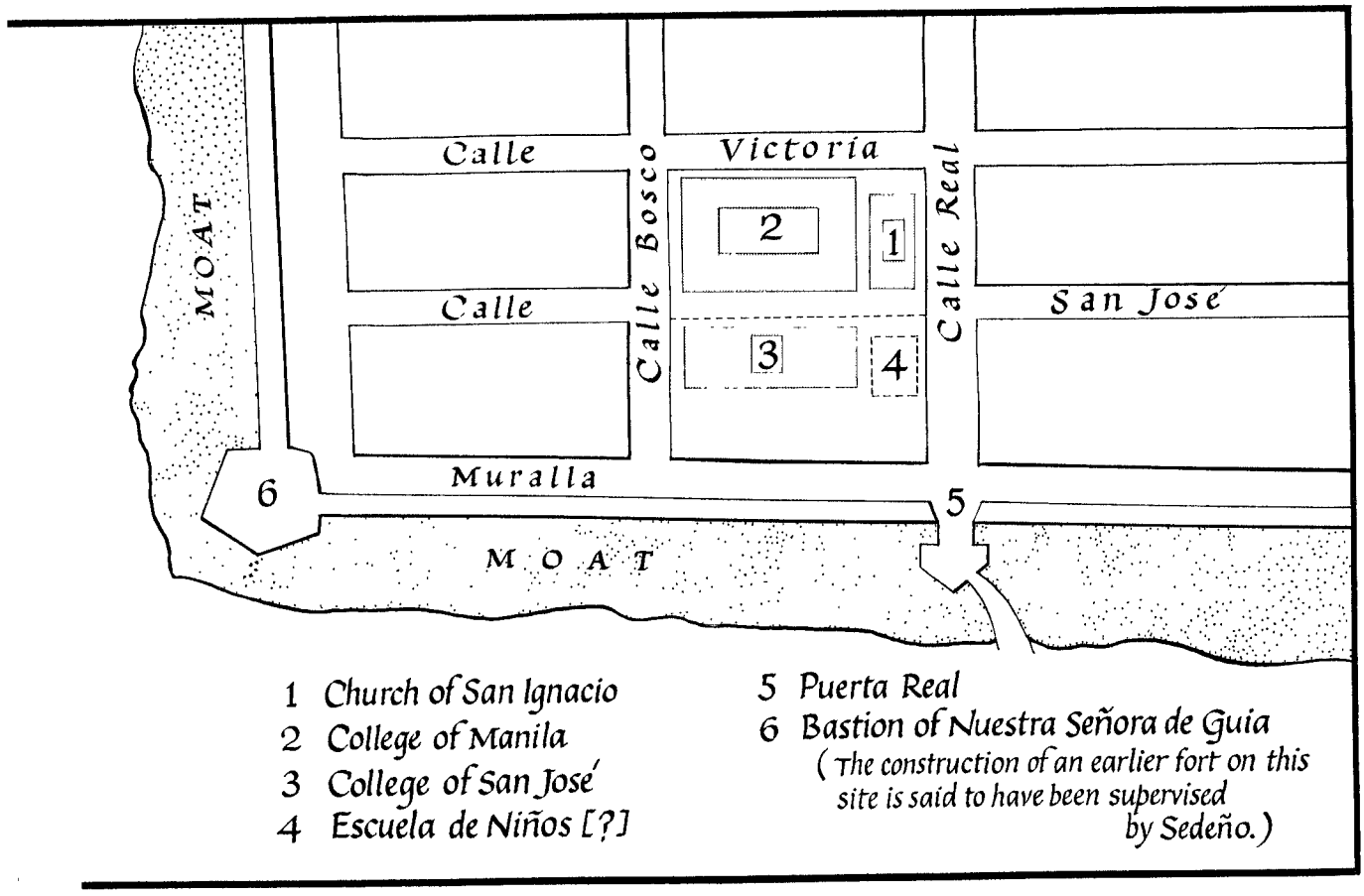
Chapter Nine

ORGANIZATION

López brought the reply of the provincial of Mexico to García's request that he be spared the burdens of the vice-provincialate: a round and unequivocal No. García, who probably did not expect anything else, complied as cheerfully as he could. Montoya took over the Antipolo mission and Prat became master of novices. Another communication from the provincial of Mexico stated that it was Acquaviva's wish that the College of Manila should not open a course of arts unless it was fairly certain that it would not have to be discontinued later on for lack of students; as for the idea of making the college a university, nothing whatever should be done about it until a detailed report had been sent to Rome.

García replied, on 27 June, that the grammar school of the college, which had been in existence five years, had already produced twelve or thirteen students ready to begin arts. To these should be added two Jesuit scholastics received in Manila who after completing their novitiate were put to reviewing the Latin studies they had previously made; they too were ready to commence philosophy. There were enough, then, to make up a class of arts, and the course could well be taught in a three-year cycle, each entering class joining the previous one and completing the course in the next cycle. A small but steady supply of students was assured by the grammar school, which now had an enrollment of forty in two sections. Because of these excellent prospects he had already made the announcement that the course of arts would be definitely inaugurated in August with Miguel Gómez as professor.[1]

As for transforming the college into a university, Acquaviva must have been misinformed. There was never any intention either on his part or that of the colonial government of establishing a university in the full sense, with faculties of law and medicine; what was desired was authorization to grant degrees in arts and theology. The Society already had this authorization by papal privilege; all that was necessary was the permission of the king as patron in the Philippines. This was being warmly urged not so much by the Jesuits themselves as by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of the colony. Bishop Agurto of Cebu, for instance, expressed himself as being thoroughly in favor of the project, principally because it would supply badly needed diocesan priests. He added as a supplementary but no less cogent reason that an institution of higher studies would give the idle



Map V. The Jesuit Compound in the Walled City.

young men of Manila something to occupy themselves. The good bishop obviously looked upon this as a serious problem, the best answer to which was a stiff dose of Aristotle and Euclid; "for," he said, "since the Spaniards do not practice the mechanical trades, their sons do not learn them; hence, with the exercise of letters and having something to occupy their time and associating with the fathers of the Society, they will give themselves to the exercise of virtue."[2] A sanguine prediction, which a long line of professors of the College of Manila strove mightily to realize.

It was uphill work in the beginning, for there was little in Manila at that time to encourage a red-blooded young Spaniard to apply himself to his books and much to entice him away from them. When García returned from his visitation of the Visayas he found the grammar masters thoroughly discouraged at the little progress their students were making. They were inclined to throw the blame on the enervating climate, which made it an effort even to take a tome down from the shelf, and on the complete absorption of everyone in the China trade, for which familiarity with letters of credit was much more relevant than familiarity with letters. The result was that while the boys were practically pushed by their parents to school every morning, they still managed—such is the inexhaustible inventiveness of the young mind—to keep their class attendance down to what they considered a reasonable minimum.[3]

García felt, however, that the grammar masters failed to touch the nub of the problem. This was, in his opinion, the social milieu itself in which these youngsters were forced to live. It was a society in which money was easily got and just as easily lost. Everything depended on the silver ship coming safely into port from Acapulco, and that depended entirely on the humors of the Pacific, not on whether those who owned a piece of it were frugal, thrifty, lived soberly, and saved their pennies. Hence the very manner of their livelihood encouraged the Manilans to indulge in every form of extravagance and ostentation. Why deny yourself anything you can pay for? If the next galleon fails to sail or to return, you might be begging your bread in the streets a year from now.

This frame of mind gave to secular life in Manila a shrill feverish tempo which more than climate or commerce prevented young people from giving serious attention to their studies. As Morga pointed out in the memorandum he presented to the re-established audiencia on the state of the colony, rich and poor, official and commoner alike, "all wish to dress in fine garments, have their wives carried in chairs attended by pages, have carpets in the churches, and many other unwarranted luxuries, from which arise many difficulties." He subjoins immediately what some of these difficulties were.

> In Manila the men are accustomed to gamble for enormous and excessive stakes. . . . During the visits and gatherings of the women, their chief diversion

is to play cards, and more commonly than is becoming their station. Men are admitted to these games, from which greater evils are likely to arise. This matter requires attention . . . Inside Manila there is a great number of natives, both men and women, who are vagrants and of evil life. They lodge in the very houses of the Spaniards; some have houses of their own. They act as fences for the articles which the servants steal and supply them with liquor. They eat up the city's food supply, buy cheap and sell dear, hoard commodities and commit many other crimes and misdemeanors, as is well known. They should be expelled from the city and made to go back to their towns and parishes to work.

There was, then, no lack of opportunity for the young man who had a mind to divert himself, and it was fatally easy for him to fall in with evil companionship. Even if he belonged to a family of relatively modest means, he was waited on hand and foot by compliant servants and even slaves; for, although it was forbidden to enslave Filipinos and to import Negro slaves, "except very young ones," these ordinances were more honored in the breach than in the observance. Indeed, the demand for slaves was so great that, as Morga told the audiencia, the Portuguese were flooding the country with their most undesirable Negroes, those they could not sell anywhere else. But even more dangerous to the young than their slave-filled houses was the fact that Manila had become a dumping ground for the human refuse of Mexico. Mexican prison officials emptied their overcrowded gaols by packing off convicts to Manila, where they were permitted to go where they would and even carry arms like gentlemen, with nothing in their costume to distinguish them from honest folk.[4]

Even while he was at Antipolo, García gave the problem a great deal of thought, and came to the conclusion that the only way to cope with it was to go through with the residential college which Dasmariñas the Younger had planned to subsidize. In this way parents who took the education of their sons seriously could remove them altogether from the many distractions with which they were surrounded even in the best regulated homes, and put them in a house organized for growth in learning and virtue. With Dasmariñas no longer governor and the colonial treasury in its usual parlous state, there was no longer any hope of a government subsidy; but if the College of Manila could manage the cost of the building, many parents would be only too glad to pay a modest board and lodging fee.[5]

García was not mistaken in his judgment, for, when Chirino at his behest broached the project to the authorities and some of the citizens, the response was enthusiastic. Accordingly, his first care upon assuming office of vice-provincial was to see what could be done about a building. His eye fell on the unfinished foundation walls of the defunct college of natives, and he thought that by building on them in wood and nipa a suitable and inexpensive residence hall could be erected; this was done. Meanwhile he appointed Luís Gómez rector of the new college, for which

he retained the name of San José as proposed by Dasmariñas, and instructed him to obtain formal permission to open it from the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. This was readily granted, the ecclesiastical *beneplacitum* being couched in the following terms:

> The precentor Santiago de Castro, provisor, judge, and vicar general of this archdiocese of Manila, in the name of the dean and chapter *sede vacante* . . . Whereas, the Reverend Luís Gómez, rector designate of the College of San José, has made representation that the fathers of the Society of Jesus, considering the need there is in this city that the youth be formed and trained in right conduct and letters, have decided to found and erect the said college for the aforementioned purpose, and to train ministers of the gospel of whom this country stands in need; and whereas, he has applied for and sought permission for the foundation and erection of the said college, and that Mass may be celebrated therein; and whereas, having examined the said petition, I have found it to be proper and the object thereof conducive to the service of Our Lord; I do hereby grant to the aforementioned religious of the Society of Jesus and the said Father Luís Gómez licence to found the said College of San José for the purpose described, and to celebrate Mass therein, provided the place of celebration be decent and furnished with the necessary appurtenances . . . Manila, 25 August 1601.[6]

Thirteen students, that is to say, almost all those whom the fathers expected to inaugurate the course of arts, were enrolled by their parents as boarding scholars of the College of San José at a fee of 100 pesos a year. Among them were Pedro Tello, a nephew of the governor, and Antonio de Morga, son of the former legal adviser of the government, now one of the oidores of the restored audiencia. On the morning of the inauguration of the college, they proudly arrayed themselves for the first time in the academic gown which they were henceforth to wear on all formal occasions: a long robe of tawny-colored *husi* cloth with a scarlet hood. Standing at the front door of their hall, they made their guests welcome: the governor of the colony, the administrator of the archdiocese, the cathedral chapter, the city corporation, members of the religious orders, their parents and friends.

All proceeded to the chapel, where the inauguration began with investiture ceremonies symbolizing the admission of the scholars to membership in the college. This probably consisted in the rector placing the hood, previously carried on the arm, over the shoulders with an appropriate formula. Mass followed, celebrated by the archdeacon of the cathedral, Don Francisco Gómez de Arellano, and served by young Tello and young Morga. After Mass a Latin oration explaining the nature and purpose of the institution, and some Spanish verses commemorating the occasion, were recited by two other students. Open house was kept all day for those who wished to inspect the new building. In the afternoon the scholars, accompanied by their rector and the professors of the College of Manila,

went in solemn academic procession up the length of Calle Real to pay the governor and audiencia a ceremonial visit at government house.[7]

The statutes which García gave the College of San José imposed on the scholars a Spartan regime which would dismay a modern college student. They rose by the bell before sunrise, not much later than the Jesuit community, made half an hour of mental prayer, and attended Mass. After breakfast (which must have been very light because not much time was allowed for it) and a period of private study in their rooms, they went to class in the adjoining College of Manila with the Jesuit scholastics and the *manteistas* or day scholars. They took dinner and supper in hall. There was always reading at table, varied only by a sermon or lecture given by one of themselves. These two meals were followed by recreation periods, outside of which the same silence was kept as in religious communities. After an examination of conscience according to the method of St. Ignatius and night prayers in chapel they went to bed, just as the supper parties and dances were beginning in the city. They were permitted to receive visitors on Sundays and holidays, but permission to leave the college during the daytime was granted rarely, and overnight permissions were unheard of. Only during the annual vacations could they go home to their families. It was a regime which pared life down to the bare essentials and focused it on the things of the spirit; *aut studium aut suicidium*, as has been said, half in earnest and half in jest, of the somewhat similar order of time in a modern theological seminary. There was nothing much for the scholars of San José to do but study; so they did.[8]

This dominant theme was not, however, without variations. Some the scholars provided for themselves, as when in 1603 they formed a literary academy to serve as an outlet for the imaginative faculty which the bodiless abstractions of philosophy tended to starve. Its soirees or seminars aroused some interest in the city, which was not after all as obtuse to the finer things of life as the grammar masters would have us believe. They were occasionally graced by Archbishop Benavides and the members of the audiencia, whose presence and participation doubtless put the scholars on their mettle.[9] Other variations were provided for them, as when in 1601 their brand-new hall almost went up in flames. The fire started in a group of houses just outside the south wall of the city. Since San José stood on the block of the Jesuit compound nearest the wall, sparks from the conflagration, borne by brisk breeze, started to fall on its nipa roof and threatened to set fire to it. The Annual Letter of 1602 tells us that the *josefinos* were equal to the occasion. "Those of the scholars who were limber enough for it clambered up to smother the sparks, while those who were not fell on their knees in the yard and besought Our Lord to deliver them from the flames. Our Lord vouchsafed that the building should not catch fire due to the preventive measures taken."[10]

A more serious fire took place in May 1603. It started in the grass hut of some of the attendants of the hospital for natives in the eastern quarter of the walled city. Fanned by a strong wind it spread, and in the space of an hour razed 150 buildings—about one-third of Spanish Manila—to the ground. Among the buildings destroyed were the Spanish hospital, the church and convent of the Dominicans, and many of the warehouses in which the city merchants stored the goods they intended to ship to Mexico. An estimated 300,000 pesos' worth of merchandise was lost, but the total loss, including the value of the buildings burned, was over a million. Twenty-five persons were killed; this high mortality may be accounted for by the rapid spread of the fire and the fact that the disaster took place at three in the afternoon, the siesta hour. Luckily, neither the College of Manila nor the College of San José suffered damage, though the more agile *josefinos* were doubtless called upon once again to do some roof-climbing.[11] Life, in short, brash and undisciplined, kept continually breaking in on their studious retreat. Later that year of 1603 the Chinese outside the walls rose in revolt and laid siege to the city; of that we shall speak presently.

In spite of these rude interruptions the students of the College of Manila managed to put in a fair amount of study. The new arts course was that uniformly given in Jesuit colleges of the period. Its subject matter, organization, and procedures, as well as those of the grammatical studies preceding and the theological studies subsequent to it, had but recently been codified in the form of a manual of rules and regulations called the *Ratio studiorum Societatis Iesu*, promulgated by Acquaviva in 1599. Since the arts course was conducted entirely in Latin, the normal prerequisite was five years of grammar school after primary school, that is, three years of Latin grammar and one year each of Latin poetry and rhetoric, with some Greek thrown in. The core of the course was philosophy, expounded from the basic works of Aristotle as interpreted by St. Thomas Aquinas. In addition to and in the light of this central subject arts students were also taught mathematics and the elements of the physical and social sciences as then understood. Textbooks did not come into use until much later; the students took down the matter of the course from dictation, the professor accompanying his text with a running commentary. Mastery in handling what they learned was developed in regular recitation and disputation periods, which were held much more frequently than in modern colleges. Examinations were oral, before a faculty board; and even the thesis required for the degree was not submitted as a written dissertation, but as a proposition or series of propositions which the candidate had publicly and successfully to defend.[12]

By 1603 the enrollment in the grammar school had risen to sixty and that in the arts course to a little less than thirty, of whom twenty or so

were resident scholars of San José, and the rest Jesuit scholastics and manteistas. Eight students who had finished two years of arts and who intended to go on to the priesthood were considered ready for theology. These with four scholastics[13] recently arrived from Mexico made up a class of twelve, sufficient in García's opinion to start the four-year theology cycle. Miguel Gómez was appointed professor of dogmatic and Juan de Ribera of moral theology; they delivered their inaugural lectures that June. The following year another chair of dogma was added and two public theological disputations were held, in one of which a Jesuit scholastic defended the theses proposed for discussion, in the other an extern student. Conferences on practical moral problems were held once a week during the school year in which all the priests of the college community joined the theologians.[14]

By means of these conferences Ribera's prudence and skill in unraveling tangled cases of conscience came to be known and appreciated even outside the college walls. Churchmen and government officials, as well as private citizens, brought him their doubts and difficulties, which he either solved himself or, with the permission of the inquirer in cases which were not of a purely private nature, submitted them to the entire theological faculty for consideration. The written solutions to these cases, penned by Ribera and his successors in the chair of moral theology, provide interesting and valuable insights into the social and economic life of the period.

Meanwhile, permission still had to be obtained from the royal government to grant degrees in arts and theology. The petition of the College of Manila to this effect had gone to Madrid accompanied by the endorsement of the highest colonial authorities: Bishop Agurto of Cebu, Governor Tello, the oidores of the audiencia, the attorney-general.[15] Unfortunately, however, Bishop Miguel de Benavides of Nueva Segovia, who succeeded Archbishop Santibáñez in the see of Manila, fell into the same misunderstanding as Acquaviva regarding the intentions of the Manila Jesuits. He thought that they were aiming at a full-fledged university with the traditional four faculties, a scheme which he considered, rightly on the whole, too grandiose for so remote and small a colony. But worse than that, he suspected the fathers—incorrectly, as far as we can ascertain—of seeking to endow their professorships by obtaining control of the "restitutions" fund, that is, the damages paid into the royal treasury, in accordance with the precepts of the Synod of Manila, for injuries committed against the natives. This aroused the archibishop's fighting blood, of which he had a fair share.

> The fathers of the Society [he wrote to Philip III] want your Majesty to do them the favor of granting them a university for these islands. Your Majesty may as well grant a university to each of the religious orders and the diocesan clergy

too; that is how ill-considered such a project is at the present time. If your Majesty sees fit to let me handle this affair, I shall do my best to reduce it to its proper proportions. Much less is it advisable—indeed, it would be contrary to conscience—to permit the said fathers of the Society to divert to their professorships, as their plan is, the income from certain restitutions which a number of veterans left in their wills to be spent on the natives, and which is being well employed either in ransoming poor captives who would otherwise be sold into slavery among Moors and other heathen, or in assisting them in times of illness and scarcity. I cannot for the life of me understand how anyone can in conscience deprive the poor natives of these benefits and put an end to such good works. May God give his light to all of us.[16]

If Acquaviva to whom the Philippine Jesuits sent regular and detailed reports, and the good archbishop with whom they were in almost daily personal contact, could be so mistaken as to what they were about, it was greatly to be feared that misunderstandings about their petition might also arise at Madrid. This was doubtless one of the reasons which moved García and his consultors to send Chirino to Europe as procurator of the vice-province in 1602. His instructions were to proceed first to Rome and make a verbal report on the state of the vice-province to the general. He was to explain the nature of the residential College of San José and the reasons that led to its establishment as an adjunct of the College of Manila, namely, the need felt by the parents, clergy, and officials of the colony for boarding facilities whereby the fathers could exercise a closer supervision over their students, ensure regular class attendance, and cultivate vocations to the priesthood and the religious life. He was to request for a solution of certain doubts and difficulties that had arisen in the administration of the vice-province, and in particular urge once again that the Philippines be made a province independent of Mexico. He was then to proceed to Madrid and answer questions the Council of the Indies might have regarding the petition for authorization to grant degrees.[17]

Other matters besides the organization of studies occupied the busy vice-provincial. The slow but steady increase in the number of novices made it necessary to see to their adequate support. García had foreseen this even during his sojourn at Antipolo, where he hit upon a simple and inexpensive way of providing the novitiate with an endowment. At a total cost of less than 20 pesos for seedlings and labor he caused to be planted near the town a grove of 2,000 coconut trees. As he told Acquaviva, these trees would start to bear fruit in six or seven years. If the current market price of the coconut and its derivative products held, each tree would then yield an income of a peso a year, so that deducting maintenance and other expenses, the grove should clear 1,000 pesos annually at the most conservative estimate. This would be more than adequate to take care of all the novices' needs, especially if, as he proposed, the novitiate was transferred

to Antipolo, where life was cheaper, the climate healthier, and the absence of city sights and sounds more favorable to spiritual growth.[18] It will be recalled that Sedeño had earlier placed a similar touching reliance on the earning power of the coconut. As no further mention is made in later documents of the Antipolo coconut grove, it would seem that *Cocos nucifera* failed the Jesuits a second time.

The formation of an elite or leadership group among the Catholic laity which will act as an intellectual and moral leaven on the society in which it is imbedded has always been a prime objective of the Jesuit apostolate, whether in colleges, parishes, or missions. It is directly inspired by one of the key meditations in St. Ignatius' *Spiritual Exercises*, that on the Kingdom of Christ, in which the Son of God is represented as the commander-in-chief in a great campaign issuing a call for volunteers who would not merely serve in the ranks, but strive to distinguish themselves in his service out of a complete and unqualified devotion to his Person and cause. We have already seen various applications of this distinctively Jesuit method, such as the special care given by the missionaries to the training of boys from datu families, and the formation of lay confraternities which had for their object not merely the performance of devotional practices in common, but the practical expression of devotion in works of charity and social reform. However, what may be termed the classic expression of this method as institutionalized in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The original sodality organized by the Belgian scholastic Jean Leunis among the students of the Roman College in 1563 was almost immediately perceived to be a particularly effective means of developing an elite not only among students, but at every level in which society was divided at the time. Affiliations to the Roman sodality—henceforth called the *prima primaria*—spread rapidly over the expanding network of Jesuit establishments in Europe and the New World, until in 1600 its furthest eddy reached the College of Manila.

On 4 October of that year Chirino, the rector, called six carefully selected students to a meeting in one of the classrooms and explained to them the nature and purpose of the sodality. He appointed Tomás Braceros de Cárdenas secretary and giving him the rules of the sodality asked him to translate them from Latin to Spanish, which he did in one night. Young Cárdenas was, according to Archbishop Benavides, who esteemed him highly, the first Spaniard to be born in the Philippines. He was a brilliant student, and after completing arts and theology in the college with distinction, became a priest of the Manila archdiocese. He acquired such a complete mastery of Tagalog that even as a deacon and still in his studies, the archbishop had him preaching regularly in the cathedral in that language.[19]

In the course of the following year the new sodality received so many

applications for admission, from nonstudents as well as students, that it was decided to divide it into two sections, one for students and clergy and the other for Spanish laymen. A third section for Tagalogs was organized by transforming the Confraternity of All Saints which Prat had founded into a sodality. Petitions for aggregation with the *prima primaria* were sent by the officers of all three sodalities in June 1601. Acquaviva as supreme moderator approved them and dispatched the letters of aggregation on 18 November 1602.[20] García, who took a deep interest in the movement from the beginning, gave the sodalists the first of the series of conferences which was a regular feature of their weekly meetings in the college church.

By 1603 García was able to report to Acquaviva that the students' sodality had a membership of 40 and that of the gentlemen's sodality 100. Every member made a general confession before his admission and received holy communion on the principal feast days of Our Lady. The two sodalities collaborated in celebrating these feasts, the students with inscriptions and declamations in verse and prose, the gentlemen "with such an ensemble of silk, brocade and velvet hangings, paintings and sketches, symbolic figures, triumphal arches, and other festive inventions, that many Spaniards familiar with the life of court deny ever having seen churches so finely arrayed as ours has been on these occasions." A regular activity of the gentlemen's sodality was to give a huge banquet with all the trimmings, once a year on a feast day, to the inmates of the city gaol. Adding a touch of the Arabian Nights to their act of charity, they carried the courses of the banquet into the prison in solemn procession and waited on their guests with embroidered towels slung on their shoulders. They also took turns with the students in taking care of the patients in the Spanish hospital, as the Tagalog sodalists did in the hospital for natives. The student sodalists carried on an unobtrusive but effective apostolate of the press by keeping the parlor of the Jesuit residence supplied with spiritual books, which visitors could peruse while waiting for some dilatory Jesuit to come down and see them.[21]

García must have decided to make the sodality the preferred form of lay association in all the establishments of the vice-province, for we find the confraternities founded earlier under various invocations at Antipolo, Leyte, and elsewhere referred to henceforth as sodalities. On 20 April 1606 a sodality composed of clerics and laymen at Cebu sent a petition for aggregation to the *prima primaria* which Acquaviva approved on 2 December 1607.[22]

Another pious practice which García popularized, if he did not actually begin it, was that of distributing by lot to all who frequented the college church a patron saint for the year. The first drawing of saints, so to speak, took place on All Saints' Day 1602, when, as the Annual Letter of 1603 relates, "the saints of the year in the form of slips of paper printed in our

college were distributed to the people of the city, who came in large numbers with much devotion to receive them." The detail of the leaflets being printed in the college is tantalizing, for there is no record of the Jesuits owning a press at this early date; probably wood blocks were used.[23]

Although García had received explicit instructions from Acquaviva not to accept any new missions until further notice, he was not able to refuse Silang, a town in the uplands of Cavite with four subordinate villages and a population of 1,500. Silang belonged to the encomienda of Diego Jorge de Villalobos and was under the spiritual care of the Franciscans until 1598 when they were compelled to give it up. In doing so they suggested to Villalobos that he invite the Jesuits to take it over. Prat being in the Visayas at the time, Ribera, the rector of the College of Manila, accepted it in his name on the understanding that the vice-province would not be obliged to take effective possession of it until the missionaries became available. On 8 May 1599 the cathedral chapter of Manila *sede vacante* formally entrusted Silang to the Jesuits.

García felt himself compelled to honor this engagement, and after sending Chirino and Scelsi to Silang on a temporary mission in January 1601, appointed Gregorio López and Pedro de Segura as resident missionaries later that same year. The Jesuits found that their Franciscan predecessors had been conducting a school at Silang in which there were three classes: those who were learning to be altar boys in the highest class, those learning to read in the middle class, and those learning the catechism in the lowest class. They retained this division but took in more boys and girls in the catechism class and divided it into grades according to the parts of the catechism. They also opened a class for adult catechumens, in the conduct of which they received valuable assistance from an ex-katolonan, Diego Magsanga, who though blind became their best catechist.[24]

Meanwhile in faraway Peking, Pehou Yameng Liang, a captain of the imperial guard, was memorializing the Emperor Wan Li as follows: He, Liang, had been reliably informed by a certain cabinetmaker named Tiongeng who had resided for a time in a city of the south sea named Manila that near this city was a place called Keit where stood a mountain of gold and silver belonging to no one in particular. Would not his imperial Majesty grant him, Liang, gracious permission to go thither and bring back 100,000 taels of gold and 300,000 taels of silver for the imperial treasury, in order that by this means it would no longer be necessary to lay so heavy a burden of taxation on his imperial Majesty's subjects? Tiongeng the cabinetmaker was forthwith arrested and questioned, and his deposition along with Liang's memorial referred to the imperial ministers for comment. Among the opinions submitted was one by Limtolam, governor of Hongkong, who roundly advised the emperor to give no credence to the report. The other officials felt, however, that there might

be something to it, and the emperor commissioned Cochay and two other mandarins to go to Luzon with the annual junk fleet, bringing Tiongeng with them, to see what truth there was in his story.

In May 1603 they slipped anchor in front of Manila. Before landing, the mandarin Chamchian took up his brush and explained in a message to Governor Acuña the somewhat unusual purpose of their visit. "We have come on no other business but this," he concluded, "wherefore the governor of Luzon may sleep soundly and without fear, apprehending no evil. We know well that Tiongeng is a liar; but come, let us make haste and see whether this gold exists or not. Send an interpreter to accompany us, for we have no mind to tarry in this country and give occasion to disputes. Please believe us, we have no wish to stay."

On the 23rd of the same month the three mandarins landed and went in state to a house which had been prepared for them in the parian. To make them welcome and attend to their needs, the Chinese community appointed an influential Christian convert named Eng Kang, who had taken at his baptism the name of Juan Bautista de Vera. No sooner were they installed in the parian than the three mandarins began to administer justice in the Chinese fashion, hearing complaints, summoning the accused, and inflicting on those found guilty the customary punishment of the bastinado, that is, beating on the soles of the feet. Governor Acuña, upon hearing of it, sent them a curt message to desist from exercising jurisdiction on Spanish territory.

To placate the ruffled hidalgo the mandarins decided to pay him a state visit. One fine morning toward the end of May Attorney-General Salazar looked out of the window of his chambers in government house upon a startling procession pushing its way up Calle Real through a press of onlookers. First came six tall footmen of stern and martial aspect bearing rods on their shoulders and white wooden tablets on their heads. Salazar did not know, but might have guessed, that the gold Chinese characters on the tablets identified them as police officers. Next came six other footmen carrying bannerets of different colors, the characters on which declared the academic title and official rank of the mandarins. Next came one bearing a black bamboo staff: the rod of justice. Then a cymbal player and four other musicians producing the outlandish squeaks and wails of Chinese music. Then a band of executioners bearing the instruments of their grisly trade: cords and bastinadoes. Two heralds, crying out at regular intervals to the gaping crowd to give way. Coolies, bearing on their shoulders the lacquered box which contained the imperial commission and the credentials of the commissioners. And, finally, the mandarins themselves in their sedan chairs, each borne by four bearers and flanked on either side by archers. Bringing up the rear was the secretary of the commission, mounted on a charger.

Acuña and the oidores hastily assembled in the hall of the audiencia to receive the mandarins. The Spaniards found it difficult to believe that men of such obvious intelligence could take Tiongeng's report seriously; and, indeed, Chamchian in his note had made it clear that they did not. Why then had they come? Was it perhaps to spy out the country in preparation for a descent in force? The shoe was now on the other foot; the Spanish officials found themselves in precisely the same predicament as the Chinese officials who had had to decide what to do with the various groups of western barbarians seeking an entry into the Middle Kingdom. After a brief consultation with the oidores, Acuña told the mandarins that the place they called Keit was probably Kawit or Cavite. He would send them there at once with a military escort commanded by Ensign Cervantes, and as soon as they had verified with their own eyes the mythical nature of the magic mountain, they would doubtless be so anxious to convey this intelligence to their emperor that they would take their departure at once. The mandarins agreed. They proceeded to Cavite, and found that the sand of its shores and the soil of its fields were no more like gold and silver than those of China. The cringing Tiongeng cried out that the sand of Cavite was indeed sand, but the emperor could, if he wished, turn them into gold; the mandarins had seen enough of Manila and its wealth to realize that it could become a veritable mine of gold and silver if certain steps which he did not need to specify were taken to obtain control of it. The mandarins looked at him with contempt, ordered him bound so that they could deal with him later, went aboard their junk and sailed home.[25]

This might have been the end of the affair; but by this time the suspicions of the Spaniards were fully aroused. They had reason to be nervous, for Spanish Manila counted only 700 able-bodied fighting men altogether, including the troops in the Santiago garrison, whereas the Chinese in the parian and the north bank of the Pasig, most of them males of an age to bear arms, had reached the enormous figure of 20,000. This in spite of the fact that the number of Chinese residents in the Philippines was restricted by law to 4,000. The reason for this disparity between law and fact, according to the city corporation, was that when Governor Tello assumed office in 1596 he authorized a certain number of his friends, as a special mark of favor, to issue residence certificates to the Chinese who applied for them at two rials per head. When this was reported to Madrid, the Council of the Indies took away from the governor the control of Chinese immigration and gave it to the audiencia, to be exercised by each of the oidores in turn on an annual basis.

In 1601 it became Morga's turn to act as commissioner of Chinese immigration. He appointed José de Nabeda assistant commissioner and Juan Páez secretary. Nabeda, a minor official, had been banished from Mexico for certain irregularities, and both he and Páez had arrived in the

Philippines with only the shirt on their backs. By 1603 Nabeda had two riding horses in his stables (there were not three private citizens in the entire colony who could boast as much), and he and Páez were shipping great quantities of merchandise on the Acapulco galleon. All they did to achieve such affluence was to sit in an office signing residence certificates. The trick, of course, was to wait until the annual junk fleet had sailed away, and then to seek out the Chinese who had stayed without permission and threaten them with dire punishment unless they paid six pesos a head for a residence certificate. They paid; thousands of them.[26]

These quick, ingenious, hard-working sangleys found life good in Manila, where the easy-going Spaniards paid well in silver for their services. Even in Bishop Salazar's time the extensive parian or quarter which they had raised as though by magic out of the noxious marsh northeast of the walled city was a hive of profitable activity. As the good bishop wrote to Philip II,

> This parian has so ennobled this city that I make bold to assert to your Majesty that there is no known metropolis either here or there in which there is anything so well worth seeing as this. In it is carried on the whole commerce of China, involving every sort of merchandise . . . In this parian are to be found practitioners of every trade and mechanical art . . . In this parian are physicians and apothecaries with shingles over their shops announcing what may be purchased within. There are also eating houses in great number where the sangleys and natives go for meals, and which I am told even Spaniards frequent . . .
>
> We have been vastly entertained here by what befell a bookbinder from Mexico who came to this country with the materials of his trade and set up a bookbinding shop. A sangley attached himself to him saying that he wished to be his servant, but covertly without his master's knowledge observed how he went about binding books; and in less than [blank in ms.] he left his house saying that he wished to be servant no longer. He then set up his own bookbinding shop, and I assure your Majesty that he turned out to be such a superlative tradesman that he forced his master out of business, for everyone now takes his custom to the sangley, and he does such excellent work that no one misses the Spanish tradesman. Even as I write I have in my hands a Latin Navarro bound by this man which in my opinion could not have been better turned out in Seville.
>
> There are many truck gardeners among these sangleys who raise abundant and excellent crops of vegetables on soil which did not seem as though it could grow anything . . . There are many bakers who bake bread out of the wheat flour which they import from China. They sell it in the city square and hawk it through the streets . . . good bread and cheap, so that in spite of the abundance of rice in this country many prefer to eat bread . . . and they give such easy credit that if one has no money to pay for the bread it is customary to sign a chit for it. Many soldiers feed themselves in this way, sometimes for a whole year, the bakers faithfully supplying them with all the bread they need during all that time . . .
>
> In the open space within the four sides of the parian there is a considerable pond which is supplied with sea water by an inlet which enters it. In the middle

of this pond is an islet where the sangleys who have committed some crime are punished so as to be seen by all. This pond adds much to the beauty of the parian and is also very useful, for many vessels enter it by means of the abovementioned inlet at high tide, bringing provisions to the parian which are distributed thence throughout the city . . .

Their skill and industry enable the sangleys to construct solid and inexpensive houses of brick and mortar; and they do so with such dispatch that there is a man of this city who had a house built which was ready for occupancy in less than a year . . . They produce a great deal of cheap but excellent brick and tile. In the beginning lime was manufactured here, as in Spain, from limestone, until the sangleys began to make it from certain small stones found along these coasts called white coral, and from seashells, of which there is a plentiful supply . . .

They engage to deliver all lime, brick, and tile at the house of the buyer, which is a great convenience. It is also a great convenience to give one's construction work to these sangleys, as they contract to build at so much per yard, the owner supplying the lime only while they make themselves responsible for quarrying the stone, bringing in the sand and all other materials. Thus they deliver the building or other work completed without the owner having to bestir himself. The daily wage of a sangley when he is not doing piece work is one rial, and that includes his meals.[27]

In these and other ways the sangleys made themselves indispensable to the Spaniards of Manila. But they were, at best, a necessary evil; in the measure as they grew in numbers and prosperity, Spanish suspicion and dislike of them increased. As Bishop Salazar's successor, Archbishop Santibáñez, reported eight years later,

. . . a great obstacle to the improvement in faith and morals of the natives is their continuous communication with the heathen Chinese. Since these people come here to trade, it would be best for them to leave the country as soon as they have sold their merchandise, because a great many serious evils result from their remaining in these islands. In the first place, they have in their greed for gain taken to vegetable farming and other forms of cultivation, with the result that the natives, generally, lead lives of idleness and vice, since there is no compulsion for them to work. Buying and selling and the provisioning of the country have become a monopoly of the Chinese as retailers of foodstuffs. This has had the effect of raising prices to such an extent that a chicken which used to cost a half rial now costs four. Formerly a ganta of rice sold for one-fourth rial or even less; now it sells for two rials or at least one; and so with other commodities. Worse: not only are they engrossers and regraters, but they are such great consumers themselves that one Chinese puts away more food and drink than four natives. Worse still: the sin of Sodom is widespread among them, and they have infected the natives with it, both men and women, for since the latter are a poor-spirited people who follow the line of least resistance, the Chinese make use of them for their corrupt pleasures; this curse though extensive attracts little public notice.[28]

But what made them most dangerous to the tiny Spanish settlement was their sheer numbers; that, and their close proximity to the mighty and

mysterious empire which, presumably, still held their allegiance. This made the Spaniards keep a sharp eye on their indispensable but unwelcome guests for the least sign of unrest or disaffection, and, quite possibly, inclined them to endow every unusual occurrence with a sinister significance. Thus the visit of the mandarins on what was so obviously a wild-goose chase gave rise to the most disturbing speculations. Archbishop Benavides and others publicly declared that it was the prelude to invasion; that an armada was being readied to take Manila with the help of the sangleys the following year; that they were told this in confidence by reliable informants among the Christian Chinese.

Governor Acuña, without giving entire credence to this report, decided to take precautions. He caused the buildings of the parian nearest the city wall to be razed to the ground and started to dig a ditch there with the intention of extending the moat. He sent word to the alcaldes of neighboring provinces to muster native troops and have weapons made for them. He ordered a search for arms to be made in the quarries, lime kilns, lumber camps, truck gardens, and fishing fleets operated by the Chinese. He summoned the leaders of the Japanese community, traditional rivals of the Chinese, and asked them to hold themselves in readiness to join the Spaniards in repelling the expected invasion.[29]

These martial preparations, in turn, caused the liveliest apprehension among the Chinese. Word passed from mouth to mouth that the Spaniards were preparing a general massacre of their nation. In vain did Acuña go personally to the parian and tell an assembly of the leading Chinese merchants that there was no truth whatever to the rumor. The Japanese were swaggering about boasting that they had been asked to take part in slaughtering every sangley in the land. Tagalog hoodlums joined them in baiting the Chinese whom they encountered in the streets, calling them traitorous dogs, and telling them it was known they intended to rebel, but would all be killed before that. Thoroughly frightened, the smaller artisans and tradesmen began to desert the parian and seek safety in numbers among the sangley truck-gardeners, fishermen, salt-bed workers, stonemasons, charcoal makers, carters, and carpenters who lived on the north bank of the Pasig. Among the excited crowds that gathered there to discuss the situation, there were not lacking hotheads to propose that they combine and strike first before the Spaniards could cut them up piecemeal. Eng Kang, who was governor of the parian for that year, reported to Acuña that trouble was brewing on the other side of the river; he was sent there post-haste to try and dissuade his people from doing anything rash. He found that the idea of an uprising had gained ground considerably, chiefly through the efforts of his own adopted son, a certain Juan Ontal or Suntay. In fact, as he told the governor upon his return to the walled city, it was only with the greatest difficulty that he was able to make his escape, for

they wanted to detain him and make him their commander and king. Meanwhile the wealthier merchants who had remained in the parian found themselves in an intolerable position, for their fellow countrymen across the river were threatening them with dire reprisals unless they joined in the uprising, while the Tagalogs and Japanese of the suburbs, looking forward to an orgy of looting, were in no mood for fine distinctions, and would doubtless deal with them as rebels with the rest. They decided to throw themselves at the mercy of the Spaniards and asked permission to enter the walled city with their most valuable goods. Archbishop Benavides favored admitting them and assigning them a section of the city where they could be interned and placed under surveillance. But many of the citizens were against it, fearing a Trojan horse; what was to prevent these merchants from combining with the Negro slaves, of whom they were none too sure, and taking the city from within? While the parian merchants waited anxiously and the archbishop, accompanied by Prat, hurried to government house for a further discussion of the problem with the governor and Eng Kang, soldiers broke into the latter's residence in the walled city and found his household Negroes in possession of a quantity of explosives. It could have been intended for the manufacture of firecrackers; it could also have been intended for the manufacture of bombs. That decided the matter. Eng Kang was placed under arrest; the city gates were slammed shut and the drawbridges raised. Night fell. It was Friday, 3 October, the vigil of the feast of St. Francis of Assisi.

The dean of the cathedral, Don Francisco Gómez de Arellano, and the commissary of the Holy Office, Fray Bernardo de Santa Catalina, were spending the night with Don Hernando de los Ríos Coronel, a diocesan priest, in the latter's house in the suburb of Quiapo, across the river from the walled city. They were sitting talking after supper when they heard shouting and screams, seemingly from the house of Captain Esteban de Marquina, which stood by itself in an open space not far away. They went out into the night to investigate, and saw in the light of Marquina's house, which was ablaze, figures running toward them with clubs and torches. Not pausing to inquire, they fled as they were toward the river.

The fire was noted in the walled city and Governor Acuña at once sent Pedro de Chaves and some men across to investigate. They found the place deserted when they arrived, but were able to identify among the smouldering ruins the charred bodies of Marquina, his wife, and four children. Only the youngest child, a baby girl, escaped, as it turned out later, in the arms of a slave woman. Looking sharply about them in the blackness that had suddenly become menacing, they hurried back to their boat to report to the governor.

Don Luís Pérez Dasmariñas had supper that night in the Dominican convent of Binondo. Binondo lay west of Quiapo on the north bank, and

was almost entirely a Chinese parish. In the uncanny stillness which seemed to have fallen suddenly on the night they heard a number of curious noises; the sudden rush of many feet; a burst of excited chattering; from farther away, the rumor of many voices raised, but whether in anger or acclamation it was impossible to tell; and every now and again the sound of a muted trumpet. Then the fire in Marquina's house rent the blackness, and Don Luís immediately dispatched a messenger to Acuña asking for troops. It was now midnight. Acuña had his bugler sound the call to quarters. Soldiers and citizens sprang out of their beds to answer it. Twenty men, fully armed, were sent across the river to Dasmariñas. As the night wore toward the dawn, the sentries stationed on the wall saw several more fires break out in Quiapo, accompanied by a great racket of yelling and screaming. The uprising had begun in earnest; the sangleys had decided to strike first.

Suntay, who had assumed command, established his headquarters on a hillock north of Quiapo which he fortified. How many effective fighting men he had to begin with is uncertain; Spanish estimates drawn up after the event range all the way from 2,000 to 6,000. What is certain is that he had very few cutting weapons and practically no firearms; most of the sangleys were armed only with pikes and cudgels. Suntay's plan was, apparently, to clear his flank of the natives by burning Quiapo to the ground, get control of Tondo to the north and west by occupying its strongest place, the church, and then, doubling back toward the river, use his advantage of numbers to overwhelm the Spaniards in Binondo. Once the north bank of the Pasig was his, Eng Kang would, he hoped, rally the parian Chinese to his cause and sweep the southern suburbs. After that, it would merely be a matter of starving out, if they could not storm, the Spaniards within their walls. He obviously was not aware that Eng Kang had been arrested. Indeed, to give his men confidence, he spread it about that his adoptive father, not he, was the real leader of the rebellion, and they would soon be hearing of his activities across the river. This claim cost Eng Kang his life.

Suntay's preliminary operation, the burning of Quiapo, was on the whole successful, in spite of the clumsiness of his undisciplined troops. But when he advanced on Tondo church, he discovered to his chagrin that Dasmariñas, anticipating the move, had taken possession of it and was prepared to offer stiff resistance. His small detachment of 20 men had been reinforced at dawn and he now had 140 arquebusiers at his command. Against such fire power Suntay's 1,500 cudgel men, though they assaulted bravely, had perforce to fall back, leaving their dead strewn over the plaza. After an hour of fruitless charges in which he lost 500 men, Suntay retired to his fortified hillock to devise a better plan.

Dasmariñas called his captains and told them he intended to pursue.

Alcega, the alcalde of Tondo, objected that they had no orders from the governor to take the offensive. Don Luís threw him a contemptuous glance and said, "Señor Juan de Alcega, what chicken has whispered in your ear?" Saying which, he gave the orders to advance in the direction which the enemy had taken. The way led through a low-lying, reedy marsh where the men with their heavy equipment sank into yielding ooze and got tangled in the underbrush. Soon the rear ranks were pressing against the vanguard, which had come to a standstill, and the whole column rolled up into a close-packed mass of sweating, cursing men churning about for a firm foothold in the clinging mud. Water soaked into their powder flasks, lighted fuses were snuffed out, arquebuses slipped as the mired troopers clutched at marsh grass to lift themselves out of the bog. Suntay saw his opportunity and seized it. Wheeling back on his tracks he fell upon the helpless Spaniards and literally clubbed them to death. Dasmariñas, Alcega, the governor's nephew Tomás Bravo, and the other captains, the very flower of Manila's chivalry, perished. Only Don Gerónimo, the lord of Siao, who had come with the reinforcements, escaped with his bodyguard, being more lightly armed and unencumbered with armor. Suntay had his men strip the corpses, retrieve all the firearms they could, cut off the heads of Dasmariñas and Alcega and carry them off as trophies.

It was now high noon. Gregorio López was in the guard room in Fort Santiago, hearing the confessions of the wounded who were being ferried across the river from the combat area. The talk among the soldiers was that there was nothing serious in the situation; just a crazed rabble of sangleys who had taken it into their heads that they could fight guns with clubs . . . Mess call sounded. López left the men to their lunch and walked to the river gate, near the convent of the Dominicans, to see if he could make out what was happening on the further bank. As he reached it, a courier sprang up the steps from a boat and brushed past him muttering, "Bad news, Father; bad news." He disappeared into the citadel on the double, and soon afterward the alarm bell clanged. López hurriedly retraced his steps. He burst into the guard room just as the soldiers, routed from their mess, heard the news of the massacre. "They were like men wakened from sleep," López wrote afterward, "as they gradually came to realize that the Sangleys were actually killing Spaniards."

He collected his lay-brother companion and started off for the college. With Dasmariñas' force wiped out, the city was in very real danger. It might be necessary to prepare for a siege. He had recently been appointed rector, and with García away on a visitation of the Visayan missions, he was the acting vice-provincial. The responsibility weighed heavily on him. Bad news travels fast; as López and his companion strode down Calle Real, they heard the first wails of lamentation in the houses of the slain.

Acuña sent runners to the alcaldes of Pampanga and Bulacan ordering

them to come to the aid of the city with all the troops they could muster. He divided the circuit of the wall into sections and assigned each section to a volunteer company to guard during the night. One of these volunteer companies was composed of Tagalogs from the parish of San Miguel east of the parian. This parish had been given to the Jesuits to administer shortly before the uprising. That afternoon some of its young men came to see if they could be of any assistance to the fathers. They were given a section of the river wall, near the royal storehouses, to guard. That night rebel raiders attempted a surprise attack on their parish, but were repulsed by the men who had remained behind.

Sunday morning, 5 October, dissension broke out in the rebel camp. No word had been received from Eng Kang, and the parian Chinese had made no move to join the rebellion. In fact, the parian gate of the city remained open, and parleying seemed to be going on between the Spaniards and the Chinese. Merchandise was being taken out of the parian and brought inside the walls. Suntay had no ready explanation for these movements. He was placed under arrest by his officers and condemned to death as a traitor. He died crying that Eng Kang had deceived him and deceived them all. Two heathen sangleys were chosen supreme commanders by acclamation. They set up their standards and ordered auguries to be taken on the issue of the rebellion. Lots were cast which were interpreted as calling for an attack on the city on the following day. The rebels rested, bestirring themselves only to behead some of Suntay's familiars.

López went to San Miguel to give the parish Sunday Mass. Hearing of the nocturnal attack, he told the people to pack up their most essential belongings and come with him for safety inside the walls. He opened the college church to them and had them build temporary shelters against the stone enclosure of the patio. That afternoon the town criers proclaimed an ordinance calling on all householders to dismantle nipa roofs and walls, in order to lessen the danger of an attack with fire arrows. The Jesuit community and the San José scholars started on this work at once and completed it the next day. They also filled a row of fire buckets for emergency use. Acuña finally decided to adopt the archbishop's suggestion and invite the parian Chinese to come into the city with their merchandise. The Chinese readily consented to let their goods be hauled in, but refused to go in themselves, fearing some trick. That night emissaries crossed over from the rebel camp to confer with the heads of the parian community, but these insisted on maintaining their neutrality. The night passed quietly.

The morning light revealed the rebel host massed on the Quiapo shore, clearly intending to cross in force. Acuña decided that he was not strong enough to prevent them, but sent patrols to set fire to the parian. At this a shout of rage went up from the rebels and they began to cross. The patrols retired, having done their work, and the parian gate was closed. The rebels

ran through the billowing smoke of the burning quarter, killing those who had opposed the uprising and calling on the rest to arm themselves. Stamping out the fire in some of the houses, they climbed to the upper storys and roofs to flaunt their banners and rake the nearest parapets with a steady and pretty accurate fire from their captured arquebuses. The Manilans on the wall returned the fire briskly. Among them was a theological student from San José who distinguished himself by calling his shots. "The man with the banneret next," he would call out coolly; and sure enough, the man with the banneret would suddenly lose interest in the proceedings.

As it became clear that the sangleys were mounting an attack from the parian, the Spanish and native companies swarmed to defend their respective sections of the wall. Even the lay brothers among the friars had formed a company of their own, and were looking very fierce with their habits tucked up under their cinctures and armed to the teeth, some with sword and pike, others with lighted fuse and arquebus. López, accompanied by one of the scholastics who flourished a rusty and obviously useless halberd, moved along the parapet hearing confessions.

When the sangleys finally attacked, it was pell-mell, with no sort of direction or concert. Some ran in ragged groups with scaling ladders which they tried to place against the wall, but concentrated fire from the walls dispersed them with heavy loss before they could achieve their purpose. Others made for the gates as though to force them open, but with nothing but clubs and axes to do it with. They too turned back before the murderous musketry, leaving scores of dead behind. All day until late in the afternoon they kept coming, trusting blindly in whatever gods had told them through their auguries that the city would be theirs; but the gods had lied.

As the twilight lengthened and the sangleys retired to lick their wounds, Acuña sent out his incendiary patrols to set more fires, in order to clear the area near the walls completely of cover. By nightfall the quarter of the soap-makers and the parishes of San Miguel, Dilao (now Paco), and Bagumbayan were a mass of flames. Showers of sparks from the burning buildings fell on the walled city, carried by a seaward breeze. The San José scholars, experts now at this sort of thing, stood by the stacks of nipa thatch which used to be their roof and kept it from burning, while the Jesuit lay brothers and novices did the same with the nipa of the residence and church. Prat, the master of novices, and Armano, the rector of San José, directed operations and doubtless prevented the emergency from turning into a lark.

Acuña, having taken the measure of the enemy, decided to counterattack in the morning. Three of the college fathers stayed up all night, going from company to company in a slow circuit of the walls to hear the

confessions of the men who might be going into battle with the first light. All the priests of the college celebrated early Mass, after which they assembled with the lay brothers for a conference which López had called for the purpose of determining their course of action in the emergency. It was decided to consume the Blessed Sacrament and to bury the sacred vessels and the most important documents. If the day's battle should turn against them and the enemy effect an entrance to the city, were they merely to remain quiet and offer no resistance? No, they said; it was lawful in this instance to take up arms and fight with the rest of the citizens, for it was not merely their own lives at stake, but that of the commonwealth. Until that crisis arose, however, they were to continue as before to attend to prayer and the spiritual ministry of priests and religious.

The sortie was made through the royal gate by a column of picked Spanish and Japanese infantry. It was commanded by the hard-bitten Juan Juárez Gallinato, who had behind him years of hazardous soldiering not only in the Philippines but in other countries of the Far East. The sangleys had drawn their battle line in solid formation facing the gate, its left wing anchored on the parish church of Dilao, its right extending to the bridge across the inlet which divided Dilao from the parian. Gallinato drew up his Spanish musketeers in a wide screen in front of the gate and told them to hold their ground. He then sent the Japanese to execute a practiced maneuver: they advanced toward a section of the Chinese battle line, and, having engaged it, gave ground slowly, drawing it forward until it was within range of the musketeers. They then disengaged in a lightning move, and wheeling rapidly to one side, opened the enemy line to the full shock of a musket volley.

This tactic was repeated successfully several times until the Chinese commanders found a way to counter it. They permitted several units to be drawn forward by the Japanese as usual, but just before they came within range of the muskets, had them break into a feigned retreat. It looked like the beginning of a general rout, and the Japanese, instead of continuing the maneuver, set off in hot pursuit. This was too much for the Spaniards, who broke ranks against orders and advanced for what they thought would be the kill. Gallinato bawled after them to stop, but could not make himself heard. The Chinese kept yielding ground, invitingly, in the direction of the parish church, and the Japanese and Spaniards, in their eagerness to secure that prize, failed to notice the ominous swing of the massed Chinese right, scooping them up in an enveloping movement that would have cut off their retreat and inevitably overwhelm them. López and Montoya, who had taken their station in the bell tower of the college church, watched with their hearts in their mouths as Gallinato plunged into the melee and finally succeeded, at great personal risk, in extricating his command from the trap.

It seems strange that there was not a single piece of artillery emplaced

anywhere along the length of the city wall that faced inland; yet such was the case. They had probably been removed to arm the galleons and some at least must have gone down with Morga's ill-fated *San Antonio*. At any rate, the lack was remedied by the resourcefulness of a prebendary of the Cebu cathedral, Rodrigo de Figueroa, who as a young man had seen military service in Naples and Lombardy. Under his direction two guns which had been hauled across the city from the citadel were manhandled into position, one over the parian gate and the other near the royal gate, where the Dilao church fell just within its range. This gun now went into action, and made life for the sangleys who had taken possession of the church so uncomfortable that they abandoned it and retired to the parian. Meanwhile another attempt by the rebels to rush the parian gate was flung back by the other piece, which did great damage. It was serviced by an artillery officer named John the Greek, whose pious practice it was to dedicate each deadly shot to one of his favorite saints, and he had a great number of them.

With Gallinato now in possession of Dilao and artillery being brought to bear, the position of the sangleys in the parian was much less happy than it had been the previous day. It was now rendered desperate by the sudden descent of the Bulacan and Pampanga levies, who, cutting across the bay, rowed up the Pasig in their warboats, streaked past the city and fell upon the rebels. Caught between this unexpected attack and Gallinato's force the sangleys lost what little cohesion they had. They fled in the only direction they could, inland, splitting into two main bodies which were mere frightened mobs. One column of about 2,000 streamed toward the region of Calamba, the other, about the same in number, toward the town of Pasig. The pursuing force under Major Cristóbal de Azcueta broke up the two concentrations. The rest was carnage. Not only the regular troops but the entire population, including the Aetas of the hills, fell upon the sangleys and massacred them without mercy. The fighting men of Antipolo alone accounted for 1,500. Archbishop Benavides estimated the Chinese dead at 15,000. The few who were spared were reduced to captivity and put to work strengthening the fortifications of the city they had failed to take. Eng Kang was tried and condemned to death. López, who was present at the execution, said that he died like a Christian, accepting his doom as a penalty for his sins, but asserting to the end that he was innocent of the charge for which he was being executed. To the few surviving merchants Acuña returned the goods which they had deposited in the walled city, about 70,000 pesos' worth. The unclaimed merchandise, valued at 360,000, he distributed as largesse among the victorious troops.

In order to ensure that the incident caused no interruption in the China trade which was so vital to the colony, Acuña multiplied his assurances to the merchants that business would be carried on as usual, except that the immigration laws would henceforth be more strictly enforced. He also

took care to write to the Canton authorities, giving them the antecedents of the uprising and justifying the action taken by his government. The annual junk fleet came as usual in 1604, to the great joy of the citizens, who treated the merchants with the utmost consideration. Since the parian was in ruins, Acuña permitted them to reside in the walled city while they disposed of their merchandise.[30]

The junks of 1605 brought a reply to Acuña's communication from the inspector-general of Fukien province. The inspector-general stated that upon being informed of the massacre, the imperial ministers met to consider what would be the appropriate action to take relative to it. They took note of the fact that the Chinese who had emigrated to Luzon had made many positive contributions to the welfare of that country, such as helping to build walls and buildings, cultivating farms and orchards, and other useful works of that nature. It seemed less than just that the Spaniards should requite such services in this bloody fashion.

Nevertheless, they decided that the imperial government would take no reprisals. In the first place, a treaty of friendship existed between the two governments. Secondly, there was not complete certainty regarding some aspects of the affair. Thirdly, the Chinese who had perished in the massacre were, in a certain sense, undesirable citizens, who by abandoning their homes and families in China had renounced their allegiance to the empire. Fourthly, the incident had been occasioned at least in part by the lying tales of a certain Tiongeng, who had been duly executed and his head exposed in a cage. And finally, Luzon is, after all, "only a wretched little country of no importance whatever, the abode—in former times—of snakes and devils." The governor of Luzon, concluded the inspector-general, will doubtless be suitably impressed by the magnanimity of this decision, and derive from it a juster concept than hitherto of the greatness and power of the emperor of China.[31]

The College of Manila emerged from the crisis considerably impoverished, for its lands and houses on the north bank which had been leased by the sangleys accounted for 1,900 pesos of its annual revenue.[32] Nevertheless, García was able to keep its classes open, and in 1604 the first three-year cycle of the arts course was successfully completed. The generosity of the Manilans enabled him to cover the church with a tile roof which was completed in 1604. As for the College of San José, the Annual Letter of 1605 tells us that

> . . . it had gone into a decline by reason of the wars and disturbances to which this city is ordinarily subject, and because of the failure of the ships plying between here and Mexico to reach port. But when we had resigned ourselves to its demise, Our Lord was pleased to raise it up, so that it is today as sought after and full of students as never before. The study of letters flourishes. A lecture is given in the refectory twice a week on some subject related to their class matter. In all

school functions to which the public is invited the resident students are the first to contribute declamations and original compositions as well. A constant improvement in external behavior and the interior life takes place, for almost everyone habitually goes to confession every eight days. All are sodalists, take the discipline throughout the year, wear the hairshirt often, give alms to penniless soldiers (never lacking in this country), and practice mental prayer. The older students help the others by inciting them to the practice of virtue and drawing them away from bad company; in this they give great edification not only to their parents but to the community at large. One of them joined the Society this year, and another the Dominicans.[33]

The order and method which had been established in the missions were likewise beginning to achieve results. Each principal town now had its men's sodality, whose members pledged themselves to the regular reception of the sacraments, service in the hospitals, visiting the sick, burying the dead, and other works of mercy. At Dulag a girls' school had been opened alongside that of the boys. The girls came as half-boarders, spending the day with their schoolmistress, the wife of the fiscal of the town, who taught them not only the catechism but handicrafts. The system of dividing the catechumentate into grades which was developed at Ormoc was extended to all the missions. The catechists whom the missionaries had attached to their households as boys and given a special training were now beginning to make up for their lack of numbers.

Because the centers of population are many and the workers few, it is impossible to visit them as often as we would like. To remedy this situation we have chosen from among those who have been brought up in our houses from childhood a number of young men, the most capable and loyal and the most thoroughly instructed in Christian doctrine and the ways of civilized life, and we have assigned them to the towns to perform a function similar to those whom the blessed Father Francis Xavier called in his letters *canacapulis*. As school-masters they each have a school in which they teach the children their prayers. They assemble the people on feast days in the chapel to recite the catechism. On Fridays they take the discipline there along with many others. They see to it that drunken feasts are not held and irregular unions outside of marriage are not contracted; in particularly difficult cases they consult the priest. They send word to us when anyone is in danger of death, administer baptism in cases of extreme necessity, assist at the death bed and help dying Christians to make the act of contrition. In this way they make up to a large extent for the shortage of priests.[34]

It was time for the architects of this apostolate, Prat and García, to transmit it to younger and more vigorous hands. When García dispatched Chirino as procurator to Rome, he especially charged him to persuade the provincial of Mexico to have him replaced as soon as possible. On 19 February 1603 Chirino wrote from Mexico as follows: "Your Reverence will forgive me if I have taken no steps to have you relieved of your office. I never did intend to from the beginning . . . If God wishes to give your

Reverence a rest, He has to do it without my help." To which García replied June 1603: "Dear Father Chirino: I see. You never intended, and do not now intend to do anything to have me changed. I certainly picked a fine procurator! I thought that was what I asked you to attend to most of all! Well, don't expect any thanks for the good opinion you have of me. It has no foundation in fact. I would be better pleased if you thought me useless."

On 12 September 1604 God did arrange, without Chirino's help, for his faithful servant Diego García to attain the rest he had so wistfully looked forward to. He died at fifty-two while conducting a visitation of the College of Manila. When the news reached Cebu, his good friend Bishop Agurto preached a touching eulogy, taking for his text: *He was beloved of God and men: and his memory shall be held in benediction.*

About four months later, on 17 January 1605, Ramón Prat was also called to his reward. Death did not come for him as quickly as it did for García, and so there was time for his many friends to say farewell. First came the notables of the city, Archbishop Benavides, Governor Acuña; the community of the college; the novices. Last of all came the members of the Tagalog choir, and they asked him if there was any song he would like to hear. He asked them to sing his favorite, a hymn of his boyhood which ran: "Let my eyes see thee, good and gentle Jesus; let my eyes see thee, and then let me die."[35]

The passing of these two men was the passing of an era, the era of foundations; how their successors built on those foundations, whether well or ill, I shall now attempt to relate.

BOOK TWO

Growth under Stress

The Province, 1605-1655

Chapter Ten

THE MEN

On 25 February 1605 a fast dispatch boat from Acapulco dropped anchor at Cavite and set ashore a special courier. He was Gaspar Gómez, the lay brother whom Dasmariñas the Elder sent as a confidential agent to the Moluccas, and who subsequently accompanied Father Francisco de Vera to Mexico. This time, he was the bearer of two important packets, one for Governor Acuña and the other for the Jesuits. The governor's packet we shall examine later, although it was what chiefly motivated the sending of the dispatch boat. More to our present purpose was that directed to Diego García, notice of whose death had not yet reached across the Pacific. Gregorio López, who as rector of the College of Manila had automatically succeeded him as vice-provincial, opened it. It informed him that Father General Acquaviva had erected the Philippine vice-province, hitherto dependent on Mexico, into a full-fledged province of the Society of Jesus.[1]

This was an arrangement which the Philippine Jesuits had long been advocating. Both Sedeño and Sánchez believed that, due to the distance of the Philippines from Mexico, the Jesuit establishments in the Islands could not be properly administered except by a superior with the powers of a provincial, especially with regard to the admission of candidates and the disposal of property. Moreover, dependence on the Mexican province entailed several serious disadvantages, according to Ribera.[2] One was that the vice-province had to contribute toward the expenses of the annual visitation which the provincial of Mexico made of his province, a visitation which did not include the Philippines. Another was that the Mexican provincial felt free to retain in Mexico missionaries who were on their way to the Philippines from Europe. He looked each group over, chose the best men for himself, and sent the rest ahead. True, he occasionally replaced the men whom he retained with others; with those, namely, whom he did not particularly want. This was not quite fair. Ribera himself, after all, was one of these replacements. Moreover, we know that at least on one occasion the reason for stopping the Philippine men in Mexico was in order that they might complete their training there; all, or almost all of them were sent ahead after their ordination to the priesthood. Still, there seems to have been something in Ribera's claim that several hard cases were sent to the Philippines in the pious hope that "a change of climate would make

them better men"—a hope seldom if ever realized. He mentioned one particular individual who had eventually to be dismissed from the Society.

In spite of the cogency of these arguments, Acquaviva was slow to sever the small and recently founded establishment which the Society had in the Philippines from its Mexican connection. To obviate the principal difficulties represented by the Philippine Jesuits, he drew up an ordinance regulating the relations between province and vice-province. In this ordinance, dated 16 December 1602, he communicated to the vice-provincial of the Philippines all the essential powers of a provincial, in particular that of assigning to each member of the vice-province his work and station, and of designating local superiors, vice-rectors, and other officials whose appointment was not reserved by the Society's constitutions to the general. He could not, however, dismiss any member of the vice-province from the Society without the prior approval of the general, or in urgent cases of the provincial of Mexico. There were several other cases in which Acquaviva had delegated his own powers to that functionary; in all such cases the vice-provincial was to have recourse to him. But if the Mexican provincial issued any orders which the Philippine vice-provincial considered inexpedient, and the majority of his consultors agreed, he was empowered to suspend the execution of such orders pending representation. Moreover, the Mexican provincial had no authority to recall any member of the vice-province without the consent of the vice-provincial, nor to retain in Mexico missionaries specifically assigned to the Philippines except on the advice of his consultors, in which case he was to communicate to the vice-provincial his reasons for retaining them. Finally, he was not to stop any procurator whom the vice-provincial might choose to send to Rome.[3]

Two years after this ordinance was issued, Chirino arrived in Rome as procurator of the vice-province. Needless to say, the request for an independent province was high in the list of petitions which he presented to Acquaviva. This time, the general permitted himself to be convinced. The detailed reports which Chirino submitted both verbally and in writing showed that the vice-province had the financial resources to support the increased personnel of a province, and the facilities at Manila to give a proper intellectual and religious formation both to novices locally recruited and scholastics who might be sent there from Europe and America. The missions were in a flourishing state, they were being administered with little or no help from Mexico, and there was ample room for expansion. In fact, so pleased was Acquaviva with Chirino's account of what the Philippine Jesuits were doing that he had him put it all down in writing for publication. It came out that same year, 1604, from the press of Esteban Paulino at Rome; a small 200-page book, written in limpid and vigorous Castilian, to which the present narrative is greatly indebted.

The most important problem which the new province had to cope with was that of obtaining a sufficient number of men to carry on its work. Only a small fraction of its membership could be recruited from the Philippines itself; the majority had of necessity to come as missionaries from Europe and Mexico. One of Chirino's commissions was to obtain as large a contingent as he could from the general and the Spanish provincials. It was hoped that the latter would be disposed to be more generous, now that the Philippines was ready to accept not only priests and formed lay brothers, but scholastics, novices, and even postulants. They were. A group of twenty volunteers was formed under the leadership of Father Pedro de Montes, former rector of the colleges of Granada and Seville. They left Seville on 14 June 1604 and arrived without mishap on 22 June of the following year, although some of the company apparently stayed behind in Mexico and came with the expedition of 1606.[4] With the exception of Montes, who was 44 years old, they were young men mostly in their teens; as López reported to Acquaviva after welcoming them to the Philippines, "a few were theologians, more were philosophers, still more students of grammar, and some novices who have yet to begin their *musa, musae.*" He was not complaining; he was happy to get them; but, he added with a shrewdness born of necessity, "with this goodly number of young people to train, and with the gap in our ranks caused by the death of Fathers Diego García and Raymundo de Prado, our petition must again be for men already formed and especially for some of exceptional ability who can function as masters of novices, professors of theology, and superiors on whom Your Paternity can place complete reliance."[5] Acquaviva and the Spanish provincials must have thrown up their hands at the unabashed importunity of this last and littlest of the Society's provinces, which began with a modest request for young men still in their training, and ended by asking for men "of exceptional ability" to help train them!

Still, they did their best to keep the Philippines supplied with the men it needed. Several years earlier, for instance, García had represented the great need there was in the vice-province for "a brother painter who can teach some of the natives in the residences we have now to paint the statues and retables in the churches, which are very deficient, they tell me, in this regard." A brother architect would come in very handy too, to take charge of the vice-province's building program, "for since the natives are so primitive and so recently converted, there is no one among them who knows anything about this; and even here in Manila we can scarcely find someone to consult regarding the reconstruction of the church." In the Italian provinces, García suggested, "there are usually brothers who are skilled in these trades; if someone among them should feel the call and inclination to come here, he will be received with open arms."[6] This invitation was answered by Francesco Simón, or Simone, of Aquila, a painter,

who came in the group headed by Gregorio López. It was composed of seven priests and three brothers, and arrived in Manila, as we mentioned earlier, on 19 May 1601. The following year—18 November 1602—a smaller group came; three priests and one brother; but the brother was another Italian, Gian Camillo Riccio, who must indeed have been welcomed with open arms, for he was a carpenter. He was sent at once to the Visayan missions and rendered invaluable service by supervising the construction of the mission chapels and residences.[7]

The expedition of 1603 consisted of two priests and four scholastics, the latter being those who formed part of the inaugural class of theology in the College of Manila. It was followed in 1605 by Montes and his group and in 1606 by Chirino with two priests and four scholastics. After 1606 the newly created province adopted the practice of the other overseas provinces of sending a procurator to Europe at regular intervals of six years or so, for the purpose among other things of bringing new missionaries back with him. Thus the expeditions became less frequent, but larger than those we have enumerated.

Seven procurators were sent by the Philippine province to Europe during the fifty years following its erection: Alonso de Humanes in 1609, Diego de Otazo in 1615, Francisco Gutiérrez in 1621, Francisco de Encinas in 1627, Juan López in 1633, Diego de Bobadilla in 1637, and Miguel Solana in 1647. Humanes returned in 1615 with an expedition of twenty Jesuits. Fifteen of this number—six priests, eight scholastics, and one lay brother—were contributed by the four Spanish provinces of Castile, Toledo, Aragon, and Andalusia, and by the province of Sardinia; the other five probably joined the expedition in Mexico. The expedition organized by Otazo sailed from Cadiz in 1620 but without him, because he was taken suddenly ill. Juan de Bueras led another group of twenty which arrived in the Philippines in 1622. It was composed of fourteen priests and six scholastics who had volunteered from the Spanish and Italian provinces. The expedition organized by Gutiérrez left Cadiz in 1625, again without the procurator; the superior appointed was Juan de Aguirre. The names of one priest and seven scholastics in this group are known, but the total number is not. They arrived in the Philippines in 1626. The fourth expedition was again a group of twenty (seven priests, nine scholastics, two lay brothers, and two postulants), including the procurator Encinas and his lay brother companion. They left Cadiz in June 1631 and reached Cavite in May of the following year, with the exception of Father Mateo de Aguilar, who died during the voyage. Royal permission was granted to the procurator Juan López on 18 April 1635 to take twelve Jesuits with him to the Philippines, but we do not know how many actually went on this expedition.

But by far the largest expedition to be sent to the Philippines during this

period was the sixth. The procurator, Bobadilla, and his assistant, Simón Cotta, set sail from Cadiz on 15 July 1641 with forty-one missionaries gathered from twelve provinces of the Society: Rome, Milan, Naples, Sicily, Upper Germany, Austria, the French-speaking Belgian Province, Sardinia, and the four Spanish provinces. Twenty-eight were priests, eleven scholastics and two lay brothers. Five more joined the expedition in Mexico—two priests and three scholastics—but five died during the Pacific crossing, so that including Bobadilla (the assistant procurator Cotta stayed behind in Mexico), forty-two altogether arrived in the Philippines in July 1643. Solana, the seventh procurator to be sent during this period, obtained royal permission to return to the Philippines with thirty missionaries, but due to the plague then ravaging Andalusia and the civil war in Catalonia which cut off a part of the province of Aragon from the rest of Spain he was not able to fill this quota in a single expedition. Four were dispatched in 1650, nine in 1651, and nine more, including Solana and his lay brother companion, in 1653.[8] We do not know how many of these actually reached the Philippines. Thus, the total number of Jesuit missionaries from Europe and Mexico who joined the Philippine province during the period 1615–1653 was, as far as we can gather from the existing records, in the neighborhood of 140. Actually there must have been somewhat more than this, for Colín informs us that in 1656, seventy-five years after the foundation of the Philippine mission and fifty years after its erection into a province, a total of 272 Jesuit missionaries had come to the Philippines from abroad: 151 priests, 198 scholastics and 23 lay brothers.[9]

By far the greater number of these missionaries were Spaniards. However, volunteers from the Italian provinces figure among the earliest expeditions. Almerici, it will be recalled, was an Italian, and so were the two lay brothers Simone and Riccio. There were five Italians in the group that came with Gregorio López in 1601; two out of four in that of 1602; two out of six in that of 1603. In 1615 the province of Sardinia began to send men to the Philippines, and Italians and Sardinians invariably formed part of the expeditions thereafter. Toward the middle of the century the Philippine procurators began to range more widely in their search for volunteers. Bobadilla appealed not only to the Italian but to the German and French-speaking provinces, three of which responded with two priests each. The Italian provinces also rose to the occasion with a larger quota than usual, so that of the forty-one that arrived with Bobadilla in 1643, twenty were non-Spaniards. It is sometimes difficult to identify them on the basis of the printed sources because they adopted Spanish names, a custom which their successors continued. Thus, Walter Sonnenberg of Luzern exchanged his fine German name for Ignacio de Monte; the Austrian Adolf Steinhauser became Juan de Pedrosa; the Neapolitan Carlo Receputo began to

call himself Carlos de Valencia. These selfless men adapted themselves so thoroughly to Spanish ways and customs that in many cases their nationality can be traced only by having recourse to the manuscript catalogues in the central archives of the Society.

If one stops to consider that the Spanish provinces were sending missionaries to all the Jesuit establishments in Central and South America, it is not difficult to see why they had to call on the other European provinces for assistance. Moreover, the general economic decline of Spain during the seventeenth century began to have an increasingly serious effect on the number of applicants whom the Spanish Jesuits were able to receive. According to Astráin, many of the Spanish residences and colleges of the Society were so impoverished and so deeply in debt by the second quarter of the seventeenth century that their financial situation can only be described as distressing. It was chiefly with Spain in mind that the eighth general congregation of the Order (1645–1646) took the unusual step of authorizing the general to limit the number of novices which each province could admit each year, and even to suspend the reception of candidates altogether if he thought that the finances of the province could not support any increase in membership. "This one fact," says Astráin, "proves better than any arguments which may be elaborated the extreme poverty which the Society of Jesus was undergoing at the time. When the extreme measure had to be adopted of not admitting any more religious because it was impossible to give them sustenance, one ought to be convinced that the finances of the Society were in a truly lamentable state."

But this was not all. The period also saw the outbreak of a protracted civil war in Catalonia (1639–1652) and of epidemics in central and southern Spain. Thus, while the number of vocations fell off in the province of Aragon, a considerable number of Jesuits succumbed while assisting the plague-stricken in those of Toledo and Andalusia. These disasters are reflected in the statistics compiled by Astráin. During the years between 1615 and 1625, the membership of the four Spanish provinces showed a small but constant increase, with the exception of Castile, which fell from 570 to 550 members. After 1625, however, the totals dipped with alarming rapidity, so that while there were 2,173 Jesuits in Spain in 1616 there were only 1,800 in 1652. It speaks well of the generosity and zeal of the Spanish provinces that they managed in spite of this thinning out of their ranks to send as many missionaries as they did to the Philippines.[10]

These economic considerations bring out another important aspect of the personnel problem of the Philippine province. It would have been impossible to send any missionaries there at all had not the Spanish government shouldered the greater part of their expenses during that long and costly voyage.[11] Besides giving them free passage on government transports or paying their passage in privately owned vessels, the king through the

House of Trade at Seville granted to each missionary an allowance for "an outfit of clothing, of the kind they are wont to wear, and a mattress, a blanket and straw for the voyage"; and also to reimburse them for what they spent in transporting themselves from their respective residences in Spain to Seville, and from Seville to the port of embarkation, that is, either Sanlúcar de Barrameda or Cádiz. This allowance amounted on the average to 32,000 maravedis or about $250 per missionary in the early part of the seventeenth century. Moreover, since the missionaries usually had to wait at Seville for their companions to assemble, and after that for the Indies convoy to complete its preparations for the voyage, each missionary was also granted a subsistence allowance of one and a half rials (about 30 cents) per day for the period of his sojourn in Seville.

Upon landing at Vera Cruz, the superior of each expedition presented the royal officials there with a treasury warrant which entitled him to the necessary funds for the transport of his men and their luggage by pack animals to Mexico City. He presented a similar warrant to the officials of Mexico City for the journey to Acapulco. If any of his men should fall ill, as was very likely given the arduous conditions of travel in those days, he was entitled to medical care at government expense. The missionaries were not ungrateful for this truly royal munificence. At the end of his report to Father General Vitelleschi, Bobadilla, the head of the large Jesuit expedition of 1643, makes the following observation:

> Let me close with a word about the liberality of our great sovereign Philip IV . . . At Seville he gave us for the voyage 8,040 ducats [about $32,000], and here in New Spain we are to receive an additional 13,000 pieces of eight [about $20,500]. This does not quite cover the enormous expenditures we have had to make in the course of such protracted journeys overland and oversea, and must still make; but it is an alms of a size that no other sovereign on earth would be likely to give, and this at a time when funds are so badly needed to wage so many wars for the defense of the Catholic faith.[12]

And he adds that a group of Dominicans were on their way to the Philippines at the same time; and since they were exactly half the number in the Jesuit group, twenty, they had very likely been given half the sum that had been granted to the Jesuits.

It is quite true, however, as Bobadilla notes, that the royal grants did not quite suffice for the expenses of the traveling missionaries. The deficit had to be made up by the Philippine province of the religious order to which they belonged. Moreover, their actual extraction from the disbursement officials concerned were accompanied by the annoyances, delays, and petty graft which seem to be inevitable in a bureaucracy, especially one as huge and sprawling as that of imperial Spain. Fray Diego de Aduarte, who set out from Spain with a group of Dominicans assigned to the Philippines

in the same year as Chirino and his companions (1605), gave the viceroy of Mexico a rueful but diverting account of these trials.[13] After describing the difficulties he experienced at Valladolid, where the court was resident, in negotiating the royal order permitting his expedition to sail, he goes on to relate his encounters with the Seville officials.

> In Seville . . . another swarm of difficulties arise. The ordinary procedure in the House of Trade is to append additional clauses to the cédulas of his Majesty. Many conditions are attached to the approval of these additions, noncompliance with any one of which is sufficient for approval to be withheld. Since it often happens that some requisite or other is missed, the embarrassment of one who has already brought his companions to Seville, and does not have sufficient funds for their support, may easily be imagined. This happened to me, and I certainly was not the first to whom it happened, nor will I be the last. I suffered such frustration that it cost me no little effort not to abandon the whole project there and then.
>
> Furthermore, the allowance given at Seville to the religious for their journey falls far short of what they need. After paying for their clothes, beds, transport of books, and passage on the ferry from Seville to Sanlúcar, all they have left to buy shipboard supplies is 22 ducats. This was the case with us, and it is clearly impossible at this rate to obtain anything like what is necessary . . .
>
> Armed though he comes from Seville with all the necessary papers, the traveler will not fail to find obstacles awaiting him at Sanlúcar . . . even though it be nothing more than the handouts which are ordinarily demanded by the registry clerk and the customs inspector . . . It is absolutely outrageous. The clerk asked me for three rials for each member of my group. I did not think this was proper, so I went to the accountant and told him about it. He did not think so either, and said he would take care of it. He certainly did, for the next day he told me to give the clerk what he asked and to give *him* one and a half rials per head, otherwise we did not go on board. On my word as a priest, this actually happened.

Fray Diego goes on in this vein. The royal treasury officials at Mexico City were especially trying. Even if one had the patience of a Job, he says, he would need it all because of the numerous opportunities they provided for losing it. As for the bureaucrats at Acapulco, they woodenly refused to give his friars any lodgings while waiting for the galleon to take in passengers. Fray Diego showed them nothing less than a royal cédula ordering it, but they kept repeating that the order had to be countersigned by the viceroy of Mexico. As a result, they had to build shelters for themselves and sleep *al fresco* for two and a half months. It did not seem quite fair, Fray Diego concluded, that men who had sacrificed family, friends, and native land to spend their lives converting the heathen and discharging the king's conscience should be subjected to such unnecessary hardships.

But they were; and to other, heavier trials as well; as though the Lord they served wanted to bring home to these dedicated men, right from the beginning of their apostolate, that he meant to demand of them the last

full measure of devotion. Fray Diego gives us a perceptive insight of what going out to the Philippines must have meant to these seventeenth-century missionaries.

They have no sooner started on their journey than they hear a thousand evil reports of the land to which they are going; and even if nothing more is said about it than that bread and wine are not to be had there, this alone is enough to appall a giant. Those who have the strength of mind to overcome these fears, when they come to the water's edge, are terrified by the sea. They hear the usual dire prognostications that the convoy is sure to be lost because it is putting out from Spain so late in the season (as it almost always does), and they have not the heart to embark. If they are equal to this trial and do embark, they promptly become seasick, never having gone to sea before and the cramped quarters of a ship being what they are. Many lie flat on their backs during the whole course of the voyage, desiring to be back on land as though life itself depended upon it.

They land on New Spain, with the prospect before them of another and even longer voyage than that which they have just endured. The strange climate begins to affect them. Some die. Others contract a thousand illnesses. The tales they are told about their destination are not better than what they heard in Spain; much worse, in fact, for they now have them from eye-witnesses, both lay people and friars, and they scarce have the courage to go any further.

Just how cramped the accommodations were in the ships of the period may be gathered from the fact that in 1604 Montes and his group of twenty Jesuits were assigned "three ordinary cabins ten feet long by eight feet wide," and a fourth cabin "a little larger."[14] Ten feet long by eight feet wide is not much space for five full-grown men. Similar accommodations were given to Aguirre and his companions in 1625. Diego de Cartagena, a scholastic who made this voyage, tells us how they managed in their cubbyhole under the quarterdeck. It was so small, he said, that the only way they could all fit inside when they went to bed was to lie with the feet of one resting on the head of another. What made it even more crowded was that they had to keep their boxes of ship's biscuit in the cabin in order to have them handy, for otherwise they would have been stowed away in the hold. The cabin door was so blocked up with gear as a result that they had to crawl into it like cats, and once within, it was an effort even to breathe. Under these conditions no one took off his clothes, "for the sake of holy modesty," and everyone was soon crawling with vermin as big as chickpeas.[15]

Gemelli Careri, an Italian traveler who made the Pacific crossing somewhat later in the century, became quite an expert on these vermin.

The ship swarms with little vermine the Spaniards call *gorgojos*, bred in the biskit; so swift that they in a short time not only run over cabbins, beds and the very dishes the men eat on, but insensibly fasten upon the body. There are several

other sorts of vermin of sundry colours that suck the blood. Abundance of flies fall into the dishes of broth, in which there also swim worms of several sorts.[16]

Since Cartagena and his fellow scholastics had their biscuit in the cabin with them, one can easily believe that their gorgojos were—or at any rate felt—bigger than ordinary. In 1643 Bobadilla was able to obtain much roomier quarters for his large expedition. The Mexican officials assigned them to the smaller of the two galleons making the Pacific crossing that year, and gave them the whole quarterdeck from port to starboard, a luggage room in which to stow their gear, and a private stateroom for Bobadilla himself. This was indeed to travel in style. But the captain of the vessel, Don Martín de Arreguía, was still not satisfied, and gave them in addition half of his quarters on the poopdeck. With this, Bobadilla relates,

> . . . we were able to make arrangements conformable to our religious way of life. On the port side of the quarterdeck we fixed up an infirmary for the many who fell sick . . . On the poopdeck we placed benches against the bulkheads and thus made of it a fair refectory, with the passageway as kitchen and buttery. Thus the space assigned to us permitted our men to rest well at night and to stretch their legs in the day time on the poopdeck and passageway.[17]

But this was exceptional, and was doubtless due, at least in part, to the fact that Bobadilla belonged to a well-known Madrid family with connections at court. No amount of creature comforts, however, could make up for the length of the two ocean crossings. Normally, the voyage from Sanlúcar or Cadiz to Vera Cruz was made by Spanish merchantmen in a convoy under naval escort and took two months. Vessels which crossed singly or in pairs without escort risked capture by English or Dutch privateers, but got to Mexico faster. Montes and his companions probably made the voyage on such a vessel, for they reached Mexico in little more than a month. On the other hand, it took Bobadilla's expedition eighty-two mortal days and nights to cross the Atlantic. They were repeatedly becalmed during the run from Porto Rico to Mexico, and water had to be rationed. The Pacific crossing took about two weeks longer on the average —if an average can be struck with reference to a voyage in which almost anything could happen. The greater part of this westward run was relatively safe and uneventful; what was uncertain and often perilous was the actual approach to the Philippines. If the galleon made a late start, some time in March or April, she was in for trouble, for she entered Philippine waters with the first typhoons of the year streaking across her path. But even if she cleared from Acapulco in February, no one on board—least of all, perhaps, the pilot—could promise himself a safe arrival. The *San Antonio*, which brought López and his companions to the Islands in 1601, set sail on 19 February; after a crossing of seventy-two days, they made their

Philippine landfall on 29 April; just before nightfall, the pilot thought he recognized a headland of Cape Espiritu Santo, which meant that they were right at the entrance of San Bernardino Strait; all was well. But all was not well. They were actually opposite the rock-ribbed Catanduanes coast, and, when a squall rose during the night, it was a miracle that they did not split against it. Instead, the galleon was driven into Sistran Bay between Luzon aud Quinalasag Island, and all on board, from the general, Antonio de Ribera Maldonado, to the last rating, were firmly convinced that it was their fervent prayers to Saint Ignatius, rather than their seamanship, which saved them from shipwreck. Saint Ignatius was not yet canonized at the time, but was, of course, already in a position to lend a helping hand. Very likely he did.[18]

Altogether then, if, to the five or so months at sea, five or more months spent in Mexico waiting for the Manila galleon are added, the journey from Spain to the Philippines took about a year. In order not to waste so much precious time, it was decided that, notwithstanding the confined quarters on board ship, the priests in each expedition would hold regular classes for the scholastics while at sea. Of Aguirre's expedition of 1625–1626 we learn that Father Francisco Colín, the future historian of the Philippine province, lectured on theology, our friend Diego de Cartagena, even as a scholastic, lectured on philosophy, and Father Pedro Parrado taught logic.[19] There is no reason why a biscuit box cannot serve as a professorial chair, but one hopes that Gemelli's "swarms of little vermine" were not too distracting.

Bobadilla and his companions, because of their much better accommodations, were even able to follow the regular order of a religious house. They rose at four in the morning and made the usual hour of mental prayer. If the sea was calm one or two priests celebrated Mass which the rest attended. The priests received communion every day Mass was offered; the scholastics two or three times a week. Morning and afternoon were devoted to class or study. The noon and night examinations of conscience were made at the sound of the bell, and there was reading at table in the poopdeck refectory. In the early evening the whole company sang the *Salve Regina* and recited the litany of Loretto. Then, at the request of the other passengers and the crew, one of the fathers gave a brief exhortation or told an *ejemplo*, an edifying story from the bible or the lives of saints.[20]

Religious festivals, celebrated in the exuberant Spanish manner with fireworks, artillery salvos, folk dances, and the breaking out of banners, prevented regular order from becoming monotonous. There were other, unexpected, interruptions. One experienced by Aguirre and his band was nearly tragic. The master of the vessel in which they crossed the Atlantic decided to make a brief stop at Guadeloupe, in the Lesser Antilles. All the passengers went ashore to replenish their water casks, wash out the gorgojos

from their clothes, and "free themselves for a day from the prison of their ship." The natives were naked savages, but seemed to be harmless enough, frequently raising their voices in the only Spanish they knew: "Amico bono, amico bono español." But on the second day, just as the Jesuits and other passengers, to the number of a hundred, were about to return to the ship in their boats, the natives without warning sent a flight of arrows into their midst. Five of the Jesuits fell wounded, but none mortally. Ignacio Martí, pierced through the shoulder, gave the ship's surgeon some concern but finally pulled through. After the first shock of surprise, those who had swords among the passengers closed ranks, and, though they had not a single firearm among them, advanced with such resolution that the natives abandoned their ambuscade and fled.[21]

During their stopover in New Spain, the priests on the Philippine expedition helped out in the various residences and missions, while the scholastics continued their studies in the colleges of Mexico and Puebla. It became customary for the theological students to be priested even before they had completed their third year, as long as they had the canonical age. This was because they were never quite certain of finding an ordaining prelate in the Philippines, since several years could pass between the death of a bishop and the arrival or consecration of his successor. Aboard the Manila galleon the regular shipboard order was resumed as far as conditions permitted.

The arrival of a missionary expedition was, of course, a great event in Manila. All the church bells of the walled city pealed a welcome, and a great crowd accompanied the travel-weary but thankful voyagers from the river gate to the church of their order, where the *Te Deum* was intoned. Bobadilla has left us an account of the reception given to himself and his forty-one Jesuits in 1643.[22] They had landed at Lampon, on the eastern coast of Luzon, and traveled to Manila overland. Father Igancio Mújica was sent from Manila to meet them. One hundred bearers were recruited to carry their baggage up the rainwashed, slippery trail that climbed to the Sierra Madre passes and plunged down again to the Lake of Bai where boats would take them down the Pasig River to Manila. Eight litters were provided for the sick. The rest walked. "In this manner," Bobadilla relates, "we traveled cross country for three days, over very rough ground, uphill and down again." One particular descent could be made negotiable for the fathers only by the bearers' cutting some eleven hundred steps into it with lengths of rough-hewn logs. At the lake village of Pangil a lay brother awaited them with a hot meal of enormous proportions "which we needed badly after the arduous way we had come." The alcalde mayor of the district provided them with boats and crews to take them across the lake and so down river to Manila. They were met part of the way by more than thirty gaily decorated vessels, full of the Jesuits' Tagalog and Chinese

friends and the scholars of San José and the College of Manila. They had brought a whole band of musicians with them and kept firing arquebus salvos in the air. Somewhat deafened by this ferocious reception, they stepped off their boats at the river gate, where the community of the college waited to take them home.

For, though they were more than 15,000 miles from Spain, they had indeed come home. They were among men who had found in the company formed by the Basque captain the opportunity for the same kind of dedicated service in the cause of God to which they, too, aspired, and who like them had crossed the perilous seas to establish in this remote corner of the earth the kingdom of Christ. The new arrivals were usually sent to the mission residences near Manila for a few weeks of rest and relaxation. Cartagena was sent to Taytay, where he found the saintly Father Juan de Salazar hard at work on a new stone church. He found the mission houses, which were made of bamboo, surprisingly comfortable, and the land in general by no means as unbearable as he had been led to expect. Wheat bread was even obtainable in Manila, baked from flour imported from Japan. Elsewhere, of course, boiled rice took the place of bread. He learned to eat it according to the custom of the country, without the benefit of spoon or fork, but simply by means of the *cinco mandamientos*, the five fingers.[23]

Notwithstanding the difficulty and expense of bringing in missionaries from abroad, the Philippine Jesuits were slow to accept local recruits into the Society. It does not appear that they ever seriously considered at this time the admission of *indios*, that is, pure-blooded Filipinos, to membership. This was in marked contrast to the policy adopted by the Portuguese Jesuits in Japan of fostering vocations not only to the lay brotherhood but even to the priesthood of the Society among the native-born Japanese. It conformed, however, to the climate of opinion which had developed in the Spanish Indies in the course of the sixteenth century, and continued to exert a decisive influence throughout the seventeenth.[24] The failure of early attempts to form a native clergy in Mexico was considered sufficient evidence that indios in general were not yet ready for holy orders, and several provincial councils discouraged further experiments in that direction. The first council of Mexico, for instance, declared in 1555 that holy orders were not to be conferred on indios, mestizos, and mulattoes, because they resembled the descendants of Moors and persons who had been sentenced by the Inquisition as lacking in the good repute which those who bear the sacerdotal character ought to have. This was slightly softened by the second council of Mexico (1585), which forbade "that Mexicans who are descended in the first degree from indios, or from Moors, or from parents one of whom is a negro, be admitted to holy orders without great care being exercised in their selection." Six years later, in 1591, the

second council of Lima decreed that the indios, being but newly converted to the faith, ought not to be promoted to any sacred order of the Church. These legislative precedents effectively blocked the admission of native Filipinos into the Society as candidates for the priesthood; and even the lay brotherhood was closed to them by the reason which motivated the decree of the council of Lima, namely, that their conversion to the faith was too recent for them to dedicate themselves by perpetual vows to a life of evangelical perfection. After Alonso Sancho, who was received as a lay brother not in the Philippines but in Rome, there is no record of a native Filipino becoming a Jesuit, even as a lay brother, before the expulsion of the Society from the Philippines in 1768.

The same disabilities, though for different reasons, were imposed by the prevailing climate of opinion on mestizos, or persons of mixed European and Asian parentage. It was not so much their constancy in the faith that was called in question as their constancy in virtue. They were in many instances children born out of lawful wedlock; and even those who were legitimate received their upbringing from native mothers (or, more often, servants and slaves) of limited intelligence and culture, growing up to adolescence in large disorganized households which favored the development of habits of self-indulgence rather than self-control. Such at least was the contention, and it must be admitted that there was a great deal of truth in it. The Jesuits of Peru, in a provincial congregation held in 1567, went on record as being opposed to the granting of holy orders to mestizos *passim*, that is, as a general rule, although they were willing to make exceptions in the case of those more than ordinarily gifted.[25]

Only a few raised their voices in warning against making too sweeping a generalization from the observed facts. One of them was the Jesuit José de Acosta, whose opposition to Alonso Sánchez's China project we have had the occasion to record. He was one of the principal theologians of the second Council of Lima, and his treatise on missionary methods, *De procuranda Indorum salute*, exerted wide influence. It went beyond the bounds of justice, he claimed, to question out of hand the origin of those born of a Spanish father and a native mother. Such men are by no means to be despised merely on the grounds of their mixed parentage. Timothy, after all, St. Paul's disciple whom he consecrated bishop, was the child of a pagan father and a Jewish mother; "and it may well be that among these *mestizos* we shall come upon another Timothy." However, Acosta agreed on the basis of long experience that the utmost care should be taken in selecting, training, and proving such men before committing to them the responsibilities of the priesthood.[26] The Philippine Jesuits were less disposed to make exceptions. Hernán Suárez says of the mestizos of Manila in his time that "they cannot be admitted to the priesthood because they are a low type of people with little inclination to this way of life;" while

Diego García, in one of his reports to Acquaviva, more succinctly stated that to admit mestizos into the Society was not advisable—*non expedit*.[27]

The exclusion of native Filipinos and mestizos limited the area of local recruitment to two groups, neither of them very numerous: Europeans who had emigrated to the colony and *criollos*, persons born in the Philippines of European parents. Moreover, aspirants even from these two groups were subjected to special scrutiny and restrictive regulation. With regard to criollos, the congregation of the Peruvian province mentioned above proposed to Father General Mercurian that only those over twenty years of age and of proven virtue should be admitted to the Society. This proposal was approved; but the criollos who joined the order under this dispensation apparently did not turn out so well, for thirty-six years later, in 1603, we find Acquaviva not only renewing the age requirement but adding the following restriction:

> Let means be found to establish a number of seminaries in which those born in the country may be instructed and trained. Let the selection [of candidates for the Society] be made from these, in such wise as to preclude the necessity of admitting those accustomed to the [excessive] freedom of their own homes. However, if among the latter an older man should apply, who shall have completed the course of arts and one or two years of theology, and whose vocation and constancy in virtue shall have been tested satisfactorily for at least four years, we have no objection to his being admitted after a thorough discussion of the matter in consultation. Thus a number of priests who are called [to the Society] by God will not be entirely excluded.[28]

Similar instructions were issued to the provincial of Mexico. Greater latitude in the admission of criollos was apparently permitted in the Philippines, probably on the basis of a recommendation made by Alonso Sánchez, who wrote in 1583 that the charges of softness and inconstancy brought against criollos elsewhere did not apply to those of the Philippines, whose characters the arduous life in that frontier outpost could not but harden and anneal. García was more cautious. He thought criollos to be generally weak in character, and hence that "outside of a few soldiers and seamen who apply for the lay brotherhood" they should be refused admission. However, he revised his opinion some years later when he received six novices, some of them criollos. He still thought them weak, but not hopelessly so.[29] In general, Sánchez's estimate of the Philippine criollos seems to have been borne out by the event. Writing to López in 1605, Acquaviva said that, according to information received, the criollos who had been received into the Society in the Philippines had lived up to expectations; hence, if López and his consultors after discussing the matter thought it advisable, they could disregard the restrictions which were in force in Mexico and Peru. But he suddenly changed his mind four years later. "I consider it of the highest importance," he wrote to López,

that you proceed with great caution in the admission of those born in that country. The directives which we have sent to the other provincials of the western Indies on this subject should be kept. For this purpose a copy of them is being sent to your Reverence. I charge you to observe them strictly, for what has been experienced in other parts shows that this is wholly necessary."[30] This injunction was complied with to the letter and even a little beyond it, for Andrea Caro reported in 1615 that "only Europeans are admitted to the Society in this country, and even they are chosen with great care—*cum magno delectu*."[31] Francisco Gutiérrez, writing to Acquaviva the same year, protested against this complete exclusion of the criollos.

> Some of the students in our college who apply for the Society are capable young men of great promise, although they have only completed their humanities course and are among those born in this country [naturales de la tierra], otherwise known as criollos. A number of them seem apt for our Society, but for many years now no one has been admitted. I do not think this is wise, for we have certainly come across some very good prospects who lead model lives. By all means let us proceed with great caution in admitting candidates of this sort and test their vocation thoroughly. But to close the door altogether on all of them and thus deprive the Society of good members seems too narrow a policy, especially since there are no Europeans here who can be admitted excepting some ex-soldiers who are usually received as lay brothers. And as far as they are concerned, it would be far better not to admit so many of them, because they have very rough manners for one thing and for another most of them are good for nothing but to lay a heavy burden on the Society.[32]

This representation apparently had some effect, for criollos entered the Society thereafter, and turned out to be very fine Jesuits.

With regard to European emigrants from Europe the principal restriction was that they should be able to prove their *limpieza de sangre*, that is, that they were not of Jewish or Moorish descent. This had been decreed by the fifth General Congregation as an impediment to admission from which even the general could not dispense; a step occasioned by the serious internal disturbances which took place in the Spanish provinces during the early part of Acquaviva's generalate. "The Society desires to be all things to all men," the fathers of the congregation explained, "in order to bring salvation to all. But this does not necessarily mean that it must derive its members from every social class. What is more conducive to the greater glory of God and the more perfect fulfillment of its stated purpose is that its workers should be acceptable to people of every nation throughout the world, and that they should be such that their services may be willingly and confidently sought by those whose favorable or unfavorable attitude (as Father Ignatius of holy memory pointed out) is of great importance in providing or withholding opportunities for the service of God and the salvation of souls."[33] This last observation was certainly applicable to the

vast Spanish empire, where a priest of known Jewish or Moorish descent would have been of very limited usefulness.

It was relatively easy to obtain legal proof of *limpieza de sangre* in Spain itself, but not so easy in the Philippines. Several requests were submitted to Rome for a relaxation of the rule, and they were apparently granted at least to the extent that strictly legal evidence, such as affidavits from the applicant's place of origin, was dispensed with.

As may be expected, most of the Europeans who entered the Society in the Philippines as candidates for the priesthood were alumni of the College of Manila or San José. Pedro Tello, the nephew of Governor Tello, became a novice in 1602, a year after, in academic finery of tawny jusi cloth with scarlet facings, he served the first Mass in the San José chapel. Domingo de Peñalver, like many another young Spaniard of his adventurous age, had emigrated to the colonies to win gold and glory. He seems to have had no thought whatever of that other aim of Spanish colonization—God—when, one day in 1604, he walked into the College of Manila on a sudden impulse and sat down at the back of the class of rhetoric. Father Angelo Armano was lecturing, and Peñalver liked the lesson so much that he came back the next day. He must have had some previous schooling in Latin, for during the repetition period, when Armano could get no satisfactory recitation from his students, he got up and expounded the classical text so well that the class burst into spontaneous applause. That sealed his fate. He enrolled as a grammar student, and the following year entered the novitiate.[34]

But not all the Europeans who joined the Society in the Philippines were Spaniards. Daniel Theoclitos, who was employed as a foreman in the construction of the college church and became a novice brother in 1590, was a Greek. A transcript of the document by which he renounced all his worldly goods to become poor with Christ's poor has been preserved.[35] It reads:

> I, Daniel of Candia, two years having elapsed since I entered the Society [of Jesus with the object of] pronouncing the three vows which its members make at the end of two years, on this day, the nineteenth of March, Saint Joseph's day, 1592, make a donation of and irrevocably give to this house of the Society in Manila the sum of three hundred and some pesos which it owed and paid as part of the wages due to me, provided the Father General, or the Father Provincial in his name, approves this donation and does not judge that said sum would be better employed elsewhere. Furthermore, all the houses and farms which I possess in my native land, worth, as I believe, over one thousand pesos, I herewith devise and give to my mother, if she is still alive; but if she be dead, to my three sisters in equal portions . . . To which I affix my signature, because it is the truth.

The notary who drew up the document having got this far, it was brought to his attention that Brother Daniel was illiterate. He therefore added: "In my behalf, because I do not know how to write: Father

Raymundo [Prat]. Brother Gaspar Garay. Father Francisco Almerique." Then follow the signatures of these three Jesuits and that of a witness who must have been one of Brother Daniel's Tagalog carpenters. (Because he knew how to sign his name, he makes this brief appearance on the stage of history and vanishes forever: "Agustin Calunbaba.")

In 1608 two Italians who might have stepped out of one of Shakespeare's plays began their noviceship in Manila. They were Stefano Oliverio of Genoa and Sebastiano Roderigo Bertarello of Mantua.[36] Being bosom friends from boyhood, they set out together to seek their fortune. After many adventures by sea and land they settled down halfway around the world in the city of Manila, and like the Merchant of Venice began to send rich cargoes to distant ports. They were expecting a handsome return of six thousand silver pesos from Acapulco when they suddenly decided to purchase that pearl of great price for which so many men before and since have given all their possessions and thought themselves to have had the better of the bargain. Undivided in the world, they were undivided in the religious life, and labored happily in the College of Manila at the humble tasks of the Jesuit lay brother, Stefano as sacristan and Sebastiano as buyer for the college. In 1614 Valerio de Ledesma, the provincial at the time, noted that Sebastiano was not quite equal to his task, though he always did his best and was "quiet, serene and orderly." But Stefano, he wrote, "performs the office of sacristan with distinction—*con eminencia.*"[37]

By 1656, according to Colín, 143 Jesuits had been received and had

Table 2. Jesuit Novices in the Philippines, 1604–1638

Year	Novice scholastics	Novice brothers	Total
1604	6	4	10
1605	2	2	4
1610	3	6	9
1612	1	7	8
1614	1	6	7
1615	0	4	4
1618	5	2	7
1620	0	6	6
1621	0	5	5
1622	3	5	8
1624	0	5	5
1632	–	–	10
1638	0	2	2

Sources: "Catalogi triennales," ARSI *Phil.* 2; "Litterae Annuae," ARSI *Phil.* 5.

persevered in the Society in the Philippines: three priests, twenty-three scholastics and one hundred and seventeen lay brothers.[38] As may be seen from Table 2, compiled from the extant annual letters and catalogues of the period, there were never more than ten novices in any one year during the period 1604–1638. Documents do not enable us to continue the table down to 1650, but they do show that in 1637–1643, thirteen applicants were accepted, five scholastics and eight brothers; in 1644–1646, two, one scholastic and one brother; in 1647–1649, seven, four scholastics and three brothers; and in 1650–1651, two, one scholastic and one brother.

Diego García planted 2,000 coconut trees at Antipolo as a future endowment for a novitiate, and proposed to transfer the novices to a separate house of their own there. This move was actually carried out by his successor, Gregorio López, who reported it to Acquaviva on 1 July 1606.[39] Since the coconut grove was not yet equal to the task of feeding and clothing the novices, the College of Manila was helping out with part of its income and with meat from its Taytay ranch. Besides providing the novices with more peaceful surroundings than those of the College of Manila, López had an ulterior motive in sending them to Antipolo, namely, to see if he could interest some generous soul in giving the novitiate a more ample and secure foundation than García's grove. As long as the novices formed part of the college community, the fact that they belonged to an entirely different grade in the Society, were engaged in work which had nothing whatever to do with the college, and hence needed an endowment of their own, was likely to pass unperceived.

It turned out as López had hoped. Two years later, Captain Pedro de Brito and his wife Doña Ana de Herrera came forward and presented the newly erected Philippine province with a novitiate of its own.[40] Brito was a native of the Canaries. He first came to the Philippines with Governor Sande's expedition, a dashing young officer at the head of a company of 300 infantrymen which he had mustered himself. That was 34 years ago. After taking part in several campaigns he settled down, like many another conquistador, and amassed a modest fortune from the galleon trade. He did not, however, retire completely from public affairs, but served the colony in various positions of trust, such as that of aide to the army chief of staff and chief constable of the audiencia. When in 1589 a permanent seat in the city corporation was put up for sale at public auction, in accordance with the custom of the period, he purchased it for 1,400 pesos. Some years later the people of Manila expressed their esteem for this grand old man—he turned seventy in 1608—by making him *alférez general*, or principal standard bearer of the city.

The terms of the foundation which he and his wife, Doña Ana, offered and Father Gregorio López, as provincial of the Society of Jesus in the Philippines, accepted, are specified in a document dated 1 July 1608 as

follows.[41] The founders engaged themselves to provide an endowment for a house of probation to the amount of 14,000 pesos, which when invested would yield an annual income of 1,000 pesos, according to the current rates. The house of probation and its adjoining church were to be built on a hill called Buenavista, within the confines of a cattle ranch which the founders owned in a district called Makati, about four miles up the Pasig River from Manila. Both the novitiate and its church were to be placed under the patronage of Saint Peter. The principal part of the endowment was to consist of one-half of the territory and herds of the cattle ranch, valued at 5,000 pesos. A second part, consisting of 4,000 pesos in cash, was delivered by the founders at the time the document was signed. The remaining 5,000 they promised to deliver the following year on the feast of St. John the Baptist (24 June), or earlier if the galleons from Acapulco arrived earlier. In the meantime, they would begin to pay the income due from that sum out of the revenue which they received from certain leased houses and from the other half of the Makati cattle ranch. The income from the endowment was to be employed in the construction of the house and church until they were finished, after which it would go to the support of the novitiate community. In return, López granted to Don Pedro and Doña Ana the same privileges and graces which had been conferred on Esteban Rodríguez de Figueroa as founder of the College of Manila.

López was delighted with the site of the future novitiate, and the fact that it is now occupied by the minor seminary of the archdiocese of Manila proves that he was not mistaken as to its advantages. Being on high ground in wooded country, it was distinctly cooler and more salubrious than the tidal flats on which the city was built. The broad acres of the Brito estate, uninhabited save by a few herdsmen and their families, assured healthful exercise. As López told Acquaviva, San Pedro Makati when built would serve admirably not only as a novitiate and tertianship but as a villa house as well, where infirm and ailing Jesuits could be sent to live and the scholastics could spend their weekly holidays. Moreover, since it was so close to Manila the priests of the community could come down on occasions to preach and give missions.[42]

Two lay brothers were immediately assigned to the estate, one to take charge of the cattle ranch and the other to supervise the construction of the novitiate.[43] For some reason, possibly because the building had to be financed from income rather than capital, it took a long time before the house was ready for occupancy, but in 1622 the novices finally moved in. It seems somewhat surprising that, in spite of the many undoubted advantages of the place, San Pedro Makati was actually used as a novitiate for less than a decade. By 1630 the novices were back in the College of Manila. Two reasons for this change are given in the documents: first, the novices,

even when joined by the tertian fathers, were too few to form a regular community; and second, it was found to be less burdensome to the estate to support the novitiate as part of the College of Manila rather than as a separate house.

Not that the original endowment had suffered diminution in the course of time; on the contrary, careful management of the ranch and the leasing of part of the estate to tenant farmers had increased the annual income to 1,500 pesos in 1621 and 2,200 pesos in 1636. True, a debt of 6,800 pesos was incurred in 1630 for improvements on the estate, and another debt of 700 pesos for repairs on the house and church; but these debts were paid off, and in 1649 the income still stood at 2,000 pesos. However, certain other charges had been placed on the endowment, doubtless with the consent of Brito's heirs, who succeeded to the patronage of the house. Toward the latter part of the 1630's part of the income was used for the traveling expenses of novices who had entered in Mexico but had volunteered for the Philippines, and another part for the support of the provincial and his staff. Thus, from 1630 on, San Pedro Makati ceased to be a novitiate but continued to function as a villa. It was also used as a retreat house not only by Jesuits but by secular ecclesiastics who wished to make the spiritual exercises according to the method of St. Ignatius. In any case, Don Pedro's benefaction continued to serve the cause of Christ and his Church long after he was dead, and fully justified the inscription which the Jesuits placed on his tomb:

SAPIENTI TRAPEZITAE QVI VT TERRENAS DIVITIAS
COELESTES FACERET TOTAS FOENERATVS EST DEO
CAPITANEO DOMINO PETRO DE BRITO
HAEC PROBATIONIS DOMVS SOCIETATIS
IESV OPTIMO FVNDATORI SUO
IN GRATI ANIMI MONUMENTVM
HVNC SEPVLCHRALEM LAPIDEM POSVIT

which we may render into English as follows: "This funeral tablet has been erected by this house of probation of the Society of Jesus in grateful memory of its founder, Captain Pedro de Brito, Gentleman, a wise investor, who converted his earthly securities into heavenly by banking them with God."[44]

In 1604, just before its erection into a province, the Jesuit establishment in the Philippines consisted of 67 members, of whom 32 were priests, 5 scholastics, 20 lay brothers and 10 novices. It had the College of Manila with the attached residential College of San José, five stable mission residences and two temporary mission stations. The membership increased, slowly and with fluctuations, to 100 in 1621, 110 in 1630 and 133 in 1643, the highest total reached in the first half of the seventeenth century.

But the number of colleges and missions increased with it, so that by 1643 the Philippine province was administering five colleges and eleven residences. The number of houses remained stationary at this figure until the middle of the century, whereas the total membership began to decline rapidly; 116 in 1646, 110 in 1649, 96 in 1651. Thus, while valiant efforts were made to keep the mission residences at the minimum strength of six prescribed by Acquaviva, the actual staff in most of them kept falling below that figure, until in 1651 we have the following meager distribution: Silang, two; Bohol, two; Carigara, two; Palapag, three; Dagami, eight; Catbalogan, four. These trends may be studied more in detail in Tables 3 and 4.

Succeeding chapters will show how this handful of men organized themselves for the apostolate, what solutions they found to the problems presented by their environment, and in what measure their enterprises met

Table 3. Number and Distribution of Jesuits in the Philippines, 1597–1651

Year	Colleges	Novitiate	Residences	Stations	Men
1597	2[a]	–	7	–	43
1600	2	–	5[b]	–	53
1604	3[c]	–	7	2	67
1610	3	–	7	1	91
1612	3	–	7	2	86
1614	3	–	8	1	84
1618	3	–	11	–	97
1621	3	–	11	1	100
1624	3	1[d]	10	–	116
1630	5[e]	–	10	–	110
1636	5	–	11	–	109
1643	5	–	11	–	133
1646	5	–	12	–	116
1649	5	–	12	–	110
1651	5	–	12	–	96

a. Manila and Cebu.

b. The result of the reduction of residences effected by García.

c. College of San José added.

d. San Pedro Makati is listed separately in the catalogues as a novitiate while it was still under construction and even after the novices had been recalled to Manila; I list it here separately only during the period when it was actually occupied by the novices, and at other times as a residence.

e. Colleges of Cavite and Arévalo added.

Sources: "Catalogi triennales," ARSI *Phil.* 2; "Litterae annuae," ARSI *Phil.* 5.

Table 4. Number of Jesuits in various mission residences, 1610–1651

Residences[a]	1610	1612	1618	1621	1624	1630	1636	1643	1646	1649	1651
Antipolo	7	4	7	5	4	3	3	2	4	5	–
Silang	2	3	6	5	7	6	3	3	5	5	2
Bohol	5	6	5	5	6	4	4	6	4	4	2
Carigara	6	6	6	7	9	7	5	4	11	4	2
Dulag-Dagami[b]	6	7	7	8	9	5	?	5	8	7	8
Tinagon-Catbalogan	5	7	8	6	6	4	4	4	4	5	4
Palapag	5	7	8	9	7	?	?	4	5	6	3

a. I have selected for study the mission residences for which figures are available for the entire extent of the period 1610–1651.

b. The Dulag residence was transferred to Dagami in the 1630's, the Tinagon residence to Catbalogan in the 1640's.

Sources: Same as those for Table 3.

with failure or success. But it will not be out of place to try to visualize, as far as sources will permit, what kind of Jesuits they were; how they understood and to what extent they put into practice the ideals proposed to them by their founder, Saint Ignatius. Indeed, as Astráin rightly points out, in the history of a religious order "the first inquiry which the historian should make is how its members observe the holy rule which they have embraced. By all means let the notable undertakings which the order takes in hand, the books it publishes, the difficulties which assail it from without, and the more or less interesting details of its action on society be described. But when all is said and done, the most important factor in a religious body, that which constitutes its inner strength and the source of its spiritual well-being, is the exact observance of the regulations imposed upon it by God through the instrumentality of its saintly founder."[45] This is no more than what Saint Ignatius himself had in mind when he called upon all the members of his Company to "devote themselves to the pursuit of solid and perfect virtue and of spiritual things, and account these of greater worth than learning or other natural and human gifts; for they are the interior things from which force must flow to the exterior for the end proposed to us."[46]

Fortunately, a certain amount of reliable information on our subject, though not as much as we would like, is supplied by some of the documents which have come down from the first half of the seventeenth century. Such, for example, are the reports sent by the Philippine provincials to the general, or submitted to him personally by the procurators elected by the provincial congregations, on the "spiritual state" of the province; such are occasional letters from local superiors or private individuals

informing the general of certain practices which they considered contrary to the statutes of the Society or harmful to its spirit; such, finally, the instructions issued from time to time by the general, from which some idea may be derived of the conditions they are intended to remedy.

Among the papers which Chirino brought with him to Rome in 1602 was a report drawn up by García and his consultors on the spiritual state of the vice-province.[47] The report stated that, in accordance with Acquaviva's orders,

> . . . all the residences in the Visayas have been reduced to four, namely, Dulag, Carigara, Samar, and Bohol, in each of which are stationed eight or six of our men, four fathers and four brothers. They live in community and follow the order of time of a college, with the specified examinations of conscience, mental prayer, bells [for the beginning and end of each duty], exhortations and conferences, penances and admonitions, and the practice of lowly and mean offices such as sweeping, washing dishes, and serving table. They go out in pairs on mission tours through the towns of their district, returning at the end of a month for a week of common life in which to rebuild the forces of both the inner and the outer man. This is in addition to the two occasions when they come together for a longer renewal of vows. Thus they engage in missionary work and at the same time live as a religious community, as far as circumstances allow, and generally speaking these missionary fathers as well as those who habitually reside in the colleges of Manila and Cebu conduct themselves very religiously, observing the rules faithfully to the great advantage of their own souls and that of the neighbor.

At the same time García and his consultors stressed the fact that life in the missions offered special dangers to the virtue of those who did not have their passions well under control; hence special care should be taken in selecting the men who are sent to the Philippines. Four years later Angelo Armano called Acquaviva's attention to certain general defects which had been observed not only by himself but by many other members of the province.[48] He had had excellent opportunities of making these observations at first hand, first as rector of the College of San José for three and a half years, then as preacher and confessor in the college church, and, at the time of writing, as superior of the Silang residence. His reply to those who kept urging him to report these things to the general had hitherto been that that was the business of the provincial's consultors and the procurators sent to Rome. However, since nothing was apparently being done he would now do as they asked.

The first defect was that superiors took little care to encourage and stimulate the zeal of their subjects. For this reason many of the missionaries who have come from Europe full of enthusiasm are now sorry that they did so, and only a kind of pride prevents them from showing it. Like the apostles in the gospel, they labor all night and catch no fish,

because they find nothing to their satisfaction either in the place to which they are sent, the work to which they are put, or the fellow Jesuits given them for companions. "This is why so many have left or been dismissed from the Society in Peru, Mexico and here, and why so many others have become sick in both body and soul and even died. Being melancholy and restless, they live among the natives as though in exile, and even in the colleges and houses they withdraw into their shells, and thus fall an easy victim to their illnesses; for a melancholy man is not long for this world."

The second defect was the contemptuous attitude of some of the Europeans toward the criollos, which they did not hesitate to express in such remarks as, that the criollo Jesuits were good for nothing; that they were invariably the ones dismissed from the Society; that they lacked perseverance; that orders had been issued not to admit them before a certain age; that none of them ever distinguished himself in anything or showed himself capable of being a superior. The older men among the criollos, who are excellent religious and many of them professed, though naturally deeply hurt by these gratuitous insults, have not bothered to reply to them; but the younger ones have answered in kind, giving as good as they got. Quite effectively, Armano adds, "for since many among those who have had to be dismissed are Europeans, it is somewhat difficult to find a suitable rejoinder. The world is all one, and that's a fact; there are good people and bad people everywhere."

The third defect was the low esteem to which the principal ministry in the Indies, namely, the study of the native languages and missionary work among the natives, had fallen. At least, there were some who seemed to look upon it as a penance, and who made every effort to have themselves assigned to work among Spaniards, not hesitating to seek the patronage of the more influential fathers in order to achieve their object. Superiors lent themselves to this abuse by giving in to such pretensions, on the plea that if they sent so-and-so to the missions he might be gravely tempted against his vocation. The result was that even outsiders had been affected by this attitude, and esteemed the *padres lenguas*—those who because of their familiarity with the language were assigned to the native ministry—less than those who belonged to the faculty of the college or ministered to the Spanish community.

The fourth defect was the propensity of superiors to adopt different policies from those of their predecessors, and undo what they had done for insufficient reasons. This was most unnerving from the subjects' point of view, and gave rise to the impression that superiors issued orders according to how they felt rather than according to the constitutions of the Society.

Lastly, *refriguit charitas*; charity was growing cold.

Few and far between are those to whom we can look up to as a father; and yet such are the men whom we seek and ought to have here more than anywhere else

in the world, for in the Indies we have no relatives, no friends, more trials, less food, fewer comforts. If then he who governs, governs with authority and gravity, but without the human touch—*sin humanidad*—it is difficult to live content. And what makes it worse is that while many have enough virtue to be happy even under such conditions, there are others who resent this mode of government, criticize it, complain against it, and by their lack of resignation hurt both themselves and others.

These were the shortcomings, Armano said, that he had noticed in both superiors and subjects. He had tried to state them as objectively as possible; and in conclusion, he would say that in the province "there is no lack of good men; excellent men; but in some the spirit of our holy father [St. Ignatius] is sadly wanting, and there is much room for improvement in our way of doing things out here—I mean to say, in all the western Indies."

Francisco de Otazo, the rector of Cebu, sent a similar report to Acquaviva at about the same time.[49] He agreed in part with those who thought, like Armano, that superiors should be more gentle and considerate. By all means; but let them not be weak. "I have observed," he said, "that in some cases a policy of extreme condescension and as it were of politic rule has resulted in serious harm to certain subjects and might easily have brought greater dishonor to the Society than was actually the case." For instance, superiors were too slow to remove from a post a man who was giving great disedification, their excuse being that replacements were lacking. This was no excuse at all, because the matter could be settled by a simple exchange of men between two houses.

Extreme gentleness was needed not so much with the Jesuits as with the natives, and that was precisely where it was sometimes lacking. If the conversion of the natives was to be advanced, the missionaries must deal with them

> . . . in the spirit of love, respect and confidence in the Lord, and . . . with a certain deliberately cultivated enthusiasm and energy so as to put life into these natives, who are innately indolent; for we have observed that while they are relatively free of other bad habits, indolence is their principal vice. Hence superiors and supervisors especially should have the spirit described to such a degree that they can communicate and inspire it in their subordinates . . . If, on the contrary, a local superior of these missions should be of the opposite persuasion and show his lack of esteem and trust, he will do great harm not only on his own account but because his subjects will take their cue from him.

Furthermore, we ought not to make so many demands on our Visayans for the decoration of churches, the salaries of schoolteachers, and other projects; they have more than enough to do trying to pay the tribute and meet the calls made by the encomenderos on their services. We should try to finance our various works in other ways. And, speaking of financing,

I have observed that the Society has an unblemished reputation as far as engaging in trade in the towns of our mission district is concerned. Let us hope we do not lose it in consequence of a plan which has been adopted and put into effect once already, namely, of loading a vessel with beeswax in the Visayas and sending it to Manila to be sold in order to buy provisions for our houses. I am very much afraid that this arrangement will cause talk and be looked upon as not very edifying. By reducing what we ordinarily spend on ourselves, not to mention other economies, there is no need to have recourse to an arrangement of this sort.

With regard to this suggestion of Otazo's, it should be pointed out that while the Church forbids clerics to engage in trade, there is nothing whatever in canon law against their selling the products of their own industry or that of those who work for them in order to buy what they need for themselves. What the law of the Church understands by trade and forbids as incompatible with the clerical state is the purchase of goods or effects for the specific purpose of resale in their original condition at a profit. The beeswax to which Otazo refers was a forest product which the Jesuits in the Visayas obtained partly as voluntary contributions and partly by workmen whom they employed for that purpose. Because of this, and because they sold it not for profit but to obtain what they needed to support themselves and their work, they did not consider the transaction to come within the purview of the prohibition. Otazo doubtless knew this, but was anxious nevertheless to be on the safe side and avoid even the appearance of commercialism.

In 1612 López reported after a visitation of the province that religious observance flourished in all the houses.[50] The defects which he noticed were minor and he took steps to correct them. At the College of Manila, for instance, some of the fathers argued more heatedly than they should at recreation, and sometimes carried their arguments into the time when silence should be kept. At the College of Cebu, two acting rectors had alternately spoiled and repressed the community; the reappointment of Otazo as rector should restore the balance. The superior of Bohol who was too timid and retiring was advised to allow his men more initiative; the superior of Carigara, to be more diligent in providing his community with what they needed; the superior of Arévalo, to be more affable in his dealings with both Spaniards and natives. At Carigara, differences of opinion had arisen among the fathers regarding missionary policies and procedures. Some wanted to encourage their neophytes to approach the sacraments more frequently than the others thought proper. López chaired conferences in which these differences were ironed out. The house which delighted López most of all was the mission of Butuan, which was restored on a temporary basis some years after García had closed it because of the establishment of a garrison there. The missionaries won the hearts of the people so completely that, when there was talk of withdrawing the garrison,

the Butuanos went to López and asked him to let the Jesuits stay, promising to protect them with their lives.

López's successor, Ledesma, made another visitation of the province three years later.[51] He found the same substantial fidelity to the vows and rules in most of his subjects, but noted many instances of a defect which has already been mentioned several times in the course of our survey, namely, the excessive harshness of certain superiors toward their subjects and of certain missionaries toward their converts. The superior of Silang, for instance, Pedro de Segura, had so antagonized the people of that town that Ledesma was forced to remove him. "It cost me many tears and exhortations," he says, "to pour oil on the troubled waters stirred up by the personality and procedures of Father Pedro de Segura." As for the superior of Dulag, "Father Pascual de Acuña is most exact in keeping the rules and seeing that others kept them; a virtue which would be much more solid if he had as much gentleness and religious urbanity as he has vigilance." The province suffered irreparable loss in the death of two great missionaries stationed in Samar: Alonso Palacios and Hernando de San Román. "These two fathers," Ledesma remarked, "had by their true religious spirit stolen the hearts of the natives, so that they were looked upon as real fathers. Their apostolate in this mission was most fruitful, because from the very beginning they adopted the method of spreading the gospel which the gospel itself teaches, namely, that of love. For this reason they were uniformly successful; whereas others, by their harsh and punitive measures, tear down with one hand what they build up with the other."

Yet, it is exceedingly curious that while Ledesma and Otazo deplored the rigor of other superiors, they themselves were not exempt from the same fault. That same year the expedition headed by Humanes arrived. Some of the scholastics brought with them a few small religious articles which they proceeded to spread among the other members of the community, apparently without bothering to ask the rector's permission. This was of course a fault; but Otazo who was acting rector at the time was so much angered by it that he gave the community a series of withering lectures on the virtue of poverty, absolutely forbade the giving or receiving of any article, however small, and temporarily took away all authority from the minister of the house. Representations made to Ledesma against these measures were of no avail; he backed Otazo fully. Moreover, the new arrivals were not sent out to the country, as the custom was, to rest after their long and arduous journey, but told to make a retreat at once.[52] And what of Humanes, who might have pleaded with success for a little more consideration for his scholastics? He seems to have made no move to do so. Instead, he raised a cry of alarm at the growing custom of drinking chocolate, writing Acquaviva that

. . . poor health and illness are being alleged as an excuse for introducing the drinking of chocolate into this province, and it seems that once a person has begun to indulge in it, he can no longer live without it. Your Paternity knows well, from what has happened in New Spain, that this cannot be countenanced. For my part, I beseech your Paternity with all my heart to put a stop to this abuse. The ministry of this province is for completely apostolic men; men who have no use for such delicacies and creature comforts.[53]

And what *had* happened in New Spain? Merely that a few of the older fathers had written urgent letters to Rome calling upon the general to cast out chocolate if he wished to save the Society from destruction. This newfangled potion, they claimed, which the Spaniards had learned to drink from the Mexicans, was a violation of evangelical poverty; it was a danger to chastity; and by arousing the passions it cast our ministries into disrepute. Acquaviva, acting on this information, forbade the use of chocolate in Jesuit houses except as medicine to be taken only on the advice of a physician. This did not satisfy the alarmists, who thought this directive a weak compromise. They continued to declaim against the drug in their letters to Rome until they convinced Vitelleschi, Acquaviva's successor, to forbid it to Jesuits altogether. The prohibition, being based on a complete misapprehension of the properties of chocolate, was not, as Astráin points out, successful. Even the most conservative fathers were gradually convinced that the Mexican electuary was a relatively inexpensive food which, to use Astráin's expression, left the Christian faithful who consumed it neither worse nor better than they were before. By the end of the century chocolate had become a standard breakfast food on Jesuit tables in Spain and the Indies.[54]

The prevailing impression these documents give of the Philippine Jesuits is that they were for the most part austere men who placed great stress on the exact observance of external discipline and the mortification of the rebellious flesh. Because they were so hard on themselves, they were occasionally hard on each other too, and on the hopelessly light-headed Tagalogs and Visayans whom they had come to save, but who kept straying after flowers from virtue's thorny path. The tremendous sacrifices which they made to come as missionaries to the Philippines clearly prove that they loved God with all their hearts; and if so, then they must have greatly loved their fellow men also, as the Lord commands; unfortunately, their outward manner did not always make this love immediately perceptible or attractive.

One reason for what might be considered the excessive rigor of the superiors of this period was the recalcitrant attitude manifested by some of the lay brothers. Another was the defection of a number of priests in the mission residences who committed serious external sins against their vows and had to be dismissed from the Society. Brother Gaspar Gómez

caused a great deal of anxiety to provincials and rectors by his interminable involvement in military intelligence. He seemed to be always going from Manila to Mexico to Madrid and back again with top secret documents of extreme urgency. Moreover, he obviously took great delight in these confidential missions, and when the colonial government was finally persuaded to dispense with his services, he refused to settle down to the humdrum chores which are the Jesuit brother's lot. He kept pestering his superiors to let him go back to Mexico, and became particularly difficult in June, when the galleons began to spread their sails for the eastward voyage. However, his heart was in the right place, and in 1614 Ledesma was able to tell Acquaviva that "thanks be to God, he seems to have settled down at last. He acts as companion to the fathers who go out of the house, and there is not a word of complaint out of him; he seeks no other employment; in short, he has us all edified."[55]

Many of the brothers received in the Philippines were ex-soldiers, hard-bitten men who had knocked about the world, killed their man in hand-to-hand combat, and brawled in barracks with the best of them. God's grace had touched them and would in time transform them; but they did not put aside their rough and ready ways the moment they put on the cassock. Superiors needed an iron hand to keep them in line, and it is not surprising that when they turned to handle the more tractable, they should occasionally forget to replace the velvet glove.

But it was the priests who were found guilty of serious misdemeanors that gave superiors the greatest concern. I have counted about ten of them mentioned in the official correspondence of the province up to 1630; there may have been one or two more. Most of these defections took place in the Visayan missions where the scandal they caused to the native converts made superiors take particularly severe measures against the guilty party. A missionary of Palapag who was convicted of grave sins against chastity in 1615 was placed in stocks by his local superior and commanded to be whipped in the presence of the town officials as a public reparation for the scandal he had caused. After that he was dismissed.[56] Dismissal was, in fact, the invariable sentence in all these cases, except where the offender was solemnly professed. In that event he was withdrawn from all ministries and imprisoned on short rations for an indeterminate period. One of the saddest of these defections was that of Pedro Tello, the San José scholar who has been mentioned once or twice in the course of this narrative. After giving great promise as a scholastic that he would one day become an outstanding missionary, and after actually laboring in the Visayan missions for a few years following his ordination to the priesthood, he had to be dismissed in 1615 for unchastity. His repentance was apparently complete and permanent. After living an exemplary life for many years as a secular priest, he applied for readmission into the Society. The

application was accepted and he persevered as a Jesuit until his death.[57] There is no need to mention the others by name; they are not otherwise known to history.

The fact that most of these regrettable occurrences took place in the mission residences aroused a general desire in the province to re-examine the whole system of missionary endeavor as currently practiced, in order to see whether greater personal safeguards could be provided for the men without placing too many restrictions on their ministry. The problem was posed with great clarity by Juan de San Lúcar who wrote to Acquaviva as early as 1601:

> There are three circumstances which are capable of doing great harm to religious in these mission stations. One is the opportunities there are of committing sin with women; for although the women of this country do not ordinarily invite improper advances, neither do they resist them. The second is that when a religious has too much to do, too little time for his devotions, and lives for the most part alone, severe temptations are inevitable. The third is that all the religious here must always be going about giving orders, meting out punishments and handling money; there is no help for it; but if virtue is lacking worldliness is the result.[58]

The reduction of the stations to a few residences with larger communities was designed precisely to deal with the problem, but it did not seem to work very well. For one thing, the men were out of the house on tour for most of the year, and for another, the periods when they lived a community life were too short to be really effective. So at least it seemed to many. But this brings us to the question of missionary policy, one of the major problems with which the Philippine province had to grapple during its early years.

Chapter Eleven

PROBLEMS AND POLICIES

Since this chapter is concerned mainly with administrative affairs, a few preliminary remarks on Jesuit government are necessary.[1] The Society of Jesus is divided into areas of administration called provinces, each under a provincial superior. These provincials are appointed by and subordinate to a superior general who ordinarily resides in Rome and has charge of the government of the whole order. He is aided in his task by an advisory body whose members are called assistants. Each assistant concerns himself particularly with the affairs of a number of provinces, grouped on a territorial or linguistic basis, which together form an assistancy. During the period with which we are concerned, the first half of the seventeenth century, there were five assistancies: the Italian, the German, the French, the Spanish, and the Portuguese. The Spanish assistancy consisted of the four Spanish provinces, the province of Sardinia, and all the provinces of the Spanish Indies; it was therefore to this assistancy that the Philippine province belonged.

The general of the Society of Jesus is elected for life by a general congregation consisting of the assistants, the provincials, and two delegates from each province. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, the provinces outside Europe were exempted from sending their provincials or delegates to the general congregations. This was because of the length of time it would have taken them to come to Rome where the congregations were invariably held. However, if a procurator of an overseas province happened to be in Rome at the time, he was ordinarily admitted as a delegate. Miguel Solana from the Philippines was admitted in this way to the ninth General Congregation which elected Francesco Piccolomini in 1649. This was the only time, to my knowledge, that a delegate from the Philippines took part in a general congregation.

The general congregation elects not only the new general but his assistants who remain in office until replaced by another general congregation. With the general and assistants, the general congregation also functions as the supreme legislative authority of the Society, and its decrees have the same binding force as the original constitutions of St. Ignatius. There is no fixed time for convoking a general congregation except when a general dies and it becomes necessary to elect his successor. However, a general may summon it during his lifetime to deliberate on matters of importance

affecting the whole Society. He may do this either of his own accord or at the instance of the congregation of procurators. The assistants also may summon a general congregation if they consider the general's conduct of affairs so detrimental to the Society that he ought to be replaced. Finally, the Roman pontiff, as supreme head of the Catholic Church, may convoke a general congregation of the Society, or cause it to meet at regular intervals, if he deems it advisable. In 1646 Innocent X ordained that a general congregation be held every nine years. This ordinance was revoked by Benedict XIV in 1746.

The congregation of procurators, as its name suggests, is composed of procurators sent to Rome by the provinces at regular intervals for the purpose of reporting to the general on the affairs of their respective provinces, and of deliberating together with the general and his assistants on whether a general congregation should be convoked or not. In the seventeenth century procurators from the European provinces came to Rome every three years, and from the American provinces every four; but a procurator from the remote Philippine province usually did not show up except at intervals of six years or so.

The two delegates from each province who accompany the provincial to the general congregation, and the procurator sent by the province to the congregation of procurators, are elected at a provincial congregation composed of the provincial, the local superiors, and the professed fathers who are able to attend. As the provinces increased in size, the number attending a provincial congregation was limited to fifty if there was question of electing delegates to a general congregation, and forty if it was to elect a procurator. Unlike the general congregation, the provincial congregation has no legislative powers. However, it deliberates on the spiritual and temporal state of the province, and instructs its delegates or procurator in accordance with its findings. Chief among these instructions is, of course, a decree expressing the mind of the province as to whether a general congregation should be held or not. But besides this decree, and besides the written reports prepared by the provincial and various committees, the procurator also brings with him a set of *postulata* or petitions to be presented to the general (or the general congregation) in behalf of the province. The postulata of the provincial congregations of the seventeenth century, along with the *acta* or summary of the proceedings which led to their adoption, constitute one of our most valuable sources of information regarding the problems which confronted each province at various stages of its development, and the policies which it evolved to cope with them.[2]

The provincial is appointed by the general, and so are the consultors, usually four in number, who act in the same advisory capacity toward him as the assistants toward the general. The general also appoints the major local superiors, that is, those of the colleges and principal residences. These

appointments are made on the basis of confidential reports on the administrative ability of the eligible members of the province, which those who know them best are asked to make. In the seventeenth century European provincials and local superiors held office for three years, those overseas—at least the provincials—for six and even more, until at the request of several provincial congregations in Mexico and the Philippines an attempt was made to adopt the European practice toward the middle of the century. Because of the slowness of communications this led to various difficulties, as we shall see in due course. At irregular intervals, whenever it is deemed necessary, the general sends a personal representative to a province, or appoints a priest already there, to conduct a detailed, on-the-spot inspection of its houses, establishments, and works. The visitor is granted extensive powers for this purpose, including those of making appointments and framing ordinances ordinarily reserved to the general.

Twelve provincials and one visitor administered the Philippine province during the first fifty years of its existence, in the following order of succession:

Gregorio López	1605
Valerio de Ledesma	1613
Francisco Calderón, *visitor*	1618
Alonso de Humanes	1621
Juan de Bueras	1627
Juan de Salazar	1637
Francisco Colín	1639
Francisco de Roa	1644
Diego de Bobadilla	1646
Francisco de Roa	1648
Ignacio Zapata	1650
Diego Patiño	1653
Miguel Solana	1654

Seven provincial congregations are on record as having been held during the same period. The following are their dates and the names of the procurators elected in each. It should be noted that a substitute procurator and sometimes two were elected to take the place of the procurator in case he should be prevented from fulfilling his commission. When word was received in the Philippines that Encinas had been captured by the Dutch in 1629, Juan López, the substitute procurator, was sent in his stead.

1609 Alonso de Humanes
1615 Francisco de Otazo
1621 Francisco Gutiérrez
1627 Francisco de Encinas
1637 Diego de Bobadilla
1643 Miguel Solana
1651 Diego Patiño

Missions and dependent vice-provinces are not empowered to hold provincial congregations and send regular procurators. However, it sometimes became necessary to send a special procurator, as García and his consultors did in 1602. The postulata which Chirino brought to Rome on that occasion presented a number of basic problems and drew from Acquaviva a policy statement to serve as a guide for the province he was erecting.[3] A survey of the internal administration of the Society in the Philippines during the early seventeenth century ought, therefore, to begin at this point.

The gradual adaptation of Acquaviva's mission policy to the special conditions of the Philippines has already been described. In the beginning he would not allow the Philippine Jesuits to accept resident missions, directing them to devote themselves exclusively to mission tours from a central base such as the College of Manila. When this was represented to him as impracticable, he gave permission to accept resident missions for two or three years, and then without limitation of time. He insisted, however, that every precaution be taken not to let them become permanent charges and thus tie the Society down to parish administration, a work which, however laudable, was alien to its institute. Let it be clearly understood that the Society would retain these missions only for as long as it took the Jesuit missionaries to convert the population of the district and organize them into Christian communities. That done—and Acquaviva apparently believed that it would not take many years to do so—the mission was to be handed over to the diocesan clergy and the Jesuit residence transferred to some other district where the Society could devote itself to its proper and particular work, namely, the conversion of pagans.

García and his consultors now instructed Chirino to take up the subject again with the general, informing him that while they agreed entirely with his objectives in framing this policy, they did not think he took Philippine conditions sufficiently into account. These conditions demanded, not perhaps the permanent retention of the mission residences, but at least a much longer tenure of them than the general's policy envisaged. The arguments which they advanced are an excellent restatement of those which both they and their predecessors had proposed from time to time.

> The first [reason] is that if the Society gives up its organized residences, there are no other districts to which it can go except those which lie in still unconquered territory.
>
> The second is that several years ago these islands were partitioned by royal command among the religious orders and secular clergy, the reason as stated in the ordinance being that the king did not want missionaries belonging to different groups working in the same area. This makes it contrary to law for the Society to enter districts assigned to other missionary groups; it seems impossible, then, to put the present plan into practice. By the same token we cannot undertake

mission tours in places where other religious orders are in charge, because they will not allow us to so. Furthermore, the Society does not have the means to defray the expenses of ships, oarsmen, and provisions which will have to be made on these journeys, for the natives cannot do so and there is no precedent for it. The same holds for the parishes and towns of the diocesan clergy; besides which they are so few and so small that the Society will not have enough to occupy themselves in them for a long time to come. We may take it for certain that not everyone will welcome our assistance. This being so, abandoning our residences may place the Society in the highly embarrassing position of having nowhere to go on missions and thus being stranded in these parts without employment.

The third reason is the difficulty of language. It is no small thing to ask our missionaries to abandon the language which they have learned and used for many years and go to regions of entirely different speech. Even today our Visayan and Manila [Tagalog] missions are so far apart that it would be difficult for the fathers to go from one to the other and work among natives speaking a different language.

The following additional arguments may be adduced. Experience shows that the missionary can do very little with these neophytes unless they recognize in him a stable superior. The fathers themselves would feel it very keenly if they are obliged to give up the fruit just when it is ripe and in season in order that someone else may eat it, while they are not permitted to enjoy the reward of their labors. Finally, even granting that the abovementioned ordinance of your Paternity can be put into effect, it will take many years before our missions reach the level of organization and well being which your Paternity specifies, and by that time God may have shown us how to proceed better in this affair. We request your Paternity to suspend the ordinance until, as we have said, our Lord should give a different disposition and direction to conditions here.

A related problem on which García and his consultors requested an authoritative declaration concerned the stipends which the encomenderos were supposed to give the missionaries. Sometimes the encomenderos found it convenient to forget them; more often they paid, but not in full. Could the missionaries *demand* that these stipends be paid in full, and on time? If so, it would mean that they had a right to them. But had they? God knew they needed them badly enough, for they had no other means of support; but could they ask for them as a matter of right and justice? It seemed not; St. Ignatius was quite insistent that his men should "give freely what they had freely received, neither demanding nor accepting any stipend or alms whereby Masses, confessions, sermons, or any other work which the Society according to its institute can undertake may seem to be recompensed." As far as Jesuits were concerned, then, the mission stipend was an alms, and they must do their best to manage on what they were given, when it was given. Yet, it was not only they personally who depended on this allowance, but their work also, to a large extent; hence the need of finding some method of putting the whole arrangement on a more stable basis.

A third problem was the exact nature of the commitment which the Society took upon itself in accepting missions from the king. Was it an obligation in justice or a charitable undertaking? Prat thought the question merely academic, since Jesuits worked for the love of God in any case. Acquaviva, however, promptly disabused him. "There is a big difference," he wrote in 1597, "between accepting missions among the natives as a strict obligation and accepting them without such obligation. I am of the opinion that they ought not on any account to be accepted as an obligation, for this brings with it the requirement of informing the governor whenever we wish to transfer a man from one place to another, of being subject to official inspection."[4] This was perfectly correct. The royal government's view was that the king, as patron of the Church in the Indies, had the right to examine and approve all ecclesiastical appointments either personally or through his officials, and hence to be informed of all changes in personnel, which were not to be made without his consent. Corresponding to this right of the royal patron was a strict duty on the part of the religious who accepted missions from him; an obligation in justice to administer those missions in accordance with the regulations which he issued from time to time. Philip II put it very plainly in a cédula to Dasmariñas the Elder:

> I see by your report that with regard to the mission stations which have been established and staffed there in the approved form, the bishop as well as the superiors of religious orders have introduced the practice of changing the missionaries when and in what manner they please, recalling some and substituting others in their place without informing the governor; and if you ask why they do so, their reply is that these are ecclesiastical matters which do not concern you. It is desirable that you should know what procedure to adopt in such cases. Please be informed that when a situation of this sort arises in which it becomes necessary to remove or change a religious from a mission station, it must be done with the knowledge and consent of the governor and not otherwise.[5]

Acquaviva saw at once that if this ruling was insisted upon, it would take away from the superiors of the Society that free disposal of their subjects which was an essential note of the Ignatian constitutions. It was impossible to accept any missions from the Spanish government on these conditions, and he told Prat so. The other religious orders in the Philippines took a similar stand, and the four religious superiors served notice in 1598 that they would return all their missions to the king rather than administer them under that obligation. No official reply was made to this representation, and the colonial authorities made no attempt to enforce the ruling. In view of this, García and his consultors reported to Acquaviva that the cédula had apparently been suspended. But if the question should come up again, to what extent could they recognize the royal right of patronage? Could they, for instance, consent to inform the governor of all changes in

personnel, purely as a matter of record, without giving the reasons for such changes and without recognizing any right on his part to interfere with them?

Relations with the diocesan prelates also called for careful examination. The Council of Trent had decreed that religious who functioned as parish priests were subject to the jurisdiction, visitation, and correction of the bishop of the diocese. When Bishop Salazar tried to apply this ruling to the Philippine missions at the Synod of Manila, he came into sharp conflict with the Augustinians, who alleged exemption in virtue of the extensive *omnimoda* faculties granted by Adrian VI to religious missionaries in the Indies. The Franciscans and Dominicans, who shared the same faculties, naturally took the same stand. The Jesuits wrote to Rome for a decision. Acquaviva's reply was that they should maintain cordial relations with the bishops and accede as far as possible to their wishes, but that they were in no wise to consent to a diocesan visitation in the sense of an inquiry into their personal behavior. That was the responsibility of their superiors, who were answerable for it to the Holy See from which the Society of Jesus had received its charter, and not to the diocesan prelates. However, if the diocesan prelate wished to inspect the mission churches and chapels to assure himself that they were being properly maintained, this was perfectly within his rights and he was to be asked to do so as often as he wished.

But the Philippine bishops were clearly not going to be satisfied with merely inspecting baptismal fonts and tabernacles. They looked upon the religious missionaries as parish priests, and hence subject to them to the full extent of the Tridentine decree. If, then, they should decide to press the point, what was the Society to do? Abandon its missions? García and his consultors asked Acquaviva to weigh the alternatives carefully. If they sacrificed the missions rather than undergo episcopal visitation, they did indeed keep the freedom of the Society intact, but they made themselves incapable of doing the work they had come out to do; if on the other hand they consented to episcopal visitation, they could by paying this heavy price continue to bestow on the people of the Philippines the priceless gift of the faith. Which of these two difficult alternatives was for the greater glory of God?

Such was the remarkably able statement of the principal problems confronting the Society in the Philippines which García and his consultors presented to Acquaviva. The rest of the memorandum was devoted to a number of minor doubts and difficulties, and to a request for approval of the foundation of the College of San José and the plan to open courses in arts and theology at the College of Manila, which had already been granted. García in a separate memorandum[6] posed a fifth problem which concerned his particular office. The vice-provincial—or the provincial, in case the Philippines was made a province—was obliged by his rules

to make an annual visitation of all the houses under his jurisdiction. This meant that he was absent from his office in Manila for almost six months out of the year, making hazardous trips in a small sailing vessel from one island station to another. It was necessary that he should do so if he was to direct the activities of the missions at all; but perhaps the visitations could be spaced a little more widely, at one-and-a-half or even two-year intervals. The trouble with this was that during those intervals problems might arise which the local superiors could not handle and yet which could not suffer the long delay of writing to Manila and awaiting a reply. Was there a satisfactory solution to this problem of communications?

Acquaviva's dispositions are contained in a careful point-by-point reply on these memoranda and in a separate set of instructions, dated 26 March 1604, which Chirino took back with him to the Philippines.[7] With regard to the question of episcopal visitation, Acquaviva directed the Philippine Jesuits to observe the official interpretation of the Tridentine decree which he had obtained from the Sacred Congregation of the Council and was transmitting. Unfortunately, I was unable to find a copy of this document. However, since the problem did not actually arise during Acquaviva's generalate, and since when it did arise new instructions were sought and given, this is perhaps no great loss. With regard to the requirements of the royal patronage, if the cédula demanding that missionary appointments be submitted to the government for approval had indeed been suspended, the missions they had accepted could be retained; otherwise they were to give them up. The three related problems of mission tenure, finances, and supervision were dealt with in a statement of integral policy which can be summarized as follows.

1. The principal obstacle to the rapid christianization of the Filipinos seems to be their dispersal in small scattered settlements. Hence the royal government should be induced to take effective measures to gather the population of our missions into towns where they can be properly instructed. If the encomenderos persist in their opposition to this project, the governor and audiencia should be asked to send a commissioner with adequate powers of enforcement, including that of depriving uncooperative encomenderos of their encomiendas. In fact, it might be advisable to propose that the encomiendas within our missionary jurisdiction be transferred from private hands to the crown, as it would be simpler to deal with the government rather than with a multitude of encomenderos.

2. To assure some regularity in the payment of mission stipends, arrangements should be made whereby they could be drawn from the royal treasury instead of directly from the encomenderos. If necessary the government could appoint a collector to obtain the sums due from the encomenderos and deduct his salary from the stipends.

3. The institute of the Society does not permit us to undertake the

permanent administration of parishes. On the other hand, it is clear that we cannot abandon the resident missions which we have already accepted. Hence our policy for the future should be to christianize the people committed to our charge thoroughly and well. As these mission communities begin to acquire the stable organization of parishes, let us consider which of the residences would be most apt to convert into colleges. Two of these should be retained and the rest turned over to the diocesan clergy. A college should then be established in each of the two residences retained, where courses in moral theology and the native languages for the diocesan clergy can be given. The Jesuits assigned to these colleges could also go on mission circuits through the surrounding parishes, and since we may reasonably expect that most of the parish priests will have done their seminary studies in our colleges, they will have no difficulty in being assisted by the fathers in this manner.

4. No more mission residences should be established. Let us concentrate all our efforts on those we already have; let us organize in them not only hospitals and sodalities but "boarding schools for both Spaniards and natives, in order that as this educational work develops, some of the students trained by us may be found worthy of being ordained and put in charge of the parishes by the bishop."

5. With regard to the difficulty of the provincial's being unable to visit the mission residences as often as he might wish, a possible solution is that contained in earlier instructions sent to the province of Brazil. These provide for the appointment of a superintendent of missions, subordinate to the provincial and to whom the local mission superiors are subordinate. His function is to go from one mission residence to another on a continuous tour of inspection, seeing to it that the proper missionary procedures are applied, acting as liaison officer with the civil government for the missionaries and their communities, and maintaining morale and religious observance in our houses. Let this arrangement be tried in the Visayan missions.

As soon as these instructions were received in the Philippines, López appointed Humanes superintendent of the Leyte and Samar missions and Otazo, the rector of Cebu, of the Bohol mission.[8] Later a single superintendent for all the Visayan missions was appointed.

On 21 October 1609, the first congregation of the Philippine province convened in the College of Manila.[9] It consisted of López, the provincial, and eighteen local superiors and professed fathers. After electing Humanes procurator and making of record their belief that there was no need to summon a general congregation, the assembled fathers proceeded to examine the missionary work of the province in the light of Acquaviva's policy statement of 1604. Serious efforts had been made to organize the scattered population of the Visayan missions into larger communities, but a new and formidable obstacle had arisen which rendered them largely

ineffectual. The Moros—Moslem Malays of Magindanau and Sulu, aided by their cousins in Borneo and the Moluccas—had suddenly erupted in a series of piratical raids on the seacoast settlements of the Visayan islands, putting them to the torch after looting them and carrying men, women, and children off into slavery. The Spanish government, caught off-balance, had not as yet been able to organize an effective defense. Consequently, it was extremely difficult and in many cases impossible for the missionaries to stop their neophytes from abandoning the new towns, most of which were easily accessible from the sea, and returning to their former mode of life farther inland, where they were out of reach of the raiders. Nevertheless everything possible was being done to cope with this unexpected difficulty.

No steps had been taken to follow Acquaviva's suggestion that the encomiendas in our mission districts be transferred from private hands to the government. This was directly contrary to the policy of the Crown, which was precisely to grant encomiendas to private individuals as a reward for past services. Moreover, there was no longer any need for it, as the encomenderos were now much more sympathetic to the work of the missionaries and much more ready to cooperate with them. For the same reason, it was unnecessary to modify the existing arrangement whereby the missionaries received their stipends directly from the encomenderos.

The congregation presented three important petitions to the general. The first was that since mission work among the natives was beyond all question the principal ministry of the province, its supreme importance should be stressed by a regulation to this effect: "that no one will be given his definite grade in the Society, or appointed to any administrative position, or permitted to teach, unless he has first learned a native language and acquired fluency in it by actual use." This, of course, was to be understood as a general rule; the provincial would have the power to dispense from it for good and sufficient reasons. However, in order that all the members of the province might have the opportunity of learning a native language, the study of it should be made one of the *experimenta* or "tests" of the tertianship. By study the congregation meant, not only desk work on grammar and vocabulary, but field work in which the tertian would accompany and assist a veteran missionary on his rounds. The second petition was that in view of the great multitude of Filipinos to whom the word of God still had to be preached, the province be permitted to open more residences. The third was that the province be allowed to found a college in Spain, preferably in the university town of Alcalá, to be used exclusively for the training of young Jesuits destined for the Philippines.

Humanes reached Rome in 1612. Acquaviva approved the course which the province had adopted with regard to the encomenderos. He called for further efforts to promote the organization of towns, in spite of the

complications introduced by the Moros, as this was clearly, in his view, the cornerstone of the whole Jesuit missionary enterprise in the Philippines. He gave full approval to the proposed measure regarding the study of the native languages, but refused permission to open any new residences, stressing once again concentration rather than dispersal of effort. The foundation of a college for Philippine missionaries at Alcalá was disapproved because of the administrative difficulties involved. Acquaviva suggested the alternative plan of sending money from time to time to the Spanish provinces which contributed missionaries to the Philippines, in order to reimburse them, at least in part, for what they had spent in training the men they sent. In this way, the Spanish provincials would feel their loss less keenly when their most promising scholastics volunteered for the missions.[10]

Meanwhile, it became increasingly evident that there were serious drawbacks in the reorganization of the Visayan missions which García had effected at Acquaviva's orders. It will be recalled that this reorganization consisted in withdrawing the missionaries from the small stations established by Prat and concentrating them in a few central residences. It was hoped that in this way they would be able to maintain the life in common of religious, with its advantages and safeguards, while continuing their missionary work by means of mission circuits which they would conduct in pairs. Subsequent experience showed, however, that these circuits, during which the missionaries succeeded in spending only a week or two in each village, were far less effective than the continuous influence which the fathers were able to exert when they lived close to the people in the stations. This is well brought out by Adriano de las Cortes, the superior of the Tinagon residence, in a letter which he wrote to Acquaviva on 16 May 1612.[11]

It must be borne in mind, he said, that their Visayan converts were simple and untutored primitives. Like children, they needed to be closely and continuously supervised. Unless the missionary was at hand to remind, admonish, and correct them, they easily forgot what they had learned or had promised and quickly reverted to the immemorial customs of their paganism. Now this was precisely what the missionary could not do under the system of mission circuits from a central base. Cortes describes its actual operation:

> We come together for our periods of common life in this residence every one and a half or two months. It lasts twelve or fifteen days. At the end of it we make our circuit of four, five, or six towns during the next one and a half months. This means eight or ten days spent in each town during a circuit; at the end of a year the natives will have had a priest in their town four or five times for the period mentioned. It sometimes happens that a town will not have fifteen days of Christian instruction by a priest in six or seven months, and some towns none at

all. Moreover, since the natives in order to see us have to come to town from their farms, where they reside most of the time, we cannot give them a regular course of instruction to which they can come as children come to school; yet this is the only way in which these people can be properly trained.

Another disadvantage was that, with the fathers living five, ten, or more miles from many of their villages, most of their Christians died without the sacraments. Cortes estimated that they were able to assist the dying in only five, or at most, eight, out of a hundred cases.

The system was hard not only on the natives but on the missionaries. The original plan was that they should go on their circuits in pairs, two priests, or a priest and a brother; but this was not always possible. If someone in the community fell sick his partner had to go alone; and in any case they had too many small villages scattered over too wide a territory to be able to cover them all in this way. Another hardship was that they were on the road most of the time. They no sooner arrived in a village than they must begin preparations for departure. This was because they had to bring everything with them; "altar equipment, statue, Mass kit, and even kitchen utensils: plates, pots, bowls, and so forth," besides provisions. Bearers must be commandeered in the village to carry their packs, if the next leg of their circuit was by land; oarsmen, if by river or sea. Besides the enormous amount of trouble which all this gave to everyone, missionaries and natives alike, it involved great loss of time which could otherwise be devoted to the actual ministry.

> And since this manner of going from one place to another is not for two or three months only, as in the mission tours in Spain, but our employment throughout the year and all our lives (for it is the same in all the residences of these Visayan islands), a twofold damage results; damage to the spiritual life, for we must make our spiritual duties almost always on the road, and damage to bodily health due to the alternation of sun and rain on land, and at sea the tossing about, the squalls, the snatching of sleep in a small boat, which after several years break the frame even of the most rugged.

The solution proposed by Cortes was, first, to continue despite repeated setbacks the work of gathering the scattered clans into towns, and, second, to return to the system of small stations staffed by two or three, but with modifications. Of the two or three residences on each island, let one be kept; and let it be the superior of this residence, rather than all the missionaries, who shall do the traveling. He it is who shall go from one station to another, spending some time in each to direct and supervise the work of his men resident there. As for their religious life, it should be sufficient for them to retire to the central residence twice a year, when they make their annual retreat and when the provincial comes for his visitation. The superintendent of missions now becomes superfluous. Let him be abolished; it is not good to have too many superiors.

This proposal was laid before the provincial congregation of 1615.[12] The assembled fathers did not consider it advisable either to do away with the office of superintendent of missions or to reduce the number of central residences, as Cortes suggested. But they approved the substance of the proposal, which was that the former stations, with a resident staff of two or three missionaries, be reactivated; not, however, as independent entities but subordinate to the superiors of the residences. A postulatum to that effect was accordingly drawn up for presentation to the general by the procurator of the congregation, Francisco de Otazo. It was couched in the following terms:

> Whether the following petition should be presented to Father General: That subordinate houses or residences [that is, subordinate to the central residence] be designated, in which our missionaries will be stationed for the purpose of instructing and training the people committed to their care; for it seems that we can properly discharge our obligations in conscience by this kind of organization rather than that now in force.
>
> The Congregation decreed that the petition should be made in the terms proposed. For if these smaller houses— which will, of course, remain subject to the rector of the residence—are established, and our missionaries sent to dwell in them closer to the people, the spiritual needs of the district will be better attended to than they can be from a central residence situated at a distance. At present many natives die without the sacraments; they receive Christian instruction only a few days each year, since the fathers do not reside among them; some of the churches are not properly equipped, and divine worship is held in them without music and other accompaniments of the liturgy. This lack is a cause of sorrow to the fathers, and so too is the fact that they spend themselves on the ministry and yet obtain less fruit than they have a right to expect from their exertions, besides which they are compelled to be continually on the move and to make the best of what lodgings they can find. It is true that the multitude of widely scattered villages, the small number of missionaries, and the continual attacks of pirates are largely responsible for our not being able to do as much for the natives and their salvation as we would like. Still, we shall be easier in conscience, the natives will make greater spiritual progress, and greater glory will be given to God, if through the establishment of these subordinate stations we achieve a more effective method of administering the missions and promoting Christian life. We shall at the same time maintain the good name of the Society and satisfy the complaints of the encomenderos, who claim that while they provide us with the necessities of life, we for our part do not take care of their people as we should.

That same year, 1615, Acquaviva died and was succeeded by Muzio Vitelleschi. Otazo presented the petition of the Philippine province to the new general, who asked him to bring back word that he would issue the necessary instructions after giving the matter careful study. These instructions, however, had not yet been received when in 1621 a new pro-

vincial congregation assembled in the College of Manila. The fathers of the congregation therefore instructed their procurator, Francisco Gutiérrez, to remind Vitelleschi of his promise. Gutiérrez did so by means of a written memorandum, submitted at Rome in 1624, in which he stressed the fact that it was now more than ever necessary "to clarify certain points regarding the method to be followed in christianizing the natives," because the Tagalog mission had evolved an organization of its own, different from that of the Visayan missions, and the Philippine Jesuits were sharply divided as to the relative merits of the two systems. It was therefore highly desirable that the general decide between them, "in order that as far as possible uniformity may be established among the Tagalog and Visayan missions, which would lead to greater union, peace of mind, and tranquillity of conscience among our men."[13]

Vitelleschi quite rightly perceived that he did not have enough information on local conditions to make such a decision immediately. He therefore wrote to the Philippines directing that the controversy be thoroughly thrashed out in the next provincial congregation and both the majority and minority opinions sent to Rome with the procurator, so as to provide a basis for a definitive declaration of policy.[14] Five years later, in 1629, the Flemish Jesuits sent word to Rome that Francisco de Encinas, the Philippine procurator elected in the provincial congregation of 1627, had been taken prisoner by the Dutch.[15] He had the misfortune to be aboard one of the ships in the silver fleet captured by Piet Heyn off Matanzas Bay. This was, incidentally, one of the richest hauls in the history of naval warfare. The gold, silver, indigo, sugar, and logwood of which Heyn so unceremoniously relieved the Spaniards were sold in the Netherlands for 15,000,000 guilders, and enabled the Dutch West India Company to declare a dividend of 50 per cent. Encinas, who expected the worst of pirates who were heretics to boot, was treated, much to his surprise, remarkably well. They took him to Rotterdam, where the city fathers put him in solitary confinement in the city jail, but allowed several Catholics in the town to visit him. It was probably through them that he was able to communicate with his brethren in Flanders. He asked them to inform Vitelleschi that he was safe and well and hoped to be released through an exchange of prisoners; but that he did not know when this would be, and that he had lost all his papers in the confusion of the capture. Vitelleschi, not wishing to delay his decision on the Philippine problem any further, sent for Gutiérrez, who fortunately had not yet left Europe, and asked him to write out a summary of the problem as it presented itself when he left Manila. Gutiérrez did so in a paper dated 28 May, which he entitled "A Treatise on the Mission Methods Used in the Philippines."[16] We shall let this interesting document speak for itself. It begins with two presuppositions which neither side of the controversy called in question.

First Presupposition. No one doubts that our men who are engaged in mission work among the natives ought to be subordinate to the rector of the [central] residence and not immediately to the provincial. Otherwise there would be as many local superiors as there are fathers resident in the towns, and everyone sees what a great inversion of order this would be, how alien to our way of life, and how destructive of religious discipline.

Second Presupposition. The Society has missions among two native peoples diverse in speech and customs, and up to the present they have been administered diversely. The fathers who work among the Tagalogs are stationed in the towns themselves which they administer. The superior or rector resides in the central house located in the principal town of the district, and each father is assigned a town where he resides, and from which he can conveniently visit the neighboring villages, which are thus called *visitas*, to instruct the people, bring them the sacraments, and so on. All these fathers are subject to the rector of the residence, who supervises their work. From time to time they come together in the central house for the purpose of renewing themselves in spirit as well as considering how their ministry might be more effective. The fathers who administer the Visayan missions follow a different system. There the individual missionaries have no definite towns of which they are in charge, nor are they stationed in any one place. The rector of the residence sends them on circuit to the towns which he designates, and in this manner they instruct and bring the sacraments to the people of their district.

Gutiérrez goes on to say that this diversity of organization had given rise to a difference of opinion among the fathers of the province as to which of them should be adopted uniformly in all the missions. It was apparently assumed that such uniformity was desirable, and the only question was which of the two forms should prevail. In presenting the two series of arguments, Gutiérrez obviously tries his best to be objective, but it is not difficult to guess where his preference lay.

The advocates of the Visayan system bring forward the following arguments.

1. This system is more in accord with our institute, for it is exactly the kind of mission described in the Constitutions; whereas the Tagalog method, which is that proper to parish priests, is contrary to it.

2. Stable residence in one town develops in the missionary an attachment of it. He gets to know the people intimately, both men and women, and thus forms ties of affection. He loses his heart to the town, to its people, to the settled and restful rounds of its ministry, with the result that his way of life becomes that of a secular priest rather than a religious of the Society. There is no danger of this in the Visayan method. There the heart is free of all such attachments; one lives an apostolic life, with no house of one's own, no fixed abode, no particular friends; a life of unflagging self-denial.

3. By this method the natives are assisted spiritually, not indeed as much as they require, but as much as we are able, that is, within the limits of our form of life and religious institute, to whose preservation we should give pride of place. True, we have assumed charge of the natives; but we are not strictly speaking their

parish priests. We are not obliged in justice to give them the full extent of pastoral care [*el pasto cumplido de doctrina*]. It is only out of charity that we have engaged to give them those services which our manner of life permits us to render.

The arguments advanced by the Tagalog fathers are the following.

1. This method, whereby the missionaries reside among the natives in their towns, is in use throughout the Catholic Church, as may easily be shown by going over all the Christian communities throughout the world, and all the missions of which the Society has charge in the eastern and western Indies. *They* do not seem to suffer from the disadvantages alleged by the advocates of the Visayan method, and it is hard to believe that all the religious orders in the world, and the Society itself in the rest of the world, are mistaken, and that only in the Visayas has the right way of administering a native mission been discovered.

2. By limiting itself to the mission tours described, the Society fails to provide the natives with the doctrinal instruction and the opportunity of approaching the sacraments which it is obliged to provide. If we are able to render these services, and we are, we are certainly bound to do so. Bound in justice, for we are truly parish priests, as the king has so often declared in one cédula after another. The missions and the stipends which go with them are given to religious on this understanding, not that the natives might be provided for in a manner that admits of more or less, as one gives alms out of pity or charity. No indeed, the obligation is one of justice. Surely we did not need the king to tell us this. It is obvious from the very nature of the case that while the Society is not bound in justice but only in charity to take charge of native parishes, once it has accepted that charge it is bound in justice to render the services called for. The obligation to accept the charge is one thing; it is an obligation arising from charity; but the obligation to administer the sacraments, and the rest of it, once having accepted the beneficed curacy, is quite another thing; *that* is an obligation arising from justice. It is a duty consequent on the very nature of the parochial office, and hence the acceptance of the office necessarily induces and imposes the said duty *ex iustitia*.

3. The merit of this method whereby the towns are administered by resident missionaries is clearly seen in the great spiritual fruit produced; the progress [made by the neophytes] in the knowledge of God, in virtue and Christian living, in the frequentation of the sacraments; and especially in the opportunity given them to receive those sacraments at the hour of death. The results of the method of mission tours are quite otherwise, as is obvious from the [recent] uprising among the Visayans and the folly, ignorance, and oafishness which they manifested, as though they had never really arrived at a knowledge of God and the Christian law after so many years and so many mission tours. Not only that, but at the last congregation practically everyone agreed that at the hour of death, when they need the sacraments most of all, ninety out of a hundred did not get them; and in the most remote villages it was usually not the priest of Christ but the priestess of the devil who was at hand to assist the dying with the idolatrous sacrifice of their forbears.

4. By this method of mission tours we not only fail in our duty to God and to the sheep committed to our care, but we present a sorry spectacle to the other religious orders, for whom our method of instruction is matter for amusement.

It is not unusual for the friars to stop natives journeying through their territory and quiz them on their catechism, for they hold it for certain that if they cannot give a good account of themselves in Christian doctrine and the mysteries of the faith, they must be natives taught by the Jesuits. The encomenderos too are scandalized and complain that we do not teach in their towns and yet keep coming for the stipend.

5. With the method of mission tours it is not possible to have decent churches or decent worship. Many of the churches in the Visayas look more like cattle pens than houses of God. And, indeed, what kind of churches can we expect where there are neither priest nor sacraments?

6. There is no proportion between the vast amount of work our fathers [in the Visayas] do and the little they accomplish, and because of their incessant journeys their health is broken before their time.

7. All things being equal this method they have in the Visayas of moving about continually and being always on the road is more conducive to a disordered life, to omitting meditation, examen, exercises of piety altogether, and hence to moral breakdowns. Furthermore, whatever it is that the fathers are able to do in the eight or fifteen days that they stop at a village, he who comes after them undoes, for they neither know their sheep nor do their sheep know them. Nothing in their work is stable; everything is subject to change.

8. We lay an intolerable burden on the natives by this method. These mission journeys are made either by land or sea. If by sea, each missionary must have a boat with thirteen or fifteen oarsmen, and besides these he must take with him a sacristan, a cook, and food for all these people. If by land, he must have a sizable number of native bearers to carry all his clothing and equipment, for it is necessary to bring everything, from kettle to chalice. This causes the natives a great deal of trouble which they resent, for since these missions are made one after another, we must be calling upon their services continually. Moreover, it is no small expense to feed so many mouths. As for wages, we do not ordinarily give them any. We cannot.

Gutiérrez adds, as the ninth and final argument of the advocates of the Tagalog system, the postulatum of the congregation of 1615 which we have previously cited, and then concludes:

These are the arguments brought forward by one and the other side. All those fathers or most of them desired me to implore your Paternity to determine what must be done in this matter for the greater glory of God, the good of souls, and the honor of our order; and so I lay the whole question before your Paternity with all detachment, and I am sure all those fathers will accept with the same detachment whatever your Paternity shall direct, knowing it to be the will of God our Lord.

Meanwhile, word of Encinas' capture having reached Manila, the alternate procurator elected by the congregation, Juan López, set out at once with duplicates of Encinas' papers and arrived in Rome in 1630. Encinas, released by the Dutch, joined him there at about the same time. It was at

once apparent from the proceedings and petitions of the congregation that the terms of the problem were no longer what they were in 1621.[17] Many if not all the Visayan residences had gone ahead without waiting for Vitelleschi's decision and modified their organization along the lines of the petition of 1615. Thus uniformity had been achieved in practice. In all or most of the missions, Tagalog and Visayan alike, the missionaries now resided habitually in their respective stations, though they still came together in the central house for retreats and conferences and were still subject to the superior of the residence. So far so good; the problem now was, how did this affect the relation between superior and subjects? Although they still constituted a single community, they now lived in several different establishments. Should these establishments be supported by a common fund under the exclusive control of the superior, or should each station have some control over its own income and expenditure? Again, ought the superior of a residence to have the power to transfer his men from one station to another as he sees fit, or should they have a certain stability of tenure, so that they can be transferred only with the knowledge and consent of the provincial? These were the questions to which the thirty-four fathers of congregation of 1627 addressed themselves. There were two main parts, they said, to the problem of mission organization.

> The first question is this. Should there be one rector in each residence who has full charge of its temporal administration and spiritual direction, in such wise that no one belonging to that residence may dispose of money or anything similar without the rector's permission? Or is this a more reasonable system: that everyone in charge of a mission station should have his own funds which he can dispose of as he sees fit, and that a group of stations should be under a superior, this superior to have no fixed residence, but to visit the fathers in their little houses [*domunculas*], each in turn, for the purpose of supervising them and watching who does his work and who does not?

All with great unanimity, the congregation reported, one alone excepted, voted that the first alternative was preferable, and should be tenaciously [*mordicus*] retained. The reasons that moved them were, first, because this was the method chosen by the founders of the province, approved by the generals, and praised even by missionaries of other religious orders; second, because it was more conducive to religious observance and discipline; third, because experience showed that the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience could be better kept under such a system; fourth, because the second alternative would lead to innumerable disputes among the various stations as to jurisdiction and territorial limits; fifth, because the sick could not be properly taken care of unless there was a central residence with funds and facilities for that purpose; sixth, because not everyone had the prudence and ability to handle money without getting into financial difficulties; and

finally, because if every missionary felt financially responsible for his mission station, he might easily be led into transactions which were at least in appearance if not in fact commercial, to the great injury of the poverty and reputation of the Society. The principal argument in favor of the second alternative and the answer to it were stated by the fathers as follows:

It was argued in support of the opposite view that the rectors [that is, the superiors of residences] took care only of the central house and neglected the subordinate houses. And as a matter of fact this is what has given rise to so many complaints and proved so unsettling to many of our men. Our answer is that this objection cannot outweigh the many good reasons in favor of the view adopted, and that the fathers provincial will see to it that the rectors show themselves more liberal and not make the ministry more difficult for their subjects than it is.

The second part of the problem concerned the powers which the superior of a mission residence ought to have. Should they include that of moving his subordinates from one station to another, or should this be reserved to the provincial? The assembled fathers, again with only one exception, voted for the first alternative. Their reasons were that mission superiors ought to have the same freedom to dispose of their subjects as do rectors of colleges; that they were in the best position to know what places and works suited each man's abilities—and shortcomings; and that emergencies might arise in which changes had to be made quickly, before the provincial could be notified. The fathers recognized the advantage of leaving a man in the post where he was doing well, and hence they warned local superiors not to make changes lightly; but they felt that the commander on the spot should have ample freedom to dispose his forces in the manner he considered most effective.

Thus the congregation, by devoting itself to the problems arising out of the existence of resident stations, tacitly assumed that the earlier problem of whether there should be such stations at all was already beyond dispute, having been solved by actual practice developing out of experience. Vitelleschi accepted this assumption and by so doing gave it his approval. His decision on the other problems was as follows:

We have carefully read in its entirety what the congregation proposes regarding the spiritual and temporal administration of the missions. After comparing and considering in the sight of the Lord the arguments for one side and the other, we are inclined to agree with the conclusions of the congregation. We therefore enjoin that in future there should be one superior in each residence to whom the other stations of the district should be subject in all things. As for the power of moving his subjects from one place to another without consulting the provincial, there seem to be good arguments for and against it, and so we grant such power to the local superior only by way of experiment until we are able to see our way more clearly. Moreover, he must make no change unless it is clearly necessary,

and if he can conveniently notify the provincial, he must by all means do so. If time or place or some other circumstance does not permit this, then, having made the change, he should at least let the provincial know in writing what he has done and his reasons for doing it; and if the provincial should command that someone be not changed, the local superior must do exactly what he is told.[18]

Two other postulata of this congregation deserve to be mentioned. One was that the superintendent of the Visayan missions be given the title and powers of vice-provincial for that territory in the absence of the provincial, just as, when the provincial went to the Visayas on visitation, the rector of the College of Manila automatically became vice-provincial of the Luzon Jesuits. This would remedy to some extent the delays in the expediting of business caused by the difficulties of communication between the Visayan missions and Manila. Vitelleschi agreed. The other was that the provincial be empowered to appoint a Jesuit *protector de indios*. His function would be that formerly exercised by the superintendent of the Visayan missions, namely, to defend the rights of the natives and represent their needs and grievances before the colonial government, except that he would perform this service not only for the Visayans but for all the people under the spiritual administration of the Society. Vitelleschi denied this petition, possibly because he did not want to multiply offices without necessity, for when the congregation of 1635 asked for *two* protectors, one for the Tagalog and another for the Visayan missions, he consented without any difficulty.[19]

Encinas returned to the Philippines with these responses and an expedition of twenty new missionaries in 1631. López, his alternate, remained behind to recruit more volunteers and attend to some financial matters. In 1634 he informed Vitelleschi that the Spanish government had resumed its efforts to enforce the claims of the royal patronage on the Philippine missions. A cédula had been issued ordering all the religious orders that whenever a mission station became vacant, they were to submit three names for the post, out of which the governor would choose the missionary to be appointed. No one was to be presented for appointment to a mission unless he had previously been examined by the diocesan prelate as to his competence to administer the sacraments and ability to speak the language of the region. The procurators of the other religious orders in Spain had already protested the ordinance as incompatible with their respective institutes, and were ready to resign their Philippine parishes and missions if it was not revoked. What course was the Society to follow?[20] Vitelleschi's reply was:

It is not right that the Society should consent to submit three names for each mission station in order that one might be approved, for up to now, by the grace of God, we have given no cause for complaint although this method has not been

followed]. Hence it will be proper to protest the order that has been issued, with all due courtesy. If its execution is urged, we have no choice but humbly and quietly to withdraw from our missions, for it is contrary to our manner of government that a superior should not have the power to appoint a subject to a mission station, or remove him from it, whenever he judges this to be for the greater glory of God and the good of the neighbor. As for the clause requiring that our missionaries be examined as to their competence, I have declared in an earlier communication what our policy is, namely, that we have absolutely no difficulty in complying with this requirement of the diocesan prelates, as long as the inquiry is not extended to the personal life and conduct of our religious.[21]

Later we shall see the various ways in which the royal officials and the bishops put this policy to the test. Right now a word or two about finances seems in order, for money, or more precisely the lack of it, was a problem which plagued the Philippine province with peculiar persistence.

In 1602 the yearly income of the College of Manila was 3,700 pesos. According to García and his consultors, this was sufficient to support twelve scholastics in addition to the existing community. Or rather, it would be sufficient if the college could dispose of it entirely. However, such was not the case. Since none of the other houses could contribute to the general expenses of the vice-province, all of it was charged on this revenue. The traveling expenses of procurators sent to Europe, and whatever missionaries coming to the Philippines spent over and above the allowance given them by the government, were paid out of it. Finally, the provincial of Mexico had ruled that since the Philippine Jesuits technically belonged to his province, they should pay the province tax. This was 13 pesos per man per year. He was willing to accept half that amount; but even so, the total for the vice-province amounted to a sizable sum, which also had to come out of the college income. This explains the other item in the financial statement of the college for that year: a debt of 2,510 pesos. García and his consultors asked Chirino to lay these facts before Acquaviva and request, first, that the vice-province be exempted from the Mexican province tax, and second, that it be permitted to receive further donations in order to enlarge its endowment. Both requests were readily granted, the first automatically by the creation of an independent Philippine province.[22]

The principal investment of the college at this time was the land which it had acquired by purchase and gift in the districts of Mayhaligi, Tondo, and Quiapo, across the river from the walled city. The rent paid by the Chinese cultivators who leased it amounted to 1,500 pesos a year. Archbishop Santibáñez, who looked on the Chinese as an economic and moral liability, thought this was a mistake. The Jesuits would have done far better to let their land be cultivated by the lazy, good-for-nothing natives with which Manila abounded.[23] Exactly how this was better the good archbishop did not say; however, he was rather unexpectedly proved right.

The Chinese took up arms against the Spaniards in 1603 and were massacred almost to a man. At one stroke, the College of Manila was poorer by 1,500 pesos a year. In order to make up for the loss to some extent, López, the provincial, tried to develop the urban property in which part of the college endowment was invested. He borrowed more money in order to build houses which could be put out to rent. By 1609, the college debt stood at 3,856 pesos. However, the Chinese were once again being allowed to remain in the country, and some of them had resumed cultivation of the college land. With what they paid, the house rentals, the produce of the stock farm near Taytay, the occasional alms of the faithful who frequented the college church, and the stipends of the four priests of the community who devoted themselves to the ministry of the natives, the income of the college that year amounted to 3,627 pesos. This was only a little less than the figure for 1602, but on the other hand, the community was more than twice as large: forty-one instead of eighteen. Furthermore, a new office, that of procurator general of the Indies, had been established in Madrid to expedite the business at court of the nine overseas provinces; consequently, the Philippine province, that is to say the College of Manila, had to pay one-ninth of the cost of its maintenance. In 1611 the college owed between 7,000 and 8,000 pesos.[24]

Fortunately, the bottom had been reached. From this point on, to the middle of the century and past it, the financial position of the college improved steadily. One reason for this was Francisco Gutiérrez. Some years before he went to Rome as procurator in 1621, he was asked by Ledesma, the provincial, to straighten out the accounts of the province, which were, as Ledesma put it simply, "a chaos." Gutiérrez did a fine job, at least to the extent of enabling superiors to know how badly off they were.[25] Another reason was that after protracted negotiations the college finally succeeded in obtaining from Figueroa's heirs and executors the 13,000 pesos which were still lacking to complete the endowment when Figueroa met his untimely death. A third reason was that with the application of part of the income of San Pedro Makati to the general expenses of the province, most of this weighty burden was lifted from the college. Finally, the first half of the seventeenth century saw the most prosperous years of the galleon trade, in spite of the fact that the Dutch put forth their best efforts to destroy it. Almost all the chroniclers of the colony are agreed that after the great earthquake of 1645 Manila never recovered the affluence and splendor which she had known before it. Given the open-handedness of the Manila merchants, the college could not but share in this general prosperity. Sizable gifts and bequests were invested in houses for rent in the Chinese quarter, more land on the north bank of the Pasig, in the district of Santa Cruz, an hacienda called Jesús de la Peña in the rich Marikina Valley, and several annuities. The resulting increase in

annual revenue is recorded for us by the triennial catalogues: 5,400 pesos in 1618, 6,900 in 1621, 6,500 in 1624, 10,000 in 1630, 10,700 in 1636, and 10,930—the peak—in 1643. After the great earthquake it dropped to 7,000 pesos and remained stationary at that level to 1651.[26]

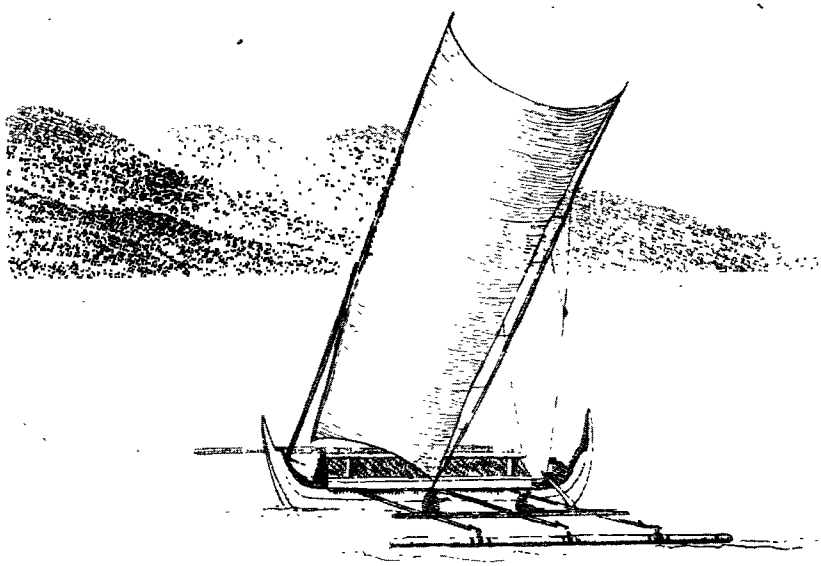
Of course, there was a reverse side to this shining coin. The indebtedness of the college increased at a much faster rate, especially after construction began on the new church in the latter part of the 1620's. The figures (in pesos) from the triennial catalogues show:

Year	*Debt*
1618	8,459
1621	15,000
1624	11,000
1630	24,000
1636	41,800
1643	45,690
1646	40,092
1649	40,092
1651	39,266

Fortunately, the college did not have to pay interest on part of this debt, and the interest payments on the rest (1,597 pesos in 1643, and 1,230 in 1651) were apparently considered well within the ability of the endowment to carry.

It will be recalled that the College of San José was started by García in 1601 without an endowment. The building, erected by the College of Manila, was rented from it at 200 pesos a year. Rent and running expenses were paid for out of the board and lodging fees of the resident students, which were set at 100 pesos a year. There existed, indeed, the possibility of an endowment, but it was remote, being based on a clause in the last will and testament of the illustrious founder of the College of Manila, Esteban Rodríguez de Figueroa.

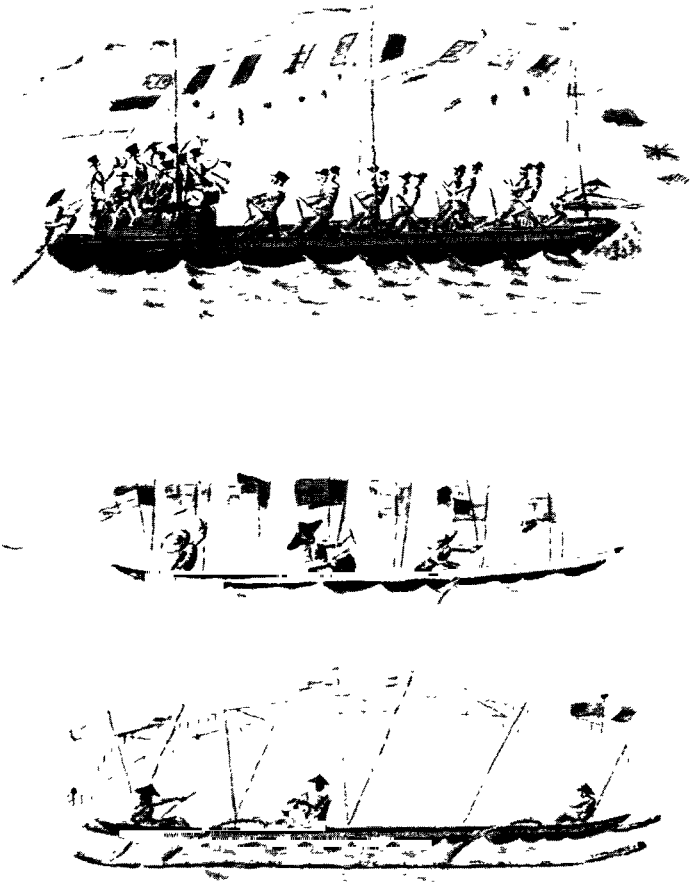
This document was drawn up in due form on 16 March 1596 in the town of Arévalo in Panay, just before Figueroa set out on the conquest of Mindanao.[27] Its main purpose was to provide for his wife, Doña Ana de Oseguera, his daughter, Margarita, and the child of which his wife was pregnant at the time, in case he failed to return from the expedition. Having bequeathed to them the bulk of his estate, he considered the possibility of the death of Margarita or the unborn child before they reached their majority. In that event, he willed that four-fifths of the child's inheritance should revert to the mother. One-third of this four-fifths, however, was to be deducted, and together with the remaining one-fifth of the whole, was to be set aside as an endowment for a college. From this endowment, Figueroa said, "a house is to be built near the residence



V. A caracoa



VI. Ormoc in 1847



VII. Water festival in Butuan, 1847

of the Society of Jesus in the city of Manila, fit to serve as a college and boarding school [*seminario*] for boys, where all may enter who wish to learn their first letters." He wanted the Jesuits to take charge of this institution, and so,

> I request and charge the provincial that is or shall be of the Society to assume the direction of this boarding school and provide suitable teachers for it. And the money left over after the construction of the said house must be invested for the support of the said teachers and boys, and the patron and administrator of the said college must be the said Father Provincial, without whose leave and permission no one may enter it. His it shall be to visit, reform, and manage its affairs, select its investments, purchase its properties and buildings, appoint a rent steward and other officials and employees, and give them the necessary powers to perform their duties. No other functionary or judge, clerical or lay, shall have anything to do with the said college or have a claim upon it. And if after providing food and clothing for those of the said scholars who are poor something should be left over from the aforementioned revenue, let the said patron spend it as he deems fit, either on the said college, or on the college of the Society, or on some other pious work to his liking, without any accounting being taken or asked of him, for any reason whatever.

The child whom Figueroa never saw was a girl, and was christened Juana. In 1604 little Juana, who was being taken to Mexico, perished in the wreck of the galleon *San Antonio*; whereupon the contingent clause which Figueroa had written into his will went into effect. Since San José, already in existence, was exactly the kind of institution Figueroa intended to endow, it was to San José that the allotted share of Juana's inheritance fell. It consisted of investments in Mexico and the Philippines valued at 35,500 pesos and a ranch on the island of Panay with 14,000 head of cattle. The colonial government put in a claim on the grounds that the prosecution of Mindanao campaign after Figueroa's death was chargeable on his estate, but this claim was disallowed by the courts, and on 28 February 1610 the legal formalities were completed giving San José possession of the property. It should be noted that this endowment did not make San José a different institution from that founded by Diego García in 1601, although it did give it a new legal status as an *obra pía* or pious foundation, distinct from the Society of Jesus but under the administration and control of its Philippine superiors.

The ranch in Panay found a ready market for its cattle in the expedition which the Philippine government regularly sent to the Spanish garrisons in the Moluccas during the early years of the seventeenth century, for these expeditions, while starting from Manila, were provisioned at the port of Iloilo. The demand, however, seems to have been so great or so constant that the ranch was unable to replenish its stock. There were only 7,000 head of cattle left in 1618 and only 5,000 in 1624. Also, the government

apparently bought on credit, as it often did in those days, for we note that the royal treasury owed the College of San José 4,000 pesos in 1618, 12,000 pesos in 1621, and 7,000 in 1624. Soon after that San José must have sold or otherwise disposed of the ranch, for it ceases to figure in the triennial catalogues. It is not difficult to guess why.

In place of the ranch, San José acquired from the College of Manila, it is not clear for what consideration, certain lands which it owned in what was then the territory of Biñan, on the southwestern shore of the Lake of Bai, about twenty miles from Manila. This transaction took place in 1629. In 1634 it purchased additional land in the same area from the widow of Sergeant Pedro Domínguez Franco, and the whole complex became the hacienda or estate of San Pedro Tunasan.[28] It eventually comprised some 2,400 hectares of farm land and pasture, and like the ranch of the College of Manila near Taytay was administered by lay brothers. Part of the endowment was also invested in urban property.

Between 1612 and 1624 the income of San José increased slightly, from 1,400 to 1,700 pesos. At the same time, it became necessary to borrow 9,400 pesos for a new building, the old one having collapsed from old age. This was in 1621; soon afterward the Panay ranch was disposed of and the Tunasan property acquired. This turned out very well, for in 1630 the income of the college jumped to 3,000 pesos and it started to pay off its debt, which stood at only 2,500 six years later. In 1639, however, disaster overtook San Pedro Tunasan. The Chinese who had been put to work against their will in the neighboring government estate of Calamba revolted, cutting a wide swath of destruction in their advance toward the city. The sugar cane fields of Tunasan were trampled and burned, its herds slaughtered, the tenant farmers scattered in all directions. By 1643, the yearly income of San José had dropped to 1,300 pesos, and there it remained until the patient, unsung lay brothers who managed the estate were able to build it up again. In 1646 some of the fields were once more under cultivation, and in 1651 the revenue of San José had risen to 1,700 pesos.

The College of Cebu was endowed by Ensign Pedro de Aguilar in 1606. The 14,000 pesos of the endowment was invested mostly in houses for rent in Manila. Alonso de Henao also made the college his sole beneficiary; through this and other bequests two small ranches, one in Cebu and another in Bohol, were added to the one the college had acquired in Chirino's time. There was, however, no such market for cattle in Cebu as at Iloilo, and these ranches were eventually disposed of. During the first half of the seventeenth century the yearly revenue of the college was between 1,000 pesos and 1,200 pesos, with little variation. A debt of 1,400 pesos, contracted in 1612, was paid off completely in 1618.

The endowment of the college occasioned some discussion in the provincial congregation of 1609.[29] The doubt was proposed whether it could

be accepted, since the establishment at Cebu was hardly a college in the sense used by Saint Ignatius in the Constitutions. No scholastics were being trained there, and the grammar school, which had been started chiefly at the request of Bishop Agurto, was closed down for lack of students just before he died. Only the primary school for boys remained in operation. Was this sufficient to permit the acceptance of an endowment? Acquaviva's reply to this query is important, as it determined the status not only of the Cebu establishment, but also of the other so-called colleges subsequently founded at Cavite, Arévalo, and Zamboanga. "We accept foundations for our colleges," he wrote in 1612, "primarily for the support of scholastics of our Society. Those establishments where this cannot be done due to the smallness of the income are to be considered colleges in process of formation [*collegia inchoata*], and it will be sufficient to maintain a primary school for boys in them until the revenue is increased." We might add that foundations were also accepted, even in Saint Ignatius' lifetime, for colleges of externs in which grammar and the higher disciplines after grammar were taught. Thus the only colleges in the full sense conducted by the Philippine province were the College of Manila and the College of San José; the others were "inchoate" colleges.

The mission residences were placed on a par with professed houses, that is, communities consisting chiefly of professed members of the Society, in that they were not permitted to accept endowments which would assure them of a regular income. Neither were the missionaries allowed to accept stole fees or any other perquisites for preaching, teaching, or the administration of the sacraments, unless the diocesan prelate ruled otherwise. They were supposed to subsist entirely on the free-will offerings of the faithful, in order that they might the more closely imitate the poverty of their Master and preserve an apostolic freedom unhampered by considerations of worldly gain. It was for this reason that some of the Visayan fathers questioned the nature of the regular stipends which they received from the encomenderos; they did not feel that they could accept it if it was a stipend in the strict sense and not an alms. Acquaviva did not explicitly clarify this point, but implicit in his reply was that the regularity with which the stipend was given—which was not, after all, so very regular—did not make it less an alms, since either the encomenderos or the king could withdraw it at any time they wished.

The established stipend for each missionary priest during the period we are considering was 100 pesos and 100 fanegas of rice a year. Paddy rice was meant, roughly equal to 50 fanegas of hulled rice, which is the amount mentioned in some documents. To this was sometimes added one arroba of Mass wine, and oil for the lamp that burned perpetually before the Blessed Sacrament. The cost of the construction of churches was divided equally among the community of the town where it was built,

the encomendero of the district, and the government. In the early part of the seventeenth century the stipend of a Jesuit priest in the missions was considered sufficient to support both himself and a lay brother, with something left over for the work itself. It is a sign of the general rise in the value of commodities that in 1643 this was no longer considered sufficient.[30] However, in most of the residences the missionaries were still able to make out because the natives made up what was lacking with their free-will offerings. Not a few of the Tagalog towns gave more than enough to support their priests, even without the royal stipend. This was not the case with some of the poorer and more remote Visayan stations, and so the missionaries there adopted the practice of asking their converts to collect forest products for them, principally beeswax, which they sent to Manila to be sold. With the proceeds they bought what they needed for their churches and chapels. This was perfectly compatible with canon law, but because it gave the appearance of a commercial transaction for profit Acquaviva strictly enjoined López, the provincial, to put a stop to it.[31]

The fact that only a handful of the Jesuit establishments in the Philippines derived a regular revenue from an endowment made it impossible to provide for the general expenses of the province by means of a tax on all the houses, as is the usual practice. Instead, part of the endowment of the novitiate of San Pedro was diverted to this end. This province fund was increased by later donations and bequests, but never to the point of quite erasing the note of anxiety in the correspondence of the procurators of the period.

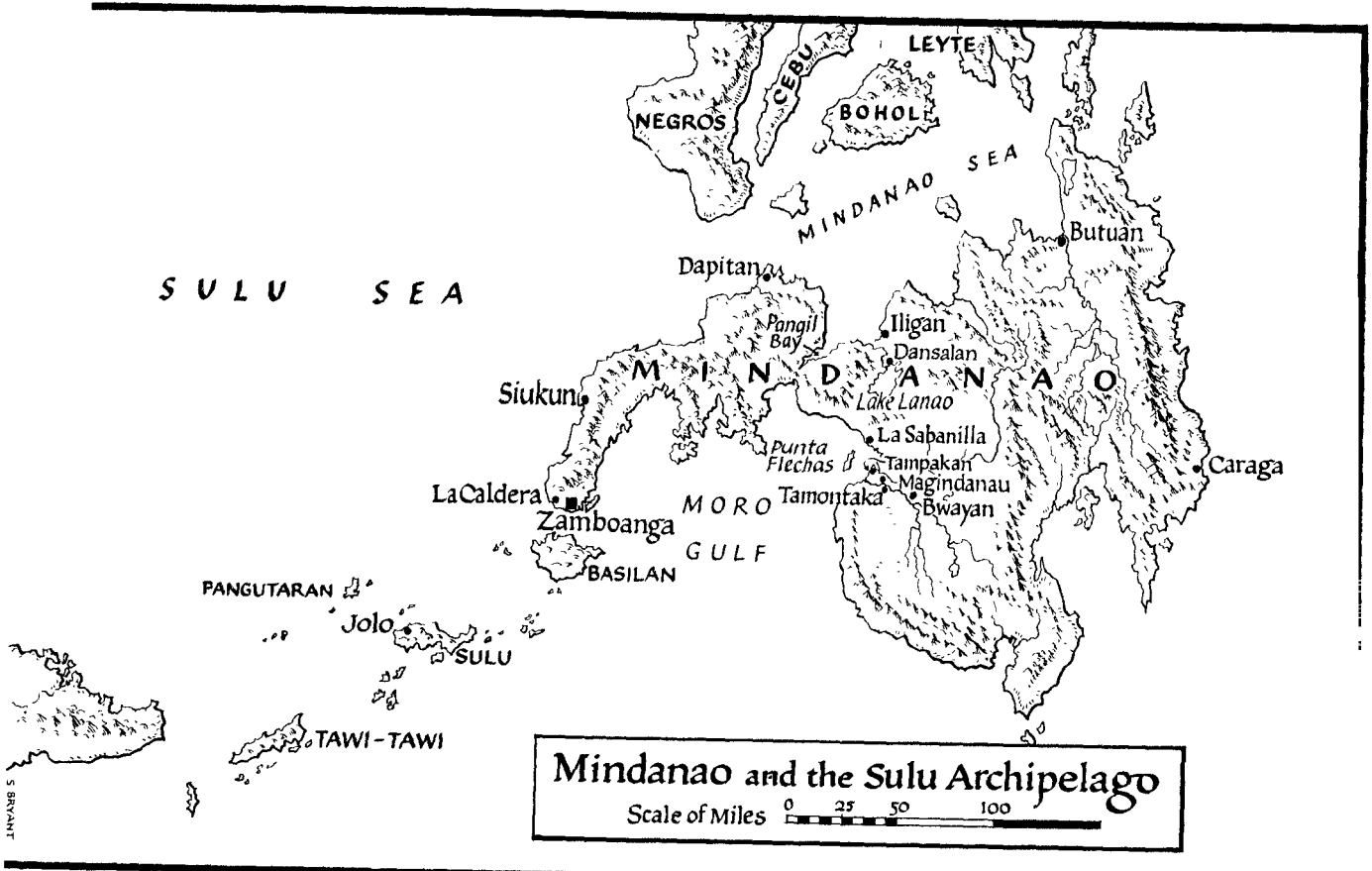
Chapter Twelve

THE GREAT RIVER

We left Figueroa's expedition at Tampakan, near the mouth of the Great River of Mindanao, uncertain what to do after the death of their leader. Juan de la Jara was in temporary command, and the captains had no heart to carry on the enterprise. Desirous of obtaining definite instructions, or of evading responsibility, it is not certain which, Jara left the camp and went in person to Manila. Governor Tello had him arrested for abandoning his command and dispatched another officer, Toribio de Miranda, to hold the expedition at Tampakan or, if it had already left, to bring it back. Miranda found that the expedition had indeed returned from Tampakan to a place called La Caldera, at the tip of the Zamboanga peninsula, preparatory to breaking up. He kept it together and brought it back to Tampakan. Meanwhile Tello appointed a successor to Figueroa in the person of Juan Ronquillo, the commander of the galley fleet.

When Ronquillo arrived at Tampakan, he found the expedition besieged by the Magindanau confederacy. He raised the siege and took the offensive. After intercepting and routing a flotilla that had come from Ternate to assist the confederacy, he forced his way upriver to Bwayan and received its surrender. Dissension broke out among the Magindanau princes. Raja Mura—the Young Raja, nominal head of the confederacy—was for capitulating to the Spaniards, a move which his two most powerful datus, Sirongan and Bwisan, opposed. Raja Mura actually submitted and took the oath of allegiance to the Spanish Crown. So at least Ronquillo reported; yet, strangely enough, he failed to exploit his victory; not only that, but he sent the most urgent representations that the expedition be recalled. Tello agreed, and ordered Ronquillo to inflict as much damage as he could on the Magindanaus, dismantle the Tampakan camp, leave a small garrison at La Caldera, and come home. Ronquillo complied with these orders by destroying as much as he could of one of the region's principal sources of food. He cut down or set fire to all the coconut and sago palms within reach of his patrols, to the number of 50,000 trees. He then sailed away, stopping only at La Caldera to put ashore 100 men under the command of Cristóbal Villagra.[1]

Some time later, Villagra had occasion to send a detachment of some 30 men to the island of Jolo for supplies. An uncle of Raja Mura happened to be there at the time. He and his entourage fell upon Villagra's men,



Map VI. Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago.

killed 13 Spaniards and put the rest to flight. To take reprisals for this deed, Juan Pacho, who had in the meantime relieved Villagra of his command, went personally to Jolo with a force of 70 Spanish troops. The Sulus disputed their landing so vigorously that they were forced to regain their boats, leaving Pacho himself and 20 others dead on the bloody beach. When word of these disasters reached Manila, Miranda was sent with reinforcements to strengthen the Caldera garrison, but with orders not to embark on any foolhardy adventures. Miranda stepped ashore at La Caldera on 26 August 1599. He dedicated himself to improving the fortifications of the camp and exercising the garrison, now 114 strong, in the proper handling of their weapons. He also sent a Visayan datu with a summons to the Magindanau princes to pay the tribute which they owed to the Spanish government; and let it be a respectable amount, he said, for it should cover "the expenses which they had caused in the war by their disobedience." Raja Mura received the Visayan with fair words, but the tribute which he sent back with him was not of a size to command respect.

However, Miranda was no longer in a position to argue the point. Intelligence had been received at Manila of the presence of two English warships in the waters south of the Philippines. They had been sighted entering Sunda Strait, but with what design was uncertain. Tello, fearing an attack on the Spanish establishments in the Visayas, sent hurried orders to Miranda to demolish the Caldera fort and take the entire garrison to Cebu. There he was to join forces with Juan Tello, who was also being dispatched thither with 100 men, and prepare to give the English a warm reception. Tello and Miranda threw themselves with enthusiasm into the work of building a stone rampart; but the English never came. From later reports it turned out that the English warships were really Dutch merchantmen seeking to establish a trading connection with the Spice Islands independently of the Portuguese. They touched at Bantam and various Javanese ports in 1596, but being unable to reach the Moluccas, returned to Holland in 1597.[2]

The false report was particularly unfortunate in that it caused the Spaniards to give up a position of great strategic importance. As the pilots of the Loaisa and Villalobos expeditions had discovered, it was next to impossible for a sailing vessel to claw north along the eastern coast of Mindanao. The only way, then, for the Magindanau flotillas to gain the Visayan islands was to sail westward across the Moro Gulf and around the Zamboanga peninsula. Now, La Caldera commanded the channel between that peninsula and the island of Basilan; and, if the Magindanaus took the more circuitous route south of Basilan, patrol boats based at La Caldera could easily give warning of their approach as well as of any suspicious movement of ships in the Sulu archipelago. By withdrawing the garrison from La Caldera, the Spaniards had removed the stopper from a bottle and

released a malignant *djinn*. Toward the end of 1599, 300 Magindanaus in 50 war boats, under the datus Sali and Sirongan, fell with a fury long repressed on the coasts of Cebu, Negros, and Panay, ravaged the villages with fire and sword, and carried away 800 captives. The following year Sali came again with a much larger force of 60 sail and 800 men. It was his intention this time not to limit himself to attacking the relatively helpless Visayans, but to try conclusions with the Spaniards themselves. He stormed Arévalo, and was only with the greatest difficulty repulsed by a handful of Spaniards and 1,000 Visayans under the command of Juan García Sierra. Foiled, he flung himself on the nearby villages, herded 800 captives into his ships and on his way back, glutted though he was, decided to make a quick raid on Baclayon, a village of Bohol. But the people of Baclayon, having been forewarned, were able to flee in time, and Sali found no one in the abandoned town but three old women and one old man, too feeble to run. He killed them and sailed away.[3]

The cold ferocity of the Magindanaus and their seeming ability to raid anywhere at will without the Spaniards being able to prevent them struck terror throughout the Visayan islands. When the southwest monsoon began to blow again in April of the following year, whole villages abandoned their homes on the seacoast and fled to the hills. The encomenderos and missionaries tried to keep the people calm and organize some sort of defense, but they could do little against the wild rumors that flew from island to island of massed sails, silent and swift and terrible, just below the horizon. "Word came today," Miguel Gómez wrote from Cebu, "that the enemy armada has been sighted and that it is composed of 200 vessels which they call *caracoas* with many thousands of them on board. The news is not quite certain but there is no doubt that if they have not come yet they will, as they did last year."[4] But the report was false. That year the Magindanaus took their ease in the peaceful villages along the banks of the Great River.

For the authorities at Manila were less concerned about them than about the Sulus. It was Jolo that demanded immediate attention; the massacre of the officers and men of the Caldera garrison had not yet been avenged.

To take care of this matter Governor Tello dispatched 200 arquebusiers under his most experienced field officer, Juan Juárez Gallinato. The expedition landed at Jolo on 3 March 1602. The Sulus pretended to sue for peace, but when it came to determining the amount of tribute they could pay, their envoys declared, with a straight face, that the Sulus were very poor and could only contribute at the most five taels of gold a year, that is to say, about seven pesos. The negotiations broke off and they fell to fighting. The town of Jolo stood near the beach, but behind it was a steep hill on top of which the townspeople had their citadel. To this they retired after two days of skirmishing, and try as he might Gallinato could

not take it by storm. Moreover, the Sulus observed that the Spanish arquebusiers were effective only in good weather, when they could keep their fuses lit; under pouring rain their firearms were useless, and they had neither the training nor the stomach for the close hand-to-hand fighting in which the Sulu swordsmen excelled. These, therefore, began to make sorties from their citadel on rainy days, with some effect. Gallinato, realizing his disadvantage, sent post-haste to Manila for a special battalion of Japanese *samurai*. When these failed to arrive, he gave up his attempts on the citadel and resorted to a scorched-earth campaign. Major Pedro Sotelo was sent with a detachment on a circuit of the island for the purpose of destroying everything that could be of any value to the inhabitants. Ordered to "cut down coconut groves, trees, orchards, and to burn ships, towns, and houses," Sotelo fulfilled his commission scrupulously, "leaving nothing standing." Gallinato then withdrew his command to La Caldera.[5]

While there, his patrol boats picked up several suspicious looking characters skulking about in the neighborhood.[6] At least one of them turned out to be a spy, sent by a datu of Zamboanga to find out the number and disposition of the Spanish force. Questioning elicited from them the information that a great raiding fleet, greater than any hitherto assembled, was on the point of setting out from Magindanau to harry the Visayas. There were 50 war vessels from Ternate, Sangil, and Tagolanda, and at least 60 from Magindanau itself. The whole expedition was under the joint command of Raja Mura, Bwisan, and Sirongan, who were calling up 100 fighting men from each of their villages. They had invited Liguanan, the principal datu of Basilan, to join them, and Liguanan had called an assembly of the datus of his island and of Zamboanga at which it was agreed to add 35 sail to the Magindanau fleet.

The Spaniards, not a little amazed that so great a host should go raiding this year, put the question to one of the prisoners, a man about fifty years old named Onarano. Onarano, asked whether he was a freeman or a slave, had declared that he was a freeman of the village of Lumian near Jolo; asked what his occupation was, he had replied that "his occupation was always to fight." What then did Onarano, who had grown old in his chosen trade, think was the reason behind this expedition? Onarano said that he was not quite sure himself, but "that he had heard from other natives of the kingdom of Jolo that as long as the Spaniards remained in the aforesaid kingdom, all the natives of Mindanao would go with a large fleet to Pintados, to plunder it."[6]

That was it, then; the Magindanaus were counting on the Sulus to give them a clear field in the Visayas by absorbing the full attention of the Spaniards and causing them to thin out their Visayan garrisons in order to make additional troops available for the Jolo campaign. Well, they would

have to build a better trap for Gallinato than that. On 29 May he was at La Caldera, interrogating the prisoners; two days later he was at Dapitan, on the north coast of the island, dispatching part of his force to Arévalo and the other to Cebu. His plan was to form at each of these stations a small but highly mobile task force, requisitioning for the purpose the fastest sailing vessels he could find; and, relying on the advantage of surprise, to strike at the Magindanaus as soon as they appeared in Visayan waters.

It was an excellent plan, but its success depended on his being able to keep his two task forces intact; they were small enough as it was. This, however, was precisely what the encomenderos would not let him do. No sooner had he established his headquarters at Arévalo than a shower of urgent messages descended upon him from the citizens of Cebu, insisting that he release to them the usual small detachments of troops to help them collect the annual tribute. These were influential men, whose word and wealth carried great weight in the councils of government, and Gallinato, raging inwardly, felt obliged to give in. To make sure that his task force at Cebu did not evaporate completely, he went there himself.[7] And it was there, while fighting off as patiently as he could the importunities of the encomenderos, that he got word at last of the movements of the Magindanau fleet. In hoping to take the Magindanau princes completely by surprise, Gallinato had seriously underestimated their ability to obtain intelligence of his movements. As the Spaniards found out later, it was customary for a raiding party to call at Dapitan first, where small traders and peddlers who wandered at will through the Visayas, and who were friendly to the Magindanaus, brought astonishingly detailed information as to the Spanish movements. Learning of the mobile units Gallinato had mounted at Arévalo and Cebu, the princes decided to by-pass the central Visayas and strike further north where they were least expected: the Calamianes group, Mindoro, and the underbelly of Luzon itself.

They seem to have divided into two main groups. That which raided the Calamianes under Raja Mura and Sirongan received unexpected and unwelcome assistance from a tribe of sea raiders whom the Spaniards called Camucones, and who infested the north coast of Borneo and the tail of Palawan Island. Seeing the Magindanau sails flash by, they scurried out of their hiding places to join in the kill, and considerably disrupted methodical operations. The raid, which yielded 700 captives, might have yielded more if the turbulent Camucones had not alerted the Spanish garrison at Cuyo. The armada under Bwisan, unencumbered by these unwanted auxiliaries, achieved complete surprise. After harrying the eastern coast of Mindoro, it pounced on the populous Tagalog towns of Balayan and Calilaya in southern Luzon and succeeded in carrying off a rich haul of captives, Tagalogs, Visayans, and Spaniards, men, women, and

children, clergy and laity. A sampan carrying some Spaniards from Cebu to Manila fell among the raiders and was likewise captured. Bwisan moved so quickly that he was gone before the squadron at Arévalo even knew that he had come. Pedro de Lemos, the alcalde of Balayan, set off in pursuit, but his lumbering sampans were no match for the lean Magindanau cruisers. He did overtake some of the more heavily laden raiders and succeeded in capturing one or two; the rest made good their escape by the simple device of throwing their captives overboard, thus forcing the pursuers to stop and fish them out.[8]

The seriousness of the situation was now apparent to all. Gallinato at Cebu wrote bitterly to one of the oidores that unless the encomenderos sacrificed their private interests to the common good and left his troop concentrations alone it was impossible to defend the Visayas. Don Pedro Bravo de Acuña, the new governor who had succeeded Tello in May of that year, went down to see for himself. He dispatched a squadron to flush the Camucones out of Palawan, but must have realized that he did not have enough resources to deal with the Magindanaus. Moreover, the alcaldes and encomenderos of the Visayas apparently succeeded in persuading him to discard Gallinato's plan of regional defense by means of massed mobile forces in favor of their alternative plan of local defense, with everyone taking care of his own island or strip of coast.

Archbishop Benavides did not think much of this policy when he heard of it. What was the good of waiting for the Moros to strike before striking back? He was not a military expert, he said, but he knew enough about warfare to realize that the best means of defense was attack. The only way to stop these raids was to carry the war into the Moros' own country. If, he added, we are too weak to do this, then let us honestly admit the fact and negotiate a peace. This last barb seems to have stung the hidalgo in the new governor to action. Weak! Against Moros? Totally absurd! Steaming, as we may suppose, he sent for Gallinato, gave him 150 Spanish troops and told him to proceed at once to the Great River and teach those insolent Magindanaus a lesson they would never forget. Here was action at last. Gleefully, Gallinato went off to Iloilo to get ready. But just as he was about to sail, a message came from Manila to stand by and await further orders. An emergency had arisen. The Magindanaus were to be spared the lesson which they needed so badly.[9]

In 1598 the Dutch merchants made a serious effort to break the Portuguese monopoly on the spice trade by establishing the direct connection with the Moluccas which the expedition of 1595 had failed to secure. Twenty-two ships in five separate expeditions set out from Holland for the East Indies this year. One of the expeditions was that of Oliver van Noort, who took the western route through the Straits of Magellan and, as described earlier, was worsted in an attempt to bottle up the Spaniards

in Manila. He continued on his westward course and became the first Dutch commander to circumnavigate the globe. Other expeditions visited Borneo, Sumatra, Siam, China, and Japan; but the principal one, that commanded by Jakob van Neck, succeeded in reaching Amboina and Ternate and taking in a cargo that netted investors in the voyage a handsome profit of 400 per cent. The Portuguese in India were not slow to realize what this portended. If they did not bestir themselves to regain control of the Moluccas, they stood to lose the entire spice trade to the enterprising Dutch. Thus, what the Jesuit missionaries could not persuade them to do for the converts of Xavier they now decided to do for themselves.

In May 1601 a formidable expedition set out from Malacca under the command of Andrea Furtado da Mendonça. It consisted of five galleons, twenty-one smaller vessels, 2,000 seamen and 1,300 troops. Mendonça decided to secure Bantam before proceeding to the Moluccas, but when he arrived there five Dutch ships under Wolphert Harmensz came out to meet him. They gave him such a warm reception that he drew off to see if he would have better luck at Amboina. He did. There were no Dutch there at the time and he was able to occupy it without too much difficulty. But, when he had completed operations and was about to proceed to Ternate, he discovered that there was little food to be had on the island and the provisions he had brought with him were almost gone. In this predicament he bethought him of the Spaniards in the Philippines, and immediately sent a Jesuit, Andrea Pereira, and one of his staff officers, Captain Antonio de Britto, thither with an urgent request for provisions and additional troops.

Governor Acuña, having listened to what Pereira and Britto had to say, decided that this was a much more important enterprise than the punitive expedition to Magindanau. He loaded a carrack, the *Santa Potenciana*, with 20,000 pesos' worth of supplies and sent it to Iloilo with orders that Gallinato should embark with his force and proceed to the Moluccas instead of Mindanao. On 16 February 1603 Gallinato joined Mendonça before Ternate.

Ternate turned out to be a more difficult nut to crack than Amboina. The Sultan of Ternate had shut himself up in the former Portuguese fortress and dared Mendonça to take it back. Gallinato and Mendonça decided that they had neither the time nor the supplies to starve out the fortress; they would have to take it by storm. But when Gallinato saw the Portuguese stumble out of their landing boats to the beach, his heart sank. After weeks on short rations they were all sick of the scurvy—*bere-vere* [beriberi] Gallinato called it (the earliest use of the term I have encountered). And, even had they been in the best of health, most of them were mere boys who did not even know how to handle an arquebus. Still, there

was no alternative; the attempt had to be made. They made it, and were driven back with heavy loss. The Portuguese lost their nerve completely. Gallinato tried to persuade them to stay, scour the island for food, recoup their forces, and try again, but Mendonça had no spirit left. He sent his scarecrows back to their ships and sailed off for Goa, while Gallinato returned to Manila in utter frustration, the Moluccas as lost as ever, and the Magindanaus unpunished.[10] However, he must have wondered afterward if there was not some dark design at work behind all these unlucky chances, for he arrived just in time to help defend Manila from the Chinese. We may add, just to make it a little more complicated, that if he had gone to Magindanau as planned, he might have prevented Bwisan from raiding that year. For Bwisan was planning a raid; and this time, his objective was Leyte.

So far, with the exception of the old people whom Sali murdered at Baclayon, the Jesuit missions had escaped the scourge. In 1600 Bishop Agurto of Cebu convoked a diocesan synod, summoning to it the superiors of all the mission residences, Jesuit as well as Augustinian, of his extensive diocese. A commission composed of two diocesan priests, two Augustinians, and two Jesuits was given the task of revising the various Visayan catechisms in current use, and their versions were given an official character. Certain encomenderos who had fallen out with the Jesuits in their territories tried to get the synod to declare that the missionaries were subject to the jurisdiction and visitation of the diocesan prelate in the same way as the secular clergy; but Bishop Agurto indignantly rejected the suggestion and forbade all further discussion of the matter. He did, however, go on a tour of the Jesuit missions as soon as the synod was over for the purpose of administering the sacrament of confirmation. In spite of his more than seventy years, he sturdily traveled through Leyte and Samar by trail and outrigger canoe, sharing the simple fare and Spartan quarters of the missionaries, and confirming in the faith more than 4,000 neophytes: 836 at Palo, 1,161 at Dulag, and about 2,000 at Tinagon. Two years later, in April 1602, he did the same in Bohol, administering confirmation to 1,602 persons.[11]

In October 1601 Diego García made his first visitation of the Visayan missions as vice-provincial. He paid particular attention to the boarding school for native boys at Dulag. Before leaving Manila he saw Governor Tello about a government subsidy for it, and had no difficulty in obtaining what he asked, subject to the royal confirmation. The grant, dated 13 October, was couched in the following terms:

> Don Francisco Tello, Knight of the Order of Saint James, etc. The fathers of the Society of Jesus state in a petition that with a view to educating native boys of the Visayan provinces in good manners and right conduct they desire to found and

maintain a boarding school in which said boys may be trained in the knowledge of our holy Catholic faith and the Spanish language and other things pertaining to virtue, the said school to be established in the place and region which shall be found most convenient for the said natives. I approve this project as eminently conducive to the service of God and the welfare of the said natives; and in order to give effect to so excellent a work, I order and command that for the four years immediately following the day on which the galleons sail for New Spain, 100 pesos, *oro común*, and 200 fanegas of unhulled rice be disbursed each year to the fathers of the Society of Jesus for the support of the boys receiving their education in the said school. If at the end of the four-year term royal confirmation of this grant is not received, it shall cease.[12]

This grant enabled García to place the Dulag boarding school on a firmer footing and to reorganize it along the lines of the one he had founded at Antipolo. The building was enlarged to include dormitory, refectory, and private chapel for at least thirty boys. These were chosen from among the ruling families of the region and given an intellectual and spiritual formation which would fit them to be the teachers and leaders of their people. The length of time they spent in the institution apparently was not fixed though it took several years. The Annual Letter of 1603 mentions a few seventeen- and eighteen-year-olds, but the majority must have been younger than that. New boys made a general confession of their past life and received holy communion on the day of their entrance.

The scholars rose at the sound of the bell every morning. After a visit to the Blessed Sacrament and a short meditation in the chapel for the older boys, they formed the customary procession and went through the town chanting the catechism. The townspeople who could fell in line behind them and followed them to the mission church for Mass. Classes were held morning and afternoon on weekdays. They learned how to read and write in Spanish as well as Visayan, and a new subject was added to the curriculum: painting. This was less for its own sake than to enable the future catechists to decorate their village chapels and to provide themselves with the drawings which were in common use at this time as "visual aids" to catechetical instruction.

Afternoon classes over, they went to the church to recite the rosary and sing the *Salve Regina*, and then to their games till supper time. They sat down to meals at long refectory tables, European fashion, and listened in silence to reading in Visayan. We would give a great deal to know what these Visayan books were that were read from the pulpit of that long vanished dining hall, but our sources do not enlighten us further. After evening recreation the scholars met in what might be called a workshop or practice session, during which one of their number gave a catechetical instruction or told an exemplary tale as he would when the time came for him to take part in active missionary work. An examination of conscience

and night prayers in chapel ended this busy day.[13] Otazo, the superior of the residence in 1601, expressed great satisfaction with the progress the *seminaristas* were making. "I am amazed," he told García, "at their ability to absorb what they are taught. I have often considered how they would measure up to Spanish boys, and it seems to me that European children are by no means their superiors in understanding and judgment."[14] Two years later he began sending them to the villages to assist in the post-baptismal instruction of neophytes. They gave a very good account of themselves.

The boys of our boarding school [Otazo reported] have shown more clearly than ever this Lent that they are as capable as their Japanese counterparts of assisting us in our ministry . . . We divided the people of the district into sections and put a seminarista in charge of each. No one was allowed to approach the sacrament of penance unless the seminarista declared that he or she was ready. I had previously practiced them in what they had to require, so that the results obtained were highly satisfactory. Their manner of teaching is not fumbling, as one might be led to expect, but amazingly direct and effective, so that one almost feels the finger of God at work.

On one occasion, by way of experiment and because I happened to have no one else, I sent several seminaristas on a catechetical tour of the villages. They performed and are performing this assignment with a degree of success that I find difficult to convey. The reports that they write to me from the villages give evidence of a maturity of judgment and an apostolic zeal that reminds one irresistibly of the primitive church. I am beginning to realize, dear Father, what a rich source of manpower this is that Our Lord has opened to the Society, manpower to help us in every phase of our work for souls. When this project [the boarding school] was first undertaken, it was out of obedience, for humanly speaking there seemed little to recommend it. But *consilium Dei stabit*, giving the lie to the timorous estimates of human prudence. So it has turned out, and I am more than ever resolved to rely implicitly on what holy obedience directs.

On the feast of St. Joseph, the patron of the school, there was no reading at table because of the holiday. The thought occurred to me of having one of them go up and instead of reading say a few words about their glorious patron and their seminary, in the same way that they deliver impromptu exhortations during their evening conferences. I am not easily moved to tears, but I must confess, dear Father, that on this occasion I could not hold them back. The boy who got up spoke so lucidly and movingly that I was wholly amazed . . .[15]

Besides the boarding school, the fathers at Dulag maintained a hospital. The Annual Letter of 1602 says two hospitals, but obviously means two wards, one for men and one for women. It goes on to relate that that year the people brought down from remote hill villages a multitude of the aged, blind, deaf, and lame, so sick and helpless that "they looked more like sacks of earth than men." The Jesuits could not offer them the skilled medical care of the modern mission, but they could and did feed and nurse them to the extent of their resources. In this they were assisted by the men's

sodality, founded that same year. The practices of the association were similar to those already described in connection with the Manila and Antipolo sodalities. In addition to Sunday Mass, the members attended Saturday Mass in honor of Our Lady and Monday Mass for the dead. They brought food and clothing to the hospital on Sundays and spent the day with the sick, attending both to their physical and spiritual needs. The Annual Letter adds the detail that the sodalists of Dulag had adopted as a kind of uniform, in addition to the rosary worn round the neck, trousers.[16]

It was not possible to establish boarding schools in the other mission residences, but during his visitation of 1602 García saw to it that each one had at least a day school for both boys and girls, not only in the residence itself, but in the larger mission stations of the circuit. The local superiors were to provide the masters and mistresses who conducted these schools with written instructions, and one of the duties of a missionary on tour when he arrived at a station was to inspect the school. Parents were to be urged to send their children to school at least until they were twelve; only after that should they be asked to take their share of the labors of farm and household. And even then, boys who showed promise of becoming schoolmasters and fiscals later on should be given an opportunity to continue their studies.

At García's suggestion the Visayan Jesuits used these schools to develop a technique of popular instruction whose effectiveness had been tested at Antipolo. This was the sacred play or pageant, consisting of dialogue and dance, performed by the school children under the direction of their teachers either in the sanctuary of the church itself or on an improvised stage in the village square. It became one of the principal features of the Christmas and Easter festivals and of the town fiesta or patronal feast.[17]

As additional missionaries arrived from Europe, local superiors gradually extended the range of their circuits to take in more territory. The eastern coast of Samar and its abandoned station, Catubig, was revisited by Juan de Sanlúcar in 1601 and by Juan de Torres in 1603. In the latter year the Leyte Jesuits began to move southward: Francisco Vicente to Abuyog, Cristóbal Jiménez and Fabrizio Sarsali to Cabalian, Sogod, and the neighboring island of Panahon. When in 1601 the colonial government decided to construct a galleon on the island of Panamao (now Biliran) north of Leyte, Francisco Vicente conducted a fruitful mission there among the Filipino, Negro, and Chinese workmen. The Bohol Jesuits went on similar temporary missions to the satellite islands of Panglao and Siquijor.[18]

These are unmistakable signs of growth; but they must not be allowed to conceal the fact that the principal obstacle to the total christianization of the population remained to a large extent unsurmounted. Although many of the encomenderos had withdrawn their objections to the gathering of the clans into townships, and the datus were willing enough to cooperate,

the people themselves, who had submitted meekly enough in the beginning to the process of transplantation, now began to drift back to their ancestral farms and favorite hunting grounds and to resist all efforts to make permanent townsmen of them. The most they would consent to was to come to town, or to the site designated as such, whenever the traveling missionary came and sent for them, but when he left, they too went back to their little clan villages and isolated homesteads, leaving the "town" deserted. The missionaries, having broken through the relatively fragile barrier of the encomenderos' self-interest, had come up against a fundamental and stubborn difficulty in the people themselves—that which the sociologists call ecology. Let us say, in nontechnical terms, that the Visayans had adapted themselves to their environment in a way that involved dispersal, and hence to make them live stably in larger communities was to upset the balance of their lives. Only by a totally different adaptation to environment could that balance be restored. Until that adaptation was achieved, and it would take several generations to do so, the pull of the old way of life upon the majority of the people would be well-nigh irresistible.

The problem was perceived and posed in its full extent by one of the Leyte missionaries, Mateo Sánchez. Writing to Acquaviva from Carigara in 1603, he said that in his opinion it was impossible to organize any large towns in Leyte, no matter how hard the missionaries tried. The reason was simple; the people had to live in the countryside near their sources of food. They were farmers, but not after the European fashion, living in nucleated villages or townships, cultivating nearby farms and with their surplus production obtaining at a central market the articles they needed. In the first place, their methods of cultivation were such that they produced no surplus. Even with maximum effort the ordinary Visayan and his family extracted from the soil only enough to support them for two months, and that only if they supplemented it by hunting and fishing. They knew neither hoe nor plow. Armed only with the long knife or bolo they slashed out a little clearing in the jungle, dug holes in it with a bamboo stick, dropped two or three grains of rice in each hole, and covered them up again with the foot. Having done this, they had to protect what they had sown from birds, rats, wild pigs, and thieves, and to keep it from being choked by the lush weeds and creepers that sprang up almost overnight. At the same time they had to fish and hunt, for the clearing's yield would not suffice to feed them. They even had to make their own salt themselves by boiling sea water. This should explain, said Sánchez, the great reluctance of the Visayans to abandon their clearings and live in a town.

How could they possibly make a living in a town? As cobblers? Everyone goes barefoot in this land. As tailors? Every family weaves and sews

its own clothing, which is not much anyway. And wives and children obviously cannot live in a town while the husband is in the hills for the greater part of the year. No, there is nothing for it but to leave them in peace in the ramshackle hut near the clearing which is the only way they can survive.

The family on its clearing is self-sufficient; transfer it to a town and you take away its self-sufficiency without providing it with any other means of support. On the contrary, town life brings with it many features which they have good reason to fear: the impositions of their Spanish masters; forced labor; stripes; the continual calls upon them to act as bearers and oarsmen for encomenderos and missionaries, for there are no pack animals here, and so they must perforce be our beasts of burden. Thus far Mateo Sánchez.[19] His experience of almost ten years in the Leyte missions was borne out by what his brethren encountered in Bohol. It was deceptively easy in the beginning to persuade the datus to muster their clans, pick out a likely town site and have the people build their easily constructed houses around a chapel. But it was quite another matter to make them stay there. They were continually melting away, so that the reported population of Loboc, 1,000 in 1600, was largely a population on paper. When an epidemic of influenza ravaged the island in 1601, the missionaries were compelled to establish field hospitals to care for the sick where they were, that is, in the clan villages.[20]

The basic conflict between ecology and mission policy was aggravated by the misgovernment of provincial officials. The administrative reforms proposed by the Synod of Manila had not been undertaken. Alcaldes and corregidores continued to be appointed with nominal salaries for terms of one year only; an open invitation, which scarcely needed to be expressed in words, to compensate themselves at the expense of the subject population. How in the world, Mateo Sánchez inquired, could they be expected to administer justice under such circumstances? "These justices of the peace," he said, "are in reality injustices. They do not come to judge but to rob during their one-year term of office. That is why today the whole land is full of killing and killers, violence and oppression." This was rhetorical exaggeration; still, it was quite true that there had been sporadic outbreaks of resistance to the civil authorities, and a growing restlessness among the neophytes whom the missionaries had succeeded in persuading to come and settle in the new towns. At Alangalang, the central mission residence for eastern Leyte, the relations between rulers and ruled were strained almost to the breaking point; everyone, Spaniard and Visayan, went about his business armed.[21]

This was the situation when, in August 1603, word came that the Magindanaus had spread their sails to the southwest monsoon.[22] The expedition consisted of fifty vessels under the command of Bwisan, and it

was reported that they intended to harry the eastern coast of Leyte. The alcalde mayor of Cebu at once ordered his subordinate, the corregidor of Leyte, to collect all the Spaniards on the island and what Visayan troops he could muster and fortify Dulag. He did so. Thirteen Spaniards, mostly tribute collectors, and an unspecified number of native troops threw up earthworks before Dulag and waited. They waited for two months. Nothing happened. The year was drawing to a close, and the tribute had not yet been collected. The Spaniards felt that they were wasting their time. When it was rumored that Bwisan had made for Balayan to repeat his performance of the preceding year, the corregidor decided that the danger was past and disbanded his garrison. Otazo, the Jesuit superior, prepared to sail to Cebu and confer with García, who was there on his annual inspection trip. Before doing so, he called all the fathers who were out on tour to a meeting at Dulag. Melchor Hurtado left Dagami as soon as he received the message and arrived at Dulag on 28 October.

Very early the following morning, just before dawn, a fisherman of the town put out to sea in a canoe to inspect his fish traps, which he had not visited for some time. The eastern sky grew lighter before him as he paddled, and suddenly he could make out against it the dark hulls of a great fleet. It was the Magindanaus, riding lightless and silent just out of sight of land, waiting for daybreak to swoop on a town still half asleep. Even as the fisherman swung his canoe about the signal was given, a great shout went up, a thousand oar blades splashed whitely in the water, and the high sharp prows leaped forward.

The people of Dulag had just enough warning to scramble out of their homes and run to the woods for cover. The fathers and brothers of the mission joined a fleeing group with nothing but their breviaries and the clothes on their backs. Otazo ran out of the church with the ciborium containing the Blessed Sacrament as the first of Bwisan's ships hissed against the beach. Fortunately, the older boys of the boarding school kept their heads. They collected the panic-stricken people into small parties and set out with them to designated hiding places in the hills. They had prepared these earlier under the fathers' direction and stocked them with emergency rations. But with women and children in the company, they made slow progress through the overgrown trails. Moreover, it had begun to rain. It was easy for the pursuing Magindanaus to follow their tracks and to hear them floundering through the underbrush. The Jesuits and the people with them stopped for a moment at a bend of the trail to catch their breath. They were about to resume their flight when their silent pursuers were upon them. It was a case of each man for himself. While his companions plunged into the thickets, Hurtado found a hollow in the twisted trunk of a banyan tree and flattened himself within it. A woman with an infant in her arms ran past him. A Magindanau pounded after

her and brought her back, weeping. As the warrior swung past the banyan tree, dragging his prey, he saw Hurtado. He leaped at him with raised kampilan, but when he saw it was a Spaniard and a priest, took him alive.

Bwisan was glad to see Hurtado. Here was a valuable prisoner. He could be exchanged for the artillery piece he had lost to the Spaniards in his Balayan raid. The beach in front of Dulag was lined with Bwisan's ships. Hurtado counted seventy. The raiders were busy ransacking the town. They were carrying altar vessels and vestments out of the church, and dumping armfuls of clothes and books from the mission house on the sand in order to pick out what they fancied. Jubilant warriors were coming out of the woods with captives. Except for the huddles of dejected prisoners, it was a bright and lively scene, full of color and movement; almost as though it were market day. Some of the men had rolled rice mortars from the houses down to the beach and were pounding rice for their breakfast. Bwisan kept Hurtado by him. He was very pleased with himself and very proud of his ships. He tried to convey to Hurtado what fine ships they were. Most of Bwisan's enthusiasm was wasted on the Jesuit, who was a landsman. Beyond remarking that they crawled with vermin, Hurtado does not bother to describe them in the account which he wrote afterward of his captivity. But we know well enough what these *caracoas*—for so they were called—looked like from other sources. Here is Captain Forrest's description of a "coro-coro":

> A corocoro is a vessel generally fitted with outriggers, with a high arched stem and stern, like the point of a half-moon . . . They have them from a very small size to above ten tons' burthen; and on the cross-pieces which support the outriggers, there are often put fore-and-aft planks, on which the people sit and paddle, beside those who sit in the vessel on each gunnel. In smooth water they can be paddled very fast, as many hands may be employed in different ranks or rows . . . When they are high out of the water they use oars, but on the outriggers they always use paddles.[23]

The caracoa used by the Magindanaus on their raiding expeditions was called a *mangaio prau*. It averaged about three or four tons' burden and carried a round or pointed sail on a tripod mast of bamboo. Besides speed, it had the advantage of extreme maneuverability, for being prowed at stem and stern, it could reverse direction without having to put about. It had, however, a very thin shell, sometimes less than a finger's breadth in thickness, and stood very low in the water, thirty inches or less. For this reason the Magindanaus and the Sulus seldom ventured into the open sea except in very calm weather. The caracoas of the more opulent datus mounted small bronze swivel guns called *lantakas*.[24]

A tall warrior with a spear sauntered past as Bwisan spoke of these things. He was a Visayan, a renegade Christian. Catching sight of Hurtado he

grinned broadly, and coming up, pushed him on the chest with the butt of his spear. "How now," he cried, "have not the Spaniards hung Sirongan yet?" And he laughed, recalling the dire threats that the colonial officials had uttered against that prince, who was sitting safe and sound in his long house near the Great River. Bwisan gave the man a good-natured shove and sent him about his business.

Hurtado, seeing the little library of the mission house scattered on the beach, asked if he could have some of the books. Bwisan told him to pick out what he wanted and then go to his caracoa and wait there. Thus, Hurtado went into captivity with a copy of the *Exercises* of St. Ignatius, a copy of Kempis, the *Letters* of Blessed John of Avila, and an odd volume of Suárez. However, he adds wryly that what with one thing and another, he was not able to do much reading.

Bwisan called one of the captives, the fiscal of Dulag, gave him a flag of truce, and told him to say to the datus of the region that he, Bwisan, would meet them at Dulag in a week's time. Let them bring ransom for those they wished to ransom, and let them give heed to his words, for he had somewhat to say to them. On 31 October, having put church and town to the torch, he gave orders to embark and sail north. He sacked Palo and Lingayon, which had been abandoned by their inhabitants, and burned the churches there. He intercepted a frigate bound for Cebu with tribute rice from Samar and captured two Spanish tribute collectors who were aboard. Then he returned to Dulag.

The Leyte datus were waiting for him. He took their gold and bells and released to them whom they would. Then he opened his mind to them. It was not so much for the ransom, he said, that he had sent for them, but to ask them to consider well what advantage they derived from being tributary to the Spaniard. Had the Spaniard been able to protect them? Had he been able to protect the people of Panay, Mindoro, and Balayan? But if they allied themselves to the Magindanaus, they would have him, Bwisan, for their friend, and not as he was now, much to his regret, their foe. Let them further consider how easy it would be for them to throw off the hated yoke with the help of the Magindanaus. The Spaniards, after all, were only a handful, nor were they as invincible as they made themselves out to be. Let the people of Leyte be resolute; let them prepare to rise as one man. The following year he, Bwisan, would come with a great armada and together they would sweep the island clean of Spaniards.

The datus, many of whom were disaffected for the reasons given earlier, thought that there was much wisdom in this speech. They sat down with Bwisan and entered into a blood compact with him. They slashed their wrists and let the blood drip into a bowl of brandy. Then they drank their mingled blood from the common bowl, and so became brothers. This done, Bwisan turned the prows of his fleet for home.

He coasted southward, touched at Panahon, crossed Surigao Strait, and continued down the eastern coast of Mindanao to Caraga. The Moslem datu of Caraga, Malangit, feasted him and his men for a few days, after which they continued their southward course, swung past Batulak Point, which the Spaniards called Cabo de San Agustín, and rounding the bottom bulge of Mindanao reached the mouth of the Great River without incident. Here they paused to trim their ships and display the trophies of victory; then, with bannerets flying and oars keeping time to the chantey, they rowed past the throngs of village folk that cheered and waved them home.

And what of Hurtado? It had been a long hard voyage for him. He was not ill-treated. On the contrary, he shared Bwisan's table with his familiars, that is to say, the narrow stern deck of his caracoa. He shared his bed at night, that is to say, a mat on the same deck. But he was not inured as his captors were to the discomforts of a slaving expedition. His cassock, which he refused to take off, was soon crawling with vermin. "It seemed to me," he said, "that two hundred of the beasts got married every day and the next day had as many children." He spent most of the day delousing himself, and his clothes, rotted by the salt spray, were soon in tatters. Sores covered his skin and on top of that he contracted dysentery from the unfamiliar and not too clean food, which left him very weak. Nevertheless, though scarcely able to stand, he kept his spirits up and his wits about him.

They carried him ashore at Bwayan and set him before Sirongan and his court. The datus of the Great River had assembled to welcome Bwisan, and there were besides ambassadors from the Sultan of Brunei, and the young heir of the Raja of Sulu, who was on a holiday trip. Hurtado related afterward how they crowded around him,

> . . . and among other questions, they asked me whether I wished to be baptized and receive their Law; for some of them were not without zeal for their religion. The answer I gave them, and Bwisan too, on several occasions, was that I was already a Christian, and for my part would rather baptize them, if they were willing. Then they said that if I would not be baptized willingly, it would have to be by force. I replied that they had no power to force my will, though they were welcome to cut my throat and baptize me in my own blood. They remarked that I was very brave; still, they knew of Spaniards who had apostatized. This was a fact; there were two right there in that part of the Great River. I told them that personally and by heredity I was timid, cowardly, and faint-hearted, more so than anyone else; but with God's grace and favor, I felt enough strength in myself to endure what I said in witness of the true faith which I professed. I added that if by any chance there were Spaniards who apostatized, they were nothing but shadows of Spaniards, unworthy Christians, and craven soldiers of Jesus Christ. I was absolutely right, they replied; for among them also the Moslem worthy of the name would rather die than give up his religion.[25]

Sirongan at once dispatched one of the Spanish captives, Ensign Cristóbal Gómez, to arrange with the authorities in Manila for his own ransom and that of the other Spaniards. Meanwhile, he retained Hurtado at Bwayan and treated him honorably. He gave him and the other Spanish captives a house of their own to live in and slaves for their service. He sent them food from his own table, but since he ate no pork and drank no wine, according to Moslem custom, he arranged that they should be provided with these things. Hurtado was soon on his feet again. Sirongan, who was learned in Islamic law and was curious about Christianity, often sent for him to dispute about religious matters. Hurtado rapidly picked up the Magindanau tongue and even a little Arabic, so that he was able to hold his own in these disputations.[26]

Doubtless he learned from Sirongan the oral traditions of the Magindanaus regarding the coming of Islam to their country. These traditions were later set down in writing. According to the version transcribed by Saleeby, the Moslem faith was brought to the people of the Great River by Sarip Kabungsuwan, a cadet of the ruling house of Johore, early in the sixteenth century.

> Sarip Kabungsuwan . . . set out on a sea voyage with a large number of followers from Juhur . . . A very strong wind blew and scattered them in all directions, so that they lost track of one another. As a result Sarip Kabungsuwan arrived at Magindanau. The others scattered to Bulunai [Brunei], Kuran, Tampasuk, Sandakan, Palimbang, Bangjar, Sulug [Sulu], Tubuk, and Malabang.[27]

This sounds suspiciously like a telescoped account of several migrations or trading voyages taking place over a period of years. Understood in this sense, it is not unlikely that there was a Kabungsuwan who set out from Johore with companions, either on a trading voyage or expelled by dynastic conflicts, and found his way to Magindanau. At the time of his arrival the tribes of the Great River were ruled, according to this account, by two chieftains, Tabunawai and Mamalu. Tabunawai must have been a common name, or perhaps the generic name for chief, for the Moslem Malays who first landed on the Zamboanga peninsula had to deal with a native ruler also called Tabunawai. At any rate, when Kabungsuwan and his men landed at Natubakan, at the mouth of the Great River, it was to Tabunawai and Mamalu that their arrival was announced. They happened to be fishing at the time, so they

> . . . directed some people of Magindanau to carry their nets for them and went down to the mouth of the river. There they met Sarip Kabungsuwan, and Tabunawai sent Mamalu up the river to bring down all the men of Magindanau. After the arrival of the men Tabunawai invited Kabungsuwan to accompany him to Magindanau. Kabungsuwan refused to accompany them unless they became

Moslems. Tabunawai and Mamalu . . . promised to become Moslems. Kabungsuwan insisted that he would not land at all unless they came together then and there and were washed and became Mohammedans. This they did, and on account of the bathing at that place they changed its name to Paygwan.[28]

The conversion of the natives to the faith of the immigrants could hardly have taken place as quickly and as peacefully as stated in the bare account. Several details, such as Mamalu going up to fetch more men, Kabungsuwan's reluctance to accept Tabunawai's invitation, and the fact that several of the Magindanaus fell dead at a look from the stranger, suggest that the reception was somewhat more lively, and that Kabungsuwan and his men had to prove their prowess in battle before the Magindanaus could be persuaded to dip themselves at Paygwan.

Whether by conquest or intermarriage—very probably by both—the lordship of the Great River passed to the invaders. Kabungsuwan, having converted the people of Matampai, Slangan, Simwai, and Katitwan to Islam, established the center of his rule on the hilltop of Magindanau, and was succeeded in due course by Maka-alang, who was succeeded by Bangkaia. According to the codex edited by Saleeby, "Bangkaia married a woman of Magindanau and begot Dimasangkai. He also married a woman of Matampai and begot Gugu Sarikula. Later he married Umbun of Slangan and begot Kapitan Lawut Bwisan."[29] The latter is our Bwisan; "Kapitan Lawut," freely translated "Admiral of the Open Sea," was an honorific title won by his daring in taking his cockelshell caracoas beyond the shelter of the islands to open water. His return journey from Leyte along the Pacific coast of Mindanao, instead of by the more usual and safer route around the Zamboanga peninsula, was an example of this.

Further up the river, Bwayan became a second center of Moslem rule, the succession descending from Mamu through Budtul and Pulwa to Sirongan.[30] There is no mention at all in the codex edited by Saleeby of Raja Mura, the third member of the triumvirate constantly mentioned together in the Spanish sources. This, and the fact that he seems to have possessed little effective power, leads one to suspect that this personage was merely the nominal head elected by a loose confederacy of the lords of the land, among whom the most powerful were the lords of Magindanau and Bwayan.

The original inhabitants who refused to become Moslems, or were too primitive to do so, retired further inland, but paid tribute to the Moslem lords and on occasion provided them with wives and troops. They were called Tagoloan, Tirurai, and various terms meaning people of the hills.[31] Otherwise, the new rulers changed little of the economic and social organization of the Magindanau people, perhaps because it was the organization with which they themselves were familiar. Only later, through contact with the more advanced sultanates to the south, do we find a more

complex political structure developing. At the time of Hurtado's captivity, Magindanau society was only a step further advanced toward centralization than that of the Tagalogs and Visayans. At the base of the social pyramid were the slaves, almost all of them captives or descendants of captives. Above them, corresponding to the timaua class of the northern peoples, were the *tuan*, freemen who tilled their farms with their slaves for part of the year, and went trading or raiding during the monsoon season. Whether by kinship or homage, each tuan owed fealty to a clan chieftain, under whose leadership he went to war. These chieftains or datus were clearly of the same social class as the maharlika of the Tagalogs and were collectively known by an analogous name: *orangkaia*, the great men.[32]

Had the social organization of the Magindanaus stopped here, it would have differed in no essential respect from that of the Tagalogs and Visayans. But the Moslem Malays added a summit to the pyramid; the princes; and the domination of these war lords gave to the Magindanaus a cohesion, a solidarity of purpose and action which the peoples of the north had not yet attained. The Magindanaus had, in fact, almost arrived at the idea of feudal kingship; and that they were developing in this direction is suggested by the fact that the lords of Magindanau and Bwayan began to call themselves at about this time *kachil*, a term used in the Moluccas to designate princes of royal blood. The son of Bwisan, the redoubtable Dapitwan Kudrat, of whom we shall have much to say, would be known even among the Spaniards as Cachil Corralat.

In addition to a more developed policy, the Moslem Malays gave to the Magindanau culture its predatory character. They were sea rovers who lived on trade, and trade in that period was almost indistinguishable from piracy. Seafarers grabbed what they could, and bought and sold when they had to. Moreover, the plain of the Great River produced nothing of any great value for exchange. It produced rice and the sago palm and thus assured them of food, but for articles of trade they had to go elsewhere. They went to the Visayas and there discovered a commodity of great value which was both self-propagating and easily obtainable: human beings. The Magindanaus and the Sulus were just settling down to the profitable business of supplying the slave markets of the Malay archipelago with Visayan captives when the Spaniards arrived.

The Spanish conquest of the Philippines affected this trade in two ways. First, it threatened to cut off the source of supply. But, secondly, if this threat could be warded off or circumvented in some way, it tended to increase the source of supply, to make it more readily available. The policy adopted by the Spaniards of gathering the Visayan population into larger communities, combined with their failure to provide these communities with adequate defense, was, in effect, to pen the quarry in large enclosures close to the water's edge, where the raiders could conveniently pick it up

without the necessity of hunting for it. That this advantage was not lost on the Magindanaus is shown by the considerable increase in the size of their armadas during the early part of the seventeenth century.

What we have said of the Magindanaus applies equally well to the people of the southern coast of Mindanao, the Iranun Moslems, and those of the Sulu archipelago, the Sulug Moslems. While Kabungsuwan and his companions were imposing their rule and religion on the tribes of the Great River, seafaring warrior traders of the same type and origin were doing likewise in these other areas. A traditional account of their arrival, very similar to that reported by Saleeby, survives among the native Subanun of the Zamboanga peninsula.[33] In this account the Moslem settlers were led by two brothers "from Mecca," Assam and Salingaia Bungsu. "Bungsu" means younger son; it is worthy of note that both Salingaia and Kabungsuwan are characterized as cadets of ruling families.

The native chief whom they encountered was calling Tubunawai, a name almost identical with the Tabunawai of the Magindanaus. When Salingaia landed at Nawan, near the mouth of a river, he noticed that after several days of rain the swollen current carried taro leaves, rice straw, calabashes, and stalks of sugar cane. "There must be people in those hills above us," he said to his men, and sent seven of them up with a load of fish to trade. They did so, but the Subanuns fled at their approach, so they left the fish on a flat rock and withdrew. Tubunawai came to the rock to investigate. He tasted the fish and seeing that it was good he brought it back to his people and commanded them to place rice and vegetables on the rock in exchange.

Thus trading began. Tubunawai came down from the hills and paid a visit to Salingaia's settlement. Salingaia returned the visit and learned the Subanun language. He asked for Tubunawai's daughter in marriage. Tubunawai agreed if Salingaia renounced his Moslem customs and ate pork. Surprisingly, Salingaia said he would, but when he was about to pop a piece of pork in his mouth, Tubunawai stopped him, saying, "Do not eat pig's flesh if you do not wish to. I only set this trial to test your sincerity." Some time later a man came from Mecca. He gave Salingaia and his men a ritual bath to cleanse them from their sins, and at the same time baptized some of the Subanuns, thus making Moslems of them. Did Tubunawai become a Moslem? Apparently not, for he remained a chief of the Subanun, and his descendants after him. Tubunawai was succeeded by Lumaiag, then by Insak Sadangan, then by Sugjaku. It was in the time of the latter, according to the informant from whom we have the account, that the Spaniards arrived. This establishes the arrival of Salingaia at Zamboanga as roughly coinciding with that of Kabungsuwan at Magindanau.

The "man from Mecca" who washed Salingaia from his sins and made converts among the Subanuns is an early example of the *pandita*, the scholar learned in the law and worship of Islam who performed among

the Moslem Malays the office of teacher and priest. Besides resident panditas, there seems also to have been traveling missionaries or overseers who went from place to place reforming abuses and restoring worship and conduct to their primitive purity. Hurtado's account of his captivity affords us a glimpse of this functionary in action:

> Although their [the Magindanaus'] beliefs are false, they give to their vain rites and rubrics a seriousness of attention which we ordinarily fail to give to those of our true religion. An inspector-general who had been sent from Jolo reprimanded the young men because when they were at worship in their mosque (a worship performed after their custom with many prostrations and genuflections and bows of the head towards the west), they did it with little reverence, turning their faces this way and that in a way that detracted from the attention and respect with which they ought to address God. For this reason, when the hour of worship sounded, even a slave was permitted to take his master by the shoulders and turn him toward the west. And even if the raja himself were to pass by, he should get no attention from them. They say of a brother of Sirongan . . . that one day while performing this vain worship he was bitten by a poisonous centipede. It was a painful bite, but it moved him as little as though he were a piece of stone. Only after he had finished his prayer did he put his hand inside his clothes; for, he said, he considered it a lack of reverence to scratch oneself while speaking with God.[34]

Like the renegade who jested with Hurtado at the time of his capture, some of the Visayan Christians captured by the Magindanaus apostatized and became Moslems. They were not, however, forced to do so. Hurtado was allowed to minister to them and he did. Among the exemplary Christians who helped him strengthen the faith of the others was Diego Inongan, a convert of Valerio de Ledesma's from Butuan.

Meanwhile, terror gripped the Visayans. Even as Bwisan was putting Dulag and Palo to the torch, the Camucones struck a second time at the Calamianes, and, in retaliation for the expedition sent against them the previous year, killed the Spaniards they captured. Not long after that the Caragans, their greed aroused by the spoils of Bwisan's expedition, crept up their rock-bound coast and fell without warning on the towns of western Leyte.[35] Everywhere the system of local defense broke down as the panic-stricken population abandoned their homes on open shore and river mouth to seek a hiding place in the hills. The depleted garrisons at Iloilo and Cebu scarcely knew where to turn. No one could say for certain how many packs of raiders prowled among the islands, or where they were, or where they would strike next. And then, on top of all that, came the chilling news that the Chinese of Manila had revolted, and that the capital was under siege. Grimly, the handful of Spaniards at Cebu packed their families off to the country and prepared to defend their city against whatever foe, Chinese or Moslem, might be the first to descend upon it.

Chapter Thirteen

CHALLENGE AND RESPONSE

García, caught by the general panic in Cebu, sent couriers to the Leyte missionaries directing them to come together at the inland town of Alangalang. As soon as they were assembled, they were to compare notes regarding the state of their various residences. There were persistent reports that the whole island had apostatized from the faith and risen against the Spaniards, or was about to. If they found this to be true, they were to try to make their way to Cebu. If on the other hand some at least of the Christian communities remained loyal, then they were to stay with their flocks, no matter what the danger to themselves personally.[1]

The fathers sent back word that there was no question of their abandoning the island. The reports of a revolt, while not unfounded, were greatly exaggerated. The majority of the neophytes, in spite of their fear of the Magindanaus and the loss of their homes, not only had not apostatized but were not even thinking of it, while those whom they had specially trained for leadership, like the students of the Dulag school, fully justified the hopes placed in them. If the government should send, as soon as it was able, a strong force to garrison the island, the confidence of the people would be quickly restored and the disaffected datus prevented from going over to Bwisan. García took this proposal to Manila as soon as word came that the Chinese revolt had been put down. Governor Acuña acted with commendable promptness. He sent forty Spanish troops to Leyte at once and ordered their commander, Francisco Rodríguez de Avila, to explain to the datus that because of the Chinese uprising the government had not been able to come to their assistance earlier; but that they need not to worry about the Magindanaus from now on; and as for those who had been carried away into captivity, the sum of 4,000 pesos was being appropriated to ransom them. Having by these assurances restored a measure of calm to the population, he sent additional troops to comb the interior, send refugees back to their towns, and convince the datus who had drunk blood with Bwisan that Spain was still firmly in the saddle.[2]

He could not, however, be as firm as he would have liked with the Magindanaus, as long as Hurtado and the other Spaniards were in their power. He therefore sent Cristóbal Gómez back with a soft reply. Let there be peace henceforth between the Spaniards and the people of the

Great River. That this peace might be just, durable, and lasting, he proposed the following terms. First, mutual restoration of captives and spoils. Second, mutual renunciation of war as an instrument of policy. Third, an offensive and defensive alliance against the sultanate of Ternate. Fourth, freedom for Spanish missionaries to preach Christianity among the Magindanaus, and for any Magindanau, if he so wished, to embrace Christianity. Fifth, the Spanish government to recognize Sirongan as lord paramount of the Great River. The last proviso was, of course, deliberately designed to sow dissension among the Magindanau princes, for Acuña had by no means given up the idea of conquest. With this message, Gómez returned to Magindanau.[3]

Bwisan, who had set his heart on getting back his swivel gun in exchange for the Jesuit priest, was thoroughly disgusted. Fearful lest Sirongan might release Hurtado, he went to Bwayan and took him away with him to Magindanau. A great dispute arose among the princes as to what reply they should give to the terms they were offered, but it did not lead to the quarrel Acuña had hoped for. In the end, Bwisan consented to give up Hurtado for a ransom, and the ransom could be either the swivel gun or its price in gold. To this Gómez consented, but since he did not have the gold with him, Sirongan gave his personal bond to Bwisan that it would be paid. The other Spaniards were released on the basis of an exchange of prisoners. As for the other terms proposed by Acuña, the princes desired more time to deliberate upon them. They were particularly doubtful about the alliance against Ternate, with whose people they had been on friendly relations since time immemorial. Besides, being so much closer to Ternate than to Manila, they could be attacked and subdued by Ternate before the Spaniards could come to their aid. An alliance in which the risks were so unequal did not seem feasible, unless the Spaniards were willing to establish a garrison close by for their defense. It would be well if some time in the near future Acuña could discuss these difficulties with them personally or through an accredited envoy.

The night before Hurtado and the other Spanish prisoners left, Sirongan's wife gave them a farewell banquet. Magindanau etiquette did not permit her to be present herself, but she sent slaves to the house occupied by her guests with a complete thirteen-course supper and an apology that she could not serve them pork. Sirongan, for his part, presented Hurtado with a complete new suit of clothes, "both interior and exterior." They left with Gómez on 17 September, 1604, and stepped ashore at Cebu in the middle of October, amid wild rejoicing, after exactly a year of captivity.[4] The following year Acuña asked Hurtado to return to Magindanau, not as captive, but as ambassador.,

The mission was a delicate and dangerous one. In spite of the fact that they had been offered terms of peace which they had agreed to consider,

the Magindanau princes had not seen fit to suspend hostilities. In 1604 they descended on the Calamianes. Not content with taking captives, they levied tribute on the inhabitants and compelled them to hand over the fifteen Spaniards who were stationed there. Some of these escaped and brought the news to Manila.[5] Acuña decided that there was only one thing to do: carry out his original plan of annexing Magindanau by conquest. For the second time Gallinato was told to get ready; and for the second time found himself on his way elsewhere.

This time it was another Jesuit, Brother Gaspar Gómez, who was responsible for the change of plan. When Governor Acuña was in Mexico on his way to the Philippines, he asked to see the Jesuit lay brother whom Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas had sent to the Moluccas as his confidential agent. Brother Gómez duly presented himself. He must have impressed Acuña deeply with the importance of gaining control of the Moluccas, for the result of the interview was that, while Acuña continued on his way to Manila, Gómez took the next ship for Spain to obtain royal permission for the Philippine government to conquer and occupy the Moluccas. Permission was granted, and Gómez set out for the Philippines on the fastest ship the royal navy could provide him. He carried two packets, as we saw earlier; one, the royal commission for Acuña, and the other, Acquaviva's letters erecting the Philippine Province, which happened to arrive at Seville just as he was leaving.[6]

Gómez reached Manila on 25 February 1605, with the result that Acuña decided to reroute the Magindanau expedition to the Moluccas and take command of it himself. This gave rise to a difficult problem. The Visayan garrisons would have to be reduced considerably in order to provide men and equipment for the expedition. Thus the islands would be much more vulnerable to raids than ever before, with the added handicap that the governor would not be there to direct defensive operations. Furthermore, the Magindanaus could make the conquest of the Moluccas more difficult than it was by coming to the aid of their old ally, the Sultan of Ternate. Some way had to be found to prevent the Magindanaus from doing either of these two things until the conquest of the Moluccas was completed. The solution hit upon by Acuña was to resume the peace negotiations, to draw the attention of the Magindanau princes to them as much as possible, and to prolong them until his return. If terms were arrived at satisfactory to both parties, well and good; if not, considerable damage to the Visayas and additional complications to the Moluccas expedition would at least have been prevented. This was the mission which Acuña entrusted to Hurtado.

At midnight on 24 April 1605 Hurtado left Manila for Magindanau.[7] He made the voyage on a Chinese sampan and was accompanied by a lay brother companion, Diego Rodríguez. He touched at Cebu, Dapitan, and

Zamboanga on the way and arrived at the mouth of the Great River on 4 August. He was met by Raja Mura and Bwisan and by them escorted to Bwayan, where Sirongan awaited him. He had apparently decided that the best course to pursue was to tell the princes the simple truth. The governor of the Spaniards, he said, was getting ready a great armada to regain the Moluccas. His right to do this was based on the fact that the Moluccas originally belonged to Portugal, and the King of Spain was now sovereign also of Portugal. The quarrel of the Spaniards, then, was only with their rebellious subjects of the Moluccas. With the people of the Great River they had no quarrel. On the contrary, they wanted peace, if they could agree on the terms of peace. If they could not agree, then it was quite within the bounds of possibility for the Spanish armada to call at Magindanau on its way back from the Moluccas, which would be regrettable. It was to prevent matters from coming to such a pass that he had been sent. To show the good will of the Spaniards, he brought with him presents for the princes. The presents were: one bull, three cows, two saddles, one Malacca bed with its furnishings, and several bolts of taffeta cloth for Sirongan, and other gifts of lesser value for the other princes.

When Bwisan saw how much more Sirongan received than he or the others, he rose and made an angry speech. He did not believe, he said, that the Spaniards were preparing any such armada as Hurtado spoke of. The purpose of this embassy was obvious: to prevent, by a combination of flattery and intimidation, the raids which the Spaniards could not parry by force. Besides, what reliance could be placed on the word of Spaniards? Sirongan had given bond for Hurtado's ransom; did Hurtado bring the ransom with him? The Jesuit was forced ro admit that he did not, but the governor had arranged for its delivery. Then, said Bwisan, since he was not yet ransomed, he was still his slave, and that being the case, it was his intention to sell him to a buyer in Ternate. With this threat, Bwisan and Raja Mura withdrew to Magindanau, where ships were already assembling for that year's raid.

Sirongan, however, asked Hurtado to stay, saying that he and the datus of his faction were willing to resume discussion of the peace terms. After a month of conversations they arrived at an agreement. The Spanish government was to recognize and support Sirongan as paramount lord of Magindanau, and in consideration of this Sirongan engaged himself to the following. First, to swear allegiance to the King of Spain; second, not to make war save in self-defense against any other faction in the territory of the Great River; third, to discontinue all raids on Spanish territory and persuade the other factions to do the same; fourth, to return all Christian captives and plundered church property; fifth, to give armed assistance to the Spanish government upon request; sixth, to give no aid or comfort to the enemies of Spain. With regard to the free preaching of the Christian

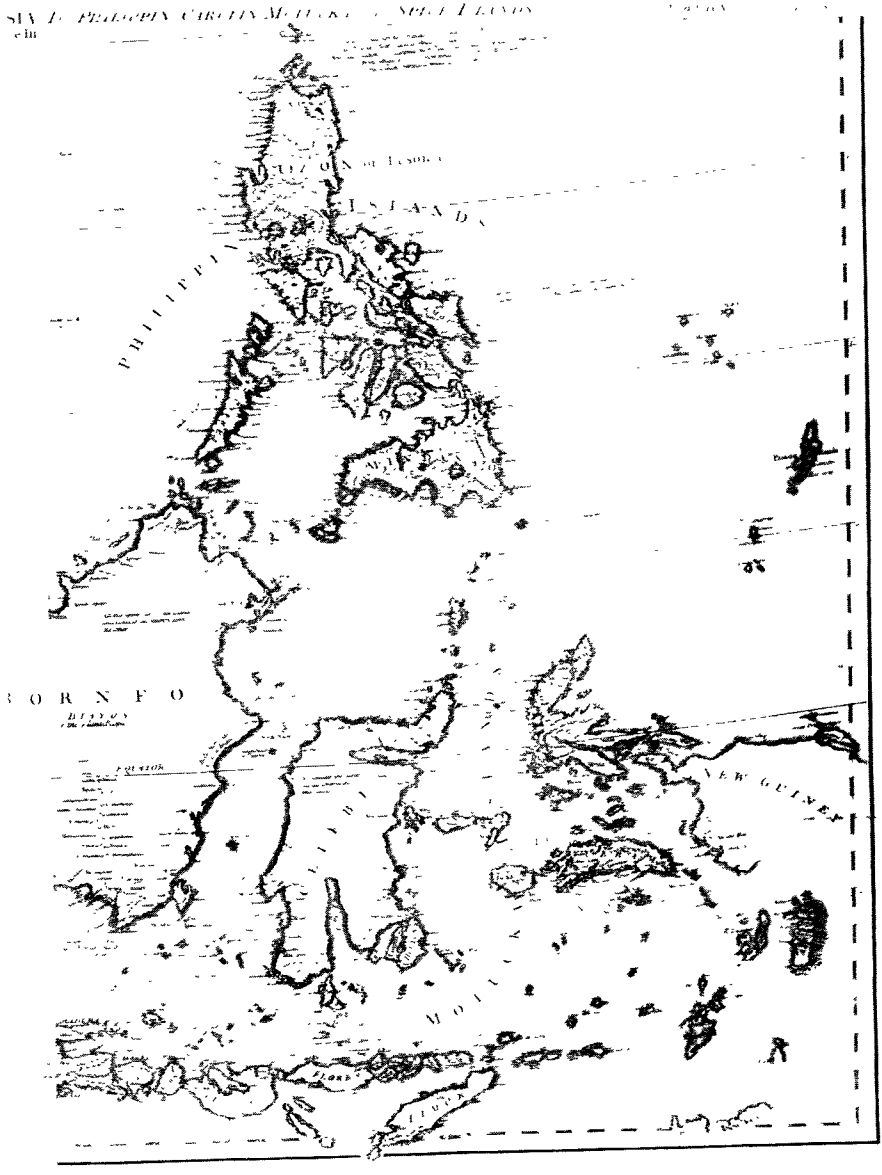
religion, Sirongan and his datus agreed to the following proviso: "that we will not be compelled to abandon our own religion for that of the Spaniards; but if any one of us should wish of his own free will to embrace the Christian religion, he will not be prevented from doing so." The agreement was put in writing and signed at Bwayan on 8 September 1605, to go into effect upon ratification by the Spanish authorities.[8]

Not long afterward Bwisan and the other princes of the delta came posting to Bwayan, much disturbed. Their agents in the Visayas had brought certain news that the Spaniards were indeed fitting out an armada of considerable size at Iloilo for the ostensible purpose of reducing the Moluccas to submission, though what its real purpose was remained in doubt. Hurtado was summoned to their assembly and minutely questioned. He repeated what he had told them earlier, that the expedition was intended for the Moluccas, not for them—provided of course that they were able to reach agreement on a peace treaty. The princes protested that he was placing them in an impossible predicament; for if they refused to sign a peace, this armada would fall upon them, and if they agreed, then, since the proposed treaty included an offensive and defensive alliance against Ternate, they would have to reckon with Ternate and their new allies, the Dutch, as soon as the Spaniards had returned to Manila, as they were bound to do sooner or later. In either case, they would be the losers. Hurtado made light of this objection. They would be amply protected by the Spaniards, he said; and besides, they need have no fear of the Dutch. The Dutch were merchants, not conquistadores; they wanted trade, not territory; the Magindanaus had nothing that would be of the slightest interest to them.

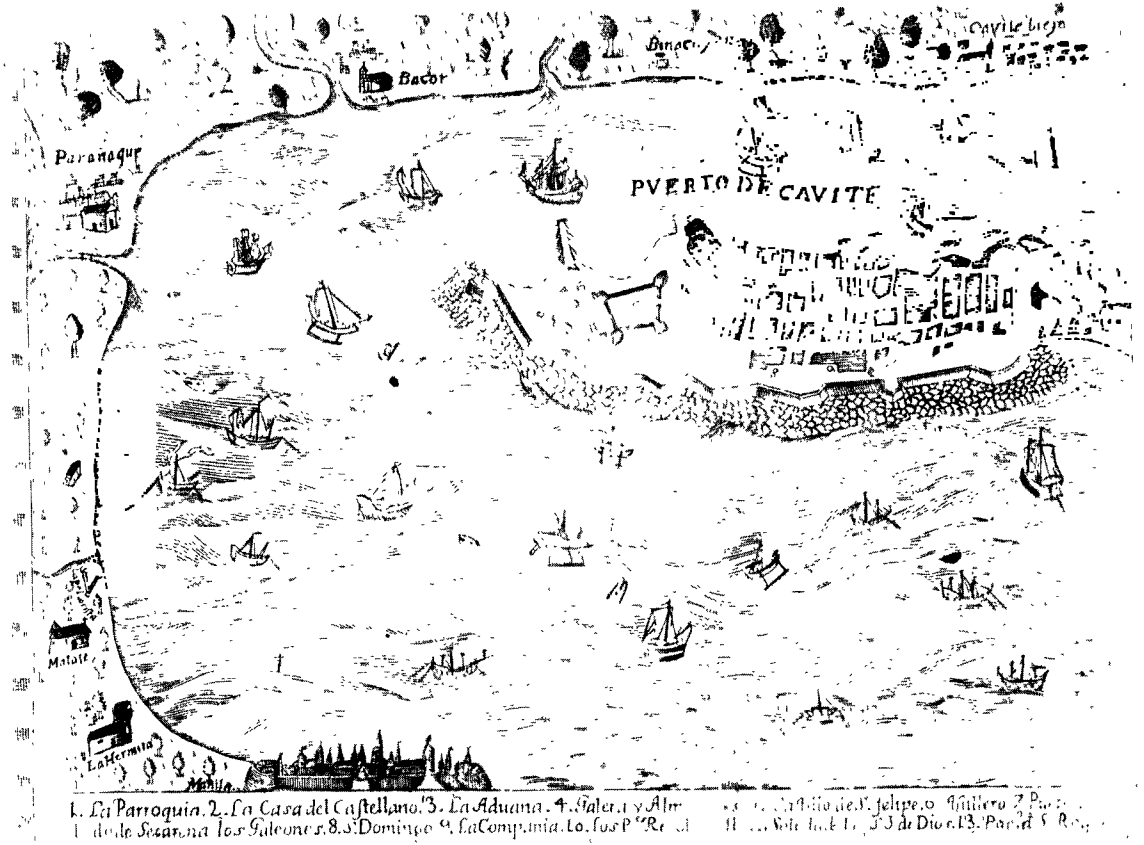
This was a mistake, and Hurtado probably realized it as soon as it was uttered. It drew the attention of the princes to the difference between Dutch and Spanish policy, and to consider the Spanish offers of peace in the light of that difference. If what the Spaniards were ultimately interested in was the extension of their rule, could these peaceful overtures be totally sincere? Was it not likely that these negotiations were in the nature of a holding operation, designed to lull them into a false sense of security until the Spaniards were ready to attack them in turn? Nay more, could not Hurtado's real purpose be, not to negotiate as an ambassador, but to gather information as a spy?

No sooner had Hurtado been dismissed from the council of the princes than he found himself and Brother Rodríguez under house arrest. Even so, however, Sirongan permitted him to minister as a priest to the Christian women of his household, although he was no longer allowed out of the compound to see the other Christians in the town.[9]

Toward the end of February 1606 the Spanish armada was sighted in the Moro Gulf: thirty-six vessels of various types, with a complement of



VIII. The Philippines and the Moluccas



IX. Cavite

3,000 men. A hush of fear fell on the Great River. The little raiding cruisers vanished as if by magic from their points of assembly up tortuous creeks and canals. Streams of refugees with their hastily bundled belongings on their heads and backs began to stream out of the towns and villages near the river bank. On 2 March, a Spanish galley appeared at the river entrance. Gallinato, its commander, looked at last on the land which he had been sent twice to conquer. There was a deathly stillness upon it. Houses, whole villages stood deserted. No one answered his herald's cry. He sent a light skiff up-river with a message for the princes to come down. They had expressed a wish to meet the governor of the Spaniards. He was here, awaiting their pleasure. On 5 March another galley came with Acuña himself on board. They waited. The princes did not come. At Acuña's orders, Gallinato went some distance up-river to see if he could get in touch with them. Both sides of the river were completely empty; there was not a living soul. He sent another messenger up to Bwayan to demand that at least Hurtado be sent down. There was no reply. He rowed back to Acuña's galley. Acuña decided that they had waited long enough. He had the swivel gun which Bwisan wanted for Hurtado's ransom set ashore, and sailed off to rejoin the fleet.[10]

When Hurtado at Bwayan learned of the galleys, he went to Sirongan and asked permission to go down. Sirongan refused. It was not known, he said, what the Spaniards intended. But one thing was certain. If they attacked, and anything happened to Sirongan, Hurtado's life would pay for it. The Jesuit was kept under closer guard. Only when it was reported that the galleys had left, leaving his ransom on the beach, was he able to breathe freely.

We may be sure that the Magindanau princes sent scouts to observe and report on the issue of the Moluccas campaign. They brought back news of a resounding Spanish victory. The fleet arrived before Ternate toward the end of March. On 1 April Acuña landed his forces: fourteen companies of Spanish infantry and 344 Pampango and Tagalog troops. Sultan Said Dini and his Dutch allies retired as before to the fortress built by the Portuguese. Acuña attacked, and on 9 April took it by storm. Capitulations were presented to the captured Sultan, which he signed the following day. By them he surrendered all his forts, all captives who were Spanish subjects, and all the towns formerly Christian on the islands of Batachina, Morotai, and Herrão; pledged allegiance to the Spanish Crown; and promised not to make war or peace without the consent of the resident Spanish commander, to deliver apostate Christians to the same commander, and to allow his subjects freedom to embrace the Catholic religion. This done, Acuña restored the former rulers of Tidore and Batchan, ordered the reconstruction of the ruined mission churches, and left a garrison on Ternate of 600 troops under the command of Martín de Esquivel. Then, taking

Sultan Said and his principal nobles with him as prisoners, and not bothering about Magindanau for the present, he set his course direct for Manila, where he arrived on 6 June 1606.[11]

This feat of arms apparently made a profound impression on the Magindanau princes. They summoned Hurtado and asked him to return to Manila with a letter couched in the most abject terms.

> This letter is from the Lord of Buhayen and Raja Mura and Capitan Laut [Bwisan], and is addressed to the Lord Governor and Captain General of Manila . . . We ask for mercy, if your Excellency has any love for us. If there has been any fault on our part, we ask to be forgiven for the love of God. If we should find grace and pardon in the sight of your Excellency, we ask your Excellency to befriend and honor the Lord of Ternate, in order that our hearts may be assured that we shall be protected and pardoned in our turn . . . We are ignorant men, lacking in counsel, and being such we ask your Excellency's pardon. Now our eyes are being opened somewhat, and we begin to realize that we are nothing. For if the Lord of Ternate with all his power yielded and became subject to the power of your Excellency, what are we, all of us, worth? . . . If your Excellency should take pity on us and pardon us, there need be no concern for the captives in Magindanao, since they as well as all of us belong to your Excellency; for, indeed, just as the city of Manila belongs to your Excellency, so does the river of Mindanao . . . We ask and beseech your Excellency that Father Melchor Hurtado be deputed to bring back the answer to this letter, for he alone knows the good as well as the evil in our hearts.[12]

As a token of their good will—a small token, to be sure—the princes released thirty captives to accompany Hurtado to Manila. He must have been delayed in the Visayas, for he did not reach Manila until September. By that time Governor Acuña was dead, having succumbed to a sudden illness three weeks after his victorious return. The audiencia took over the administration of the colony until the arrival in 1608 of an interim governor, Rodrigo de Vivero, appointed by the viceroy of Mexico. The proprietary governor, Juan de Silva, arrived the following year and remained in office until his death in 1618.

These changes of government were unfortunate in that they broke the continuity of the Moro policy developed by Acuña. What the audiencia should have done was either to ratify the agreement negotiated by Hurtado or to proceed finally to the perpetually postponed conquest of southern Mindanao. The audiencia did neither. It simply let things slide, and so gave the Magindanau war lords grounds for thinking that the fight had gone out of the Spaniards with Acuña's death. In 1608 the raids were resumed.[13] Bwisan and Raja Mura led sixty-seven caracoas to the coasts of Leyte and Samar, burned several churches, and carried away much booty and a considerable number of captives. At Carigara a volunteer force hastily organized by the rector, Alonso Rodríguez, and officered by three

lay brothers courageously made a stand on the open beach. But they were no match for the marauders, each of whom could say with the spy captured by Gallinato that "his occupation was always to fight." Their brief resistance gave the townspeople enough time to flee to safety, but they were unable to save the town itself. The Magindanaus took a leisurely two days to sack it and reduce it to cinders, including the new church and mission house which had just been completed.

The naval patrol stationed at Cebu was alerted and sallied forth to intercept with a small force of 70 Spanish and 60 Pampango marines. The commander, Salgado, reported that he found the raiding fleet standing at anchor inside a bay. He drew the enemy out of the anchorage by showing himself and pretending to turn tail; then, when he had strung them out on the open sea, he turned suddenly and struck at the vanguard with such effect that the rest fled. The comment of one of the oidores, Juan Manuel de la Vega, on this report was that if he knew Salgado at all, a man who had obtained his post through political patronage, "thoroughly incompetent in military affairs and a weak-spirited coward," his turning tail was no pretense. He simply fled, and if he fought at all, it was because he was overtaken and forced to fight.

However that may be, Salgado's next move was a diplomatic one, which had for its object to relieve the pressure on the Visayas by setting the Sulus at odds with the Magindanaus. He paid a visit to Jolo and tried to persuade the raja to send a friendly embassy to Manila. To Salgado's delight, the raja graciously consented; but what Salgado did not know was that the raja had just entered into a dynastic union with the Magindanau confederacy through a multiple marriage between his and Raja Mura's children. Moreover, both rajas were in constant contact with the Ternate lords. In fact, Sirongan was in Ternate at the time, organizing an offensive alliance of the three nations against the Spaniards; so that the raja of Jolo pounced on Salgado's suggestion as a splendid opportunity of putting the captured Sultan Said in touch with all these developments.

Fortunately, Acting Governor Vivero was no fool. He got wind of these maneuvers, and, foreseeing rightly that they portended bigger and more daring raids, reinforced the Cebu squadron and replaced Salgado with the veteran Gallinato. Faithful to his tactic of interception rather than pursuit, Gallinato did not wait at Cebu for notice of a raid but led his squadron to Dapitan, where he could cut across the raiders as soon as they rounded the shoulder of Zamboanga. He was not a moment too soon. Although it was early in the year (March 1609), Sirongan, Raja Mura, and Bwisan were already in Visayan waters at the head of a fleet of uncertain size but consisting, according to reports, of 2,000 men. They had crept quietly into the narrow bay of Pangil, north of the wasp-like waist of Mindanao, presumably to perfect their plans on the basis of the latest intelligence

reports. Gallinato at once perceived the advantage that this gave him. Within the narrow corridor of Pangil the Magindanaus would not be able to take advantage of their numerical superiority in ships and men, while he would have the advantage of surprise. So it turned out.

The Magindanaus fought ferociously, bringing their 24 biggest caracoas into action; but when 13 of these had been sunk they sued for terms. Gallinato agreed to terms, for, although he had the enemy bottled up, he was still greatly outnumbered. It is not known what the terms were, but it was apparently necessary to send them to Manila for ratification. Gallinato therefore kept watch at the mouth of Pangil until the ratification should arrive. Word came from Iloilo that Father Melchor Hurtado, who had been assigned to the newly opened mission there, was dead. Gallinato transmitted the message to the Magindanau princes. The three of them came in person to express their sorrow at the passing of one whom they called "the good Father." It is interesting to note that the quality which they admired most in the Jesuit was his fidelity to the vow of chastity, something which in their polygamous society must have struck them as quite exceptional.

Since Manila seemed to be taking its time, the Jesuit chaplain of the squadron, Pascual de Acuña, took advantage of the period of waiting to do mission work among the people of Dapitan, a settlement founded by Visayans from Bohol.

A month, two months passed, and still no word from Manila. What happened then is not clear, but the vigilance of Gallinato's squadron must have wavered, for the Magindanaus were able to steal out of the bottle. However, their newly acquired respect for Gallinato was such that instead of raiding the Visayas, they went to Brunei to see whether it would be just as easy to rob old Moslems as new Christians. It was not. The sultan of Brunei, for whom their manner of fighting held no secrets, gave them the drubbing of their lives and sent them yelping back to the Great River.[14]

This is the last that we hear of the Magindanau triumvirate who terrorized the Visayas for a decade. They drop out of the stage of history with the same remarkable suddenness and unison with which they entered it. Did they retire from active piracy to enjoy in the twilight of their years the accumulated loot of their busy prime? Content with the role of elder statesmen, did they gladly surrender the steering paddle and the flame-like kris to younger and more capable hands? Or were these symbols of their power wrested from them by ambitious upstarts? Did they fall out among themselves at the last, and perish by the assassin's hand or on some fratricidal field? We do not know. All that we know is that the Visayas had peace from the Magindanaus for three successive years; and when in 1613 they returned to the attack, there was a new commander in the lead caracoa, a datu named Pagdalanun.

The expedition was a joint one, in which the Caragans took part. They broke up into three squadrons which struck simultaneously at Leyte and Samar. They took 400 captives from Dulag, 600 from the Samar towns. At Palo they surprised and captured the resident Jesuit missionary, Father Pascual de Acuña, formerly chaplain under Gallinato. This time the raiders were not content merely to take captives and burn towns. They burned the rice fields too. The Cebu squadron gave chase and overtook a flotilla of the enemy under the personal command of Pagdalanun. The Magindanaus, hampered by their load of captives, among whom Acuña was one, refused to engage; but as they drew off Pagdalanun was wounded. This so enraged his bodyguards that one of them tried to transfix Acuña with a spear. Fortunately he missed, and Pagdalanun intervened. Having eluded pursuit, they made their way along the familiar escape route down the east coast of Mindanao, stopping as usual at Caraga.

While they were there, Pagdalanun, taking a stroll along the beach, came upon one of the captives. It was Father Acuña, who had been brooding on his misfortunes and was apparently in tears. Pagdalanun stopped to question him. "Are you married?" he asked. "Do you have a wife and children?" The Jesuit answered that he was not married. "Are you a good Christian?" He tried to be, was Acuña's reply. "Then," said Pagdalanun, "since you are a Christian, and have neither wife nor child, of what concern is it to you whether you die here, or there, or elsewhere? Let God's will be done. Of this mind was Father Hurtado, your brother; for on one occasion, when we were about to bury him alive with a dead datu, in order that he might serve him in the other world, he replied with fortitude: Do with me what you will; I am in God's hands." A noble speech, and a lesson which Acuña doubtless took to heart. Nevertheless, had Pagdalanun's hands been less steeped in innocent blood, he might have said it with better grace. At any rate, Acuña obtained an unexpected release soon after this incident. A datu of the Caragas named Gumaras remembered that he owed a favor to a friend of his in Cebu, Alonso de Pedraza, a Spanish officer. To discharge his obligation he ransomed the Jesuit and sent him as a present to his friend. A year later, Acuña returned to Caraga as chaplain of the force which took the town. What happened to the magnanimous Gumaras is not recorded.[15]

The establishment of a permanent Spanish garrison at Caraga, by cutting off the escape route of the Magindanaus or at least making it less secure, seems to have stopped them from making any large-scale raids for the next two decades. Another reason, and possibly a more important one, may have been that the communities of the Great River were passing through a period of internal reorganization. This is, however, merely a conjecture from the fact that in 1634, when the Magindanaus resumed their depredations and so began to figure once more in the Spanish records,

the old confederacy had taken the form of a unified sultanate under Bwisan's son, Kechil Capitwan Kudrat; or, as he was known to the Spaniards, Corralat.

The Jesuit establishments least affected during this initial phase of the Moro wars were those on the islands of Bohol and Cebu. In 1605 a boarding school similar to that of Dulag was founded at Loboc, and supported from the stipends received by the Bohol missionaries. By April 1606 there were sixteen boys in the school, all of them from the leading families of the island. The schoolmaster, a native of Palo named Juan Maranga, was an alumnus of the Dulag school. He was a man of exemplary life who had resolved, instead of marrying and founding a family of his own, to devote his life to the service of the mission as a lay helper. He took no vows and was therefore technically not a religious; rather he belonged to that company of devoted laymen whom the Jesuit missionaries of this period associated with them in their work, and of whom Saint René Goupil, the North American martyr, is the most illustrious example. They were called *donnés* or *donados*; Maranga is the first Filipino *donado* mentioned in our records.[16]

On 1 April 1609 Acquaviva stole a minute or two from the cares of the whole Society to answer a collective letter from the students of the Loboc school. They had apparently given him an account of their studies and other activities and then asked for a present. They wanted a replica of the church of Santa Maria Maggiore. He answered:

> The letter which you wrote me pleased me very much, because in it you express your gratitude for the goodness of God in sending you men to teach and instruct you in what is needful for your salvation. This is indeed a very estimable thing. I also gather that you are making progress in virtue and Christian piety, and in this way repaying the care and labor which the fathers lavish on your boarding school. I am going to see to it that when one of the fathers comes here as procurator of the province he can bring back the painting of St. Mary Major you ask for. In the meantime, I want you to be very devoted to the Mother of God, and ever strive to make progress in virtue and piety, as true and fervent Christians should. God bless you and give you abundant grace.[17]

The only student of the Loboc school whom we know by name is Miguel de Ayatumo. Miguel was baptized at the age of seven by Father Gabriel Sánchez and died at sixteen on 19 November 1609. He was a fervent sodalist, assisted at Mass every day, and rose in the morning at the same time as the fathers in order to make mental prayer. He fasted on Fridays and Saturdays, and often accompanied the fathers on missionary journeys, serving as cook and general factotum. Father Pedro de Auñón recalled how Miguel used to go before them with his bolo, slashing a path through the dense jungle undergrowth; and how when they had to spend

the night on the trail he would stand guard over them while they slept. Three years before his death he took a private vow of chastity which he faithfully kept. Going down to the river one day to wash his clothes, he slipped on the bank and fell against the sharp prow of a moored boat. He was anointed and died, having received holy communion that morning.[18]

The Annual Letter of 1610 gives some interesting details of the work of the Jesuits in Bohol:

> This year we established a hospital to which we brought many who had fallen sick because during the recent famine they ate wild fruit and the leaves of trees and whatever they could lay their hands on. We shared whatever food we had in the house with them and with many others lying about in the streets and houses . . . Before the famine became general it was a consolation to see how our people shared the little food they had with the poor, and how every day when they came to Mass they brought something for this purpose, which was collected in baskets at the church door and taken to the hospital. Every Sunday a village would take its turn to feed the poor, in this fashion. During the week they hunted wild pig or deer, and the following Sunday they brought the meat cooked and the rice to go with it (for rice is like bread here) and distributed it until everyone had enough. Those who have no rice bring instead certain edible roots somewhat like potatoes which here are called *ubi*, a heavier and more substantial food. The headmen of the village take great pride in serving the meal to the poor, imitating in this the fathers of the Society who started the work . . .
>
> The boys of the boarding school presented a play on Saint Gregory the Great with such devotion and modesty that everyone was greatly taken by it; and since the point of the play was the example of almsgiving which the saint gave, the people were greatly encouraged to do likewise. The natives derive great profit from these plays. They are an exceptionally efficacious means of teaching them our religion, not only because they come in vast numbers from all parts to see them, but also because they grasp more readily what is taught in them. Thus, in order to make them love the virtue of chastity and show them how in time of need, sickness, and danger they should have recourse not to their idols but to God, we presented another play on the life of the glorious virgin and martyr Saint Cecilia, in which the first lesson was brought home by the incident of the two crowns which the angel brought to the saint and to Saint Tiburtius, and the second by the prayer which she made to God. In order to give your Reverence some idea of how pat this second lesson [regarding the vanity of praying to idols] came, let me tell you something of the ancient usage of the Visayans.
>
> The devil, working through his ministers, has them all convinced that all the good or evil which befalls them is the work of the spirits of their ancestors. Thus if they fall sick it is because the souls of the dead have come to take them to the other life. The sick do not actually see these spirits; but that, they say, is because the world is divided into three parts, an upper, a lower and a middle part. The upper part, or heaven, is the dwelling-place of their *diuata*, of men of valor, and of certain women who live as recluses without ever going out of the house, and who are called in their language *binocot*. The lower part is where all the other souls

of the dead go. Thus the two places are alike in being abodes of the dead. The middle part is the earth which we who live inhabit; but both the upper and the lower regions are contiguous to it, and that is why any one of the dead can come to earth and take away with him whomsoever he wishes. When a Visayan becomes ill, therefore, he sends the *baylana* [i.e., the *babailan* or medicine woman] and asks her who the spirit is that has come for him and given him that sickness. The baylana gives him any answer she chooses, adding that if he wishes that spirit to go back to the other life without taking him along, he must sacrifice so many pigs and so many chickens, in other words, what she would like to partake of most. They lived in such blindness that they believed all this and gave to the extent of reducing themselves to beggary, and even of selling themselves as slaves . . .

They also had the custom during the planting and harvest seasons, and when they went out to hunt or fish, of calling upon the diuata, which are their gods, and the souls of their ancestors, which are called *omalagar*, in order that they might be propitious to them. Instead of this we taught them how to have recourse to God, who alone can help them. Whereupon they came to ask one of our fathers one day what they should do before going on a hunt. The father replied that they should first go to church and ask God for help through the intercession of his holy Mother, our blessed Lady. If they did this they would see how much more successful they would be; he even promised them this in God's name. They followed his advice and with this preparation sallied forth, and not far from where they lived, in the course of one morning's hunt, they brought down twenty-two head of game between wild hog, wild boar, and deer; which helped to open their eyes to the frauds they formerly believed in and to strengthen them in the true faith. For they said afterward: When we used to invoke the *diuata* and *omalagar*, we caught two or three deer at the most and very often nothing; but now by praying to Jesus Christ we caught twenty-two. No doubt about it, he is the true God and all those others are mere deceptions.[19]

The Annual Letter of 1611 records the mass conversion of thirty babailan who burned their altars and idols and joined the children's catechism class. This was in the village of Tubud alone; there were similar conversions in other places. In their first fervor, these newly converted medicine women went so far as to join in the public self-flagellation held in the churches during Lent, although this particular form of penance was meant only for the menfolk. Only with difficulty were the fathers able to persuade them to desist.[20]

But although Christianity made these obviously considerable gains, the old paganism was by no means completely extinct. Not all the shamans submitted meekly to the loss of their livelihood and prestige. They retired before the advance of the missionaries to the hilly interior of the island, where they were joined by those who, for one reason or another, found it irksome to live in the new Christian communities. Aside from the personal and social discipline which the reception of baptism imposed on the neophytes, the people of Bohol found it just as difficult as the people of

Leyte to make the change from the old life of the clan settlement and the temporary clearing to the new life of the town and the settled farm. The vague discontent to which this gave rise, the occasional restlessness which would seize a lowland village and cause its people to wander off to the hills, needed only a focus to stir it into active rebellion; this focus the unreconstructed shamans supplied.

In December 1621 almost all of the Bohol Jesuits went to Cebu for the celebration of the beatification of Saint Francis Xavier. During their absence the word spread that a diuata had been seen in the hills, his face covered by a hood like that of the flagellants in the Lenten procession of the Christians. The oracle of the diuata was that all should abandon the towns and religion of the Spaniards and come to him in the hills and there build him a temple. He would give them food in abundance, without the necessity of work and without the burden of paying tribute. He would protect them, so that if the Spaniards came against them, their muskets would do them no hurt. Four towns, that is, all except Loboc and Baclayon, rose to do the will of the diuata, led by the shamans who had come down to fetch them.

The alcalde mayor of Cebu, Juan de Alcarazo, hurried to the island with a force of 50 Spanish and 1,000 Visayan troops. On 6 January 1622 a pitched battle took place between part of this force and 1,500 of the rebels. As the Spanish muskets turned out to be as effective as ever, the rebels withdrew to the fortified enclosure which they had built, and which contained 1,000 houses around the temple of the diuata. Alcarazo invested and took it in two weeks, thus breaking the back of the rebellion. He returned to Cebu, but was compelled to come back six months later to complete the pacification of the island.

This uprising kindled a similar one in Leyte, led by that datu of Limasaua, Bankau, who had welcomed Legaspi to the Philippines in 1565. This vigorous old man, who had settled at Carigara after his baptism, raised a temple to the diuata and with the help of his son Pagali persuaded six towns to revolt. Alcarazo came over with a fleet of forty sail and decided that a salutary example was needed to stop the spirit of dissidence from spreading any further. He pursued the rebels to a pocket in the hills and there put them to the sword, men, women, and children. No one was spared. The body of Bankau was found among the dead. Alcarazo ordered his head cut off and publicly exposed on a pike.[21]

The revolt must have made the missionaries realize that they were still some distance from the stable Christian commonwealth which was the goal of their endeavors. *Tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem.* Yet the remarkable thing was not that such a revolt should take place, but that there were not more of them, and that the towns which they had formed with so much labor continued to exist and grow in spite of internal

difficulties, compounded now by the external pressure of the Moslem raids. The fact is that, no matter how many times the Magindanaus or the Sulus reduced to cinders such seacoast towns as Dulag, Palo, Carigara, Ormoc, and Tinagon, the people always returned to rebuild them, each with its church and mission house, its school, catechumenate, hospital, confraternities, and all the other institutions introduced by the missionaries.[22] One reason for this was undoubtedly an increasing appreciation on the part of an ever greater number of Visayans that town life possessed inherent advantages which their dispersed clan villages lacked, such as opportunities for mutual help and a more diversified economic and social activity.

Another reason, less ponderable but very real, was the implicit trust which the people had come to repose in their pastors. They might not quite comprehend what the good fathers were about, but they were perfectly certain that it was ultimately for their welfare. This was placed beyond question by the readiness of the missionaries to risk death or capture with them, to share their privations and sufferings, and to place at the disposal of the sick and the starving all that they had, even the food on their tables. Samar had always been subject to recurrent famines, each of which usually brought an epidemic in its train. A particularly severe drought blighted the crops of 1610 and 1611, just after the foundation of the new residence of Palapag. The Jesuits stationed there at once opened a hospital in the mission compound, and for three months never had less than 200 persons in it, suffering either from disease or plain starvation. Four women of the town served as nurses in the women's ward, a lay brother and four sodalists among the men. Food and medicines were supplied out of the missionary stipends. The fathers themselves did the cleaning and washing up. In addition to the hospital, they also ran a soup kitchen which fed over seventy persons daily. The same emergency relief measures were taken at Tinagon.[23] Meanwhile, the instruction both of catechumens and neophytes continued, with the fathers being able to count more and more on the assistance of the "graduates" of Don Gonzalo's boarding school at Paranas. At about this time, however, the school was transferred to Tinagon, where a similar school for girls was also opened with one of the pious women of the town as house-mistress.[24] Thus, by 1610 each of the three islands which were entirely under the spiritual administration of the Jesuits—Samar, Leyte and Bohol—had its own *seminario* or boarding school.

One of the missionaries stationed at Carigara at this time won a special place in the hearts of the Visayans. His name was Juan de Ballesteros, and he was neither a priest nor a lay brother but a simple *donado*. He left his birthplace in Spain, Badajoz, when hardly more than a boy, to go soldiering in the Philippines under Governor Acuña. Some time after his arrival, we do not know exactly when, he asked to be allowed to help out in the

Jesuit missions as a donado, and was sent to Leyte. There he became for all practical purposes a Visayan, even to the extent of wearing the native costume. A man of amazing versatility, he served in every conceivable capacity: as cook, sacristan, porter, gardener, carpenter, tailor, schoolmaster, nurse. He helped construct many of the mission chapels and residences, going with the village stalwarts to cut timber in the hills, and by dressing stone and mixing lime with them, taught them these arts. Chapel and mission house finished, he would help build their own homes; in short, there was no labor or hardship that he did not share with them.

In addition to these duties, he would occasionally serve as pilot for the missionaries sailing back and forth between the Visayas and Manila. One of the articles he always brought back from these trips was sheet music. He taught the Carigara schoolboys the *villancicos* and folk dances of his native land, and did it so well that at the festivities held in Manila for the canonization of Saints Ignatius and Francis Xavier, it was the Carigara dance ensemble that carried off the palm. Needless to say, not even the word of the king ran in the towns and villages of Leyte as did the word of Juan de Ballesteros.[25]

At Cebu the fathers were no less fruitfully occupied. When the Dutch occupied Amboina in the Moluccas in 1605, they expelled the Portuguese Jesuits stationed there, but permitted their converts, if they wished, to follow them to exile. The superior of the mission, Lorenzo Massonio, and his assistant, Andrea Pereira, could not take them all in the ship placed at their disposal, so they took only the sick and made for Cebu as fast as they could. Luckily, Bishop Agurto had provided Cebu with a hospital a year or so earlier and asked the Jesuits to take charge of it. Here the exiles were housed, fed, and cared for until they were well enough to shift for themselves. The Jesuits financed the operation partly from their own resources, partly by going to the wealthier citizens and asking each one to endow a bed, that is, to furnish the bed in the first place, with all its appurtenances such as pillows and sheets, and then to contribute what was needed for the food and medical care of its occupant.[26]

The Jesuits themselves were largely dependent at this time on the day-to-day alms of the people, as they still had no regular income except the 200 pesos and 200 fanegas of rice a year which they received from the colonial government on the basis of a temporary grant. When Chirino went as procurator to Europe one of his commissions was to see whether the king would be willing to endow the College of Cebu. On 26 May 1607, the privy council reported favorably on his petition, and suggested that sufficient funds be set aside to provide the college with an income of 2,000 ducados a year.[27] However, it proved to be no longer necessary. On 3 August of that same year, Gregorio López as provincial accepted from the executors of Ensign Pedro de Aguilar, a citizen of Cebu, the bequest which

he made of 14,000 pesos to "the College of San Ildefonso of the Society of Jesus in the city of the Holy Name on the island of Cebu." Aguilar's will, dated 9 December 1606, prescribed that 7,000 pesos was to be used for the construction of a new house and church and the remaining 7,000 to be invested so as to yield an annual revenue of 500 pesos for the support of the community. However, discretion was left the executors to modify this according to circumstances, and at the request of López they allowed the entire endowment to be invested and the church and residence to be constructed out of income. The completed church was inaugurated on 29 November 1625.[28]

One of the special ministries in which the fathers of Cebu engaged was the giving of the spiritual exercises to laymen. They did this in the form of closed retreats held in the Jesuit residences; but, unlike the retreats at the College of Manila, which were made only by Spaniards, the Cebu retreats were made by Chinese and Filipino groups as well. It is interesting to note that there were Filipinos in Cebu who had advanced sufficiently in the knowledge and appreciation of the Catholic faith as to be able to make the spiritual exercises. It is also interesting to note that although the Jesuits had already given up the administration of the Chinese parish, the members of the Chinese community continued to have recourse to them not only for retreats but also for regular spiritual conferences during the year, and that there was always a priest in the community capable of giving both retreats and conferences in the Chinese language.[29]

It was also from Cebu as a center that various temporary missions to neighboring islands were undertaken at the request of their respective encomenderos or parish priests. Some of these missions resulted in the establishment of a permanent residence. In 1605 the parish priest of Arévalo, Don Miguel Garcetas, feeling the weight of his declining years, asked the Jesuits for assistance. Francisco González was sent from Cebu. The citizens of the town liked him so much that not only did they refuse to let him go back, but they clamored for more Jesuits to form a resident community. In order to forestall a refusal, they immediately set about building a church and house; and no sooner did Garcetas become vicar-general of the diocese upon the death of Bishop Agurto than he requested and obtained from the audiencia the necessary government approval for the project. It was granted on 14 December 1606, a remarkable record for speed considering the leisurely pace at which business was transacted in those days. Thus, in spite of Acquaviva's repeated warnings to the Philippine Jesuits not to overextend themselves by accepting new establishments, López had no option but to accept Arévalo and write to Rome (3 July 1608) for a belated permission to do so. Acquaviva, in giving his reluctant consent, asked López at least to make sure that the new community's essential needs would be provided for by some sort of regular income. There was

no need for him to worry on this score, for although none of the citizens of Arévalo was rich enough to take care of the endowment singlehanded, the various contributions and bequests which they pooled together sufficed to take care of the Jesuits adequately.[30]

As we pointed out earlier, the port of Iloilo, not far from Arévalo, became the station for the naval squadron charged with the defense of the western Visayas. After the conquest of Ternate by Governor Acuña, it also became the port at which the convoy annually sent to the garrisons there took in their supplies. The Arévalo Jesuits took care of the spiritual needs of the service personnel involved in both these operations, and often accompanied them as chaplains on their various missions. This work, voluntarily undertaken, was officially imposed by Governor Tabora in 1628.[31]

The discontinued mission of Butuan in northern Mindanao was restored at the urgent request of the government in 1611. Francisco Vicente, who was sent there from Cebu, was received by the people with great rejoicing. They went out in their boats to escort his ship to port, singing a chantey whose refrain was simply "Jesús, María, Jesús, María." Ledesma had taught it to them nearly a decade earlier, but they had never forgotten it. Vicente began the conversion of the Manobos of the upper Agusan River, many of whom came down to Butuan for instruction when they heard that a priest had come; and his successor, Juan López, accompanied the Manobos several times to their home country up the snake-like, sluggish river. This mission did not, however, become a permanent one, and it was terminated some time after 1614.[32]

The last two missions undertaken by the Cebu Jesuits during this period were Dapitan in northern Mindanao and Ilog in western Negros. The beginnings of the Dapitan mission might be traced to the two months' sojourn there of Pascual de Acuña while he was chaplain of Gallinato's squadron. It was missionized several times thereafter by other Jesuit naval chaplains, for the Spanish squadrons on patrol made it a regular port of call. The man who took a special interest in Dapitan was Pedro Gutiérrez, and so, when in 1631 Governor Tabora requested a permanent mission residence there, Gutiérrez was sent to found it and be its first superior.[33] An account of this residence, as well as that of Ilog, founded permanently in 1628, will appear later in this narrative. But enough has been said to show that, in spite of the disruption of normal life caused by the Moro raids, the Visayan missions of the Philippine province managed not only to survive but even to grow and expand; indeed, one might go so far as to say that the challenge merely served to deepen the appreciation of the Visayans for their newly acquired faith, and strengthen their attachment to it.

During the period 1614–1634 what began as slaving raids developed

into a full-scale war, the leadership of which passed, on the Moslem side, from the Magindanaus to the Sulus. The Sulu archipelago is a series of volcanic islands laid like the stepping stones of a giants' ford from the tip of the Zamboanga peninsula southwestward to Borneo. The first people to make use of this ford were not, however, giants but pygmies. These cousins of the Dyaks of Borneo seem to have been the earliest inhabitants of the islands; and because later migrants drove them from the beaches to the hilly interior they are called Buranun—people of the hills. The migrants referred to were seagoing Malays of the same sort as those who established themselves all along the southern coast of Mindanao, though they seem to have arrived much earlier. Saleeby conjectures[34] that they started coming as early as the fourteenth century from Johore, Macassar, and Palembang, attracted no doubt by the pearl oysters with which the waters of some of the islands abounded. The most important of these islands, and the one which eventually became the seat of rule for the entire archipelago, is Jolo. Here, according to the traditions of the Sulus, a certain Tuan Masha'ika from Johore or Malacca displaced the Buranun rajas and became raja in their stead. About 1380 a Moslem scholar and traveler named Maldum came and converted Masha'ika's people to Islam, or at least confirmed them in that faith. Toward the end of the century Baginda, a Moslem prince from Menangkabau in Sumatra, conquered the island. He it was who brought the elephants whose progeny Governor Sande heard about in Brunei and asked Figueroa to get for him. So we are told; but how Prince Baginda was able to transport these ponderous pachyderms all the way from Sumatra to Jolo is a detail about which the traditions preserve a discreet silence.

It is from Baginda's son-in-law and successor, Said Abu Bakr, that the lords of Jolo traced their lineal descent. Said (*floruit* 1450) not only made the Moslem religion general throughout the island and archipelago, but codified the customary law of the Sulus, bringing it into conformity with the prescriptions of the Koran.[35] He bequeathed to his successors a hereditary feudal kingdom in which the ruler governed with the aid and counsel of the most powerful datus. There were fifteen of these datus in the latter part of the eighteenth century, holding seigneuries in Jolo or the other islands which, like the kingdom itself, were hereditary, descending from father to eldest son. An interesting feature of this government was that the common people were allowed to elect two *mantiris* or tribunes to represent them in the sultan's council.[36] The sixth ruler of Jolo after Said Abu Bakr was Raja Pangiran, who capitulated to Figueroa because he was unable to gain his citadel, the hilltop fortress near the town of Jolo which was to give the Spaniards so much trouble afterward.

In 1616 Governor Juan de Silva sailed out of Manila Bay with the mightiest fleet ever launched by the colony. All the military and naval

establishments of the Islands were stripped to organize and equip it. Silva's object was to combine with the Portuguese in a massive operation to drive the Dutch from the Far East. The operation failed. Instead of accepting battle like gentlemen, the canny Dutch avoided the armada and sent a squadron to attack Manila instead. On their way there they stopped at Jolo and asked the Sulus to join them. It was too good an opportunity to miss. While the Spaniards made desperate preparations to meet the Dutch, a powerful Sulu fleet destroyed the shipyard at Pantao in Camarines, slipped into Manila Bay, burned the Cavite navy yard, and carried away a number of Spanish prisoners for ransom.[37]

The unprecedented spectacle of the Sulus taking Spanish captives almost within sight of the city of Manila encouraged the Camucones of Palawan and Brunei to enlarge their scope. They now began to infest the northern Visayas and the southern coasts of Luzon, hunting their human quarry in packs of their own, instead of merely following like jackals in the wake of the Sulu and Magindanau armadas. The Camucones were heathen, and much more savage and ruthless raiders than the Moslem Malays. They were known in Brunei as the Tedong people, *Orang Tedong*, and this is the description that Forrest gives of them:

> The Orang Tedong live very hard on their cruises, their provisions being sometimes raw sago flour. They have often no *attop* or covering; nay, sometimes as the Sooloos have told me, they go, especially if it rains, stark naked. The Moors of Magindanao and the Illanos who are also Moors despise these people. When they meet, however, in roads and harbours among the Philippines, where the common prey is, they do not molest one another . . . Their boats are sometimes small and made of thin planks sewed together. I have heard of some such, once shut up in a bay by a Spanish cruiser; they took their boats to pieces and carried them away overland . . . When the Orang Tedong get into their hands many prisoners, to secure themselves they will lame some of the stoutest; nay leave them, on perhaps a little sandy island . . . till they be at leisure to fetch them. Nor do they stick at breaking the limbs of their captives in cowardly fear of their own.[38]

Possibly for this reason they took no Spanish prisoners, but if any fell into their hands killed them outright. In 1618, they almost captured the Jesuit provincial, Juan de Bueras, who was on his way to make his visitation of the Visayan missions.[39] In November 1625, while returning from a raid on Samar, they sighted a sailboat carrying passengers from Tayabas to Marinduque and swooped down on it. A shot from a stone mortar wounded one of the passengers, the Jesuit missionary Juan de las Misas. The ship was boarded after a brief resistance and the Camucones, finding that the wounded man was a Spaniard, cut off his head. He was an alumnus of San José, and the first in the illustrious list of Jesuit missionaries who lost their lives in the Moro wars.[40]

Meanwhile, a dynastic struggle was in progress among the Sulus. The

rule of the reigning raja, Batara Shah Tangah, was being contested by his cousin Badasaolan, who had established his power among the Samals of Basilan Island.[41] The Samals, who also called themselves Lutaus—people of the sea—belonged to the latest wave of Malay migration to wash the shores of the Sulu archipelago. They were fishermen, and spent most of their lives in their boats, drifting from island to island, although they would occasionally establish villages wherever the inhabitants did not object too strenuously. They were a patient and peaceful folk, whom the warlike Sulus considered their inferiors and vassals. But they proved themselves respectable fighters when aroused, and Badasaolan apparently succeeded in arousing them. In 1624, being hard-pressed, Raja Batara sent an embassy to Manila to request aid of the Spaniards. At the head of the embassy was Ache, Jolo's most influential datu.

The embassy was well received, but, since the governorship was vacant at the time, the audiencia dismissed it with vague promises. In 1625 Datu Ache and his entourage took in a cargo of trade goods and set sail for home, just after the Camucon raid in which Father Misas was killed. Their ship was intercepted by one of the naval squadrons which had set off in pursuit of the raiders. The commander of the squadron, enraged at the Camucones having eluded him, vented his spleen on the Sulus. He confiscated their ship and cargo and brought them back prisoners to Manila. There they were clapped into a detention cell, and, as the audiencia was fully engaged in fighting off a Dutch blockade, promptly forgotten. The Jesuits of the College of Manila, on one of their regular rounds of the city gaols, found the ambassadors in a state of semistarvation, for they were completely destitute; and upon learning their story made strong representations to the audiencia for their release. The oidores were most apologetic and strove to repair the damage done. The ambassadors were instantly released and the officer responsible for their arrest was ordered to restore what he had "confiscated." When the new governor, Juan Niño de Tabora, arrived in 1626, he decided to send the force requested by the Sulus and asked for two Jesuit chaplains to accompany them. Thus, with the help of the Spaniards, Badasaolan was induced to listen to reason, and after complicated negotiations Batara's successor, Raja Bungsu, was installed as unchallenged lord of all the Sulus, with Tuan Baluka, a Samal lady, as his consort.[42]

But Datu Ache, now Bungsu's chief minister, never forgot what he had suffered from the Spaniards, nor the three great pearls, his own personal possession, which the government had been unable to make his captor disgorge. Vengeance he must have; but there was rich spoil too for the taking. He had heard while in Manila talk of a new shipyard in Camarines, a big one, where the keels of two galleons, two or three galleys, and several smaller vessels were to be laid. This meant an enormous concentration on

one convenient site not only of Spanish overseers (who could be held for ransom) and native workmen (for the slave market), but of iron, brass, lead, cables, guns, powder, and shot, all of which the Sulus needed badly. He laid these considerations before the raja, who agreed that they carried weight. The Spanish auxiliaries and their chaplains were courteously but firmly speeded home, and a great fleet organized with a nucleus of more than 30 oversize caracoas, called joangas, and a total force of 2,000 men.

Bungsu, who assumed personal command of the armada, took the shipyard completely by surprise.[43] The fourteen Spaniards assigned to guard the place had not even bothered to mount four pieces of artillery which they had lying about. Bungsu's landing force of 700, swarming up the beach just at the crack of dawn, immediately took possession of them and killed two of the garrison before the others could barricade themselves in a blockhouse. There they fought a delaying action until they were able to make good their escape up a hidden creek. Bungsu ordered the half-finished hulls fired, food-stocks amounting to 1,000 fanegas of rice thrown into the sea, and sailed away with 300 captives and all the metal and usable gear his ships could carry. On the way home he called at the Jesuit mission of Ormoc in Leyte and carried off another 300 captives.

Father Fabrizio Sarsali, at the request of the Cebu authorities, brought the news of the disaster to Manila. He returned to Cebu with orders for the commander of the naval squadron there, Captain Cristóbal de Lugo, to proceed at once to Jolo and inflict condign punishment. De Lugo set out with 200 Spanish and 1,700 Visayan troops and appeared before Jolo on 27 April 1628. He destroyed all the ships in the harbor, stormed the lower town and burned it, but was unable to take the citadel, whither the Sulus had retired with their treasure, their womenfolk, and their slaves.

The following year Datu Ache swept north for the counterblow. He led his armada to Camarines first, where he burned a galleon under construction on the offshore islet of Bagatao. From there he worked his way southward methodically, harrying the seacoast towns of Samar, Leyte, and Bohol. Nowhere did he meet with any resistance save at Carigara, where Father Melchor de Vera had fortified the church and mission house, and at Baclayon, where the resolute readiness of the Boholanos forced him to retire without a fight.[44]

It was now the Spaniards' turn. The Jolo expedition of 1630 consisted of 350 Spaniards and 2,500 Christian Filipinos. The commander was Lorenzo de Olaso. His orders were to attack the citadel and take it. He dutifully made the attempt, but failed.[45]

In 1632 the Sulus were back in Leyte. This time their principal prize was a Jesuit, Father Giovanni Domenico Bilanci, whom they captured while on a missionary journey near Hinundayan. The usual ransom note was dispatched to Manila. With it came a letter from Bilanci himself.[46] His

captor, he said, was one of the chief datus, who had received a daughter of the raja in marriage. He was allowed to communicate with the Christian captives, of whom there was a great number, before they were taken to the slave market at Macassar. All that he was given to eat was cooked rice sprinkled with salt, with a piece of fish or a boiled radish on rare occasions. He had grown quite thin on this diet, and possibly a few years closer to the grave. But that was not far off in any case, because he was really quite old. In view of this, he did not think there was any point in ransoming him. He was perfectly happy to end his few remaining days in captivity.

His superiors did not, of course, agree with him. They got the ransom money together and sent it as soon as they could; but it was too late. In March 1634 Bilanci died, having spent his last days confirming in the faith his fellow captives.[47] Later that same year the Magindanaus, having put their internal affairs in order and found a leader in young Kudrat, put out to sea once more in their predatory ships after two decades of inaction. Twenty-two sail, 1,500 fighting men, made up the armada. Unchallenged, they roamed the southern Visayas, plundering and taking prisoners where they would. Dapitan was wasted first; then Maribohoc and Inabangan on the south coast of Bohol; then Cabalian and Sogod in southern Leyte; and finally, on the west coast of the latter island, Baybay and Ormoc. They attacked Ormoc on 4 December 1634. The Jesuits there, following the lead of Melchor de Vera at Carigara, had started to fortify the town, but only a small stockade of wood near the church had been completed. While the townspeople fled, fifty warriors made a stand in this stockade and the adjoining church. With them was the resident missionary, Father Juan del Carpio. The Magindanaus took the church at their first onslaught, penned the defenders in the stockade, and set fire to it. Tormented by the heat and smoke, the gallant little garrison surrendered. The visitors immediately began to divide them up as prizes; but when they came to Father Carpio, a dispute arose whose he should be. The quarrel was laid before the commander, who chose the quickest way to end it. He ordered the Jesuit put to death. As soon as he heard his doom, Carpio knelt to pray, and praying thus received the blow of the kampilan.[48]

In a circular letter which he addressed to the Visayan Jesuits on 1 February 1635, the provincial, Juan de Bueras, reviewed the irreparable damage done to the missions by the five major raids of the past ten years. Three of the missionaries, Juan de Las Misas, Giovanni Domenico Bilanci, and Juan del Carpio, had lost their lives. Mission churches had been repeatedly sacked and burned. Sacred images mutilated and destroyed. Chalices and other altar vessels stolen and profaned. Christian communities scattered, pursued, and killed. Numberless neophytes captured and sold into slavery in distant lands. No one could fail to be appalled by these disasters, and the heart of the Jesuits who labored in the relative security of the Tagalog

missions went out to their hard-pressed brethren in the Visayas. Nevertheless, Bueras continued, let us be patient and endure, keeping our gaze fixed on the eternal reward that awaits God's faithful servants. As for the brethren who have met their death at the hands of the raiders, let us be careful not to call them martyrs, especially before outsiders, for this would be to anticipate the judgment of the Church. We may be sure, however, that they have gone before us to that life of perfect blessedness which shall be ours also if we follow their shining example of sacrifice.[49]

But Bueras did not confine himself to writing letters of consolation. He called two veteran missionaries, Pedro Gutiérrez and Diego Patiño, to Manila and asked them to help him draw up a better plan of protecting the Visayan islands from the Moros than the strategy, or lack of it, which the government had hitherto followed. They pointed out that the naval squadrons based at Cebu and Iloilo had never been able to provide an adequate defense because they were then obliged to seek them out over a wide area in which there were several avenues of escape. As a necessary complement to this system of defense they suggested the establishment at the tip of the Zamboanga peninsula of a permanent garrison. The advantage of this move would be threefold. In the first place, if the garrison were provided with a pursuit squadron of its own, which would be desirable, it could intercept a raiding fleet from Magindanau or Jolo even before it reached Visayan waters. Secondly, if this was not possible, it could at least send a fast dispatch boat with news of an impending raid and thus alert Cebu and Iloilo much earlier than had been hitherto possible. Thirdly, missionaries could be sent with the garrison to begin the evangelization of the region and thus lay the foundations of a permanent peace.

The acting governor at the time, Juan Cerezo de Salamanca, saw the merits of this proposal as soon as it was presented to him, and he decided to put it into execution at once.[50] Toward the end of March 1635, a force of 300 Spanish and 1,000 Visayan troops set sail from Cebu under the command of Captain Juan de Chávez. But instead of proceeding to Jolo as in previous years, they went ashore at what is now the site of the city of Zamboanga, and there proceeded to fortify themselves. The date, a memorable one, was 6 April 1635.

Two Jesuits went with the expedition as chaplains: Pedro Gutiérrez, the founder of Dapitan, and Melchor de Vera, who started the mission forts of Leyte. They were not very popular. Many of the officers and men had no stomach for the enterprise, which took them too far away from Manila and too close to the Moros. They grumbled a great deal, and kept discovering new reasons why they should give up the whole thing and go home. The place was nothing but soft earth, they said; where would they get the building stone for a fort? And the ground level was pitched so low that all the streams were brackish for miles inland. Even if they could

build a fort, how would they supply it with water? Chávez's engineers seemed to have no solution to these problems. But De Vera did, and to the dismay of the malcontents, Chávez put him in charge of construction. He soon found a workable quarry of good adobe stone close by, and after diligent search a spring of sweet water. One of the disgruntled soldiers had half a mind to stop the inquisitive Jesuit from making any further discoveries, muttering that he would much rather "put two bullets in this priest than Corralat."

He restrained himself in time, and De Vera lived to choose the site for the fort, design it, and supervise at least the first stages of its construction. Its cornerstone was laid on 23 June 1635, and parts of it are still standing; in particular, a section of the wall bearing an image in low relief of the puissant patroness to whom it was dedicated, Nuestra Señora del Pilar.

Chapter Fourteen

THE SUN OF HOLLAND

The Moros hampered the normal growth of the Visayan missions; the Dutch placed the existence of the colony itself in jeopardy. The rich cargo brought home by Van Neck's ships definitely decided the merchants of Holland to wrest control of the spice trade from the Portuguese. The better to accomplish this objective, they consolidated the various joint-stock companies which had hitherto financed expeditions to the East in one United East India Company, the Vereeinigde Oostindische Compagnie or V.O.C. Within three years of its foundation in 1602, the V.O.C. sent a total of thirty-eight ships in powerful, heavily-armed fleets to overwhelm the Portuguese establishments in Southeast Asia. In 1603 they routed a Portuguese fleet off Johore, and in 1605 wiped out Furtado da Mendonça's limited successes of 1601 by seizing the Portuguese garrisons at Amboina and Tidore and establishing a protectorate over Ternate. But the Portuguese refused to acknowledge defeat; the Spaniards in the Philippines came to their aid; and together, they put up a surprisingly vigorous resistance. In 1606 Acuña conquered Ternate and retook Tidore, while the Dutch attack on Malacca, the key to the Indies trade route, was beaten off. In 1607 the Dutch tried to recover Ternate; they failed. Leaving a garrison to guard a bridgehead on its eastern part, they retired to strengthen their positions at Amboina and Bantam while awaiting reinforcements from Holland. Such were the opening moves in the struggle for power in the Far East which would occupy the better part of the seventeenth century.[1]

In 1608, just before he died, Hurtado outlined the situation and its dangers for the information of Acquaviva.[2] The Dutch in the Moluccas are few in number, but they have been reinforced according to reports by a fleet consisting of ten or eleven warships. This gives them a naval superiority in those waters which may well enable them to do two things: first, cut off the supply line of the Spanish garrison on Ternate and eventually starve it out; second, strike at the other end of the supply line, the port of Iloilo, which is poorly defended, and either destroy or take it. Moreover, they do not have to fight their battles alone. The people of Ternate, still smarting from their defeat and the capture of their sultan; the Maguindanaus and the Sulus, closely united with them in religion, culture, and commerce; all these are only too eager to make common cause with the

Dutch against the Spaniards. In their letter to Governor Acuña, the Magindanau princes made it quite clear that they wanted Sultan Said released. And there is no doubt that they are in constant touch with the sultan. They course their messages through the Sulu traders who, because their merchandise is pearls, are allowed free entry to Manila. Some of these messages have been intercepted by army intelligence. It appears to be the plan of the Magindanaus to dangle before the Spaniards the possibility of a treaty which would put an end to the raids on the Visayas, with the freedom of the sultan as the price of peace. If the Spaniards refuse to pay the price, they intend to kidnap a personage of sufficient importance to be exchanged for the sultan. The arrival of the sultan in Ternate is to be the signal for a general revolt. It will coincide with a Dutch attack on the Spanish garrison. Meanwhile, the raids on the Visayas are to continue unabated, with Ternate contributing ships and men to the armadas.

There is little question that the Dutch are privy to these counsels. It is reported that they have established direct contact with the Magindanaus. (The report is accurate; we know from other sources[3] that a Dutch agent, Motilief, visited the Great River in 1607.) "Thus," Hurtado concludes, "these islands are today in far greater peril than ever before in their history; for by the occupation of Ternate we have stirred up not only domestic pirates but foreign enemies capable of inflicting greater damage to them, and consequently to the Christian missions and missionaries. Efforts are being made to strengthen our defenses. As many troops as possible are being transferred to the Visayas, where, if they do not suffice to mount an offensive that will stabilize the situation for good, they can at least ward off the blow that we fear is about to descend."

The blow descended the following year. Spanish renegades who had gone over to the Dutch gave them the information which Hurtado was afraid they would find out sooner or later, namely, that the supply base of the Spanish garrison on Ternate was Iloilo, and Iloilo had no defenses to speak of. Admiral François de Wittert, who had served under the luckless Van Noort and so had a score to settle with the Spaniards, detached five warships from the V.O.C.'s East Indies fleet and suddenly appeared before Iloilo in October 1609. Now it was quite true that Iloilo ordinarily had only a token garrison, but this time, as chance would have it, Major Fernando de Ayala was there with three companies of Spanish infantry, awaiting passage for Ternate. It was not therefore quite the picnic that Wittert's landing force expected. Those who eluded Ayala's hot pursuit regained their ships with considerably greater alacrity than they went ashore, and Wittert sailed off to find out whether he would have better luck with his secondary objective. This was to damage and if possible to destroy the port and naval base of Cavite, which was also reported as being sketchily fortified. Again, this was quite true, but unfortunately for

Wittert a new governor had arrived just that April who was a professional soldier and did not believe in wasting any time.

Don Juan de Silva got his first inkling of the presence of the enemy in Philippine waters on 4 November. Realizing that Cavite was his most vulnerable point, he moved instantly to secure it. By the time the Dutch squadron arrived, he had thrown up enough defenses on the Hook to make a landing operation a costly undertaking. Wittert did not even attempt it. After a cautious reconnaissance out of the range of Silva's shore batteries, he sailed out of the bay again. One last alternative was open to him: to take up his station at the narrow entrance to the bay, as Van Noort had done, and deny it to all incoming vessels. Actually, this was what the Spaniards feared most, for the trading junks would soon be coming in from China with the merchandise on which the colony lived. Wittert knew this. He also knew from his reconnaissance that there was nothing in the Cavite anchorage save an old dismantled hulk and no ships under construction in the yards. He was therefore in a much stronger position than Van Noort; the Spaniards had not the means to break his blockade. And, as a crowning piece of good fortune, the V.O.C. sent up an extra warship to replace one that he had lost and bring supplies. His squadron was now up to full strength; five ships, well-provisioned, in complete control of the situation. His luck had turned at last. While his flagship and its companion vessel rode at anchor near Fraile Island just north of the bay entrance, the other three ships of the squadron patrolled the Luzon coast as far as Cape Bolinao, swooping down on the slow-moving junks as they hove into sight and stripping them of their cargo.

Meanwhile, what of Silva? Silva took the simplest and most direct view of the situation. He had by all means to break the blockade. To do so, he must come out and fight. To fight, he needed ships. He had no ships. He would build them. There was a galleon under construction in the island of Marinduque which had somehow escaped Wittert's notice. Silva sent word to complete her hull, give her a jury rig, and run her through the Dutch blockade to Cavite. It was a chance he had to take, but not a hopeless one. The Dutch stood north of the bay entrance and were on the lookout for shipping from the north; if then the Marinduque galleon, coming from the south, moved cautiously and hugged the shore line as closely as possible, she might be able to make it. She did. Silva flung an army of carpenters on her to complete her rigging, and there was his flagship—the *San Juan Bautista*, 600 tons, 26 guns. His second ship was right there in the anchorage, the hulk that Wittert had noticed and despised. He hauled it up the slips and set to work on it, at the same time laying the keels of two 40-oared galleys. From all the surrounding provinces came gangs of laborers to build the ships, seamen to sail them, troops to man them. Cavite became a roaring city overnight, a wild confusion of workmen's

huts, supply sheds, powder magazines, lumber yards, forges; a sleepless city working around the clock, by day under blazing sun and pouring rain, by night in the glare of torches. In the midst of it Silva set up his headquarters and drove everyone mercilessly. Iron for nails and weapons ran out; he sent to Manila and requisitioned all ornamental ironwork—gates, fences, balustrades, lattices. Fire broke out in the workmen's quarters and sped, crackling and roaring, toward the powder magazines. Brave men fled. Silva coolly walked into the nearest magazine, shouldered a powder keg and dumped it on the beach. Shamefaced, those who had panicked returned to save the powder and stamp out the fire.

Several Jesuits came from Manila to help keep order and supply the spiritual needs of this heterogeneous population thrown together helter-skelter and kept working under tremendous pressure by the implacable Silva. As soon as the galleys were ready for launching the convicts who were to man their oars were driven aboard and chained to the benches. Some of the Jesuits went with them, eating and sleeping below decks with these wretches to calm their fears and prepare them for death. Others acted as chaplains to the various companies of troops, along with priests from other religious orders. When the little fleet finally weighed anchor, Fathers Angelo Armano and Melchor de Vera were aboard the flagship, and Father Hernando de San Román and Brother Francisco Nieto aboard the reconditioned *Espíritu Santo*. Silva managed to mount twenty-two guns on this latter vessel, which he placed under the command of his nephew Fernando de Silva. The two galleys, four small gunboats and several auxiliary craft completed the armada. It had a total complement of 2,000 Spanish troops, between soldiers and seamen, and an indeterminate number of Filipino servicemen. Silva had put it together in four months.

On 24 April 1610, between six and seven in the morning, Wittert, still at anchor near Fraile, saw to his vast surprise this miscellaneous collection bearing steadily down upon him. He beat to quarters, took up one anchor, and when the other dragged, hurriedly cut the anchor chain. Then he stood out to sea, signaling as he passed to his two other ships (two were on patrol) to follow. Silva gave them no opportunity to maneuver. He drove the *San Juan Bautista* full tilt at Wittert's flagship while the *Espíritu Santo* engaged his second ship and the two galleys his third. It was to be a single-combat melee in the old style, the only one in which Silva's forces, ground troops almost to a man, could fight Wittert's skilled seamen and gunners on fairly equal terms. There was time only for one ragged broadside before the *San Juan Bautista* closed in and her grappling hooks locked the two ships together. Screaming the ancient war cry of the Crusades, the Spanish tercios swarmed over the side with musket, pike, and cutlass. Luckless Wittert was the first to fall. His men fought with desperate gallantry, but the Spaniards' fierce, pent-up hatred gave them the day

after three hours of carnage. The *Espíritu Santo*, ungainly patchwork though she was, took the second Dutch ship by similar tactics, while a well-aimed shot from one of the galleys ignited the powder magazine of the third ship and blew it off the water. But Silva had not yet had enough. Leaving a guard to bring the captured flagship to port, he set off to hunt the two remaining enemy ships. One he overhauled and captured, but while he was engaged with it, the other one made good its escape, abandoning a Japanese junk which it was leisurely picking apart. At two in the morning of the following day all the church bells of Manila pealed the victory to the surrounding countryside, and sent it swinging from belfry to belfry across the land. The action was called the Battle of Playa Honda, after the stretch of water on which it was fought, and was the first of several which bear that name in the distinguished annals of the Spanish navy in the Philippines.[4] As Armano wrote to a friend in Rome,

> The Lord gave us a glorious victory and a magnificent prize of many thousands of *scudi*, more than 50 pieces of artillery, two fine ships—a third was burned—and over 900 crates of assorted silks and velvets. We also freed ten friendly merchantmen which had been captured by the enemy. As for myself, by the grace of the same Lord I passed unscathed through all the perils to which those surrounded by enemies are ordinarily subject, all the while exhorting and hearing confessions of the Spaniards and natives in our armada.[5]

Silva's inexhaustible energy—it was his greatest virtue, but was to betray him in the end—would not let him rest on his laurels. He must press his advantage home to the Dutch in the Moluccas, for he reasoned that as long as they had a base anywhere in the Far East, they would always have the power to put Manila in the same peril as that from which he had freed it. To a large extent he was right, but he could not take the time to make sufficient preparations for the enterprise. Adding four hastily assembled and reconditioned ships to his original fleet, he set sail at the end of that same year without bothering to determine the enemy's strength and positions. Doubtless he reckoned that the Dutch would not be on the lookout for him so soon. He also assumed, quite naively, that the Moslems of Ternate would join forces with him against the heretic; to this end he brought with him Sultan Said, who of course encouraged him in this belief. His war council strongly advised against such precipitation, and the event proved them right. Silva found the Dutch so firmly established at Amboina that it would have required a much larger expedition to dislodge them, and the warriors of Ternate refused to raise a finger to help the Spaniards unless their sultan was freed. This, however, Silva would not allow; and so he came home again, having gained nothing but two small islands and experience.[6]

Angelo Armano went on this expedition too as Silva's personal chaplain.

He wrote an account of it to his friend Saint Robert Bellarmine, loyally trying to enhance what it had accomplished. According to him, Silva left his second in command in the Moluccas to complete the mopping up of the Dutch, that "locust plague of heretics" which threatened to spread northward to Japan and China and thus inflict irreparable damage to the Christian religion.[7] Silva, however, had come to know better than that. A great deal more than "mopping-up" operations was needed to stay the rising sun of Holland. The Dutch fleet in the Far East, upon which all the operations and the very existence of the V.O.C. depended, must be destroyed utterly, and all the resources both of the Philippines and of Portuguese India must be brought to bear on this one objective. He addressed himself to the task in his customary whirlwind fashion as soon as he stepped ashore at Cavite. "Everything here at present," Valerio de Ledesma writes to Acquaviva in September 1612, "is a succession of war plans and sessions of the general staff; stock-piling of supplies, forging of cannon, construction of ships, and the like. I think that what his Excellency the Governor told me is very likely to happen, namely, that after the ships now expected from New Spain arrive, no more shipping will either go hence or come hither, because we shall all be at war."[8]

But the Dutch were not idle either, and before Silva was quite ready, they struck. On October 1614 a squadron of seven ships and three dispatch boats appeared before Iloilo, and this time caught it unprepared. The Dutch landed unopposed, sacked the town, and burned it. A handful of troops, one-third of the force sent yearly to reinforce the Moluccas garrison, was wiped out. The other two-thirds, which was on its way from Manila, arrived only after the Dutch had done their work and left. The Dutch of course knew better than to proceed to Manila; they were fully informed of the great armada that Silva was assembling there. Instead, they called at the Great River on their way back in order to encourage the Magindanaus to step up their raids on the Visayan islands; doubtless they also supplied them with armament.[9]

The surprise attack on Iloilo was a heavy blow, but Silva refused to be distracted from his main purpose. He continued to strip outlying garrisons of their defenders in order to concentrate his forces in the grand fleet that would defeat the Dutch for good and all. One thing remained to be done, and that was to persuade the viceroy of India to undertake combined operations with a similar fleet. The mission was entrusted to two Jesuits: Juan de Ribera, who was in his second term as rector of the College of Manila, and Pero Gomes, superior of the Ternate mission. They made the voyage separately, Ribera leaving Cavite in November 1614 and arriving at Goa in May of the following year. The viceroy agreed to send four galleons (400 troops, 90 guns) with Francisco da Miranda as commander

and Affonso Vaz Coutinho as admiral. In order to assure unity of action, it was decided that the Portuguese would not operate independently but proceed to Manila and place themselves at Silva's disposal.

While Gomes went ahead to announce this decision, Ribera stayed with the Portuguese fleet, which left Goa on 12 May 1615. On 30 July, 30 leagues from Malacca, the Portuguese flagship encountered two Dutch men-of-war. She was alone, having been separated from the other three vessels by adverse winds. She engaged, nevertheless, and gave such a good account of herself that the two Dutchmen were forced to retire under cover of darkness. The fleet rode into Malacca harbor on 22 August and left almost at once, because it was very late in the season and the favorable southwest monsoon was almost spent. They had barely passed the straits when the wind failed entirely; on 5 September a council of war decided to bring the fleet back to Malacca. They arrived in time to defend the city against a surprise attack by a powerful Dutch-inspired Achinese expedition consisting of 150 sail and 40,000 men. The Achinese, seeing the fleet in the harbor, pulled back and returned to the straits to await their Dutch allies.

The fleet set off in hot pursuit, overtook the Achinese, and a running battle began on 15 November, in the course of which one of the Portuguese galleons caught fire and was lost. On 7 December a squadron of seven Dutch ships sailed into the fray, engaging the remaining three Portuguese galleons in a tremendous gun battle that lasted for three days. At the end of the third day the Portuguese admiral, unable to run and unwilling to yield, ran his ships aground and burned them. The survivors, Ribera among them, were able to make their way to Malacca.[10]

All that year Silva waited for the Portuguese. When they still had not put in an appearance in January 1616, he decided to wait no longer but meet them halfway at Malacca. The fleet that weighed anchor from Cavite and swung slowly past Manila for a last salute was the largest and most formidable that had ever yet been assembled in the bay. Besides an unspecified number of galleys, supply ships, and other auxiliary vessels, there were ten principal ships, as follows: *La Salvadora*, flagship, 2,000 tons, 46 guns; *San Marcos*, 1,700 tons, 32 guns; *San Juan Bautista* and *Espíritu Santo*, 1,300 tons and 22 guns each; *San Miguel* and *San Felipe*, 800 tons and 22 guns each; *Guadalupe* and *Santiago*, 700 tons and 22 guns each; *San Andrés*, 500 tons, 22 guns; *San Lorenzo*, 400 tons, 18 guns. Some of the guns were 30-pounders; all of them were of bronze. The fleet carried 4,500 *arrobas* (114,000 lbs.) of gunpowder, 5,000 arrobas (126,800 lbs.) of ship's biscuit, and 13,000 fanegas of rice for 5,000 men, of whom 2,000 were Spanish troops. The huge flagship alone had a complement of 900 men. Six of the fleet's chaplains were Jesuits; aboard the flagship, Father García Garcés of the Japan mission and an unnamed Japanese

Jesuit, attached to a company of Japanese volunteers; aboard the *San Juan Bautista,* Fathers Pero Gomes and Manoel Ribeiro of the Moluccas mission; and aboard the *San Felipe,* Fathers Miguel Ignacio and Melchor de Vera of the Philippine province.

The fleet entered the Straits of Malacca on 25 February; unfortunately, the Dutch squadron that had worsted Miranda got wind of its approach and fled. On 22 March Silva slipped anchor before Malacca and was given a royal reception. The loss of the Portuguese galleons failed to dishearten him, and he was about to proceed to the Moluccas to deliver his knockout blow when he was seized by a sudden illness which proved fatal. He died on 19 April, and his great enterprise, which might have changed the course of history in Southeast Asia, died with him. His captains voted to return to Manila without striking a blow. On the first day of June they carried ashore at Cavite, to the sound of muffled drums, the still corpse of that restless and intrepid warrior. From the supreme pitch of effort to which he had whipped it, the colony dropped, exhausted; never again would it feel equal to mounting an offensive against the enemy on so grand a scale. From this point on the war would be, as far as the Philippines was concerned, a grim affair of pertinacious defense. But if the Dutch ever imagined that they could wear down that defense by attrition, they failed to take the measure of Spanish pertinacity.[11]

The news of Silva's projected offensive brought momentary dismay to the Dutch in the Moluccas, but their habit of cool calculation did not long desert them. The first step they took to counter it was to prevent the juncture between the Spanish and Portuguese fleets. This they did by sending a squadron to intercept the Portuguese while their allies the Achinese immobilized Malacca. The operation did not go precisely according to plan, but was, nevertheless, successful; the Portuguese fleet was swept off the board. That left only Silva's fleet to reckon with, and as far as can be gathered they meant to reckon with it in this way. With a small diversionary squadron they planned to entice Silva as far south as possible, and with the main body of their fleet, aided by the Magindanaus and the Sulus, strike at Silva's bases, not excluding Manila itself, which they shrewdly guessed had been left practically without defenses. Silva, deprived of his bases, would thus have no option but to surrender, for there was no point in the entire area of operations where so large a fleet could be provisioned at short notice.

Even the timely arrival of reinforcements from Holland—five ships and 1,200 men under Joris van Speilbergen—did not cause them to abandon this plan, but decided them rather to put it into execution without delay. Speilbergen, who had taken the western route from Rotterdam, did not go directly to the Moluccas, for he had orders to call at Manila first and see whether he could ransom the officers captured by the Spaniards in the

Battle of Playa Honda. He entered Manila Bay in late February or early March 1616, just after Silva's fleet had left it. The consternation into which he threw the city may well be imagined; but Speilbergen had of course no way of knowing that the massive walls he scanned through his spyglass were practically destitute of usable artillery and had for their defenders only a raw militia of old men and youths. The Manilans had enough sense to return an arrogant reply to his offer of ransom (the officers had already been executed in any case); and Speilbergen took his departure none the wiser.

When he reached Amboina and was informed of the state of affairs, he must have felt like kicking himself. However, the opportunity was by no means past, and when he learned of the plan to catch Silva off-base by capturing Manila, he endorsed it heartily, offering to lead the expedition himself. Even prescinding from Silva's fleet, he had come to the conclusion that Manila should in any case be the main objective of Dutch efforts in the Far East. As he wrote on this occasion to his principals in Holland, "the best and only means of re-establishing our affairs in the Indies and of making ourselves entirely masters of the Moluccas is in my opinion to dispatch a fleet and armada directly to the Philippines in order to attack the Spaniards there and to overpower all the places and strongholds it may be possible to conquer."[12] Some time in August 1616 he led a powerful squadron northward to do precisely that.

Spanish accounts report ten ships in the squadron, but give the names of only nine: the *Sun of Holland,* Speilbergen's 47-gun flagship, the *New Moon,* 32 guns, the *Old Sun,* the *Old Moon,* the *Berber,* the *Danolays,* the *Red Lion,* the *Fresne,* and the *Donart.* It carried a much smaller complement than a Spanish squadron of similar size, only 1,000 seamen; but almost all of these were trained gunners, and the nine ships mounted 306 guns to the 300 of Silva's ten. Speilbergen called briefly first at Magindanau and then at Jolo. He made the Moro warlords privy to his purpose and succeeded in persuading them to make simultaneous raids on the Visayas. He particularly stressed the necessity of seeking out and destroying any and all shipyards, and the ships which the Spaniards might have under construction in them; he did not intend to make the same mistake that had cost Wittert so dearly. He then proceeded to Iloilo, which was now not simply to be destroyed but to be occupied.

Meanwhile, unknown to Speilbergen, the basic assumption of the Dutch plan had been rendered invalid by the decision of Silva's captains to take the fleet back to Manila. The ships, however, were in extremely poor condition, having been constructed in great haste, and the two most serviceable ones had been dispatched on the regular run to Acapulco. Moreover, a large proportion of the troops had been sent back to their provincial stations; and finally, the Acapulco galleon having failed to

arrive, the treasury was empty. Thus, the approach of the Dutch fleet put the city in a situation which, though not hopeless, was critical. Silva's death had placed the government in the hands of the audiencia and the command of the armed forces in those of the senior oidor, Andrés de Alcaraz. The former appealed to the citizens for a subsidy with which to hire laborers to refit the ships and crews to man them. The latter, realizing that Speilbergen's first objective would be Iloilo, sent thither 70 Spanish infantry, all he could spare at the moment, under Captain Diego de Quiñones.

Quiñones had something of the boundless energy and resolution of Silva. As soon as he arrived on 17 September he put his little force and all the local manpower he could lay hands on to hauling logs to the beach, digging trenches, and building breastworks. When, therefore, Speilbergen appeared before the city eleven days later, he saw that he would have to fight for it. He approached his task methodically. On 29 September the ships of the squadron swung smartly into line and subjected Quiñones' fortifications to a continuous heavy bombardment that lasted all day. That night orders were issued to prepare for a landing. At dawn on 30 September 500 men, one-half of the total Dutch force, hit the beach. They advanced on the double toward the breastworks, swarmed over them, and fell on the defenders. A bloody struggle ensued in which the Spaniards and their Visayan recruits fought with such bitter ferocity that the invaders, although they had already gained some of the trenches, were compelled to disengage. They fell back in good order, dragging some of their dead with them in order to give them burial on the beach. The defenders later counted 49 graves. At the end of the day's action Speilbergen, having come to the conclusion that Iloilo would cost more than he bargained for, recalled the landing force to the ships, and abandoned the attempt.

He sailed north to a temporary station off Marinduque, where he had agreed to rendezvous with the raiding fleet of the Sulus. They came to report the exploits mentioned in the preceding chapter: the destruction of the Pantao shipyard and the daring commando raid on Cavite in which they took several Spanish prisoners. It was doubtless from these prisoners that Speilbergen learned of the return of the Spanish fleet to its base. This explains why he refrained from entering Manila Bay, where he might be trapped, and took up his station instead at Playa Honda, where he could blockade the port and at the same time have plenty of room to maneuver in case the Spaniards came out to him.

Meanwhile, both at Cavite and Manila, desperate measures were being taken to repair the ships before Speilbergen found out that in their present condition he could almost have gone in and blasted them like sitting ducks. Once again recruiting officers scoured the Tagalog and Pampango towns

for labor gangs and troop levies. The Manilans responded to the audiencia's appeal for gold with the same alacrity as they had responded to Silva's appeal for iron. Coined money, jewelry, gold, and silver plate poured into the colony's war chest from rich and poor alike and from the religious communities. Two strokes of good fortune heartened the defenders. The galleons that had left for Mexico were forced by bad weather to turn back. Warned away from Manila and the Dutch blockade by sentinels posted at San Bernardino Strait, one threaded its way to Cebu, the other found safety in the bay of Batangas. The pilots, sailors, and troops of both galleons were immediately dispatched to Cavite, where they were welcomed with open arms. The second piece of luck was the escape of the incoming silver ship from the clutches of the Dutch. Speilbergen was aware that the Acapulco galleon was due to arrive, laden with a sizable treasure in silver pesos representing the returns from the previous year's shipments and the annual government subsidy. He detached a man-of-war to intercept it, but was a little too late. The vigilant San Bernardino lookouts waved the galleon away, and she raced for one of the Tayabas ports, possibly Mauban, just as the Dutchman got on her track. There was just time to unload the treasure, cart it away to safety, and set the galleon on fire to prevent it from falling into the enemy's hands.

On 8 April 1617 the Philippine fleet sallied forth to try conclusions with the Dutch. It consisted of seven galleons, three galleys, and one dispatch boat, mounted 223 guns, and carried 1,408 Spanish and 889 Filipino troops under the command of Juan Ronquillo. The line of battle was as follows:

La Salvadora, flagship, 1,900 tons, 46 guns, 331 Spaniards, 375 Filipinos, Commander Juan Ronquillo.

San Marcos, 1,100 tons, 38 guns, 209 Spaniards, 107 Filipinos, Captain Juan de la Vega.

San Juan Bautista, 1,000 tons, 30 guns, 229 Spaniards, 77 Filipinos, Captain Pedro de Heredia.

San Miguel, 900 tons, 31 guns, 290 men, Captain Rodrigo de Guillés-tigui.

San Felipe, 700 tons, 29 guns, 205 Spaniards, 100 Filipinos, Captain Sebastián de Madrid.

Guadalupe, 700 tons, 24 guns, 153 Spaniards, 70 Filipinos, Captain Juan Bautista de Molina.

San Lorenzo, 400 tons, 22 guns, 117 Spaniards, 48 Filipinos, Captain Juan de Azevedo.

Contact was made with the enemy at Playa Honda on 13 April. The Dutch slipped their anchors upon sighting the Spanish fleet and the day was spent with both fleets under canvas, maneuvering for position.

Nightfall brought to both commanders the ticklish problem of keeping contact with their respective ships. Ronquillo managed very well to keep his fleet together for the better part of the night, but toward dawn his flagship drifted away from the rest. Speilbergen, as soon as it was light, perceived his opportunity and pounced on it, sending six of his ships to sink the *Salvadora* by gunfire. The cumbersome galleon, unable to maneuver, stood her ground like a bear at bay and traded salvo for salvo with the circling Dutchmen. Her stout sides of *molave*, the Philippine iron wood, stood her in good stead that day, and Speilbergen was amazed to find that he had seriously underestimated Spanish gunnery. All morning long the cannonade thundered and echoed on the Bataan hills, the Dutch ships passing and repassing the battered galleon and raking her as they passed; but the answering roar of Ronquillo's guns did not falter or diminish. The sun passed its zenith, but still *La Salvadora* stood her ground, unsunk and seemingly unsinkable, and still the warily circling Dutch refused to close in and grapple. For Speilbergen knew that the Spaniards would have liked nothing better; that was their style of fighting, the smiting and slashing toe to toe on the bloody deck, in that they had no equal; and their enemies in every ocean had learned that when fighting a Spanish ship it was best to keep your distance.

At four o'clock in the afternoon the other Spanish ships were able to beat back at last to their flagship. Each took on a Dutchman, but only two hours of daylight remained, and nothing conclusive was done. At sundown the two fleets disengaged, and that night Speilbergen called his captains to a council of war. After some debate, he decided against their advice to resume the battle the next morning. Through the night, Ronquillo kept in contact with the enemy, edging his ships as close to him as possible, for he knew that it would be disastrous to allow Speilbergen to pull away and fight an artillery battle. His plan, therefore, was to grapple as soon as possible and let cutlass instead of cannon decide the day.

The weather held, a mild following wind and quiet water; at first light Ronquillo ran up the signal to board, and, as "Santiago!" roared from a thousand throats, each ship bounded forward under crowded sail to close with her chosen antagonist. With a flash of grappling hooks *La Salvadora* clasped the *Sun of Holland* to her in an iron embrace. When, hours later, she finally relaxed her grip, the great Dutch flagship, deck strewn with the bodies of her massacred crew, keeled over with a great splash of masts and rigging. The last the victorious Spaniards saw of her was the great golden sun painted on her poop being swallowed up by the swirling waters. Of the eight other Dutch ships, two were sunk, three were captured, one caught fire, and two escaped. One of the two survivors, in fact, fought free of the *San Marcos* and punished her so effectively that she began to run. The Dutchman set off in pursuit. The captain of the *San Marcos*, Juan de la

Vega, panicked, ran his vessel aground at Masinglo and burned it. The Dutchman stopped to watch her go up in flames, and one of the crew who knew Spanish called out to the men ashore: "*Traydores infames, no os fuera de más credito perder esse Navío peleando, que no averle perdido tan afrentosamente?*" With this they left; and so ended the second Battle of Playa Honda.[13]

Notwithstanding this severe drubbing, the Dutch reasoned that if they continued to blockade Manila at the time when the junk fleets made their annual voyage, they could eventually discourage the Chinese from coming and thus disrupt the trade on which the colony relied for its support. Moreover, the Spaniards would be forced to maintain a fleet in continual readiness to fight off the blockading squadron, and this might well prove to be an intolerable strain on their marginal resources. In October of 1618 the Dutch were back at the entrance of Manila Bay with five warships. Once again the colony was placed under the hard necessity of building ships to send against them, for the seven victorious galleons of Playa Honda, every one of them, had been lost in a storm while on their way for repairs to the Marinduque shipyards. After a month of effective blockade, the Dutch commander, who seems to have had a wry sense of humor, permitted a Japanese junk to pass through on condition that it take a message from him to the Spanish governor, Alonso Fajardo de Tenza. The message was to the effect that the Spaniards should take all the time they wished to build their ships, for he intended to be there for an indefinite period; if, however, they were anxious to come out and fight as soon as possible, he and his men would with the greatest pleasure come and help build the ships.

What Governor Fajardo replied to this message is not recorded, but on the first day of May 1619 he was finally able to take to sea with three galleons and four galleys. The Dutch, however, having largely accomplished their objective, refused battle and sailed away to the north. What Fajardo said on *this* occasion is also not recorded, and it is probably just as well. Somewhere on the Ilocos coast one of the Dutch ships sent a party of twenty men ashore to forage. In a village from which the inhabitants had fled they found a large quantity of palm brandy on which they got very drunk. They managed to stagger to their boat notwithstanding and row back to their ship; all except one, whom the Ilocanos found the next morning sleeping off his carouse on the beach. They watched from a safe distance as the bibulous stranger groaned, sat up, looked about him, and realized that he was all alone. "Seeing that his ships were already under sail," says the Annual Letter of 1619, "he threw himself into the water after it—and well for him he did, to dilute the great quantity of liquor he had poured into his belly. But since his ships were already a long way off, he was forced to swim back to land to save himself from drowning." The Ilocanos took him prisoner and brought him to Manila.[14]

Whether they knew it or not, the Dutch were succeeding very well in what they hoped to do. The cost of building Fajardo's squadron, coming right on top of the enormous expenditure it took to win at Playa Honda, stretched the finances of the colony almost to the breaking point. Worse still, by far the heaviest part of the burden had of necessity to be imposed on the native population in the form of unpaid labor, compulsory military service, and the requisitioning of supplies on credit, with the result that in certain areas a deep disaffection was developing which might at any time explode into open revolt. When in 1617 Francisco de Otazo went to Europe as procurator of the Philippine Jesuits, the colonial government took the opportunity of requesting him to act as its agent in Madrid, and to represent to king and council the urgent necessity of sending financial and military aid to the Philippines if they wished to keep it under Spanish sovereignty. In his memorial to the throne (1619) Otazo stressed the disquieting fact that Dutch diplomacy was gradually enclosing the Portuguese and Spanish establishments in the Far East in a vast network of hostile alliances stretching from the Achinese kingdom of northern Sumatra to the Magindanaus. Playa Honda was indeed a great blow to their naval power, but it did not render them incapable in the near future of bringing the Philippines to "the last extremity."[15] According to Valerio de Ledesma, that extremity had in fact been reached. On 30 July of that same year, he concluded a letter to the king in the following words: "In short, my Lord, the governor lacks neither diligence nor determination in squeezing the last ounce of effort from these islands; but they are now so exhausted, having given all they could and even more than they could, that only blood remains to be squeezed out of them. So that if your Majesty does not dispatch a great armada from Spain, it is much to be feared that this realm will succumb to the hostile Hollander."[16]

But the time was past when Spain could afford to send out armadas. In fact, the Cortes of 1621 proposed that since the Philippines had apparently become untenable, it should be given up altogether.[17] This, however, the government was not prepared to do. The Philippines was retained, but left pretty much to defend itself. In 1620 the Dutch adopted a new tactic. Instead of blockading Manila as usual, three ships went to San Bernandino Strait to waylay the galleons coming in from Acapulco. Two galleons were making the voyage this year under the command of Don Fernando de Ayala. The flagship sighted the Dutch toward nightfall, but believing them to be friendly vessels, kept her course. When the Dutch ran up their colors, Ayala with great presence of mind unlimbered the one heavy gun which the galleon carried and with a lucky shot disabled one of the attacking ships. While the other two maneuvered for position, night fell and a squall arose. Under cover of darkness Ayala gave them the slip and racing southward before the wind made port at Borongan, on the eastern coast of

Samar, where he succeeded in landing his precious cargo. The other galleon also escaped capture by running aground near Palapag, on the north coast of the same island. Passengers and crew were taken care of by the Jesuit missionaries and their communities.[18]

For some years back the English had been trying to get a piece of the spice trade. The Dutch regarded their efforts with a singular lack of enthusiasm. In fact, at about the time that Ayala was extricating himself from the trap which the Dutch had laid for him, the ships of the two East India companies were about to come to blows near Morotai. Hostilities were prevented by the arrival of two dispatch boats, one from England and one from Holland, announcing that a *modus vivendi* had been reached. Instead of fighting each other, they would combine to prey on the Spaniards and Portuguese, sharing the booty amicably between them. Manila was accordingly blockaded in 1621 by a combined Anglo-Dutch squadron of nine vessels under an English commander. The blockade began in early February and lasted well into the following year. A number of Chinese junks were captured easily enough, but one showed unexpected fight. The crew defended themselves by the highly original method of boiling sugar in cauldrons and throwing it at the enemy; "whereby," the Jesuit newsletter of this year informs us, "they sent fourteen Dutchmen to hell in the form of candy." But molten sugar proved to be no match against standard weapons; the junk was taken and the furious Dutchmen avenged their sugar-coated companions by massacring the Chinese aboard—all 220 of them.

In spite of these ferocious methods the blockade was not very successful. Chinese ingenuity soon found a way of beating it. The junks took to covering their hulls and masts with boughs and palm fronds and creeping close inshore, where they melted against the lush green vegetation of the coastline. Even three Portuguese galliots, bringing rich merchandise from Macao, successfully ran the blockade in this fashion. Thus the Manilans did not find it necessary to send out a fleet, as in former years, and some time in the middle of 1622 the Anglo-Dutch squadron sailed away in disgust.[19]

In 1625 the Spaniards did go out to break the blockade of that year. Five galleons and two galleys under Jerónimo de Silva slipped out of Cavite on 4 February and engaged the seven ships of the Dutch squadron at Playa Honda. The action that followed is obscure. According to Silva, the Dutch got the worst of it and fled, but his orders to pursue were disregarded, so they escaped. His captains, on the other hand, accused him of "esteeming life more than honor," for when a cannonball killed a seaman beside him on the bridge, he turned coward, withdrew the flagship from the battle, and thus allowed the enemy to retire. The audiencia took the latter view and sent Silva to prison, in spite of the fact that he had at least achieved the objective of lifting the blockade.[20]

By this time, however, the Dutch had thought of a better way of disrupting Manila's trade with South China. This was to establish a fortified naval station on the island of Formosa, and from there intercept the junk fleets in open water, where they could not play the tricks which had proved so successful against the Manila blockade. The Spaniards were compelled to counter the move by sending an expedition to establish a similar base on the island. The commander of the expedition, Francisco Carreño Valdés, found a suitable location at the mouth of the Tanshui River in northern Formosa, a short distance from the present city of Taipei. There, in 1625, he built a fort and commenced operations against the Dutch. He made little headway, however, because Manila was hard put to it even to maintain the garrison there at all. By 1628, the Spaniards in the Philippines were fighting on four widely separated fronts at once: on Formosa with the Dutch and the natives, in the Moluccas with the Dutch, in Visayan waters with the Moro raiders and in northern Luzon with the people of Cagayan, who had once again revolted. And as if this was not enough, men, ships, and artillery had to be sent to Macao at the urgent request of the Portuguese, to help defend that city from the ubiquitious Hollanders.[21]

Then, all of a sudden, the V.O.C. called off its ships. The canny merchants on its board of directors had apparently come to the conclusion that the offensive paid too little and cost too much. Far greater profits could be had by exploiting the agricultural riches of Java, where Batavia had been founded in 1619. Thus, Spanish tenacity won out at last, and not a moment too soon. The British doubtless richly deserve their reputation of being a bulldog breed, but the little known conflict here chronicled proves that the Spaniards may with some justice lay claim to a similar title. Not until the 1640's did the Dutch return to the attack.

What effect did the struggle have on the internal development and administration of the Philippines? The first and most obvious effect was, of course, the continuous and exorbitant demands which it made on the manpower and resources of the little colony. For this reason there were not lacking those who thought that Governor Acuña's conquest of Ternate, and Governor Silva's attempt to extend that conquest, should never have been attempted. Gregorio López was of this opinion. On 14 June 1612,[22] he wrote as follows to Acquaviva:

> These Philippine Islands are being impoverished and the cost of living therein increased by the conquest of the Moluccas and the subsidies of men, munitions, and supplies sent thither annually. The enormous amount of goods taken out of this realm to be consumed in the Moluccas represents a severe drain on its resources. True, we have a number of garrisons there, but the Dutch, because they have closer and more continuous contacts and more numerous establishments and troops, bear away by far the greater share of the spices. Moreover, their

merchantmen and warships assure them of so great a mastery at sea, and permit them to plunder and disrupt all other shipping to such an extent, that since we could not put forth the tremendous effort required to expel them altogether from this area, nor on the other hand negotiate a just and lasting peace with them, it would have been far better for this colony to have had nothing whatever to do with the Moluccas, and thus to have saved ourselves all that has been and is being spent to win and defend the few places that we there maintain with little profit and great risk.

Another consequence of the conflict was that military strength was dissipated in the Moluccas which might have been used to put an end permanently to the depredations of the Moros. López goes on to make this point in the same letter:

The effort to annex and subdue the Moluccas has turned us away from the work of subduing and pacifying the island of Mindanao, in spite of its being close to our Visayan islands and notwithstanding the fact that its inhabitants go forth yearly to plunder and enslave the Visayans. This is a very great obstacle to their conversion and the proper development of our missions, for all these rumors of wars and raids make it impossible to bring more people together in the towns or keep them there permanently. Our settlements, scattered throughout the islands, are numerous; the naval forces assigned to their defense are few. Hence the enemy, who travels light, raids and rounds up captives where he wills, while our patrols either get to the scene too late or are unable to overtake him as he flies home with his prey. Both our people and our reputation suffer as a consequence, and the natives friendly to us are afflicted and harassed on this account over and above the vexations they suffer from the Spaniards themselves.

A third effect was the tremendous increase in the burdens laid by the government on the native population. Large numbers of able-bodied men were frequently withdrawn for long periods from their families and ordinary occupations, organized into labor corps under the supervision of overseers, and sent to fell logs in the forests, haul them to the shipyards, and work in the construction of the ships themselves. This labor draft fell most heavily on the Pampango and Tagalog provinces of central Luzon, because of the shipyards located at Cavite; however, similar drafts were imposed on the Bicol region to supply the Pantao and Bagatao shipyards and on Leyte and Samar to supply that of Panamao.

The laborers thus drafted were paid their wages by the government, but due to the chronic embarrassment of the fisc, these wages were small and almost always in arrears. Alonso Sánchez informed the king that in the 1580's the base pay of a shipyard worker was fixed at 4 rials (50 cents) a month, and that this was generally regarded at the time as far below the just minimum.[23] Archbishop Vásquez Mercado, writing in 1614, adds the important detail that the wage did not begin to be paid until the laborer arrived at the shipyard, and ceased the moment he was dismissed.

Nothing therefore was given him for the journey to the shipyard or back to his town, although he might be recruited from as far as 80 leagues (180 miles) away. For this reason many arrived at the shipyard already ill from hunger and the hardships of the journey.[24] By 1619 the base pay had been raised to eight rials (one peso) per month and a daily ration of one-half *celemín* (about two-fifths of a bushel) of rice. Skilled workers received as much as twelve rials, while master carpenters were paid three or four pesos a month and double rations. It was a commonly accepted fact, however, that at least 40 rials a month was required by the average laborer to keep body and soul together. Hence it became the practice for the towns and villages where the labor gangs were recruited to contribute what was required to raise the government wage to the minimum requirement. Sometimes, not always, the government recognized these contributions as loans made to the state.[25]

Hernando de los Ríos Coronel, a secular priest who served as agent for the city of Manila at Madrid, states that it took 6,000 laborers three months to haul the masts of one of Governor Silva's galleons from the mountains of Laguna to the Lake of Bai, whence they were transported by water to Cavite. They were paid forty rials a month by their own villages, and had to purchase their own rations out of that sum. We may reasonably suppose that due to the concentration of so many people in one locality, food became very scarce and prices rose accordingly, for Ríos Coronel adds that many died, others fled to the hills, and still others killed themselves to escape further suffering.[26]

In 1619 Captain Sebastián de Pineda reported that whenever a fleet was being readied to go out against the Dutch, the Cavite shipyard employed, on the average, 1,400 workmen. He gives no figures for the other shipyards, but they could not have been much less, for he notes that when the Sulus raided the Pantao shipyard in 1617, they killed more than 200 workmen and carried off to captivity more than 400. This lack of security, added to the fact that their wages were already five years in arrears, made it extremely difficult to retain them even by force. Whenever they saw the chance, they fled, so that by the time the galleons left for Acapulco in 1618, there were not 200 workmen left in the Cavite shipyard. It should be pointed out that the reason why they failed to get their wages was not always because the government failed to release the funds; sometimes the funds released were pocketed by dishonest overseers, as we learn from a letter of Archbishop García Serrano to the king in 1622.[27]

In addition to paying the wages, in whole or in part, of the laborers recruited from their own population, the native towns and villages were subjected to other extraordinary levies as a result of the annexation of the Moluccas and the Dutch war. One of these levies was the *bandala*, that is, the requisitioning of foodstuffs by the government at the government

price, which was always much lower than the market price. In 1629, for instance, 50,000 fanegas (125,000 bushels) of rice were requisitioned to feed the shipyard workers at Cavite at the rate of one peso per fanega. This worked so much hardship on the people that Governor Tabora proposed to the king that the government be permitted to grow its own rice by leasing public land to Chinese farmers; we shall see later how Governor Corcuera took up this suggestion, and with what result.[28] Other commodities besides rice were requisitioned to provision the fleets and the garrisons in the Moluccas. Sometimes a town would be required to fill a requisition for a product not locally produced; the townspeople then had to go elsewhere and purchase the article demanded, often at prices much higher than the government paid them for it. Moreover, they had to pay cash, whereas the government bought on credit.

This is brought out in a report submitted in 1617 to the government, apparently at the government's own request, by the Jesuit provincial, Valerio de Ledesma.[29] Ledesma certified that for requisitions made during the period 1610–1617, the government owed the Tagalog towns spiritually administered by the Society, namely, Antipolo, Santiago, Taytay, San Miguel, Silang, and Indang, the sum of 8,083 pesos. To this must be added 6,643 pesos, which was what the same towns spent to pay the wages of laborers drafted by the government, and to purchase requisitioned articles which they did not themselves produce. Ledesma explains why the towns had to pay these wages in addition to the wages fixed by the government; the reason is "because no one can be found to come and work for the wages which the royal treasury has fixed for native labor. Hence the native to whom your Majesty pays one peso per month is usually paid four pesos in addition by the town from which he comes, in order that he might be able to maintain himself and his family during his period of service."

Reports of this nature could not but cause concern to the central government; concern which found expression in a series of royal cédulas ordering that military and naval expeditions be provided for without imposing undue hardship on the native population. In one of these, Philip III stated that, according to information supplied by the agent of the colony (Ríos Coronel), natives were compelled to serve in the shipyards and lumber camps precisely at the time when they had to plant or harvest their crops; that their wages were often left unpaid because there was no money in the treasury; and that even when there was money, the *cabezas de barangay* (village headmen) to whom the payroll was entrusted kept it for themselves instead of paying their men. In view of this he ordered that statute labor be limited to the months when the people were not busy on their farms, and that the laborers be paid promptly and directly, not through the headmen.[30] This was in 1608; ten years later Governor Fajardo reported pretty much the same abuses as those enumerated by Ríos Coronel, and

Philip III in reply ordered him to find out whether the necessary ships could henceforth be built outside the Philippines; for instance, in Indochina.[31] This suggestion was actually carried out in 1629 when Governor Tabora commissioned a galleon in Cambodia.[32] But such commissions were rare, and the danger of the finished vessel being wrecked or captured on its way to the Philippines was so great that most of the galleons continued to be constructed by Filipino labor, with all the attendant circumstances of unpaid wages, peculation, and requisitioned supplies.

What effect did the war have on the colonists themselves? The recurrent blockade of Manila Bay undoubtedly caused some damage to the trade which was their principal source of income. If we are to believe the numerous appeals to the king for "a great armada" to save the colony from "total extinction" by the Dutch, some of which we mentioned earlier, this damage was well nigh irreparable. The cathedral chapter of Manila, for instance, writing on behalf of the city in 1622, claimed that "we are at present so impoverished, so oppressed, so afflicted, so miserable, that we may well despair of our being able to maintain ourselves, did we not derive encouragement and support from the certain hope that the powerful arm of your Majesty will assist us by means of the armada which we look for every day from Spain."[33] The armada never came, but the colony somehow held together. Not only that, but there are indications that while the colonial treasury was almost continually empty, while valiant men, both Spaniard and Filipino, were dying at Playa Honda and Formosa to keep the sea lanes open, while successive labor drafts and requisitions were causing widespread suffering in provincial towns and villages, private fortunes in Manila were prospering as never before.

From a petition of the attorney-general, Rodrigo Díaz Guiral, we learn that in 1606 there were 24 cattle ranches in the environs of Manila owned by its citizens. Some of them had as many as 4,000 head. The cattle, left to roam the countryside at will, did great damage to the adjoining farms; for this reason Guiral petitioned that the ranch owners be compelled to fence in their property, and that the local farmers be permitted to capture or kill any cattle which they found on their lands.[34] Another indication of the continued prosperity of Manila during this period is the volume of the galleon trade. In 1593 the central government fixed the maximum purchase value of the annual cargo consigned to Acapulco at 250,000 pesos, and the maximum sale value in New Spain at not more than twice that amount. Now it is evident from contemporary sources that throughout the seventeenth century, even during the period of Dutch attacks, the actual goods shipped and returns received far exceeded the legal maximum.[35] But our most explicit piece of evidence is a passage from the Annual Letter of 1627, in which the anonymous Jesuit chronicler makes the following reflections:

Although we frequently complain that the economy of this commonwealth and realm is on the decline, either because there is some truth in the assertion, or because we tend to look upon the past as always better than the present, nevertheless it is quite certain that from the time the Philippines was conquered it has never been as prosperous and opulent as it is today. Consider how to the buildings of this city are continually being added splendid churches and imposing and costly residences of stone, not only within the walls but outside them, where the country villas which have been built, principally along the banks of its deep-flowing river, are almost without number. The land which for many leagues around Manila used to produce nothing and could almost be bought for a song because it was used only to pasture cattle has been turned into intensely cultivated farms yielding handsome revenues to their owners. It is so valuable that people enter into litigation for a span of it as though it were a field of the richest Spanish loam . . . The churches are hung with silks and selected fabrics, and in almost all of them the altars have beautiful and costly frontals of silver. As for the table service in the houses of the rich, not only is it of silver, but some of the pieces are now being made of gold. Even gold stirrups are coming into fashion, although gold has been better employed in fashioning chalices, of which there are now in certain churches some of that metal . . . The servants and slaves who compose the domestic staff of many households are not inferior in number to those of baronial establishments. Some of them are said to include over a hundred male and female slaves, and it is common knowledge that there are as many as twenty thousand natives and slaves in domestic service in Manila. This is over and above the Chinese, who practice every kind of trade, and the Japanese too do not lack employment . . .

It is true that Manila has suffered great loss because of the diminution of the heavy trade with China, which used to be much greater in volume than today. This diminution has been caused not only by the Dutch privateers who infest these waters, but by the Chinese themselves who sally forth from those coasts to plunder the merchants of their own nation on their voyage hither. The consequence is that commodities which used to be dirt cheap have risen in value; clothing, for instance, for there is less cloth on the market, and food, because of the reduced number of farm laborers coming in from China . . .

There is no doubt that the natives have had their full share of the trials which the wars, succeeding one another almost without interruption, have brought with them, and that many of them are poor; but they are much better off today than they have ever been . . . Their dress is very similar to that of the Spaniards (whom the Filipinos, like natives everywhere else in the New World, strive to imitate in this as well as in other things); that is to say, many of them wear silk with collars and chains of gold; which means that they are not as needy as they are commonly thought to be, especially those who live in the vicinity of Manila . . .[36]

It is clear from this that the burdens of the war with the Dutch and the Moros did not fall equally on all sections of the population of the Philippines. Some, Filipinos as well as Spaniards, suffered less than others, and may even be said to have prospered in spite of the tremendous strain

imposed on the economy of the colony as a whole. In fairness to these more fortunate individuals and families it should be said that they did not fail to make the sacrifices demanded of them at certain moments of crisis; for instance, in the unexpected attack of 1616. Moreover, it was such accumulations of wealth that made possible the pious gifts, foundations, and bequests which in large measure financed the missionary work of the church and its educational and social-service institutions.

As an example of the latter, we may mention the hospitals which were in existence in Manila during this period. Inside the walled city was the hospital for Spaniards, which ordinarily took care of from 70 to 100 patients, mostly army and navy personnel. It had an administrator appointed by the governor of the colony and a staff composed of a physician, a surgeon, a druggist, a barber, and other salaried officials. It should be noted that in the seventeenth century barbers not only acted in a tonsorial capacity but performed minor surgical operations. Franciscan friars acted as chaplains and nurses. As a royal foundation, the hospital was supposed to be supported by the government, but shortage of public funds made it largely dependent on private benefaction. Also inside the walls was the hospital of the Misericordia, which took care of the Filipino servants and imported Negro and Indian salves of the colonists. It had separate men and women's wards, and registered between 80 and 100 patients. Attached to the main wards was a charity ward with a 20-bed capacity for poor Spanish women. The institution was supported by the Misericordia and administered by the Franciscans. Outside the walled city were two other hospitals, one for Filipinos and another for Chinese. The Filipino hospital stood east of the city, about fifty paces from the wall. Average occupancy ranged between 100 and 150 patients. Admission was free. Support was assured partly by government subsidy and partly by an endowment built up from private benefactions. Franciscans administered the institution. The Chinese hospital of San Gabriel was located on the north bank of the river in the suburb of Binondo. It was administered by the Dominicans and was open to all Chinese irrespective of religion. A fifth hospital was conducted by the Franciscans in the town of Los Baños, so called because of the hot springs there whose medicinal value was known to the Tagalogs even before the coming of the Spaniards. It was (and is) located on the south shore of the Lake of Bai.[37]

The Confraternity of the Misericordia now had a membership of 200 and constantly increasing funds for its numerous charitable works. The members took turns soliciting alms twice a week, after the example of their founder. Many citizens left legacies to the confraternity in their wills. In 1621, the annual income from its investments was 3,600 pesos, but a large proportion of the alms collected was spent immediately instead of being invested, for the annual expenditure amounted to 12,000 pesos. To its

original charities, such as the maintenance of the College of Santa Potenciana and the hospital for domestics and the support of *pobres vergonzantes*, the confraternity added some new ones, such as the feeding of prisoners awaiting trial and grants-in-aid to poor scholars in the two colleges of Santo Tomás and San José.[38] But perhaps its most dramatic activity, and that which fixed it in the popular imagination, was the burial of those who died penniless, of corpses abandoned in the streets, and of those executed for heinous crimes, whose bodies were exposed to public view for a specified period. On such occasions the brethren of the Misericordia would appear, dressed in their long robes and with hooded faces, to give Christian burial to the dead. It was thus, one early morning in May 1621, that they bore off the bodies of Doña Catalina, the governor's lady, and Juan de Mesa, her paramour, whom Governor Fajardo slew the previous night with his own hand after surprising them at an assignation.[39]

In short, although almost every year during the first half of the seventeenth century was "ushered in with the sound of martial trumpets," as Colín says of the year 1611, this did not prevent the Philippines from making steady progress in various fields of constructive endeavor. By 1610, the civil administration of the colony had assumed the form which it would retain, with only a few minor modifications, until the middle of the nineteenth century: the central government with its governor, audiencia, and treasury officials, the chartered cities with their cabildos, the settled provinces with their alcaldes mayores, the frontier provinces with their corregidores, and the encomiendas everywhere. Following the suggestion of the Synod of Manila, a measure of self-government was granted to the native towns and villages under the supervision of the parish priest or missionary. Heads of households met annually to elect the town's petty governor and constables. Datus were maintained in their privileged position as *cabezas de barangay* or village headmen, and while they had the onerous responsibility of seeing to the collection of the tribute, they were also given such privileges as exemption from statute labor. In general it may be said that while Spanish written law was introduced and constantly extended in scope, native customary law was recognized and respected, especially as regards property, inheritance, and slavery.[40]

Preoccupation with Jesuit affairs should not blind one to the fact that the Jesuits were responsible for a relatively modest share of the vast enterprise at which priests and brothers of other religious orders, and the secular clergy, labored with at least equal zeal and success. Given the limited scope of this narrative, I can only refer to this vaster canvas occasionally, whenever it has particular relevance to the work of the Society of Jesus; but it might not be amiss to quote here Archbishop García Serrano's description of the system of ecclesiastical administration which had been developed in the Philippines by 1622:

In the benefices of secular priests and the convents and residences of the religious, spiritual administration and religious instruction are carried on in the following manner. Some have only one town; others (and they are the majority) have, besides the capital or principal town, two, three, four, five small towns, and in some cases more. From all of these the people come for services to the church of the principal town, if they are close at hand and within easy reach, and this is true of most of them, for they are not far away and water transport is easy by river and lake. But when the distance is great, there are in the said towns or in some of them chapels, in which two or more priests from the principal town celebrate Mass for them on feast days and other occasions, teach catechism and administer the sacraments. If there is only one priest, as happens in the secular parishes and in some of those administered by the religious, the priest says one Mass in his principal town and another in another town or *visita* of his territory, so that all or most of the people are able to attend in this way. In certain sections where the distance between towns is greater still, the priest stays for two or three months in one town of his territory, two or three in another, and thus makes a circuit of his benefice . . .

It cannot be denied that the people would be better instructed and lead more civilized lives if these little towns were merged with the center, in such wise that each parish could consist of one or two large communities. But they take it so ill to leave the little dwellings where they were born and near which they have their farms and other sources of livelihood that it would be difficult to achieve and little would be gained by it. Experience has taught us this in the "congregations" of New Spain and in a few similar projects which were attempted here.[41]

Thus it would seem that the Jesuits of Leyte, Samar, and Bohol were not alone in their protracted struggle to persuade the reluctant Visayans of the advantages of town life. Whenever one walks across the plaza of a Philippine town (named, as often as not, after a Dominican or Franciscan or Augustinian saint), with the shadow of a venerable church tower lying across it, it would be well to reflect on the patience, the toil, and the vision that went into its making. And, above all, the endurance; precisely the same kind of endurance that sent bubbling to the bottom of Playa Honda—if only for a time—the Sun of Holland.

Chapter Fifteen

FAIR, WITH OCCASIONAL SHOWERS

Unlike the stormy chronicle of the Visayan missions during this period, that of the Jesuit establishments in Manila and the Tagalog region is one of relatively undisturbed and fairly steady progress, and may be described in the familiar terms of the weather report which heads this chapter.

When Pedro de Montes succeeded Gregorio López as rector of the College of Manila, his first care was to lay the foundations of the College library by ordering from Spain a set of commentaries on canon law and a collection of printed editions of the Fathers of the Church. These books, added to those donated by the good Bishop Salazar, became with successive accretions one of the finest libraries of its kind in the Philippines; until it was dispersed beyond all possibility of reconstruction when the Society of Jesus was expelled from Spain and her colonies by that enlightened monarch, Charles III.

In 1607 Montes began a new cycle of the arts course and added a third chair of theology to the two already in existence, namely, the professorship of dogmatic and the professorship of moral theology. The new professor divided the matter of scholastic theology with the original dogma professor, holding classes in the afternoon while his senior taught in the morning. Following the medieval nomenclature derived from the canonical hours, the morning course was called the chair of prime, the evening course the chair of vespers. This brought the theological studies in the College of Manila into conformity with the Jesuit educational code of 1599, which prescribed that theology should be taught in a four-year cycle by at least three professors, two of dogma and one of moral. That same year Acquaviva, replying to a query by Miguel Gómez, one of the professors, directed that all candidates for degrees should undergo comprehensive examinations in exactly the same way as their European counterparts. In view of this he reminded the provincial (at that time Gregorio López) to make sure that the Jesuit scholastics were given enough time to prepare for these examinations, and not employed in extraneous work, such as the writing and copying of reports and annual letters. The following year Acquaviva sent another reminder that the prescriptions of the *Ratio Studiorum* should be followed in all respects. However, he left one point to the discretion of the provincial. He had been informed that in the Philippines an unusually large number of holidays, both official and ecclesiastical,

was observed. Let the provincial therefore prudently decide whether in certain cases, when a holiday occurred during the week, the usual Thursday vacation should be omitted.[1]

Public disputations in philosophy and theology were important events not only in the academic life of the college but in the city's social calendar as well. The highest civil, military, and ecclesiastical authorities of the colony and the most prominent citizens were invited to them, and they usually came; what is more, they seem to have enjoyed them, at least at times, and even took part in them. In 1610 one theological and four philosophical disputations were held. At one of them two army officers got up and proposed objections to the defender in good school Latin and rigorous syllogistic form, "gracing thus," says the Annual Letter of that year, "no less the field of letters than the field of arms." At another Governor Silva, then engaged in his vast projects for the conquest of the Moluccas and the utter discomfiture of the Dutch, felt moved to make a brief gratulatory speech, in which he said that "were it not for the martial occupations to which I am compelled to devote myself in virtue of my office, I would make it a point not only to attend such public presentations as this one, but even the ordinary circles held in class."[2]

In 1611 eight Jesuits—three priests and five scholastics—completed the theology course. The scholastics were ordained by Archbishop Vásquez Mercado the following year. There were at this time twenty-seven students, both lay and clerical, in the arts course. The logic specimen was given by a San José scholar and the grammarians staged several academies. That same year (28 April 1611) the Dominican College of Santo Tomás was founded.[3]

For some reason or other no reply had as yet been received to the petition submitted by Chirino to the king that the College of Manila be authorized to confer degrees in theology and arts in accordance with the papal privileges of the Society. In 1612 Archbishop Vásquez Mercado urged the matter, certifying that the courses given at the college fulfilled the necessary requirements and adding as an argument that it would be a great saving in time and money if students could obtain their degrees in the colony instead of going abroad for them, especially since the Jesuits charged nothing for tuition.[4] This recommendation was warmly seconded by the city corporation in 1616. Incidentally, we learn from their letter that the faculty of the college at this time was composed of two professors of dogmatic theology, one professor of moral theology, one professor of arts, and two masters of grammar.[5] Still no reply from Madrid; until finally, on 8 August 1621, Pope Gregory XV issued a brief authorizing the archbishop of Manila to confer degrees on the candidates presented to him by the rector of the Jesuit college. This brief obtained the royal *exequatur* from Philip IV (cédula of 30 July 1623) and was received with

great rejoicing at Manila in 1623. A parade on horseback was organized; at the head of it came the trumpets and kettledrums of the city; then the day scholars of the college, riding three abreast; then the scholars of San José, each flanked by two patrons chosen from among the citizens and a liveried page leading his steed by the bridle; then the city corporation and the cathedral chapter; and finally the precentor of the cathedral, Don Miguel Garcetas, bearing a standard of white silk on which was sewn the papal brief and the royal cédula. The procession wound its way through the principal streets of the city to the archbishop's palace, where all dismounted and went in. There the documents were read in the presence of the archbishop, Don Miguel García Serrano, who pronounced the consecrated formula that he heard, obeyed, and would faithfully execute what they contained.[6]

The first graduate of the College of Manila to obtain a degree under this dispensation would seem to be Juan de Cevicós, a diocesan priest who completed his course several years previously and was appointed to the cathedral chapter in 1621. The same year that the authorization to confer degrees was received a fourth chair was added to the faculty of theology, that of canon law and sacred Scripture. The first occupant of this chair was Pedro Chirino, who taught a two-year cycle of canon law followed by a two-year cycle of Scripture. Before the foundation of the professorship these two disciplines were taught as integral parts of the courses in dogmatic and moral theology. Three years later the Jesuits scholastic Diego de Cartagena gave the first public disputation in canon law as part of his grand act. The so-called grand act was a privilege (and an ordeal) given only to exceptional students. It was usually held in the college church and consisted of a morning and an afternoon session, each two or three hours in length. During that time the "defender" maintained theses selected from the entire corpus of theology not only against the appointed and invited disputants but against all comers.[7]

In 1626 the college conferred its first doctorate on a student of San José whose name, unfortunately, we have been unable to trace. The annual letter of that year describes the ceremonies that accompanied such graduations. The night before graduation day San José was festively illuminated with lanterns. The actual ceremonies began at noon, when the *doctorandus*, along with several others who were receiving their master's degrees, were led in state by their fellow students to the college church. A joyful flourish of trumpets—*tubarum laetissimo reboatu*—announced their entrance. Then, on a stage erected for the purpose, and before an "innumerable throng," the graduates gave brief formal disputations (they had already passed the real examinations for eligibility), after which the degrees were conferred. On this occasion it was not the archbishop but the rector of the college, acting as chancellor, who conferred them. The ceremonies ended with the

usual cavalcade through the city, preceded by the city band and with the students of the college and many citizens taking part in the parade.[8]

Besides teaching their ordinary classes, the theology professors of the College of Manila were frequently asked by the authorities, by their fellow Jesuits laboring in the missions, and by private persons for an expert opinion on actual moral problems. Some of these cases and the solutions given to them have been preserved in a volume of transcripts deposited in the archives of the Jesuit province of Tarragona. They belong to the period 1602–1636.[9] Some of the opinions are given as commonly arrived at after consultation by the entire theological faculty. Others are signed by the moral professor alone. The names that occur most frequently are those of Juan de Ribera and Diego de Bobadilla. These cases give an interesting and instructive sidelight on contemporary economic and social conditions.

The Moro raids, for instance, gave rise to a number of moral problems. In 1603 the government addressed an inquiry to the faculty of the college and to the theologians of other religious orders as to whether it was permissible to reduce Moro raiders captured in battle to slavery. The college faculty replied that, according to the law of nations, prisoners taken in a just war may justly be enslaved. The Spanish Crown, however, had renounced its right in this matter with reference to the natives of the Spanish dominions. In his instructions to Governor Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas, for instance, Philip II forbade the Philippine colonists to retain their Filipino slaves or to enslave them in the future. This was confirmed by a brief of Gregory XIV (18 April 1591), issued at the petition of Alonso Sánchez. Since these prohibitions said nothing about slaveholding among the Filipinos themselves, the current practice was that the enslavement of Filipinos by Spaniards was held to be unlawful but not the enslavement of Filipinos by Filipinos.

The government raised the question of whether certain circumstances attendant on the Moro raids had been envisaged by the law. One was that, since the Moros possessed nothing of value except their own persons, it was extremely difficult to organize expeditions against them unless those taking part in the expedition were permitted to enslave their prisoners. Another was that the Moros professed the Moslem religion, not the common paganism of the other Filipinos, and hence they did not seem to come within the purvue of the law. The college faculty agreed with the theologians of the other religious orders that the government was perfectly justified in condemning captured Moro raiders to six or eight years of hard labor in the galleys. They differed, however, from those who asserted that they could be enslaved. This was a doubtful point, which could only be resolved by asking the Crown to declare explicitly whether or not it renounced the right which it had from the law of nations specifically with regard to the Moros.

It would seem that the Crown urged its right to enslave Moro prisoners of war, for in 1608 it was queried further whether slaves bought from the Moros by the Filipinos of Dapitan could be bought in turn by the Spaniards. The reply to this was yes, in view of the fact that it was current practice in other regions, for instance, on the Barbary coast.

The organization of local defense against the Moros in the Jesuit missions gave rise to an interesting question in 1630. Sometimes the most effective defense against a raid, provided advance notice of it could be had, was to set up an ambush and decoy the raiders into it. Could a missionary priest, as the leader of his community, organize such an ambush without incurring irregularity? Yes, was the reply; it was a measure of lawful self-defense.

It has been noted that slaveholding among the Filipinos themselves was tolerated by the Spanish government. This policy was based on the principle of colonial law that native customs of long standing which were not clearly and directly contrary to the natural law should not be suppressed. This principle was applied by the theologians of the College of Manila to the solution of a question proposed in 1607: Whether, in determining servile status among the Filipinos, that dictum of Spanish law should be observed, namely, *partus sequitur ventrem*. Their answer was that it ought not to be, for the native custom ruled otherwise. Among the Filipinos, the children of a marriage in which one of the parties was free, the other slave, did not automatically follow the status of the mother, but were alternately free and slave.

Can a Filipino sell himself into slavery to another Filipino? This question gave the fathers an opportunity to inquire more closely into the existing custom. Strictly speaking, they said, one may in a case of extreme necessity or for a very serious reason sell oneself into slavery. Among the Filipinos, however, this condition is very seldom verified; hence, as a general rule, missionaries and parish priests should advise against it. On the other hand, it sometimes happens that someone in need of ready cash will contract with another to work for him for a certain period in consideration of a loan. This is a perfectly legitimate contract. But what is to be said of the contract whereby a man who receives a loan agrees to become the half slave or the one-quarter slave of his creditor, in the sense of placing at his disposal one half or one quarter of his labor for an indefinite period? This, the moralists of the college declared, was unlawful, because it was usury; the creditor, in effect, deriving from his loan an interest far beyond what he was entitled to.

It sometimes happened that Visayan slaves captured by the Moros would make good their escape. Were they in that case bound to return to their former state of servitude? Or could their former masters lawfully compel them to return, on the principle that *res clamat domino*? To a certain extent,

indeed, a slave was *res*, the property of his master; but on the other hand, he was not in his essential nature a thing but a person; a human being, whose connatural state was liberty. Hence "it seems to me (*salvo meliori iudicio*) that they ought to remain free and not be held to their former servitude . . . for since there are authorities, laws, and customs for one and the other side of this question, it seems more fitting to incline to that which is more favorable. This is liberty; *for libertas omnibus rebus favorabilior est*—liberty is more favorable than all things else."

Another principle which the moralists of the college insisted on was that accused persons should be held innocent unless proven guilty, even in cases of witchcraft where popular opinion tended to take the opposite view and demand that the accused show cause why he or she should not be put to death as a witch. They readily conceded that there were cases of witchcraft in the Philippines where the evidence adduced was conclusive; they conceded further that a real witch could produce effects at a distance through the mediation of the devil; but they warned officers of the law that no one ought to be condemned as a witch merely because of popular clamor. Let careful inquiry be made, and judgment delivered on the basis of objective evidence.

Does one break the law of fasting by drinking chocolate? No; for according to the common opinion of theologians, chocolate (if not compounded with corn flour and similar solid foods) is a liquid, and liquids do not break the fast. Neither does smoking tobacco, "for it is neither food nor drink; and while it is commonly, in many cases at least, a vice and the trademark of a 'tough' [*bellaquería*], it does not break the fast." As for betel, "it would seem that to chew two or three preparations [*buyo*] does not break the fast, due to insufficient quantity. They claim that it invigorates; but when all is said and done, only a small fraction of the betel is swallowed; the rest is saliva and uncleanness."

Some idea of the current value of money is given by what the fathers of the college considered grave matter in cases of theft, that is, the amount in terms of money which it would be a mortal sin to steal. After considering the opinions of various authors as to what was grave matter in Old Spain and New Spain, they considered that it would ordinarily be a mortal sin to steal two rials (25 cents) from a native, six rials from a Spaniard of the middle class, and ten or twelve rials from a rich man. "This, however," they added, "is to be taken as more or less, and without applying it to particular cases, which circumstances of great poverty or serious damage to the neighbor may modify."

A moral case which attained a measure of celebrity because of the controversy to which it led occurred in October 1620.[10] One day, in some dark alley near the building of the Misericordia, a man was set upon by his enemies and fell mortally wounded. Several passers-by came to his

assistance in time to hear him ask for a priest to hear his confession; after which he lost consciousness. A secular priest was fetched, but when he could get no word or sign from the wounded man, he refused to give him absolution. Shortly afterward, the man died. A Jesuit, Domingo de Peñalver, who happened to be passing by, asked what had happened, and when he was told, expressed regret that the man was not given absolution. Two Dominicans who also arrived on the scene begged to differ; the secular priest, they said, did exactly right, for no absolution could be given in such a case.

The question apparently aroused a lively interest in the city, for some months later the fathers of the College of Santo Tomás scheduled a public disputation for 13 January 1621, in which the principal thesis to be defended was that "in the sacrament of penance it is necessary for the priest to hear the sins of the penitent from the penitent himself, insomuch that if a priest comes to absolve a penitent already at death's door and finds him so deprived of the use of his faculties that he [the priest] is unable to obtain from him any manifestation of his sins, he may not absolve such a penitent merely on the strength of what others say [that is, that he asked to go to confession, was duly penitent, etc.] To hold the opposite in theory is temerarious; to act upon it in practice is a grave sin of sacrilege."

According to Archbishop García Serrano, the thesis came as a surprise to many people, for the actual practice in the archdiocese was precisely the opposite. The fathers of the College of Manila held a consultation on the matter and decided to hold a public disputation of their own on the day previous to that of the Dominicans, that is on 12 January. Since there was no time to coach a student, the professor of moral theology, Diego de Bobadilla, was to take the stand himself and defend the following thesis, namely that "it is not absolutely necessary to the sacrament of penance for the priest to hear the sins of the penitent from the penitent himself. Hence, in the case when a priest comes to absolve a penitent already at death's door and finds him so deprived of the use of his faculties that he [the priest] is unable to obtain from him any manifestation of his sins, he may absolve such a penitent on the strength of what others say, namely, that the man asked to go to confession and with this intention lost consciousness. The opposite opinion is probable in theory, but a grave sin in practice."

To avoid scandal and possible disturbance in the city if these disputations were held as scheduled, the archbishop prudently decided instead to call the superiors of the religious orders, the members of the cathedral chapter, and other canonists and jurists to a conference in his palace on 12 January. He opened the conference by saying that its sole object was to arrive at the truth of the matter under dispute; or, failing that, to

determine at least on a practice which could be uniformly followed in the archdiocese until the matter could be decided by Rome. He then appointed a committee from among those present to decide these questions after hearing both parties, the Dominicans first and then the Jesuits. The committee was composed of three diocesan priests, three Franciscans, three Augustinians, three Recollects, and one doctor of civil law.

It would be wearisome to rehearse the learned and lengthy arguments both oral and in writing which passed back and forth during the week-long conference. Suffice it to say that at the final meeting on 18 January, the committee of experts declared it to be their unanimous verdict "that both the opinion which denies that the dying man in the case proposed can be given absolution, and the opinion which affirms it, are probable. However, it seems more fitting to permit the practice, use, and exercise of the affirmative opinion in this archdiocese until His Holiness or whoever has authority in the matter decide and ordain otherwise." The archbishop approved the verdict.

The number of resident students in the College of San José remained small during the early years of the century. In fact, it decreased from twenty in 1603 to thirteen in 1618, and may have been even less in the years immediately preceding 1618, for we find Valerio de Ledesma, who succeeded Gregorio López in the provincialate, seriously thinking at one time of closing down the institution, or asking the government or the archdiocese to take it over. One of the first acts of Vitelleschi when he became general in 1616 was to encourage the Philippine Jesuits to persevere despite the lack of visible results in the highly meritorious work of giving "a solid education and upbringing in all virtue and the holy fear of God to the youth of that land."[11] They did. Greatly daring, they borrowed 9,400 pesos—an enormous sum for those times—to build a new and enlarged physical plant, which was completed in 1624. Enrollment rose slowly but steadily from thirteen in 1618 to nineteen in 1621 and twenty-four in 1624; then it jumped suddenly to forty-one in 1630 and remained constant at forty through 1636. The reason for the sudden rise was in part financial. The troublesome and unprofitable ranch in Panay had been liquidated and the investment transferred to San Pedro Tunasan, which devoted lay brothers built up into a dependable source of income. As a result, San José was not only able to write off its building debt, but to increase the number of foundation bursaries, of which there were fifteen in 1630 and twenty-four in 1636. In 1624 Father General Vitelleschi separated San José from the College of Manila administratively by constituting the vice-rector of San José an independent rector.[12]

The daily life of the institution continued to be pretty much as Diego García organized it. There are a few interesting additions.[13] In the 1620's the custom developed of the scholars' assembling after evening study hall

for an exercise similar to that already noted in the Visayan boarding schools. Someone previously assigned would get up and relate an ejemplo, in effect a bedtime story, but with a definite moral. At San José, however, the storyteller of the evening was followed by two other students, one of whom discussed a *punto de erudición*, some interesting and doubtless edifying piece of information he had encountered in his reading, and the other a *punto de urbanidad*, or precept of good manners. After this they made their usual spiritual exercises of preparing the points for the morning meditation and making the examination of conscience. Another practice mentioned in the documents of this period is that of mutual admonition; on certain days during the noon recreation each student was informed by his assigned "admonitor" of the external faults which had been observed in him. Some of the older students, especially those planning to take holy orders, regularly made an annual retreat of eight days and went to holy communion every week or oftener. It is not surprising that in an atmosphere so favorable to piety many should be attracted to the priesthood or the religious life, not only in the Society of Jesus but in other congregations and the diocesan clergy. In 1611 three josefinos joined the Augustinians; in 1630 three were ordained priests and four others received minor orders; in 1632, two more joined the ranks of the secular priesthood. There were undoubtedly others during the intervening years of whom our documents make no mention. It is interesting to note that, besides the regular students, San José boarded a number of "late vocations," that is, men in middle age who had decided that they could serve God better in the priesthood, and for this purpose were pursuing the required ecclesiastical studies in the College of Manila.

It should be borne in mind, however, that San José was not a clerical seminary, as it is now. Many, and in fact the majority of its residents were not thinking of an ecclesiastical career. Sons of oidores and other professional people, like those who were in the college in 1624, intended to follow in their fathers' footsteps; others, to acquire the mental and moral discipline which the society of that time expected gentlemen to possess; while a few were doubtless dragged in by distracted parents in order that the Jesuits might "knock some sense into them," even as parents do today.

As far as studies are concerned, the resident students in San José had certain advantages over the day scholars with whom they attended classes in the College of Manila; besides having stated study hours, they held a daily *conferencia*, the students of arts and theology in the morning and the grammar school boys in the afternoon. The conferencia, a practice which the Jesuit educational system took over from the colleges of the University of Paris, was a tutorial session in which the resident students reviewed and discussed, under the supervision of a master, the lectures they had listened to during the day. For this reason there was always a grammar

master resident at San José, and, at least from 1630 on, one of the philosophy or theology professors. Studies pursued the josefinos even into the dining room, where the ordinary reading or sermon frequently gave way to a specimen lecture by a student on a subject he was currently studying. We learn from the Annual Letter of 1627 that closing exercises were held at the end of each academic year, at which the grammar school boys who had passed their examinations were given certificates entitling them to go to the next form. During these exercises they also staged a play for the delectation of their parents and friends.

In 1618 an unpleasant incident occurred with the newly founded College of Santo Tomás. That institution had apparently adopted as part of the uniform of its scholars a scarlet hood similar to that of the josefinos. When this was called to his attention, the rector of San José, Adriano de las Cortes, filed a suit with the governor of the colony to restrain Santo Tomás from using hoods of the aforementioned color, alleging prior right. Governor Fajardo took time out from fighting the Dutch to consider this remarkable complaint. After due deliberation he handed down sentence (31 October 1619) maintaining the scholars of San José in the exclusive possession of their scarlet hoods, and directing the scholars of Santo Tomás to choose hoods of any other color. The rector of Santo Tomás appealed this decision to the audiencia, which confirmed it. While it seems undeniable that a scarlet hood formed part of the academic gown of San José since its foundation in 1601, one is bound to question the prudence of Father Cortes in thus having recourse to the courts to deprive the students of Santo Tomás of their bit of scarlet. Surely a more amicable settlement with the Dominican fathers could have been arranged, or, failing that, some other item could have been added to the San José gown to make it sufficiently distinctive. As it was, the small victory injected a sour note into the relations between the two colleges which would have more serious repercussions in the future.[14]

Mention is made as early as 1609 of an elementary school attached to the College of Manila. The annual letter for that year states that the school children had a sodality of their own which included boys from the lowest form of grammar and numbered about 70. The little sodalists were given little exhortations (*hortatiunculas*) scaled down to the level of their understanding and went to confession every month. A lay teacher taught them their catechism and first letters. According to the annual letter of the following year they presented a play to welcome Archbishop Vásquez Mercado which pleased the prelate so much that he asked for the script; and in subsequent annual letters we catch glimpses of these small but tireless infants marching at the head of processions, lustily singing hymns and chanting the catechism, keeping vigil with lighted tapers before the Blessed Sacrament during the carnival days, or suddenly popping out of

contrivances on platforms to recite verses at some newly arrived governor or archbishop.[15]

By 1630 the enrollment of the elementary school had reached the amazing figure of 600, and it became necessary to put a Jesuit priest in charge as headmaster. It is undoubtedly in this sense that the annual letter of that year is to be understood when it says that the direction of the elementary school had been "newly assumed" by the college. With the new administration came the inevitable *Ratio Studiorum*, for we are told that in addition to learning their prayers and watching their p's and q's, the schoolboys now had to "exercise themselves in declamation and dramatics, whereby they acquired skill in public speaking." During the Christmas holidays eight schoolboys, all of them less than eight years old, staged a play in honor of the newborn Christ which won golden opinions from everyone present. The only difficulty was that the Jesuits invited only men to the various academies and disputations of the College of Manila, and no exception was made at first with regard to the presentations of the *niños*. There were loud protests against this ruling from the doting mothers and other womenfolk of the city who alleged that, while they might not be able to follow a philosophical argument, they ought at least to be considered worthy of viewing their own children enact the part of an angel or a holy innocent. They finally appealed to the governor's lady, who succeeded in persuading the fathers to stage the schoolchildren's play in the church rather than in the college hall, in order that women might be able to attend. Thus the Christmas pageant of 1632 was attended not only by Archbishop Guerrero and Governor Cerezo de Salamanca, but by "noble ladies in the entourage of the governor's wife." Needless to say, everyone was enthralled by "the unbelievable wit, grace, agility, and understanding of the children."[16]

The number of Jesuits in the community of the College of Manila climbed slowly during the years preceding 1620, when it reached thirty-six; thereafter it remained stationary at forty or so, except in years when new missionaries from Europe stayed there before receiving their assignments. The proportion of priests to lay brothers was roughly three to two—about fifteen priests and ten lay brothers, the rest scholastics. Before 1622 and after 1630 one wing of the residence was occupied by the novices and tertian fathers. As many as four or five of the priests were assigned full time to the ministries of the college church. These have been previously described, but a number of interesting developments during this period may be noted. One was the rapid growth in the number and variety of people who approached the Jesuit confessionals. With the development of Manila as a commercial center and the consequent increase in the wealth of its citizens, men and women of all races from almost every country of the East flocked to the city, either as slaves, domestics, or tradesmen. Andrea

Caro, writing to a friend in Rome in 1611, enumerates them as "Chinese without number, Japanese, East Indians, people of Malacca and Java, a great many Portuguese, French, Dutch, Flemings, immigrants from Italian, Greek, and Sicilian cities; all these in addition to natives of various tongues, tribes, and islands, and the Spaniards, both men and women, who come frequently to confession. It adds up."[17] It certainly did, and while many of these doubtless acquired enough Spanish to be able to tell their sins, the confessors of the college church were nevertheless at pains to learn as many languages as they could in order to be able to impart the spiritual direction which was part of their office.

The Dutch mentioned by Caro belonged to a special category; they were prisoners of war. Ninety altogether were taken at Playa Honda in 1609, twenty of whom were badly wounded. Fortunately one of the college fathers, Andrés de la Cámara, had been born and lived as a child in Ghent, and hence spoke Dutch fluently. He made the care of the prisoners his particular apostolate, attending personally with great gentleness to the wounds of the stretcher cases, which had become gangrenous and "exuded a smell so foul that it was unbearable even from afar." Father Cámara found the grace to bear it from close at hand. Those who were unhurt he strove to convert to Catholicism, and spent long hours replying as best as he could to their objections. As we saw earlier, Spanish policy toward the Dutch captured in naval actions was ruthless; they were looked upon not as prisoners of war but as pirates and apostates, and hence summarily and without exception condemned to death. Even those who recovered from their wounds had to pay this penalty, nor did conversion to Catholicism avail them a reprieve. We may therefore suppose that those whom Father Cámara succeeded in converting before their execution (among whom were two senior pilots, three factors, and two surgeons) returned to the faith of their fathers from true conviction and not in the hope of escaping the hangman's noose.[18]

The Japanese quarter of the city was located in the district of Dilao (now Paco), a Franciscan parish. However, many of the Japanese Christians who had known the Jesuits in their homeland frequented the college church, and there were close ties of affection between the Manila Jesuits and the Japanese community. This enabled Pedro de Montes while he was rector of the college to avert a Japanese uprising which might have had as bloody an aftermath as that of the Chinese. In 1616, during the absence of Governor Acuña and a large part of the Manila garrison in the Moluccas, a Spaniard killed a Japanese in a brawl. A raging mob came together in Dilao and demanded that the killer be delivered up to them. When the authorities refused, the Japanese started to arm themselves and would certainly have started a riot had not Montes, hastily summoned to the scene, succeeded in calming them down and persuading them to let the

law take its course. The following year, however, the Japanese did take up arms against the government. After the rebellion was put down, it was decided to raze the Japanese quarter at Dilao to the ground and disperse its 1,500 residents among the other suburbs.[19]

In spite of this the Japanese Christians maintained cordial relations with the Jesuits, and these ties were further strengthened by the arrival of a group of exiles from Japan. In 1614 Japanese trading vessels brought the news that the Tokugawa shogun, Ieyasu, had begun a new and severe persecution of Christianity, with the declared purpose of exterminating or expelling from the country not only the foreign missionaries, but the native leaders of the Japanese church. Valerio de Ledesma, who had just entered upon his duties as provincial, called a meeting of his consultors and decided with their advice to offer hospitality in Manila to any of the Jesuits and their converts who might be exiled from Japan. The invitation was gratefully accepted, and in December 1614 Manila welcomed with a charity approaching veneration a fragment of the heroic church of Japan. The group included seven European Jesuits (one had died during the voyage), fifteen Japanese Jesuits, fifteen catechists, a community of religious women called the *beatas* of Miyako, consisting of the mother superior and fourteen sisters, and the two noble households of Justo Takayama and Juan Saito.

The Jesuits were distributed between the College of Manila and the residence of San Miguel. Houses were found and furnished near the latter for the sisters and the lay exiles. The Japanese Jesuits, some of whom were priests, devoted themselves with great zeal to the instruction and spiritual direction of their countrymen. One of the European Jesuits, Father Francisco Calderón, was appointed to make a visitation of the province, but died (4 December 1618) without completing it.[20]

Another ministry to which the Manila Jesuits devoted themselves was that of the Negroes, Kaffirs, and other slaves whom the Spaniards imported from Portuguese India. The treatment which many of these wretches got from their masters, alternately cruel and indulgent, made them specially worthy of attention. Liberty did not visibly improve their lot, for those who were manumitted usually joined the lowest dregs of Manila's population, eking out a miserable existence as bravoes, cutpurses, and bawds. At about this time, a custom (prevalent in South American cities) was introduced in Manila of permitting both slaves and freedmen to parade the streets during the carnival days, tricked out in various outlandish costumes, shouting, singing, dancing, and contributing to the general licentiousness of the pre-Lenten festival. To counteract the wilder orgies to which Manilans (and not only the slaves!) gave themselves during these three days, and in order to make some reparation for the sins committed, the Jesuits introduced the practice, originating in Italy, of gathering as many as they

could in the college church for prayer and exhortation before the Blessed Sacrament exposed. It would seem that this "Devotion of the Forty Hours" contributed significantly to confining the celebrations of the Manila mardi-gras within reasonable limits. But the man who really gave himself to the ministry of the slaves was Alonso de Arroyo. He won for himself, though to a lesser degree than Saint Peter Claver, the proud title of father of the slaves. He even succeeded in organizing a sodality among them, for which he requested affiliation with the Roman *prima primaria* in 1634.[21]

The following year still another sodality was organized for the *morenos* or half-breeds, thus bringing the total number of these organizations in Manila to six. Their membership, however, continued to be restricted to men. Women tried to charm their way in, but to no avail. A petition from the provincial congregation of 1609 for permission to organize a sodality of Spanish women met with the following stiff reply: "We have no authorization from the supreme pontiffs for such an organization, nor is it desirable for the Society to have it. Let there be no more talk of founding congregations for women, but let us simply assist them with the other ministries which ours are accustomed to exercise." There was, however, more talk of it eighteen years later. In 1630 Encinas, the Philippine procurator, represented that "those who are most assiduous in attending the exercises and devotions of the sodality of Our Lady are the women, so that they regard themselves and are regarded as members thereof. This being the case . . . it seems suitable that they should obtain through your Paternity a share in the indulgences of the sodality." But, although there was another general at headquarters, the view taken of women sodalists was as dim as ever. "The same request has reached me from other places," Vitelleschi replied. "My answer has always been to enjoin that women should under no circumstances be admitted to the sodalities under our charge, and that anything done to the contrary should be undone. I trust that the Philippine province will comply with this." It did, to the best of its ability; but later in the century, feminine persistence prevailed.[22]

Considerable space is devoted in the annual letters to a description of the various festivals and celebrations which occurred during this period. In June 1611 the papal brief beatifying Ignatius Loyola (3 December 1609) was received in the Philippines. A tremendous celebration took place on 20–21 June, and again on the feast day of the new Blessed (31 July) and during the entire octave. A life-size statue of Ignatius was solemnly installed above the main altar of the college church and literally covered with flashing jewelry for the duration of the festival by the devout Manilans. Fireworks were set off from the church tower; there was a parade on horseback by the students of the college; and the boys of the elementary school presented a bucolic dance in the manner of the Basques. A

dance group from the parish of San Miguel matched this with a ballet which began as a dance of the halt, the maimed, and the blind. They came on stage falling all over one another and staggering about to the appropriate music; then, falling on their knees, they appealed to the *beato* to cure them, and their prayers being answered they leaped to their feet and performed a Tagalog sword dance with great skill and agility. But the most interesting feature of the celebrations was the literary contest, in which no less than 250 entries competed for the prize. These compositions in Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Basque, Mexican, Tagalog, and Visayan were inscribed on illuminated scrolls and displayed to the public. On the last day of the octave a board of judges consisting of the lieutenant-governor of the Moluccas, the vicar-general of the archdiocese, the chief-of-staff of the armed forces, and the commissary of the Holy Office selected the winners. Unfortunately, the prize compositions have been lost to posterity.[23]

Occasion was given for a similar celebration in 1619, when the approval given by the Holy See to the public celebration of the feast of the Immaculate Conception became known in Manila. Two years later, the faculty and students of the College of Santo Tomás, magnanimously forgetting the unpleasant affair of the hoods, helped the College of Manila celebrate the beatification of Francis Xavier by staging a play on the conversion of the Jesuit *beato*. This series of festivals reached its climax in 1623, when the dispatches arrived announcing the canonization of Saints Ignatius and Francis and the beatification of Aloysius Gonzaga. Manila, as the Spanish saying goes, "threw the house out the window" to celebrate the event. Xavier's statue in the college church was covered by the citizens with more than 15,000 precious stones, of which 1,000 were diamonds; that of Ignatius with more than 20,000 stones, of which 800 were diamonds. Plays in Spanish were presented by the resident students of San José, the day scholars of the college, and the students of Santo Tomás; and one in Tagalog by the parishioners of Taytay. The city corporation contributed a bullfight. It also petitioned the archbishop that "in view of the many and great favors which these islands have received from God our Lord by means of the sacred order of the Society of Jesus, and in recognition of the great debt of gratitude which they owe to the same holy order, both by reason of the valuable education and training which it imparts to their sons as well as many other services rendered," the feasts of Saint Ignatius and Saint Francis be made holy days of obligation for all the Spaniards of the archdiocese. On 14 October 1623 Archbishop García Serrano granted the petition, not only for the archdiocese of Manila but for the diocese of Nueva Cáceres; later, Bishop Juan de Renteria of Nueva Segovia and Bishop Pedro de Arce of Cebu made the same ruling for their respective dioceses.[24]

In the account given earlier of the finances of the College of Manila, we noted that when Archbishop Diego Vásquez Mercado was dean of the Manila cathedral, he donated some land which he had in the district of Quiapo to the Jesuits. The Jesuits derived an income from the land by leasing it to the Chinese truck gardeners and fruit growers, of whom there were about 250 in 1603. Archbishop Benavides, reporting to the king on 6 June of that year, transmitted a complaint made by certain natives of Quiapo that the Jesuits were not the true owners of the land in question, but had usurped it from the heirs of Raja Soliman. On 4 July 1605 Governor Acuña defended the Jesuits from this accusation. He said that they had received the land as a gift from Vásquez Mercado, who had purchased it from its native owners.[25]

In 1609 further complaints against the Jesuits were sent to Madrid by the then datu of Quiapo, Don Miguel Banal.[26] Banal alleged that what the Jesuits received from Vásquez Mercado was nothing so extensive as what they laid claim to, but merely "a garden lying in back of our village"; that they acquired the said garden not as a gift but by purchase; and that ever since they acquired it they "have been insinuating themselves more and more into our lands and taking more than what was assigned them by the dean," so that they now had "scarcely any land remaining in the village for our fields, and even for our houses." To illustrate the land-grabbing propensities of the Jesuits, Banal related how he himself built a house on his own property, and how a Jesuit, Brother Nieto by name, "came with a numerous following of Negroes and Indians, armed with halberds and catans; and of his own accord, had with absolute authority, razed my house to the ground." When this was reported to the alcalde mayor, Pedro de Chaves, he came and personally saw to it that Banal's house was rebuilt. The Jesuits, however, Banal says, "threatened me that as often as I should build a house there they would return to raze or burn it." For this reason he decided to appeal to the king himself, as the only one capable of protecting him against the Jesuits.

> For I fear that I can find no one to aid me in the suits which the fathers are about to begin against me, or who will appear for my justice, since I have even been unable to find anyone who dared to write this letter for me. This letter is therefore written by my own hand and in my own composition, and in the style of an Indian not well versed in the Spanish language. But I confide my cause to your royal Majesty's great kindness, and, prostrate at your Majesty's royal feet, implore you to protect me with your royal protection by ordering the royal audiencia and the archbishop to inform your royal Majesty anew, and to summon me in order that I may inform them of my claims to justice. Also in the meantime will you order the fathers not to molest me in the ancient possession that I have inherited from my fathers and grandfathers, who were chiefs of the said village.

We have not been able to discover what the audiencia or the archbishop did in this matter. Of the Brother Nieto mentioned by Banal we know that his first name was Francisco; that he entered the Society at Manila in 1599; that he made his novitiate in the College of Manila; and that he pronounced his final vows as a temporal coadjutor in the same college in 1610. We know too that he acted as procurator of the college, for he is mentioned as such by the personnel catalogue of 1614. Hence, he could have perpetrated the deed of which Banal accused him, but we have no evidence that he actually did so except the statement of Banal himself.

Doubtful light is thrown on the business by a letter of Acquaviva to López dated 28 March 1612.[27] It had been called to his attention, the general said, that the College of Manila "has lost, these past years, I know not what lands, and that a certain native is at present encroaching on I know not what property. I thought I might urge your Reverence to look into the matter and take the necessary steps to protect our rights, so that property might not be lost through the negligence of those who are responsible for their preservation. No injustice will be done to anyone if a simple account of what is taking place is given to the governor." If this is a reference to the Quiapo estate, then it would seem that the Jesuits lost the suit which Banal was certain their supposedly overwhelming influence would win for them. At the same time Acquaviva, or his informant in Manila, was not quite convinced that the Society ought to have lost the case, hence Acquaviva's suggestion that it be appealed to the governor. Again, we have no definite information as to whether this appeal was made or not, Probably not, or if made, the previous sentence was confirmed, for statements of the College of Manila's financial situation subsequent to this date make no mention of the Quiapo property.

The annual income of the College of Manila increased from 4,400 pesos in 1618 to 12,700 pesos in 1636. The increase is accounted for by the acquisition in the 1620's of land near Biñan (later transferred to San José to form part of its San Pedro Tunasan estate) and San Mateo (a town about twenty miles northeast of Manila); additional urban property in the walled city and suburbs; and money gifts and bequests which were invested in building loans.[28] During the same period the debts of the college increased from 8,459 to 41,800 pesos. This was because the church and residence built by Sedeño, portions of which had collapsed and others rendered unsafe by age and successive earthquakes, had to be replaced almost in their entirety.

The new church, planned on a more imposing scale than the old, was begun in 1626. It was cruciform, baroque in style, with a central octagonal dome and two towers on the façade, and oriented northwest-southeast with the main portal facing northwest. It was 204 feet long, 90 feet along the transept, and 111 feet from the ground to the tope of the dome. The outer

walls, built of Antipolo adobe and brick, averaged 9 feet in thickness. The central nave was divided from the collateral naves by two courses of 12 columns supporting galleries above semicircular arches at a height of 40 feet. The galleries connected with the choir loft, likewise supported by columns and elliptical arches.

Above the main altar was a statue of Saint Ignatius, to whom the church was dedicated (Sedeño's church was dedicated to Saint Anne). There was an altar at each end of the transept; on the epistle side was the altar of the Crucifix and on the gospel side the Lady altar, under the invocation of Our Lady of Loretto. Each of the collateral naves terminated at the transept in a chapel, the one dedicated to Saint Joseph and the other to Saint Francis Xavier. Near the main entrance under the choir loft were smaller altars. There were two side doors, one opening on Calle Real, the other leading to the ground floor corridor of the college.

The dome, ribbed with wood, had eight windows and an accessible outer gallery running round it. The church bells were hung in one of the façade towers and a clock installed in the other. The main portals opened on a quadrilateral plaza flagged with stone and surrounded by a breast-high wall ornamented by stone lions. An Italian Jesuit, Gianantonio Campioni, directed the construction.[29]

Since this new church was built on the site of the old, construction must have proceeded in sections while the old church was still standing. In 1628 an earthquake underscored the need for a new church by bringing down considerable portions of the old roof and walls. Three years previous to this the king had contributed to the building fund by appropriating 1,000 ducats a year for the next ten years. The citizens of Manila added generously to this grant, in spite of which money had to be borrowed, for by 1630 65,000 pesos had been spent on the church and the college building and both were still unfinished. The church was finally completed in 1632 and the college building some time later. This last seems to have been the tallest residential building in the city at the time; it consisted of a ground floor and three upper storys enclosing an interior patio. The front of the building faced in the opposite direction from the church, that is southeast, looking over the San José buildings and beyond the east wall of the city with its royal gate to the suburbs of Ermita and Malate, On the ground floor were the classrooms, the largest of which, that of the theologians, also served as an auditorium for public disputations and academies. The upper storys contained, besides the living rooms of the community, the domestic chapel, the library, a recreation room (on the west wing, facing the sea), and a rooftop azotea.[30]

The mission of Antipolo consisted of Antipolo itself, where the Jesuit residence was located, and two subordinate towns, Taytay and Santiago. In 1627 the missionaries succeeded in persuading more of the wandering

Aetas to settle down, like their domesticated brethren of Santiago; the new settlement was given the name of San Ignacio. Too many of them, however, still felt from time to time the urge to drift away after wild boar and deer. To counteract this the fathers hit upon the happy solution of asking the Christian families of Santiago to "adopt" each one a family of new settlers, and to help it over the rough spots in the transition from a food-gathering to a sedentary way of life. The people of Antipolo suffered a great deal from the labor drafts and requisitions of supplies occasioned by the Dutch war, but they managed in spite of all to contribute generously to the support of their church. Their money gifts averaged 150 pesos yearly, no small sum, considering the value of the peso in those days; besides, which, when Father Juan de Salazar decided to build a new stone church in 1630, they formed labor battalions to obtain the lumber and stone for the construction. The church was completed in 1633, a year after that of Manila, and became the shrine of a little wooden image of the Blessed Virgin which Governor Tabora brought with him from Acapulco in 1626. This statue was to symbolize in a special way the deep affection of the Tagalogs for the Mother of God. It became known as Our Lady of Antipolo, and when later in the century it was borne across the Pacific by the galleons as their tutelary patroness, it also acquired the title of Our Lady of Peace and Happy Journeys—*Nuestra Señora de Paz y Buen Viaje.*

The people of Taytay weathered the war economy much better than those of Antipolo, doubtless because of the abundant rice harvests they reaped from their well watered land. In 1632 they contributed 3,000 pesos toward the repair of their church, which still stands today in an excellent state of preservation. The more wealthy citizens were even able to afford East Indian slaves, as we learn from a somewhat rueful note in the Annual Letter of 1626, to the effect that the accession of these slaves compelled the missionary to add a few more languages to his repertoire. Another indication of Taytay's prosperity was that the well-born women, instead of offering votive candles, brought braziers with incense to burn them before their favorite saints when they came to Mass in the morning. It was all the more admirable, then, that when their turn came to sweep the church according to the system organized by the fathers, they attended to this chore themselves instead of sending their slaves to do it.[31]

Silang, like Antipolo, had two other towns attached to it, Indang and Maragondong. Silang itself was a populous crossroads, where the various trails from the provinces of Batangas and Cavite merged into a highway to Manila. The account given by the Annual Letter of 1614 of the devotional life of the people of Silang seems typical of the Tagalog missions:

> Every day at dawn the church bell rings for all the children to come to church. Thence they go in procession through the town, chanting the catechism in their

native tongue. The passing of the procession, so numerous (there are as many as 200 boys) and so devotional, is a constant delight to the beholder. They return to the church, where they recite the principal points of Christian doctrine and answer questions on them. Then they hear Mass, after which they betake themselves to school. Some learn their first letters, others are further exercised in the catechism; no one is permitted to work on the farm or help his parents until he is first solidly grounded in the faith. On Sundays all the people, young and old, attend a catechism lesson in the church.[32]

The parish of San Miguel was very probably Lagyo where the Jesuits kept the chapel of their first Manila residence open as a *visita* of the college. The chapel was destroyed during the Chinese uprising of 1603, along with most of the district. Both Archbishop Benavides and Governor Acuña, however, insisted on the college fathers retaining its spiritual administration, so a stone church was built on a different location, apparently on the river bank near the southern approach to the present Ayala Bridge, that is, across the river from the present suburb of San Miguel which is on the north bank. In 1611 Archbishop Mercado constituted San Miguel a parish and confirmed its assignment to the Society, which was thereby obliged to build a residence near the church and appoint a resident pastor. This was a blessing in disguise, for when the Japanese exiles came in 1615 there was a church and house ready for them, which became thereafter a center for the Japanese Christians of the city. The procurator of the College of Manila apparently tried to retain control of the parish and its revenues, but in 1624 he was told by Vitelleschi in no uncertain terms that San Miguel severed all connections with the college when it became a parish; and any revenues it might have were to be spent on the parish itself.[33]

In 1623 Archbishop García Serrano received a letter from the Catholics of Nagasaki, requesting his help in founding a Japanese college in Manila, similar to the English colleges in Rome and Spain, where Japanese young men could be sent to be trained as priests for the persecuted church of Japan. The archbishop favorably endorsed the request to Governor Alonso Fajardo, who issued an ordinance on 29 January 1624 committing the project to the Jesuits and designating as the site of the future college a piece of public land in the parish of San Miguel. The site is described as fronting the *plaza de armas* of the district of Lagyo, so it cannot have been very far from the first Jesuit house in the Philippines, which stood near the street which is known even today as Plaza Militar. To provide the institution with a regular income, Fajardo gave it the exclusive right to ferry passengers and freight from Manila to Cavite, and established for its benefit a government monopoly of betel and tobacco. This was unfortunate, for it aroused the bitter opposition of everyone in Manila who smoked, chewed betel, or transacted business at Cavite; that is to say, practically everyone. Sermons were preached against the project from the city pulpits,

and as usually happens in such cases, reasons of state were found to dress up the low-level but decisive argument that it doubled the price of cigars. It was alleged, for instance, that a Japanese college in Manila would simply stir up the Tokugawa dictatorship to new severities and result in the complete extinction of Christianity in Japan; in other words, an urgent actual need should not be attended to because of possible adverse consequences.[34]

Be that as it may, it is regrettable that no better method was found to finance the proposed college, for barely ten days after Fajardo's death on 11 July of that same year, the audiencia rescinded the ordinance. Nothing more was said of a Japanese college until twelve years later, when a good friend of the Jesuits decided to do something about it on his own account. On 20 June 1636, Juan de Bueras, provincial, and the Licentiate Pedro de Tarapilla Salcedo, secular priest, jointly signed a legal instrument whereby the latter promised to endow the residence of San Miguel as a college.[35] The endowment was to consist of 16,000 pesos payable within six years after the general of the Society signified his acceptance of the foundation. Part of it was to be used for the support of priests who would labor principally in the suburbs; for, says the document, "in the environs of Manila there are opportunities for great employment in dealing with and gaining souls both of Spaniards and of natives who there resort in great numbers." But the main purpose of the endowment was to maintain a seminary of the kind requested by the Nagasaki Christians.

> And whereas [Tarapilla Salcedo continues] colleges of the Society of Jesus must in accordance with the institute of the same Society maintain some professorship or school, and Our Lord fills the undersigned with a great desire to help with his poor mite the new church of Japan, so persecuted by tyrants and lacking in ministers, he declared it to be his will that in the said house and college of the Society a wing should be set aside which may be a kind of seminary where Japanese [young men] may be supported and taught the disciplines and sciences which may be necessary in order that they may be ordained and return to Japan, there to cultivate the vineyard which the excessive rigor of the ban against the entry of Europeans has rendered so destitute of laborers. For if those who are thus raised, educated, and ordained are natives of the country, it will be easier for them to enter it without being challenged, after the fashion of what is now being done in Rome, Spain, and other parts of European Christendom, where in divers seminaries under the care and teaching of the Society there are being raised and educated young men from Ireland and England in order that they might return to their native countries, so deeply infected with heresy, and there devote themselves to preserving the Catholics who remain in those realms, as well as reclaiming many to our holy Catholic and Roman faith; and for this reason large sections of those realms have remained Catholic in spite of the fiercest persecutions.

Unfortunately, this splendid project failed once again to see the light of day. The closure of Japan by the Tokugawa was by this time so effective and their suppression of Christianity so nearly complete that the seminary

could not be opened for lack of students. Hence the foundation was used instead to take care of the Japanese in the Philippines and to finance the efforts of members of the dispersed Jesuit mission of Japan, both Japanese and European, to return to that country. Curiously enough, the idea never seems to have occurred of training Japanese priests for the service of their compatriots outside the homeland, although there were sizable communities of them both in Manila and Macao. Later in the century the San Miguel house became the residence of the provincial and his staff.

The Jesuit establishment at Cavite may be said to have begun with the Lenten missions which the fathers of the College of Manila were invited to give there in 1613 and 1614. Cavite was not much different from other seaports either then or today, so that we may reasonably assume that the sailors, marines, dock hands, shipyard workers, wineshop keepers, and prostitutes to whom the missionaries addressed themselves did not antecedently possess an overwhelming interest in the things of the spirit; or, for that matter, in the Ten Commandments. But God's grace was not to be denied. The two missions resulted in so definite an improvement of the moral tone of the community that the people themselves—"the sailors and other inhabitants of the town," as Ledesma is careful to specify—begged the fathers to stay. Ledesma, newly appointed provincial, jibbed somewhat at this, remembering Acquaviva's warnings against overexpansion. Stoutly protesting that he was not going to be rushed into anything, he gave his consent to a prolonged—but still temporary mission. A certain Juan de Caraballo promptly produced a small house with a chapel attached and the fathers took up their residence there, in time to do yeoman's service with the regular navy chaplains during the fitting out of Silva's great armada.

Meanwhile two employees at the navy yard, a Genoese named Giulio Lombardo and an Irishman who had taken the Spanish name of Francisco Bautista, had been eyeing the Jesuits enviously for some time. They finally worked up enough courage to come forward and say that they wished to become lay brothers. They were gladly accepted, and when it came time for them to renounce their wordly goods, they said that they would like nothing better than to devote them to the construction of a stone church in the port, to be dedicated to Our Lady of Loretto. This was done, and on 2 December 1632 the Jesuit church of Loretto was inaugurated, with Don Lucas de Castro, a secular priest who had also contributed to it, celebrating the first Mass. It stood at the water's edge on the western side of the hook itself. No trace of it now remains, but its location is indicated in Murillo Velarde's map of 1734. Some years earlier, Archbishop García Serrano fairly anchored the Jesuits to the place by assigning to them the administration of one of the three Cavite parishes, that of the old native settlement of Kawit, which was for that reason called by the Spaniards

Cavite el Viejo. Cavite el Viejo stood at the base of the hook, on the eastern side where the anchorage was. This made it the principal resort of sailors on shore leave, with the consequences that may be expected. As Murillo Velarde put it drily, the parish was "less a flock of sheep than a herd of goats." The Jesuits tried to cope with the problem in every way they could think of; perhaps not the least effective of these was to dedicate the church they built there to Saint Mary Magdalen, and to pray that its bell tower, ringing mellowly at dawn and dusk and marking the beginnings and endings of our mortality, might now and again bring to the feet of Christ some nameless sister of the "woman who was a sinner."[36]

The good Lucas de Castro not only helped to build the church of Loretto but offered to endow it as a college. The provincial congregation of 1627 recommended to Vitelleschi that the offer be accepted; which he did, instituting a college of the same kind as that of Cebu and Iloilo, that is, where the resident fathers and brothers devoted themselves in part to the ministry and in part to the conduct of an elementary school. The document of foundation, signed at Manila on 21 August 1637, runs in part as follows:

> In the name of God almighty and of his blessed Mother . . . The licentiate Lucas de Castro, secular priest resident in this city . . . declared that forasmuch as the founding of colleges is productive of great good, besides being a work pleasing to God our Lord . . . he has conceived a desire to found in the port of Cavite of this city a college of the religious of the Society of Jesus where the holy sacraments may be administered, the holy gospel preached, and the children of the said port taught and shriven. To this end he gave fourteen thousand pesos in rials, according to the gold standard [*de oro común*], to Father Juan de Bueras, then provincial of this holy order, with which the said Father Provincial established the said college and proceeded to put into execution the pious intention of the undersigned, to the very great glory of God. And although at the time he bestowed the aforesaid moneys, he [Bueras] gave him a receipt for them, a legal instrument of this foundation was not drawn up; whereupon he besought Father Juan de Salazar, the present provincial of the Society of Jesus, to issue said instrument, that it might not be lacking to so memorable a work, This his Paternity, here present, consented to do in the following terms, to wit:
>
> That he [Salazar] declared that he fully acknowledged the said fourteen thousand pesos to have been well and truly delivered to his predecessor Father Juan de Bueras, and the foundation of the college therefrom well and truly made; and that he approved and ratified it fully and without reservations and according to all the requirements of law . . .[37]

Until 1619 the Chinese tenants of the Jesuit lands in the districts of Santa Cruz and Mayhaligi formed part of the parish of Quiapo. On 20 June of that year the secular parish priest of Quiapo, Don Gregorio Catena de Mesa, signed a document conceding the spiritual administration of these

tenants to the Jesuits, in accordance with the wishes of the administrator of the archdiocese *sede vacante*, Bishop Arce of Cebu, who authorized the transfer the same day.[38] A year later, on 20 October 1620, the new archbishop of Manila, Fray Miguel García Serrano, confirmed this disposition, stating the reasons for it:

> Whereas, it has come to our notice that in Santa Cruz and Mayhaligi, lands and properties which at present belong to the Society of Jesus, there are a number of Christian sangleys and other newly arrived sangleys who desire to be baptized and adopt our holy faith, and that in view of this it is necessary to assign them a priest and missionary who will assist them and take care of their spiritual needs; considering that the order of the Society of Jesus may well take charge of this ministry, We do hereby lay upon them this charge [namely] the ministry of the said sangleys who are at present residing and will in future reside in the said lands and properties of Santa Cruz and Mayhaligi of the said Society, and any others who may settle on the . . . little island in the middle of the river between the Parian and Quiapo; and We authorize them to found and construct a church either on the said island or in Santa Cruz . . . wherein they may administer the holy sacraments to the said sangleys and preach and give instruction to them in Christian doctrine and the law of the gospel.[39]

The "little island" referred to is clearly that on which the Hospicio de San José now stands; it was then known as *la isleta del río*, or simply Isleta. On 8 August 1625 Acting Governor Fernando de Silva gave the government's consent to the move, in accordance with the laws of the royal patronage; this was ratified by the new proprietary governor, Don Juan Niño de Tabora, upon his arrival the following year.[40] These details are necessary for an understanding of the troublesome controversy which arose later on regarding the administration of the parish of Santa Cruz. At the time of which we speak, however, no one grudged it to the Society, for the Chinese tenants in question were not very numerous—about 400 altogether in 1631—and all but 30 of them were still pagans. One of the first missionaries assigned to the post was Father Pedro Parrado, of whom we are told that he became quite fluent in the Fukien dialect; but the same may be said, to a greater or less degree, of his successors, for they quickly found that while the garbled Spanish which the sangleys picked up in the market place might be good enough for purposes of haggling, it did not quite serve to convey a proper understanding of the Creed. They must have been greatly aided in their work by the Chinese catechism which the Dominicans published at about the same time as their Tagalog catechism, that is, in 1593, and which has recently been edited by Father Gayo de Aragón of the University of Santo Tomás.[41]

At the request of Bishop Diego de Guevara of Nueva Cáceres two Jesuits, Father Juan de Torres and Brother Francisco Martín, were sent on a temporary mission to the Bondoc peninsula, which formed part of that

diocese. The mission lasted from 1620 to 1626, during which time Torres and Martín were able by ceaseless journeying and tactful dealing to organize the scattered clans into stable settlements; or, as the delighted bishop wrote to Ledesma in his cadenced Latin, "gregatim vivere, societatem amare, et in formam oppidorum tranquillam agere vitam."[42]

Another temporary mission, but one which like Cavite became a permanent establishment, was entrusted to the Society in 1621. This was the island of Malinding, hispanicized into Marinduque, where it may be recalled Chirino stopped on his way to found the mission of Tigbauan, and his ship's company had a marvellous time catching deer with their bare hands. It belonged to the archdiocese of Manila, and when the secular priest stationed there died, Archbishop García Serrano asked the Jesuits to take it over until he could find a replacement. He never did find one, so the Jesuits stayed and founded three towns: Boac, Santa Cruz, and Gasang, with a smaller settlement or visita attached to the last named. The special problem here was the prevalence of debt slavery, to the gradual extirpation of which the fathers devoted themselves. Among the most zealous of the missionaries of Marinduque was Father Juan de las Misas, whose death at the hands of the Camucones was mentioned earlier. Another was Domingo de Peñalver, who, not finding enough scope in little Marinduque, crossed over to the neighboring island of Mindoro in 1626 and gave a two-month mission during which he heard 1,500 confessions.[43]

Mindoro, like Marinduque, belonged to the Manila archdiocese. Its principal town at this time was Naujan, whose pastor, a secular priest, had invited Peñalver to give the mission, Tagalogs had settled on the seacoast, but the thickly forested interior was occupied by a more primitive people called the Mangians, about whose conversion nothing had as yet been done. Peñalver's successful mission gave the diocesan clergy of Mindoro the idea of asking the Jesuits to establish themselves permanently in Mindoro for the purpose of evangelizing the interior while they took care of the more settled Tagalog towns. This arrangement was put into effect in 1631. Juan de Bueras, the provincial at the time, constituted Mindoro and Marinduque a single mission, with three priests in residence at Naujan and two in Marinduque.[44] The Mindoro fathers, after a preliminary survey of their field of operations, estimated that there were about 6,000 Mangians altogether. The Annual Letter of 1632 stated:

> They wander through the forest fastnesses naked, save that nature prompts them to cover their private parts with the bark of trees . . . Gold and silver coins they esteem as nothing worth, but consider themselves wealthy if they own knives and cooking pots . . . If fortune smiles on them and they bring down a buffalo [the *tamarau* or wild carabao native to Mindoro], they spread a feast in which they piously make libations to their dead forbears, for being barbarians they consider all the good things that they receive to be a gift from their ancestors. If anyone

falls sick, the others, to effect his cure, cook a chicken and other foods and assemble the clan. The native who has power over the ancestral spirits [*qui avorum animis praeest*] summons them with strange cries and bids them to the feast, in order that they might make the sick man well again. The banquet over, they collect the choicer morsels which remain, take them to the river, and wading waist-deep into it plunge the morsels into the water. They then stir up the sand [of the river bed] this way and that, for so they think—poor misguided people—to restore to the sick man the health which the spirits had taken away.[45]

The Mangians had two big objections to becoming Christians. One was that up to that time whenever a Mangian became a Christian he invariably wound up as a slave of one of the seacoast Tagalogs. The fathers solved this problem by keeping their converts as much as possible from the Tagalog towns and having them form their own communities. The second was that the white priests were obviously complete strangers to their tribe; they seemed to mean well, but how could one be sure? For, in the experience of the tribe, the stranger was ever the enemy. One of the fathers stumbled upon an answer to this which was touching in its simplicity. He was trying one day to persuade an old matriarch of great influence to become a Christian, but none of his carefully marshaled arguments impressed her very much. Finally, wearying of the effort and merely in order to make conversation, he remarked that the old lady should bear in mind he was her relative, and that she could well take the place of his mother, who was of the same age. He saw her perk up with interest, and proceeded to trace her ancestry and his, with the aid of a tome of Cornelius a Lapide on his desk, back to the patriarchs of Genesis and through them to Adam and Eve. She listened enthralled, and when he finished cried out that since he was a member of her clan and no stranger, there was no reason why she and her household should not become Christians. By 1636 seven Mangian reductions had been organized by the fathers.[46]

Thus, in spite of the sudden shocks and recurrent crises to which the Dutch subjected Manila and its hinterland during this period, the Jesuits managed not only to continue but to expand their educational and missionary work over a large portion of that extensive archdiocese.

Chapter Sixteen

THE LAST CONQUISTADOR

Don Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera, knight of the Order of Alcántara, former governor of Panama and governor of the Philippines by royal appointment, arrived at Cavite with the Acapulco galleons of 1635 and took possession of his office on 24 June of that year. He was an excellent soldier. He was also, in the words of the Augustinian historian Díaz, "rigid and austere, tenacious of will and stubborn in his judgments."[1] He was particularly stubborn in maintaining the rights of the royal patronage, which he suspected ecclesiastics of continually trying to whittle down. He drew up for himself a list of guiding principles entitled: "Memorandum which I must read every day and keep as far as possible." Among these reminders was the following: "To take particular care of the royal jurisdiction and patronage, with which bishops and friars are trying to interfere in many ways. Giving in to them even a little in this matter is the reason why they refuse to obey the orders of his Majesty until they are compelled by main force."[2] Unfortunately for all concerned, Corcuera had in the archbishop of Manila an antagonist equally resolute in maintaining what he considered to be the immunities of the church. The result was that less than a year after his arrival, Corcuera had banished the archbishop to the small island of Corregidor at the entrance of Manila Bay, while the archbishop in turn had placed him under the ban of major excommunication and the entire city of Manila under an interdict. How this unprecedented situation came about may be briefly told.

The archbishop of Manila at this time was Fray Hernando Guerrero, an Augustinian of long residence in the Philippines. Corcuera's first brush with the prelate was over the attempt of a certain Fray Diego Collado, a Dominican, to divide the Philippine province of his order into two parts, with himself superior of one of them. His plan was to use the houses over which he claimed jurisdiction as a base for missionary expeditions to China and Japan. For this purpose he brought letters of authorization from Rome and a group of fellow Dominicans from Spain, who, because of the long beards they wore, were dubbed by the frivolous Manilans *los barbados*. Collado and his *barbados* sailed to the Philippines in the same vessel as Corcuera and succeeded in convincing him of the excellence of their project. As soon as they reached Manila, Corcuera authorized the division of the Dominican houses demanded by Collado,

a move which the Philippine Dominicans very naturally opposed. They appealed to Archbishop Guerrero and the Dominican bishop of Nueva Segovia, Fray Diego de Aduarte, both of whom vigorously took their part. Corcuera, with some reluctance, gave way.[3]

This was followed by a dispute concerning the right of sanctuary.[4] An artilleryman named Francisco de Nava owned a slave girl for whom he conceived such a passion that he offered to marry her if she would consent to him. This, however, she would in no wise do and, escaping his vigilance, fled to the house of a noble lady who promised to protect her. Nava, maddened by her rejection of him, saw the girl one day riding in a carriage behind her new mistress, and leaping into the carriage stabbed her to death. Then he ran into the Augustinian convent nearby and demanded the right of sanctuary, which was accorded him. Corcuera did not think that sanctuary could be involved in such a case, and demanded the surrender of the fugitive. The Augustinians refused, and the archbishop supported them. In spite of this Corcuera sent a detachment of soldiers into the Augustinian convent, forcibly extracted Nava and delivered him to the officer of his unit for summary court martial. Sentence of death having been passed, Corcuera pointedly had him hanged in a special gallows erected in front of the Augustinian church.

The third in this mounting series of controversies was occasioned by Corcuera's attempt to execute a decree of banishment against the vicar general of the archdiocese, Don Pedro de Monroy. Monroy, who had been in office a long time, seems to have spent a considerable part of it in defending the right of sanctuary. In 1623, and again in 1629, he harbored fugitives from the royal justice, fulminating excommunications against the officials who tried to take them away. He became so troublesome that Governor Fajardo signed a decree banishing him from the realm, but for some reason or other the decree was never executed. Corcuera saw no reason why there should be any further delay; he ordered Monroy arrested. The archbishop, however, and with him a considerable number of the Manila clergy, were immediately up in arms. Corcuera then tried to persuade the archbishop at least to remove Monroy from office. But the archbishop was adamant; Monroy had given *him* no reason for complaint. Certain Jesuits who tried to intervene as peacemakers in this deadlock met the not unusual fate of peacemakers; they were rebuffed by the archbishop and his partisans, and some even voiced the suspicion that they sympathized with Corcuera's view of the matter. Possibly they did; in any case, their efforts came to nothing.

At this juncture Corcuera received a report from the officer in charge of the Spanish garrison in Formosa loudly complaining of the friar attached as military vicar to his command and urging his recall. This gave Corcuera the opportunity he was looking for. Thinking to kill two birds with one

stone, he ordered Monroy to leave at once for Formosa and relieve the friar. While Monroy merely declined the appointment, alleging poor health, Archbishop Guerrero went further. He called a meeting of superiors and other representatives of the religious orders for the purpose of deciding whether or not the governor's action constituted a violation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. All agreed to come except the Jesuits, whose provincial, Luís de Pedraza, replied to the archbishop's invitation in the following terms:

> Very illustrious Lord: It seems that the more the Society tries to be of service to your illustrious Lordship and your vicar general by promoting peace in the commonwealth and harmonious relations between its ecclesiastical and civil heads, so much the more do certain parties (I do not know whether with the same good intention) persist in misinterpreting our efforts, extracting, as the saying goes, poison from the antidote. I therefore fail to see what useful purpose will be served by our attendance, or what difference it will make if our views are not heard; for whatever may be said is bound to be received in the same spirit as our recent well-intentioned attempts at mediation.[5]

Those who did attend the meeting heartily endorsed the archbishop's decision to inform Corcuera that Monroy was not available for the Formosa post and to warn him that "to appoint a vicar or to confer ecclesiastical authority and jurisdiction or the [power of] administering the sacraments belongs exclusively to the prelates of the church and not to the secular government." Corcuera's reply to this is one of the clearest statements of the powers of the *patronato* as they were understood by the colonial administrators of the period. He recognized, he said, the right of diocesan prelates to approve the appointment of their subjects before they could exercise jurisdiction or administer the sacraments. But the right to make the appointment belonged to the government. This was the case with the prelates themselves, who were appointed by the king and confirmed in their appointment by the pope; while in the case of parish priests and assistant parish priests the procedure in the Philippines was for the diocesan prelate to submit three names for each post from which the governor in the king's name chose one. In the case of canonries, prebends, and military chaplaincies, it was the governor who had the exclusive right to make the appointment, the appointees merely obtaining from the competent prelate confirmation of their appointment afterwards. To follow any other procedure would be to contravene the royal patronato.

Nevertheless Monroy did not go to Formosa. All that Corcuera could get from the archbishop was his reluctant consent to deprive Monroy of the vicarship; but this was, after all, what he wanted in the first place. Archbishop Guerrero now turned on the Jesuits for not supporting him against the governor and with the approval of the junta from which they absented themselves deprived them of the faculties to preach and hear confessions in the archdiocese. Corcuera immediately intervened in favor

of the Jesuits, the commissary-general of the Inquisition intervened in favor of the archbishop, and there was general unpleasantness. The city pulpits rang with fiery denunciations of tyrannical government, prompting Corcuera to write into his private memorandum a reminder that he ought "to suffer preachers with patience, for they are bound to criticize and revile even an angel."

He did not, however, intend to yield an inch, even for the sake of peace, where he believed his royal master's patronal rights to be in question. His resolution was now put to the test. In 1636 the dean or senior prebendary of the cathedral, Don Francisco de Valdés, who was ailing, submitted his resignation to the archbishop. Guerrero refused to accept it, for Corcuera would be sure to make a test case out of the new appointment. But Valdés was determined to retire, and so made a renunciation of his prebend directly to the governor as vice-patron. The fat was now in the fire. Corcuera accepted the renunciation and appointed as successor—or, in the legal terminology of the time, "presented" to the diocesan prelate—the parish priest of La Ermita, Don Andrés Arias Girón. The archbishop rejected the presentation on the grounds that the post was not yet vacant. At the same time he reminded Valdés that his resignation had not been accepted and warned the cathedral chapter not to recognize Girón. To make assurance doubly sure he subjected Girón to an episcopal visitation and ordered him out of city.

Girón appealed to the audiencia, which at that time consisted of only one oidor, Marcos Zapata. When Zapata sustained Girón's contention he was promptly excommunicated by the archbishop for interfering in ecclesiastical affairs. Corcuera then appointed three lawyers to take cognizance of the case. This commission found that in excommunicating Zapata the archbishop had committed *fuerza*, that is, had exceeded his jurisdiction. Summoned to lift the censure on Zapata, Guerrero complied, but he still stoutly refused to confirm Girón's appointment, nor would he show cause why he refused. The audiencia, that is, Corcuera and Zapata then began to issue a series of injunctions calling upon him to submit or suffer banishment from the realm and sequestration of his goods.

The archbishop stood his ground. Corcuera and Zapata now had to make good their threat. On 9 May 1636 they decided to take Guerrero into custody; but after nightfall, so as to avoid a commotion in the city. Guerrero got wind of the plan. Vesting in full pontificals he sent for the blessed Sacrament to be brought to him in a pyx. He took it, and holding it before him he sat down in his reception hall, surrounded by his priests, to await his captors. This was the scene that met the soldiers sent to execute the arrest when they arrived. They saw the frail old man who was their Lord Archbishop holding before him, like a shield, God. Struck with awe, they refused to carry out their orders. One of the officers in command

pushed a soldier forward, calling on him to lay hold of the prelate. The priests intervened. A scuffle ensued, during which the pyx slipped from the archbishop's hands to the floor. There was a gasp of horror, and the soldier who thought himself responsible for the sacrilege unsheathed his sword and tried to kill himself.

There was nothing the officers could do but order the priests off the premises and the men to wait until the archbishop should get tired and relinquish the blessed Sacrament. Meanwhile, just before ten o'clock, the bells of the cathedral began to toll *cessatio a divinis*, the dread interdict which stopped all public worship in the city and forbade the rites of Christian burial to the dead. The bells of the other churches followed. People in their amazement began to pour out of their houses and mill about until Corcuera joined the night watch in person and ordered the streets cleared. All this while the bells tolled over the darkened city and filled the silence in the hall where soldiers watched a tired old man and waited. At one o'clock in the morning the archbishop could hold out no longer. He gave the pyx to the solitary Franciscan who had been allowed to keep vigil with him, and surrendering himself to his captors, was taken to the island of Corregidor.[6]

The temporary administrator of the archdiocese elected by the cathedral chapter, Bishop Zamudio, absolved Corcuera and Zapata from excommunication and raised the interdict in time for the city to celebrate the feast of Pentecost (11 May). Corcuera sent four of the chapter priests to Archbishop Guerrero with an offer of restoration to his see on three conditions: first, that he would confirm all the acts of jurisdiction performed by Zamudio as administrator of the archdiocese; second, that he would confirm the appointment of Girón; third, that in the government of his see he would accept the advice of an *asesor* or legal expert who would be appointed for the purpose. Guerrero accepted these terms, but in a private protestation declared that he did so "in order to free himself from restraint and to procure the peace of his church and the quiet of his flock while awaiting the decision of the royal and supreme Council of the Indies."[7]

What that decision was we learn from a marginal notation on a transcript of the sentence passed on Corcuera after his residencia. It said, with reference to the controversy, that "in a paragraph of his letter of 17 February 1639, his Majesty ordered this whole matter to be forgotten." The finding of the *juez de residencia* on the charge that Corcuera's proceedings in ecclesiastical affairs had been irregular was that "fraud is neither charged nor proven; on the contrary, the royal ministers of justice certify that all this was necessary and demanded by the service of God and of the king our lord and the glory of the royal arms."[8] The king himself put it much more strongly in a communication which he addressed to Archbishop Guerrero on 30 May 1640:

It has been called to my attention that you have engaged in disputes and shown a lack of cooperation with the president as well as the oidores and other officials of the audiencia [of Manila] as a result of certain grudges and resentments you have conceived with no reasonable foundation save that the measures taken by the said audiencia to protect my patronage and royal authority did not seem to you very appropriate. If you had borne in mind what was advantageous to my service and conformable to the dignity of your person and office, you might well have avoided all this. I therefore deem it necessary to inform you (as I now do) that I consider myself to have been uncommonly ill served in this whole affair, especially by what has been noted and proved against you, namely, your refusal to cooperate as you ought with the said my audiencia, and to respect it as a tribunal which represents the supreme authority of my person, and upon which depends the administration of justice in so distant and extensive a portion of my dominions . . . You will do well in future to conduct yourself with greater circumspection and restraint, extending toward all officials and especially to the president and oidores of the said audiencia the cooperation and deference which is due, and treating them in general and in particular with the respect and courtesy to which their quality and the nature of the office which they hold obliges you . . . And rest assured that if this my admonition does not suffice to restrain and moderate your behavior, I shall be forced to take stronger measures in your regard, having recourse if necessary to his Holiness for the execution of whatever may be most convenient for my service and the good government and welfare of the realm. You will recognize from its effects the severe indignation with which I shall proceed; for it is not fitting that that republic should be put in such imminent risk of being lost because of your rash and imprudent way of acting.[9]

Seldom if ever has so stinging a rebuke been administered to a prelate by the most Catholic king of Spain. Whether it was deserved or not, it is an excellent indication of the extreme sensitivity of the Crown to anything that might seem to abridge its rights of patronage. We shall indeed do well, as Philip IV advised his archbishop, to remember this in future.

As mentioned earlier, the establishment of the Zamboanga garrison was not very popular either with the troops or with the citizens of Manila. For the troops it was too remote and exposed a post; for the citizens it was a drain on the colonial finances which yielded, to them at least, no particular advantage. Almost from the moment of his arrival in the Philippines Corcuera was plagued with petitions that the garrison be withdrawn, on the grounds that it did not perform, and was incapable of performing the function for which it was intended, namely, to prevent the Moslem corsairs from making their annual incursions on the Visayan islands.[10] Some color was given to this argument by the fact that in April 1636 a powerful Magindanau armada did succeed in breaking past Zamboanga. It had been organized by Kudrat, now undisputed lord of the Great River, and commanded by his most trusted officer Tagal. Tagal led the armada to Cuyo in the Calamianes, where he captured the corregidor himself of the

region, Diego de Alabes, and three Recollect missionaries. He then proceeded to Mindoro where he put Alabes ashore in order that he might go to Manila for his ransom and that of the Recollects. The ransom demanded was 2,000 silver pesos and 30 taels of gold for each person. On his homeward voyage Tagal encountered a flotilla of Camucones returning from a raid on Samar and Albay; he fell upon them with fine impartiality, stripped them of their booty and slaves, and sent them scurrying to their hiding places on the Palawan coast.[11]

The Zamboanga garrison had indeed failed badly. Corcuera, however, seems to have suspected a certain indifference in the officers stationed there as to whether it succeeded or not, for his first move was to replace them, sending Major Bartolomé Díaz Barrera as governor of the fort and Major Nicolás González as his second in command. His second move was to put three companies of Spanish and one company of Pampango troops, about 400 men altogether, in eleven sampans, and with this small force to attempt what his predecessors had never got around to doing properly: the conquest of Magindanau. As chaplains of the expedition he appointed two Jesuits, Father Juan de Barrios, his confessor, and Father Marcello Mastrilli.

Mastrilli had had an unusual experience while stationed at the College of Naples.[12] He was dismantling an altar which had been set up in the palace of the viceroy for the feast of the Immaculate Conception in 1633 when a carpenter accidentally dropped a hammer from a height and struck him on the head. He was taken to the college unconscious. Three days later he developed a high fever, and three weeks later lockjaw and paralysis of the left arm. The doctors confessed that they could do nothing more with him. He received extreme unction but could not be given the viaticum because of the state of his jaw. He managed to convey by signs that he wanted a painting of Saint Francis Xavier to be placed beside his bed. During his illness he had made a promise with his provincial's consent that if God should deign to cure him through Xavier's intercession, he would spend the rest of his life as a missionary in the East. The morning after his anointing he was able to receive holy communion without any difficulty, and the morning after that, completely cured, he went down to the church to say Mass. That same afternoon the cardinal archbishop of Naples sent notaries to the college to take down testimonies regarding his recovery, which was considered miraculous. Mastrilli declared that on the night after he had asked Xavier's picture to be brought to him (2–3 January), the saint appeared to him in a vision, reminded him of his promise to go to the Indies, and told him he was cured.

Mastrilli readily obtained permission from Father General Vitelleschi to fulfill his promise by going to Japan. On his way there, however, his vessel was driven by a storm into Manila Bay, and he and the four Italian

Jesuits with him stepped ashore at Cavite on 31 July 1636. His story attracted a great deal of attention in Manila and great crowds came to the college church to hear him preach. He was about to resume his journey when Corcuera asked him to put it off in order to accompany the Magindanau expedition as chaplain. He agreed.

The expedition left Manila on 2 February 1637 and stopped briefly at Iloilo for supplies.[13] Good news was brought to Corcuera there by Gregorio Belín, one of the Jesuit missionaries stationed at Zamboanga. Tagal's armada, laden with spoils, had sought to avoid an encounter with the Zamboanga garrison by sailing around the southern shore of Basilan island instead of through the strait. They were, however, sighted by Iba, a Lutau datu friendly to the Spaniards, who flew to Zamboanga with the news. Major González at once set out to lay an ambush for Tagal at a point of land midway between Zamboanga and the Great River called Punta Flechas. The naval squadron at Zamboanga had by this time added to the heavy galley of Mediterranean design a number of light fast caracoas, similar to those of the Magindanaus. González and his force therefore had no difficulty in reaching Punta Flechas before Tagal's fleet.

The local name for Punta Flechas was Panaon; the Spaniards gave it the name they did because of the arrows which bristled on the cliff face of the headland. For the Magindanaus and other peoples of the area it was the habitation of a divinity, and whenever they set out on a voyage, it was their custom to cruise past it to discharge a flight of arrows. If their arrows buried themselves in the cliff, they would have good fortune; if they struck aslant or fell off, bad. On their return, if successful, they would pass by again; but this time, besides saluting the god with arrows, they would come ashore to lay a thanks-offering at the foot of the cliff. It was for this reason that González was fairly sure Tagal would fall into his trap.

And fall he did. Caught completely unawares and hampered by their booty, the Magindanaus were decisively defeated. Tagal was killed. So was one of the three captive Recollects, who received three bullets in the chest. The surviving raiders managed to get away with the other two. Tagal's treasure chest, containing 6,000 pesos in gold, was captured; 300 of the enemy taken prisoner; 120 Christian captives liberated; many sacred vessels and vestments recovered. The action took place, propitiously enough, on Christmas day 1636. This was the news which Belín brought to Corcuera at Iloilo. The expedition left immediately, reached Zamboanga on 22 February, got under way again on 4 March, and reached the mouth of the Great River on 13 March. Kudrat's defenses consisted of a flotilla of 300 warboats based on the fortified town of Lamitan. Corcuera swept the warboats off the water and captured in the process two large merchant craft from Java, full of merchandise and slaves. He then effected a landing, stormed Lamitan and took it. Kudrat, however, was able to retire in

passably good order to his second and main line of defense, the hill fortress of Magindanau.

On 16 March Major González arrived with reinforcements from Zamboanga. Corcuera set up camp before Magindanau and scheduled an attack for the next day. His plan called for a two-pronged assault: González with 120 Spaniards, 30 Pampangos, and 80 Visayan service troops to take the stronghold from the rear while the rest of the force under Corcuera's personal command attacked frontally. González and his force left camp at six in the morning. He was to sound a trumpet as soon as he was in position, in order that the two attacks might be made simultaneously. He reached his area without incident, but before giving the signal sent out the usual patrols to protect his flanks and feel out the enemy's lines. One of these, disobeying his orders, attacked prematurely. González was obliged to come to its support, and the signal was never given. Kudrat, able to give González his undivided attention, threw him back with heavy loss. González dug in at the foot of the hill, and when night fell Kudrat withdrew his forces.

Kudrat, realizing that González led only a part of the attacking force, must have divined Corcuera's intentions and prepared for a frontal assault on the following day. Corcuera, outguessing him, scrapped the plan and sent word to González to attack as soon as it was light, without bothering to sound a signal. Corcuera was at Mass when the guns at the rear of the stronghold went into action; González had engaged. Retaining only a small holding force to simulate a frontal attack, he sent the the bulk of his troops around to González and ordered him to drive home the assault in that sector. The plan succeeded. In spite of the desperate resistance of Kudrat's men the stronghold was taken. Kudrat himself, badly wounded, was barely able to escape. His principal wife and other women, caught inside the citadel, killed themselves to escape capture.[14]

On 20 March Mastrilli went up to the captured stronghold with Corcuera; but so great was the stench of the unburied dead that they did not stay long. Corcuera ordered all the defenses razed to the ground and returned to his base at Lamitan. There he learned that Kudrat had been taken by his retainers to a remote inland village and that his life was despaired of. He at once sent Major Pedro Palomino and Father Melchor de Vera with 100 Spanish troops to Bwayan, where Mongkai, Kudrat's nephew, was lord. They were to offer him the rule of the Great River under a Spanish protectorate; if he agreed, he was to send envoys to Corcuera at Zamboanga with powers to ratify a treaty of peace under Corcuera's conditions. On 25 March Corcuera left for Zamboanga. Three hours out of Lamitan he was met by a squadron of 40 vessels bringing 1,200 Visayans who had volunteered for service against the Magindanaus. They were accompanied by Pedro Gutiérrez, the Jesuit rector of

Dapitan. Corcuera told them to report to Palomino and continued on his way.

Mongkai sent his brother to Zamboanga to accept Corcuera's terms. They were: immediate release of all Christian captives in the Great River; payment of tribute to the Spanish government; freedom for Jesuit missionaries to preach Christianity; establishment of a Spanish fort in the area; and an offensive and defensive alliance between the Magindanaus and the Spaniards, in virtue of which Mongkai was obliged to deliver Kudrat to the Spaniards. Raja Bungsu of Jolo was quick to realize that the new Spanish governor meant business, made decisions quickly, and moved the moment they were made. He made immediate preparations for a major war and, in order to gain time to complete them, sent his prime minister, Datu Ache, to make peace overtures. Corcuera gave the wily datu little opportunity for protracted negotiations. He demanded as a preliminary condition even for the discussion of a treaty the surrender by Jolo of all claims to the island of Basilan and its outright annexation by Spain. With that, he sent Datu Ache back to his master and, disdaining to wait for a reply, asked two Jesuits, Gregorio Belín and Francisco Angel, to go to Basilan, receive the submission of its datus to the Spanish government, and establish a mission station. He then set sail for Manila and stepped ashore at Cavite on 19 May, after an absence of a little more than three months.

Manila prepared a Roman triumph for the conquistador. The vessel in which he made the crossing from Cavite was met by gaily decorated sampans which escorted it not to the usual landing place near the river gate but to one specially prepared on the beach near the southern or royal gate. A suburb had sprung up here, populated chiefly by Spaniards who preferred to live in the open countryside rather than within the city wall; and because of its recent development it was called the New Town—Bagumbayan. Here, then, the triumphal procession was formed, and, passing through the royal gate, marched up Calle Real, past the Jesuit college, to the cathedral. First came Nicolás González's company, that had won the battle of Punta Flechas, carrying the captured standards of Tagal. Then came the seamen of the expedition, marching in two lines, with the Chinese and Filipino captives who had been liberated in the campaign marching between them. Then came the Magindanau prisoners, the women and children walking free, the men in chains, and after them service troops carrying stacks of captured weapons. Next in order marched the Pampango troops, followed by a great rumbling and clattering as the horses of Corcuera's artillery dragged the guns captured at Lamitan and Magindanau. But even the noise they made was drowned in the cheers that went up from the crowds that lined the street and filled the windows, for after them came Corcuera himself, preceded by six boys dragging in the dust in front of him the captured standards of Kudrat.

Opposite the College of Manila the Jesuits had erected a tremendous triumphal arch, and as Corcuera approached it the provincial, Juan de Salazar, stepped forward to offer his congratulations and the church choir and orchestra struck up a rousing song which nobody heard because of the pealing of the bells in the tower immediately above them. Corcuera finally reached the cathedral, where the members of the audiencia, the cathedral chapter, and the city corporation waited to welcome him. There was one pointed absence. The archbishop was not there.

Word came of warlike preparations in Jolo.[15] War bands not only from the other Sulu islands but from as far away as Macassar and Melayu were flocking to Raja Bungsu's capital. Elaborate fortifications were being built, under Datu Ache's direction, around the hilltop citadel. To Corcuera's demand for Basilan a short reply was returned: who demanded Basilan from the Sulus demanded war, not peace. Corcuera accepted the challenge. On 4 January 1638 he appeared before Jolo with 80 vessels of all types, 600 Spanish and 3,000 Filipino troops. Accompanying the expedition were five Jesuits: Pedro Gutiérrez, Juan de Barrios, Melchor de Vera, Francisco Martínez, and Gregorio Belín. A sixth, Alejandro López, joined them later. Before commencing hostilities, Corcuera sent Belín to the citadel with a summons to submit. Bungsu refused him entrance, but sent an emissary to ask for time to consider the terms of surrender. Corcuera considered this a delaying tactic and proceeded to encircle the Sulu stronghold.

The hill which the Sulus had chosen for their stronghold stood about two and a half miles from the coast. It had an almost level top on which was a spring of fresh water. Its sides rose so steeply from the level ground that it did not measure much more at the base than at the summit. To these natural advantages Datu Ache had added a formidable system of defenses. There were only two places at which an assault by the forces at Corcuera's disposal had any chance of success: the approach to the main entrance of the citadel on the east, and on the north the bed of the little stream formed by the spring. Corcuera built a ring of eight blockhouses completely around the stronghold, but concentrated the bulk of his forces at the two more accessible points. He wanted to see whether he could take it by storm. On 19 February he ordered a general assault. It was repelled with great carnage. Corcuera now fell back on standard siege operations. He ordered five mines dug against Datu Ache's principal defenses. Three were exploded successfully. One blew up a rampart with 50 men on it. But it was Admiral Pedro de Almonte who broke the spirit of the defenders. Working with incredible speed, he managed to push a masked bastion to a slight rise of ground outside the citadel's defenses. The operation was screened so successfully that it was completed before the Sulus could take counter measures. When Almonte

finally unmasked his batteries, dismay and dissension took possession of the citadel.

On 5 April a Lutau warrior stole from the fort, hailed the Spanish lines and asked to be taken to Father Pedro Gutiérrez. If the Lutaus made a separate peace, would their lives be spared? Corcuera authorized the Jesuit to give them this assurance. The following day, envoys from Raja Bungsu himself came to ask for terms. Corcuera told them that a safe-conduct would be extended to the Lutaus, the Macassars, and any other allied troops who surrendered; but as for the Sulus, they must surrender at discretion. The Lutaus and the Macassars now began to abandon the citadel, apparently without hindrance from the Sulus. Raja Bungsu asked for a personal interview with Corcuera under a flag of truce. The request was granted, but Corcuera answered him as he had answered his envoys; the Sulus must surrender unconditionally. Bungsu doubted if he could persuade his datus, but promised to try. The truce was extended to give him time.

The next day Bungsu, relying on the chivalry of the Spaniards, sent down his principal wife, the Lady Baluka, and the other women of his household. He was not mistaken; they were kept prisoner but treated well. Some of the Sulus now took advantage of the truce by escaping from the fort under cover of darkness. When Corcuera expressed his displeasure at this to the Lady Baluka, she said that if she was permitted to return to the citadel she would put a stop to it. Corcuera agreed. The next thing he knew, both Raja Bungsu and Tuan Baluka, with a considerable number of their retainers, had slipped through his lines and escaped into the inaccessible interior of the island. He lost no time in occupying the citadel, which the remaining Sulus made no move to defend. It was in this unsatisfactory fashion that Corcuera's Jolo campaign ended.

Still, what he had won was not inconsiderable. Bungsu's capital and citadel were his, and with them all the artillery on which much of the power of the Sulus depended. All portable property was confiscated, and after the troops had taken their share of the booty, what was left to the Crown netted 28,345 pesos, which was 2,031 pesos more than the cost of the entire campaign. Corcuera took surprisingly few prisoners, only 192 altogether, men, women, and children. We do not know under what formality these were chosen; but they were taken to Manila and sold at public auction, bringing into the treasury 20,815 pesos more. We must, however, record Archbishop Guerrero's comment on this transaction. He said that when Corcuera could not unload all his prisoners on the public, he forced them on the troops at 150 pesos per head, deductible from their pay, when in the open market they were worth, at most, 60 or 70 pesos.[16]

Having left a garrison of 200 Spanish and 200 Pampango troops at Jolo, with Captain Ginés Rós de Avilés as governor and Fathers Francisco

Martínez and Alejandro López as chaplains, Corcuera returned to Manila and was received with the wildest enthusiasm. On 31 May 1638 he was given a second triumph, even more splendid than the last. In two successive years he had planted the banner of Spain on the two principal strongholds of the predatory power that had for almost half a century brought death and destruction to all the islands of the Visayas and almost to the very gates of Manila itself. He had done it, moreover, with a calm assurance of power, a supreme self-confidence, that captivated the imagination of the colonists, dispelling their late fears of going under before the repeated assaults of the heretic Dutch with a breath from the spacious age of the conquistadors. Boys at their games, faithfully reflecting the preoccupations of their elders, fell to playing Españoles and Mindanaos, with a Corcuera, wooden sword in air, leading the charge against the defiant ranks of a Kudrat. Juan López, one of the Cavite Jesuits, relates with amusement that school having been dismissed early the day before the town celebrated the victory of Jolo, a band of boys went to the new fort under construction, there to re-enact the battle of Magindanau on the unfinished ramparts. The two "armies" went at each other with such conviction that "Kudrat" refused to do what was expected of him, standing his ground instead of fleeing. He was pushed over a parapet by the outraged "Spaniards" and had to have five stitches sewn on his scalp; but López saw him at the parade the next day, as lively as ever, though his head was swathed in bandages.[17]

On the night of 20 November 1639 a courier galloped into Manila with the news that the Chinese of Calamba, a state settlement project on the south shore of the Lake of Bai, had risen in revolt and were marching toward the city.[18] Corcuera at once dispatched a cavalry unit of 30 men under Captain Martín de Aduna to find out the strength, location, and intentions of the rebels. He then opened the city gates to permit the Spaniards resident outside the walls to come in with their families and valuables, shut them again, and began hasty preparations for defense.

Governor Tabora's plan of compelling a part of the Chinese population of Manila to cultivate public land in Calamba under government auspices was put into execution by Corcuera soon after his arrival in the Philippines. The Chinese, who had emigrated not to farm but to trade, were thoroughly opposed to the project, but they were given no option. Forcibly transported to Calamba they were assigned plots of land for which they were expected to pay rent to the government at the rate of 25 pesos a year. The land was fertile but poorly drained and malarial; in 1639 more than 300 of the settlers fell sick and died. As the year drew to a close the alcalde mayor of La Laguna and supervisor of the Calamba project, Don Luís Arias de Mora, began to press for the land rent and, as Díaz suggests, added numerous other exactions of his own which finally drove the settlers to

desperation. Arming themselves with brush knives, mattocks, and pikes improvised by lashing scythes and sickles to the end of poles, they rushed the town of Calamba, cut Arias up into little pieces, killed the two priests of the parish, and set out, 3,000 strong, toward Manila.

Aduna's cavalry made contact with the advanced units of the rebels in the vicinity of San Pedro Tunasan. In the ensuing skirmish Aduna was killed and his men fell back on Parañaque. The rebels, pressing steadily on, reached San Pedro Makati on 22 November. The community of the Jesuit residence there consisted of one priest, Francisco Vicente, and two lay brothers, Stefano Oliverio and Raymundo Alberto. When they saw the Chinese approach, they took refuge on the roof of the church together with the servants of the hacienda, while 500 frightened refugees from the surrounding countryside barricaded themselves inside the church itself. The rebels had no difficulty battering down the doors. They overpowered the people within and set fire to the woodwork in the church and the residence. The Jesuits and their companions managed to keep them off the church roof with bricks but, tortured by thirst and suffocated by the smoke from the burning buildings, they shouted to the rebels that they would come down if their lives were spared. The rebels consented, and the three Jesuits surrendered with fifteen of the servants. The others preferred to wait; they were wise. The rebels treated Father Vicente well, for he was a valuable hostage; the two lay brothers they bound; the servants they put to death.

At this juncture one of the flying columns sent out by Corcuera came upon them and promptly opened fire. It was a small but well disciplined force consisting of 80 Spanish cavalry, 200 Spanish infantry, 100 Pampangos, 400 Tagalogs, and two field artillery pieces, with Major Julio de Arceo in command. The Chinese, hard-pressed, sent Father Vicente across the lines to ask for terms. Negotiations were still in progress when a Spanish patrol boat came up the river behind the Chinese, landed a small force and attacked. Caught by surprise, the Chinese panicked, and instead of securing the church and residence abandoned it to the marines. The rebel commander hurriedly loosed Brother Alberto from his bonds and ordered him across the line of fire to tell the marines that a parley was in progress. Alberto did so, but having gone half way he looked back and saw that the Chinese were preparing to retire from the field. Whereupon waving his arms wildly, he shouted at the top of his lungs: "Spaniards! Up and at them! They flee!" Arceo and the marines sprang to the attack on the instant. The rebels streamed wildly through both ends of the closing pincers. In the confusion, Brother Oliverio managed to free himself. 300 rebels were left dead on the field and 300 more were taken prisoner.

The panic was contagious. The main body of the rebels now broke up

into two parts. One, consisting of about 1,500 men, backtracked to Calamba and fortified themselves on a hill. Two Spanish columns wiped them out; only 300 were able to break through the lines to safety. The other rabble of rebels (for by this time it was nothing more than that) streamed northward, bypassing Manila, toward San Mateo and the Sierra Madre foothills. Taytay and Antipolo lay across their path. The people of Taytay put up a spirited resistance but were overwhelmed by numbers. At Antipolo the defenders were also swept aside by that stampeding human herd. The rector of the residence, Father Alonso de Arroyo, barely had time to hide his church's most precious treasure, the statue of Our Lady of Peace, and the crucifix above the altar in the neighboring wood of Ginapau. A band of rebels found them there, thrust their lances in the statue, and threw it along with the crucifix into a bonfire. When Spanish troops arrived on the scene, the bonfire had reduced itself to ashes and consumed the wood of the crucifix. But the corpus of the crucifix and the Lady statue, which were also of wood, though charred, were unhurt. Our Lady of Antipolo returned in triumph to her church; but Corcuera asked for the crucifix and placed it for a perpetual remembrance in the royal chapel which he built in Fort Santiago for the troops of the garrison.

While these actions were taking place in the field, Corcuera at Manila took desperate measures which are difficult to justify. He ordered all the Chinese inside the walled city to be put to the sword without mercy. An oidor of the audiencia and the two alcaldes ordinarios, accompanied by a detachment of troops, went from house to house, took out all the Chinese they could find, and executed them on the spot. The Chinese in the Parian, hearing of this, took equally desperate measures to protect themselves. To understand what followed it must be borne in mind that in the Parian those who belonged to the same trade tried as far as possible to set up their shops on the same street, and doubtless had a guild of their own. Thus the streets came to be known after the tradesmen who had their shops on it; one of these, Arroceros, Rice Vendors Street, survives today, though the rice vendors have long since gone.

On Friday, 2 December 1639, the sangleys of Pork Sellers Lane raised the standard of revolt. They were joined by their neighbors the ink manufacturers, and, a mob forming, a kind of madness seized them, so that they began to pull down and burn their own quarter over their heads, starting from the street of the armorers. Soon the entire Parian was in flames, and in the livid glare of the conflagration the sangleys ran screaming and yelling around the city. But finding that they could neither force the gates nor scale the walls, they soon tired of this sport and drew off to join the rebel encampment near San Mateo. This was exactly what Corcuera hoped they would do, for he wanted to deal with them in the open, away from the populated suburbs. He set off in pursuit, fanning out

his cavalry patrols as far north as Bocaue and as far south as Baras in order to ride herd on the fleeing sangleys and keep them together so that they could be the more easily cut down or captured. Large numbers were massacred in flight, but the survivors managed to effect a juncture with the Calamba rebels, forming a multitude of about 6,000. Crossing the San Mateo River, they fell back southeastward before Corcuera until they found a strong position between Lumban and Cabinti, on the eastern shore of Bai. Here they dug in for a last stand, for they expected no mercy either from the Spaniards or from the surrounding Tagalog population.

And, indeed, Corcuera's first intention was to exterminate them. He had already sent couriers to all the provinces ordering a general massacre of the Chinese. At Cavite the commander of the naval station, Alonso García Romero, rounded up all the Chinese residents, squeezed them into the town hall, and took them out in batches of ten to be shot. As the grim carnage proceeded, the prisoners left in the town hall made a wild break for their lives. Troops held in readiness nearby mowed them down. Eleven hundred perished. In Pampanga, 1,800 were beheaded at the orders of the alcalde mayor, Santiago Gastelú; in Bulacan, 500; in Tondo (the present province of Rizal), 300; in La Laguna, 200; in Pangasinan, 500; in Ilocos, 100; and so in the other provinces. It is estimated that by March 1640 a total of 22,000 Chinese had perished as a consequence of the uprising. At Cabinti, however, wiser counsels prevailed, whether Corcuera's own, or that of his advisers. We know at least that Father Onofre Esbrí, the Jesuit parish priest of Santa Cruz, who spoke fluent Chinese, was sent for and authorized to offer terms of surrender to the rebel commanders. They accepted, and the residue of the Chinese population of Manila—6,000 out of an estimated 33,000—laid down their arms. They were escorted back to the city under heavy guard, more to protect them from the civilian population than to prevent their escape. There they were divided into two classes, Christian and pagan. The Christian Chinese were permitted to reside in the Jesuit parish of Santa Cruz; the pagan Chinese were assigned a stockaded enclosure in the Dominican parish of Binondo and forbidden under heavy penalties to go more than half a mile outside of it. No sangleys were permitted in the provinces at all, either as residents or as itinerant peddlers, and the Calamba project was given up. But both Spaniards and Filipinos were too dependent on them as skilled workers, suppliers of commodities and sources of income for these restrictions to last. Within a few years the Spanish owners of the Parian lots had rebuilt the shops on them (with Chinese labor) and were collecting rent (from Chinese tradesmen); while the peddlers' barges were once again on the move, bringing up to the fall line of the rivers the myriad products of Chinese ingenuity, from crowbars to combs, from pistols to porcelain.

On his way back to Manila from Jolo, Corcuera stopped at Zamboanga

and made the following dispositions. He appointed Admiral Almonte governor of Zamboanga and commander-in-chief of all the Spanish forces in the Mindanao and Sulu area. Captain Cristóbal Marquez he dispatched to Magindanau with orders to establish a fort at Bwayan and enlist Mongkai's help to reduce Kudrat to submission. The conquest of the territory around Lake Lanao, in the center of the island, he entrusted to the alcalde mayor of Caraga, Captain Francisco Atienza. At Jolo he left Rós Avilés in charge, as we have seen. By previous arrangement with the Philippine provincial, Jesuits were to act as chaplains to all these expeditions and wherever possible begin the evangelization of the local population.

At Bwayan, Marquez fell out with Mongkai over the question of who was to control the fort.[19] The breach was widened by a disputed succession among the pagan tribesmen of the hills. Mongkai favored Balatamai, a minor; Marquez gave his support to Balatamai's uncle, Manakior. Mongkai thereupon declared open war, denying Bwayan to the Spaniards. Manakior mustered his highland clans and joined Marquez in devastating Mongkai's territory. Meanwhile, word was received at Zamboanga that Kudrat was recruiting in the vicinity of La Sabanilla (Pollok Harbor), some distance north of the Great River. Almonte immediately sent a force there to keep Kudrat in check and prevent him from effecting a juncture with Mongkai. Major Pedro del Río commanded the expedition; Father Melchor de Vera went in the double capacity of chaplain and engineer, for Almonte wanted a fort built there to command both the harbor and the hinterland. On 22 March 1639 Almonte took over additional troops and assumed personal command.

Leaving a token force at La Sabanilla to demonstrate against Kudrat and keep him occupied, he rushed his main body to Marquez's assistance. Mongkai prepared to resist by cutting the dikes along the river near Bwayan and flooding his fields; but after an arduous campaign Almonte took the town and razed it to the ground while Mongkai and his men scattered to the hills. He turned the territory over to Manakior with the promise that if he was able to keep Mongkai at bay the Spanish government would recognize him as the legitimate lord of Magindanau.

Kudrat, however, still had to be reckoned with. He had been gaining steadily in strength, and soon had the Sabanilla fort encircled. He enticed one of the brigs of the naval patrol stationed there out of range of the fort's guns, fell upon it with a squadron of seven large caracoas, killed some of the marines aboard and took the rest prisoner. When Pedro Gutiérrez, who had replaced Melchor de Vera as chaplain, went to negotiate their release under a flag of truce, Kudrat detained him as hostage. However, Gutiérrez remonstrated with him so persuasively that he eventually agreed not only to release the prisoners but to make peace.

Meanwhile, Manakior and the small Spanish force that Almonte had left with him were having their troubles with Mongkai. Mongkai had returned with enough troops to invest Bwayan, and the Spanish commander, Juan López de Lucero, did not have enough to raise the siege. When, therefore, Mongkai invited him to a conference outside the fort to discuss terms of peace, he readily and most unwisely agreed. Accompanied by the Jesuit chaplain of the garrison, Father Pedro Andrés de Zamora, and a small escort, he walked out of range of the fort's guns to meet Mongkai's envoys. Only the heroic fidelity of his personal bodyguard enabled him to escape from the ambush with his life. Father Zamora, left for dead by the Magindanaus, was carried back to the fort, lingered for three days, and died on 28 December 1639.

The straits to which Mongkai now reduced the Spaniards at Bwayan induced their ally, Manakior, to reconsider his position. The result of his heart-searching was that he quietly disappeared from Bwayan. Several months later he turned up again—in Kudrat's camp, married to Kudrat's sister. This was not quite treason, since Kudrat was now, nominally at least, at peace with the Spaniards; it was, however, more than a little disquieting. For Kudrat had by this time returned to the Great River; his forces straddled it below Bwayan, so that he could at any moment cut off the life line of the Spanish garrison there.

This ticklish situation was most distasteful to the Spanish officers in the area, accustomed as they were to the unambiguous submission of the northern provinces; and to no one more distasteful than to Agustín de Marmolejo, a junior-grade officer in the colonial navy. In the early part of June 1642 he was put in charge of a transport convoy taking supplies to the Bwayan garrison. His command consisted of two sampans and a smaller vessel called a *cho*, with a total crew of fifty. The chaplain of the expedition was Father Bartolomé Sanchez. Because of the peace with Kudrat, the transports went unarmed and without escort. It was impressed upon Marmolejo that he was simply to deliver the supplies at Bwayan, and under no circumstances to take any action that could be interpreted by the Magindanaus as hostile.

But Marmolejo did not subscribe to this soft policy. As soon as he reached the Great River, he dispatched a courier to Kudrat with a message. The message was, in brief, that if Kudrat was as valiant as he was reported to be, he would come out in the open and fight, instead of weaving subtle plots in the background; only thus could he prove himself to be a cock and not a pullet. Kudrat vouchsafed no reply. He let the transports alone for a week, during which Marmolejo's crews had to strain at the oars to make any headway against the current. But during those seven days, day and night without interruption, he followed the Spanish ships with the sound of war drums, now faint and far away, now booming suddenly close; but

with never a flash of a spear blade or rustle of thicket to show where his warriors were. In this way, besides tiring out Marmolejo's men, he forced them to keep on the alert, to stay in midstream where they had to row, and to spend their nights practically without sleep. On the seventh day, judging them to be sufficiently weakened by the nervous tension and their exertions against the current, he attacked suddenly and with overwhelming force. His new brother-in-law, Manakior, joined in for the kill. As the Magindanaus swarmed up the deck of the leading sampan, Kudrat shouted to them that the priest was to be spared. But the crew, valiantly defending themselves, killed one of Manakior's sons, and Manakior, blind with rage and grief, sought Father Sánchez out and slew him with his bare hands. Only six Spaniards yielded in time to be spared and taken prisoner. Among them was Marmolejo.

When news of the disaster reached La Sabanilla, the commander of the naval squadron there, Don Pedro de la Mata, at once sent envoys to Kudrat to explain that Marmolejo had acted against explicit orders and to request that the prisoners be released. Kudrat accepted the explanation and readily handed over Marmolejo and his five surviving men. At Mata's orders Marmolejo was taken under guard to Zamboanga, where a court martial made him pay for his disobedience with his life.

It was now clear that with Manakior's defection and Kudrat's return to power the fort at Bwayan had become untenable. Mata ordered it demolished and abandoned. Corcuera, reviewing the situation at Manila, approved this move and had La Sabanilla also demolished and abandoned. Having thus shortened the Spanish lines, he ordered an all-out attack on Kudrat. This was done; the Spaniards swept all before them; but when they withdrew to their base at Zamboanga, Kudrat returned from the hills, and all was as before. Worse, for now Kudrat began to stir up the peoples along the southern coast of Mindanao who had submitted to Spanish rule. The Jesuit missionary who had been stationed among the Iranuns of Sibuguey narrowly escaped drowning and had to be recalled to Zamboanga. The attitude of the Lutaus of Basilan became so threatening that the Jesuits there also had to be withdrawn. By 1644 the gains of Corcuera's Magindanau campaign had for all practical purposes been wiped out.

Corcuera's instructions to Rós, the governor of Jolo, was to complete the reduction of the island, capture Raja Bungsu or compel him to submit, and draw up a tribute list of the inhabitants.[20] Bungsu, who had taken refuge in an inaccessible part of the island, sent a secret agent named Kaapitan to work himself into Rós's good graces and allay his suspicions while the resistance was being organized. Kaapitan hoodwinked Rós completely. When the two Jesuit chaplains, Martínez and López, suggested that the Sulu was playing a double game, Rós rebuked them sharply, complaining that they were putting obstacles in the way of his policy of

attraction in order to hog the credit of pacifying the island for themselves. Even an attempt to poison him which nearly succeeded, and an unprovoked attack on some workers at a stone quarry, failed to shake Rós's faith in Kaapitan. Seeing that he was determined to be a dupe, the Jesuits sent an urgent message to Almonte asking him to come and see for himself. Almonte came in June 1639, quickly sized up the situation and overruled Rós. The policy of attraction was scrapped and more vigorous measures adopted. Raja Bungsu's plans to regain control of the island soon became clear. He had established a new stronghold in the interior, and his son, Prince Pakian Baktial, was busily organizing an invasion force in the other islands of the archipelago.

Sending to Zamboanga for additional troops, Almonte took personal command. He ordered Admiral Pedro de la Mata's squadron to patrol the coasts of Jolo and permit no strange craft to land. Strong detachments were dispatched to the three principal ports of the island for the same purpose. Having determined the location of Bungsu's stronghold, he sent 600 men under Captains Agustín de Cepeda and Gaspar de Morales to make a night attack on it and take Bungsu dead or alive. All went well until an accidental shot from an arquebus gave the Sulus warning of the attack. The stronghold was stormed and taken, but Bungsu once more gave the Spaniards the slip and succeeded in fleeing the island. Enraged by this, the captains of the attacking force put all their prisoners to the sword. Meanwhile, Almonte sent a second column under Major Luís de Guzmán on a circuit of the island. All the inhabitants were to swear allegiance to Spain. It did not matter whether they did so willingly or not. Submission, and the release of all Christian captives, were demanded at the sword's point. When Guzmán returned from his mission, he brought back 112 liberated slaves and left behind him, hanging conspicuously from the branches of trees, the severed heads of 500 Sulu recalcitrants. As for Prince Pakian Baktial, faulty communications left him in ignorance of what was happening in Jolo. The invasion fleet set sail from Tawi-Tawi as arranged; Mata met it and destroyed it utterly. Then, to prevent all such attempts in the future, Almonte himself took a force to Tawi-Tawi, burned all the vessels he could find, landed, slew 500 who resisted, and received the submission of the rest. On 12 July he returned to Zamboanga in triumph and reported to Corcuera that the Sulus had now been "pacified."

Rós was succeeded by Morales, one of the two captains who had taken Bungsu's stronghold and massacred its defenders. Unlike Rós, Morales was anything but naive. One of his first acts as governor was to open a post exchange and oblige all army personnel to make their purchases from it. He made a handsome profit on all articles sold, especially on the clothing and other equipment issued by the government for free distribution to the troops. The chaplains protested in vain, so they tried to help the soldiers

out by quietly giving them the supplies they were too poor to buy. When Morales heard of this he issued orders that no one, solider or civilian, was to receive anything from the fathers under pain of death. He fell out with them on another matter also. Salibansa, the datu of Tandu, had a twelve-year-old daughter whom he coveted. He demanded her as hostage. Salibansa, fearing for his daughter, offered to take her place. Morales agreed, sent him to Manila, and after his departure took his daughter. The Jesuits denounced this flagrant violation of a father's trust, but Morales was unmoved. News of what had happened overtook Salibansa at Iloilo. He managed to elude his guards and returned to Jolo, vowing to kill Morales. Eighty of his clansmen made the attempt but failed. He took to the hills, a life-long enemy of the Spaniards.

To make amends for the injury done to Salibansa, Corcuera deprived Morales of his post and instructed his successor, Major Juan Ruíz de Maroto, to be as conciliatory as possible. But the Sulu datus were past being conciliated. When their sons, who had been taken as hostages to Manila, were returned to them, they treated the youngsters with contempt for having acquired Spanish ways. The island seethed with disaffection, and Admiral de la Mata had to be sent to restore order. He did so with fire and sword, destroying villages and farms both in Jolo and the other islands and taking 3,000 captives. As part of this policy of frightfulness, Morales was sent with 150 Spanish arquebusiers and 450 Visayan spearmen to effect the "pacification" of Parang. The Parang warriors led them on a breathless chase across difficult terrain until they were exhausted. Then they fell upon them. Morales stood his ground valiantly, crying, "You dogs! Come, here is Morales," thinking to terrify them with his name. But they were not terrified; they slew him.

Some time later, Captain Agustín de Cepeda avenged his fellow officer. Appointed governor of Jolo in place of Maroto, he took 300 men to Parang and put to death all its inhabitants, thus completely depopulating the island. Obviously, no missionary work among the Sulus could be undertaken amid these conditions. The only conversions Alejandro López could report were those he made on the little island of Pangutaran. He made several excursions there and found the people to be heathen, not Moslems. They were a simple, unwarlike fisherfolk, and López was able to instruct and baptize almost all of them.

A glance at the map will show that east of the Zamboanga peninsula the island of Mindanao narrows down to a waist about ten miles wide between the bays of Panguil and Pagadian. East of this again, in a fertile bowl-like depression at the foot of the central table land, lies Lake Lanao. The people of this region, the Maranaus, were pagans, with a social organization similar to that of the Visayans, except that their datus had adopted the Moslem faith and were related by marriage to the

Magindanaus. At the time that Corcuera ordered their effective reduction to Spanish rule they numbered some 8,000, settled around the lake in four large towns and about fifty villages.[21] Early in 1639 Atienza set out from Caraga with a force of 50 Spaniards and 800 Caraga warriors. Before entering Lanao territory he wisely called at Butuan to avail himself of the advice of a famous Recollect missionary stationed there. Caraga and Butuan had been assigned to the Recollects, and among the fathers sent to Butuan Fray Agustín de San Pedro distinguished himself not only for his zeal but for his martial qualities. In order to enable them to defend themselves against the Moslem raiders, he trained his Christian converts in the art of war, and even, on occasion, led them against their enemies, thereby earning the appellation of *El Padre Capitán*. Upon learning of Atienza's enterprise, Fray Agustín made the excellent suggestion that he order war boats built which could be transported overland in sections and assembled at the lake. He believed that it was perfectly feasible to construct such vessels capable of carrying up to a hundred men, and showed Atienza how to do it. Atienza took up the suggestion. Landing his force at Bayug, near the present town of Iligan, he had six collapsible boats built according to Fray Agustín's specifications and carried overland to Lake Lanao.

The sudden appearance of a Spanish squadron on their lake, capable of striking anywhere along its shores, took the wind out of any resistance the Lanao datus might have been prepared to offer. They sent envoys to Atienza and asked for terms of peace. Atienza asked for hostages, tribute, and the free preaching of the Christian religion. The datus agreed. When the tribute lists were completed, it was found that 2,009 families had been added to the colony without a blow. This was almost too good to be true. Almonte, in fact, fearing that Atienza would run into difficulties, dispatched Major Pedro del Río with part of the garrison at La Sabanilla to reduce Butig, in the south of the Lanao country, and from there effect a juncture with Atienza. The two Spanish commanders met in the vicinity of Dansalan.

By an ordinance of 5 September 1637, Corcuera had committed the evangelization of Lanao, if and when annexed, to the Jesuits. On 20 April 1639 Major del Río formally notified this charge to the Jesuit chaplain of his company, Father Pedro Gutiérrez, who accepted it on behalf of the Society. But since Gutiérrez was obliged to return to his post at La Sabanilla, two other Jesuits, Diego Patiño and Antonio Abarca, undertook the actual establishment of the mission.

These auspicious beginnings were deceptive. Kudrat, ever on the watch against Spanish aggression, sent agents to stiffen the courage of the Lanao datus. When Atienza started to build a fort at Dansalan, they invested it by land and sea and succeeded in cutting it off from its base at Iligan. Hard pressed, Atienza decided to withdraw and build his fort at Iligan instead,

where his communications could not be so easily severed. The difficulty with this, of course, was that Iligan stood at some distance from the lake, so that the sovereignty imposed on Lanao could not be effectively enforced. Troops sent from Iligan to patrol the territory, if lacking in vigilance, were likely to be ambushed. In 1642 Father Francisco de Mendoza accompanied one of these patrols. He was a zealous missionary who distinguished himself particularly in the care of the sick, and had learned as much practical medicine as he could the better to help them. He thought that by being of service to the Maranaus in this way they might be disposed to give the gospel a hearing. On 7 May, between Iligan and Dansalan, he accompanied the commander of the patrol on a short reconnaissance. They were ambushed, and Father Mendoza was killed.

In 1644 the peace that Kudrat had been persuaded by Father Gutiérrez to make still held. But it was an uneasy peace, and the very fact that it was negotiated, not imposed, proved that the conquests of Corcuera were by no means definitive. Moreover, Corcuera may with justice be called the last of the Philippine conquistadors. Spanish expansion in the Far East ceased with his Mindanao campaigns; indeed, it had already begun to contract before he finished his term as governor.

In 1640 the Dutch, having taken Malacca from the Portuguese, renewed their attacks on Spanish shipping. Four warships were dispatched to San Bernandino Strait that April to await the incoming galleon. This was brought to the attention of the Jesuit provincial, Francisco Colín, who happened to be on a visitation of Samar. Because of previous attempts to capture the galleon, the Jesuit mission stations on the northern coast of Samar had been assigned the duty of lighting signal fires during the season when she was expected, in order to inform her commander that the entrance was clear. Colín, therefore, ordered the signal fires to be extinguished and sent swift sailboats to warn the galleon. The plan succeeded; the galleon swung north and reached Manila by way of Cape Bojeador.[22]

When the same thing happened the following year, the Dutch gave up the attempt and devoted their attention to dislodging the Spaniards from Formosa. In this they succeeded. On 24 August 1642 the garrison at Tanshui surrendered. With Malacca and Formosa lost, Manila prepared to defend itself.[23] It was not, however, until 1646 that the Dutch appeared. Meanwhile, in August 1644, Diego Fajardo arrived to replace Corcuera as governor. He subjected his predecessor to a residencia, as was customary; but did so with such rigor that Corcuera was unable to pay the fine which was imposed upon him. He was cast into prison at Fort Santiago and kept there in close confinement for several years. The Council of the Indies, when it was finally persuaded to look into the matter, acquitted him of most of the charges brought by Fajardo. The king ordered his release and rewarded him with the governorship of the Canaries.[24]

Both king and council, however, looked with complete disfavor on one of his official acts. This was the foundation of the College of San Felipe de Austria, which came about in the following manner.[25] On 15 November 1640 the city council of Manila petitioned Governor Corcuera to endow eighteen gentlemen's scholarships and two servants' scholarships in either the College of San José or the College of Santo Tomás out of the revenues derived from the residence tax of the Chinese. The gentlemen's scholarships were to be filled by descendants of the conquistadors of the Philippines, the servants' scholarships by sons of Filipinos who had distinguished themselves in the royal service. On hearing of this petition the Dominican fathers proposed that all of the twenty scholarships be assigned to the College of Santo Tomás, for they were willing to waive the government subsidy and support them entirely on the endowment of the college. This proposal seems to have angered Corcuera, for he declined it stiffly, saying that it did not befit the majesty of the crown to create scholarships without paying for them. Accordingly, on 23 December of the same year, he signed an ordinance granting the petition of the city.

A royal college, to be known as the College of San Felipe de Austria, was created in the king's name. Its student body was to consist of twenty Spanish gentlemen and six Pampango servants, chosen in the manner proposed by the city and supported by an annual government subsidy of 4,000 pesos. The college was to be under the direction of the Jesuits and until a separate building could be provided, the scholars were to reside in the College of San José. The statutes of the new college were drawn up by the oidor Diego de Ribera Maldonado, an alumnus of San José, and approved by Corcuera on 19 January 1641. The first scholarships were awarded on the following day before an assemblage of the most prominent citizens. The Jesuits accepted the charge, but not without serious misgivings. The older and more experienced fathers warned Corcuera to expect the most determined opposition to the project. They were not mistaken.

On 16 April 1643 Fray Mateo de Villa, the procurator of the Philippine Dominicans at Madrid, presented a petition that Corcuera's foundation of the College of San Felipe be reviewed in council, alleging that the foundation was motivated by a desire "to discredit the instruction given in our College of Santo Tomás of Manila, of which your Majesty is the patron and to which your Majesty has given university status," and that it was "a measure calculated to prevent any person of quality from enrolling in our college." The petition was accompanied by three *informes* or declarations, one by three of the oidores, another by the royal treasury officials, and a third by seven prominent citizens of Manila. According to the oidores, Corcuera proposed the plan at an administrative session of the audiencia. All present except two (presumably, Corcuera and Ribera) were of the opinion that its execution should be postponed until the king's wishes on

the matter could be consulted, especially since the royal treasury was empty, the college superfluous, and the Dominicans had offered to maintain the scholarships at their own expense. The other declarations expressed substantially the same opinion.

The council gave Fray Mateo's petition prompt consideration, and on 22 May 1643 recommended that the foundation of the new college be declared null, void, and of no effect, and that if any government funds had already been spent on it, they were to be restored to the treasury. The king decreed as recommended, entrusting its execution to the new governor, Fajardo.[26] When Fajardo arrived in the Philippines, he discovered that 12,000 pesos had already been disbursed to the Jesuits on account of the College of San Felipe. He ordered them to refund this sum in full. The Jesuits represented that, since it had all been spent for the board and lodging of the San Felipe scholars, they had in no wise benefited from it and so ought not to be made to pay it. Fajardo failed to see the force of this argument. He repeated his order, specifying compliance within three days. The Jesuits, not having the necessary cash on hand, borrowed 4,000 pesos from Manual Estacio Venegas and 8,000 pesos from the Recollects and brought the money to the treasury before the term expired. They then took their case to Madrid and won it. On 17 March 1647 the king directed the treasury at Manila to return the sum in question. Since by that time the debts to Venegas and the Recollects had apparently been paid, the 12,000 pesos were used to repair the damage caused to the College of Manila by the earthquakes of 1645 and 1646.[27]

It cannot be denied that Corcuera showed himself extremely partial to the Jesuits on this and other occasions. One reason may have been that they were the only religious community in Manila which did not take a stand against him in his controversy with the archbishop. But the reason which he himself gave was that they gave him the fullest possible cooperation in matters pertaining to their ministry. Moreover, the Jesuit ideal of unquestioning obedience to the commands of superiors appealed to his soldierly temperament. Writing to Philip IV on 19 June 1636, he says:

> Sire: The Society of Jesus serves your Majesty with great zeal and never refuses what is asked in your royal name, whether it be chaplains for the galleons, garrisons, and expeditions, or any other matter that is entrusted to its members. They do not complain if it becomes necessary to make deductions on the usual stipends, and are vassals of proven loyalty ("para bien y mal tratar"). They do not admit applicants in these islands because there are not many who fulfill their requirements. On the other hand, as your Majesty well knows, they are quick to dismiss those who stray from the royal path of duty. For this reason your Majesty's governor feels that by simply asking for a Jesuit to undertake a matter pertaining to the royal service, he has fulfilled all that conscience requires, without making

any further inquiry as to the qualifications of the individual assigned, because the superior knows his subjects inside out and can replace them as required.[28]

After his release from prison he gave his friends another generous testimonial. The Jesuits, he told Philip IV, had been of special service during his administration by acting as chaplains in the shipyards within their mission territory. As such, they showed themselves fearless in defending the rights of the native workmen, seeing to it "that they were not overburdened, oppressed, or ill-treated by the overseers appointed to supervise their work," and doing this not by turning everything topsy-turvy, but with prudent moderation, "teaching, preaching, giving counsel, and whenever necessary reporting abuses to the government." He also had a warm word for the educational work of the Manila Jesuits, not so much at the rarefied levels of philosophy and theology, as among the boys of elementary-school age. These the fathers and brothers sought out not only in their own houses but in the streets and plazas to teach them the catechism; besides which they taught reading, writing, and arithmetic "to a great multitude of boys who come morning and afternoon to their residence." He added that the training given in this elementary school needed no official recognition or support; it was enough for parents that "a member of the said order is in charge of it, even though he be a lay brother." He reiterated his satisfaction at the conduct of the Jesuits as military and naval chaplains, especially in the Mindanao campaigns and the operations against the Chinese rebels, singling out for particular commendation Father Onofre Esbrí, who negotiated the surrender of the rebel army near Cabinti.[29]

Unfortunately, as in the case of the short-lived College of San Felipe, Corcuera tended to express his high regard of the Society in ways that caused it acute embarrassment. In 1636, for instance, when the parish of Quiapo fell vacant, he presented a Jesuit for the post and imposed confirmation of the appointment on the archbishop as one of the conditions for his recall from exile. So at least Archbishop Guerrero gives us to understand, for after granting canonical collation of the parish to the Jesuits, he informed the king secretly that the act was invalid as having been extracted from him by force. It is difficult to see how the Manila Jesuits could have been unaware of this; or, if they were aware of it, why they did not decline the appointment. At any rate, they accepted it, with the result that on 8 April 1639 Philip IV ordered it revoked and Quiapo returned to the secular clergy who had always administered it. This was only justice, apart from the fact that the administration of an organized parish like Quiapo would have been difficult to reconcile with established Jesuit policy. However, the new parish priest of Quiapo contended that the king meant not only to give Quiapo to the secular clergy but Santa Cruz as well; this the Jesuits opposed, and both Governor Fajardo and the king found in their favor.[30]

There was, however, one disposition which Corcuera made regarding San José which the Jesuits could and did accept without embarrassment, because it did not benefit them so much as the colony at large. At the same time that he founded the royal chapel at Fort Santiago, of which mention has already been made, he made sure that a chaplain to serve it would always be available by creating twelve scholarships in the College of San José whose beneficiaries would be bound to accept the chaplaincy if and when appointed. These royal scholars—or, as we should now say, government *pensionados*—wore a distinctive gown of blue. They kept the scarlet hood of San José, but had the royal arms embroidered on it. The income from an encomienda in Calamianes was assigned to their support.[31] I have not been able to discover how long these scholarships remained in existence. Not very long, for they do not occur in subsequent lists of *becas de donación*.

Chapter Seventeen

A SUCCESSION OF SHOCKS

Manila in 1645 was no longer the dismal collection of huts which Governor de Vera found so contemptible in 1584. The accumulated riches of the galleon trade had enabled her fully to justify her grand official title; she was indeed a "noble city."

The Spaniards [says Díaz] began to build for the sake of comfort; but, losing their fear of earthquakes in the course of time, and becoming more audacious with the increase of leisure and wealth, they turned their houses into palaces, and within a few years Manila became one of the most beautiful and showy cities of the Indies. What vanity did to private homes, piety did to churches and convents, which now lift their heads to the clouds crowned with vaults, domes, towers, and spires . . . Not content with having a town house, [the Manilans] took to building summer homes on both banks of the river even more sumptuous than those in the city, with spacious swimming baths in the river strongly fenced in with decorative enclosures to keep out the crocodiles with which the rivers of this country abound. Because it is much cooler in these houses, being so near the water, people escape to them from the summer heats, taking frequent baths. But self-indulgence soon led to sin, its next-door neighbor, and these houses and pools became the occasion of many offenses against God.[1]

Most of the private houses inside the walls had two storys above the ground floor, with an azotea on the roof and the balconies of the first story overhanging the sidewalk, thus giving grateful shade to the passerby and a convenient refuge to the unwelcome serenader. What happened to these imposing residences in that fateful year of 1645 will serve to explain why later generations of Manilans built closer to the ground. St. Andrew's day, 30 November, was one of Manila's red-letter days; on that day the senior alderman of the council took out the great embroidered standard of the city and paraded it in state, accompanied by his peers, in memory of the glorious stand which the first settlers made against the hordes of the pirate Limahong; everyone, young and old, put on their holiday clothes and gave themselves up to rejoicing. So they did on this particular St. Andrew's day, until with the coming of night they retired to their homes for supper. The clear starlit sky and the calm sea gave no hint of disaster when, at about eight o'clock, the city was rocked by one of the most violent earthquakes it had ever experienced. According to an account of it printed in Madrid four years later,

. . . the first savage tremors lasted as long as it would take to say the *Credo* four times . . . In that brief interval all that was comely and fair in this city was brought to the ground. Stone walls swayed and swung as though they were paper or vellum shaken by the wind; towers trembled and bent like trees, and the largest trees themselves like the masts of a vessel in the midst of a furious storm. The air was filled with confused crashing noises and the shouts and screams of those who cried to heaven for mercy. The very beasts added their howls to the fearful din. Heaps of stones from wrecked houses fell across the streets, blocking the flight of those who rushed wildly out of their doorways.[2]

The scene, says Díaz, was like a preview of the day of judgment, or like the night Troy town was taken:

> *Quis cladem illius noctis, quis funera fando*
> *explicet aut poterit lachrymis aequare labores?*
> *Urbs antiqua ruit multos dominata per annos.*

One hundred and fifty buildings fell in that first shock, burying 450 people in the ruins; the total number of dead as afterward determined was 600. Among the public edifices destroyed were the governor's palace, the hall of the audiencia, the cathedral, the Spanish hospital, the church and hospital of the Misericordia, the church and convent of the Dominicans, the church and convent of the Recollects, the College of Santa Potenciana, and the College of Santo Tomás. The recently completed Jesuit church remained standing, but the portions of the college building which had not yet been remodeled, especially the classrooms, were damaged, as well as one entire wing of the College of San José. Outside the walls, the Jesuit church and residence of San Miguel collapsed, killing Father Juan de Salazar and seriously injuring the provincial, Father Francisco de Roa.

"Thus," Díaz concludes, "was laid low the city of Manila, which until then had been the wonder of all Asia." When he came to the Philippines later in the century, a wiser generation had replaced the proud palaces of their fathers with one-story frame boxes awkwardly perched on bulgingly buttressed walls; but between these lowly structures, ugly and safe, still stood the broken arches of a more splendid age.[3]

Manila still lay prostrate from this disaster when the Dutch made their most determined effort to bring the Philippines to its knees. A squadron of five ships took its station off the Ilocos coast to intercept the junk fleets from China, while another squadron of seven ships went to waylay the Acapulco galleons near the entrance to San Bernardino Strait. A third squadron of twelve ships was held in reserve in order that it might join the other two when, their missions accomplished, they combined for the knockout blow on Manila itself.[4]

The Ilocos squadron landed agents to stir up the natives to revolt, but without success; a detachment of Spanish infantry drove the landing party

back to their ships. At that time, the only ships Governor Fajardo had at his disposal were two superannuated galleons, the *Encarnación* and the *Rosario*, which had just returned from Acapulco. Without waiting to make any but the most essential repairs, he mounted as many guns as the two ships could hold, lashing them to their carriages with carabao hide for lack of metal cables, and dispatched them against the Dutch. They had a complement of 400 men between them, and were commanded by Lorenzo de Ugalde and Agustín de Cepeda.

Ugalde and Cepeda dealt with the Ilocos squadron first, engaging it off the Cape of Bolinao and putting it to flight. Then, taking advantage of the last northerlies (it was now July), they rounded Luzon and bore down its eastern coast on the other Dutch squadron off San Bernardino. But this squadron was no longer there, for its commander, upon learning that the Spanish ships had sallied forth against the northern squadron, wanted to take advantage of their absence to prey on the shipping in Manila Bay. Ugalde and Cepeda took off in hot pursuit and overhauled the Dutch off Marinduque. The Dutch, relying on their overwhelming superiority in numbers and fire power, confidently turned to give battle. They fell into line and proceeded to encircle the two galleons. The Spanish commanders made no attempt to interfere with this maneuver, for they realized that they had at all costs to prevent the Dutch from attacking Manila, which was all but defenseless. They placed their hopes of survival on the fact that the two ships, though old, had hulls of *molave*, that prince of Philippine woods; and their hopes of doing damage to the Dutch on the accuracy and courage of their gun crews. Calling upon Our Lady of the Rosary to favor their cause, they waited until the Dutch came within range and opened fire. The ensuing battle far exceeded their expectations. The *Rosario* and the *Encarnación* shivered and shook under successive salvos, but remained afloat, while their guns, magnificently served, battered the Dutch ships so badly that they were forced to withdraw out of range.

The Dutch commander now resorted to a desperate but deadly tactic, which had wrought great havoc with the ships of the Great Armada off Gravelines. He climbed to windward of the galleons, emptied two of his ships, set them on fire, and cut them loose. Belching flames, the fire ships drifted inexorably toward the galleons, but Ugalde and Cepeda, with great presence of mind and consummate seamanship, managed to draw aside in time to let them pass harmlessly by. His plan failing, the Dutch commander sailed away with his five remaining ships, and the galleons returned in triumph to Cavite.

The Manilans, who thought the Dutch had gone away for good, now made haste to refit a third galleon, the *San Diego*, for the annual voyage to Mexico. But the Dutch had not quite finished yet. Units of the two defeated squadrons had remained in hiding off Mindoro, and the *San Diego*

had no sooner emerged from the bay than they fell upon her. Fighting pluckily, she tacked back into port, and once again the two battle-scarred veterans, the *Rosario* and the *Encarnación*, sallied forth against the enemy. The victory which they won at Play Honda was definitive. This time, the Dutch did not take in sail until they reached Java.

Thus, in the course of one year, two old pieces of junk had won three battles, one after the other, against vastly superior forces, and that at a time when only their molave hulls stood between Manila, half reduced to rubble by the earthquake of 1645, and almost certain capture. The lack of proportion between the human means employed and the result convinced the Manilans that they owed the salvation of their city to the Mother of God, whom the galleons' crews invoked so fervently at the moment of their greatest need under the title of Lady of the Rosary. This is why from that year to the present the feast of the Holy Rosary is celebrated in Manila with a procession that surpasses all others in splendor, and the statue of Our Lady carried in that procession, the most precious treasure of the Church of the Dominicans, bears the proud name of La Naval.

On 10 June of the following year the Dutch returned to the attack with the twelve ships that had been held in reserve. They boldly entered Manila Bay, for the *Encarnación* and the *Rosario* were no longer there to meet them. The Spaniards at Cavite were thrown into wild consternation, for they did not expect the enemy so soon, and very few of their shore batteries were in position. The Dutch, however, instead of getting down to business at once, thought they would have some fun first, so they spent the day parading in front of Cavite and Manila, flying flags, blowing trumpets, and beating drums. Then they drew off to Bataan for consultation. It is said that Corcuera, immured in a dungeon in the Cavite fort, seeing the Dutch admiral leading away his ships, could not refrain from crying out, "Unskillful soldier! You have lost your opportunity." He was right. When the Dutch returned to the attack three days later, Cavite was ready. Its shore batteries replied with vigor to the continuous bombardment to which the attacking squadron submitted them all that day; and they were still firing when at seven o'clock in the evening the Dutch retired with their decks strewn with wreckage and their commander badly wounded. Not daring to attack Manila itself, they sent landing parties into Bataan and Pampanga. But they did not receive from the native population the cooperation they expected, and when they failed to take the town of Abucay they regained their ships and sailed away, this time for good. The treaties of Westphalia, concluded in 1648, finally put an end to the prolonged and bloody struggle between Spain and the Netherlands, not only in Europe but in Asia.

We must now turn our attention to a conflict of a different kind, which

developed at the very height of this last phase of the Dutch wars. In 1646, during the funeral obsequies held in Manila for Isabella of Bourbon, the wife of Philip IV, the functionary who acted as master of ceremonies gave precedence to the College of San José over the College of Santo Tomás, on the grounds that it was the older institution. The faculty of the Dominican college took this ill, and soon afterward its rector, Fray Francisco de Paula, filed a complaint with the audiencia alleging that San José had no right whatever to precede Santo Tomás in public functions. The reason was that Santo Tomás had the king himself for patron, as evidenced by a cédula dated 23 November 1623, and hence, being a royal college, it should take precedence over all others not similarly favored, in accordance with the established custom of the realm.

The rector of San José replied that the royal patronage expressed in the cédula brought forward had no greater force nor weight than the universal patronage extended by the Crown to all the educational institutions it recognized. That San José had this recognition was implicit in several documents earlier than that presented by the rector of Santo Tomás, notably the original permission to open the college granted in 1601 by Governor Tello in the king's name and never revoked, and two cédulas of 1608 and 1614 ordering the governor of the Philippines to safeguard the endowment of the college. Since, therefore, San José and Santo Tomás stood on an equal plane as far as the royal favor was concerned, the question of precedence could only be resolved according to seniority; in which case it could not be denied that San José was the older institution by a full ten years.

The audiencia decided in favor of this contention, and on 16 May 1647 declared that the College of San José ought to precede the College of Santo Tomás in all public functions. On appeal by the complainant the sentence was reviewed and confirmed on 29 July of the same year.[5] Not long afterward a bull of Pope Innocent X was received in Manila erecting the College of Santo Tomás into an academy, that is to say, an institution empowered to grant degrees in arts and theology. In this document, dated 20 November 1645, the pope stated that he had been informed by the king of Spain of the existence in Manila of a college called Santo Tomás, conducted by the Dominicans, in which thirty lay students were being taught grammar, rhetoric, logic, philosophy, and scholastic theology. He had been informed further that Manila was more than 3,000 leagues from the nearest universities of general studies, namely, those of Mexico and Lima. In view of this the king had requested him to establish an academy in the said college, a request he was only too happy to grant. Wherefore,

> . . . in virtue of the apostolic authority and according to the sense of the present document, without prejudice to anyone, we erect and establish in the buildings of the aforesaid college in which these courses are at present being given, in the

city of Manila, an academy, in which the religious of the said order may publicly profess grammar, rhetoric, logic, philosophy, and scholastic and moral theology, and teach them to young people of whatever quality. This academy shall continue in existence only until such time that a university of general studies shall be established in the said city of Manila by the same apostolic authority. The same academy, thus erected and established, shall be under the care, direction, and administration of the said order and its master general.[6]

On 7 August 1648, the rector of the College of Santo Tomás, Fray Martín Real de la Cruz, presented this document to the audiencia and petitioned that the College of Manila be forbidden to grant academic degrees, on the grounds that any authorization it may have had to do so ceased upon the erection of Santo Tomás into a papal academy. Henceforth, he contended, the exclusive power to confer degrees was reserved within a radius of 3,000 leagues to that academy, which should moreover be styled, because it was, a royal and pontifical university. The audiencia upon receipt of this petition forthwith ordered the rector of the College of Manila, Father Francisco Colín, to suspend the graduation ceremonies then about to take place and to reply to the allegations of Fray Martín.

Colín complied. He submitted that the power to confer degrees both on Jesuits and extern students had been granted by the Holy See to the colleges of the Society of Jesus in general in 1552 and 1578, to Jesuit colleges in the Indies in 1621, and to the College of Manila in particular in 1634. All the papal documents conferring these privileges had received the royal assent, and had been put into execution by the governors of the Philippines. Hence the College of Manila was, and had been for many years, in peaceful possession of an undisputed right. Did the bull of Innocent X revoke this right? It did so neither explicitly nor implicitly. There was no explicit mention of revocation; on the contrary, it was explicitly stated that the privilege being granted to Santo Tomás was without prejudice to the rights of any third parties—*sine tamen cuiuscumque praeiudicio*. Nor was a revocation implied in the fact that by erecting Santo Tomás into a university the pope meant to give it the exclusive right of granting degrees within a certain area. This monopoly was indeed possessed by certain universities of the period technically known as *studia generalia*, or universities of general studies. But Innocent X did not erect Santo Tomás into a university of this type. What he erected was an academy, and to show that this *academia* was not at all the same thing as a *studium generale*, he stipulated that the academy established at Santo Tomás was to cease the moment the Holy See saw fit to establish in Manila a university of general studies: *dumtaxat donec et quousque aliqua publica studii generalis universitas in dicta civitate Manilana seu illius provincia apostolica auctoritate erecta fuerit*. In other words, the pope had merely granted to Santo Tomás the privilege of conferring degrees in arts and theology without being a

university in the technical sense of a *studium generale.* But since this was exactly the privilege which the College of Manila already possessed from the same source, no more and no less, and since it was granted to Santo Tomás explicitly without prejudice to any third parties, it was difficult to see how it could be interpreted as revoking the privileges of the College of Manila.

Nevertheless, the audiencia did manage to interpret the bull of Innocent X in favor of Fray Martín's contention. On 28 June 1649 the oidores declared that "with the erection of the University of Santo Tomás de Aquino the power of conferring degrees granted by the sovereign pontiffs to full-fledged colleges [*colegios formados*] of the Society of Jesus has ceased in these Islands, except in the case of its own members [that is, Jesuit scholastics], poor students [those unable to pay the graduation fees], and solvent students whom the said university shall refuse to graduate." However, the oidores rejected the further claim that Santo Tomás be styled a royal university; it was not, they said, a royal foundation.

This sentence satisfied neither party, and both appealed it to the Council of the Indies. In addition, the College of Santo Tomás appealed the sentence of the Manila audiencia of 1647 awarding the right of precedence to the College of San José. On 12 August 1652, the Council handed down the following decision:

> The lords of the royal Council of the Indies, having examined the documents, memoranda, reports, and other papers relative to the case heard in the city of Manila in the Philippine Islands and referred to the Council . . . stated that they ought to reverse and do reverse the final sentence passed on the said case by the president and oidores of the royal audiencia of the said city of Manila on 28 June of the year 1649, in which they judged that with the erection of the University of Santo Tomás the power of conferring degrees granted by the sovereign pontiffs to full-fledged colleges of the Society of Jesus had ceased in those Islands, excepting in the cases mentioned in the said sentence. Further, the said Lords declared and do declare that as of now, for the time being, and until there is founded in the said city of Manila a university of general studies, both the said colleges of San Ignacio and Santo Tomás may make use of the power to confer degrees and may give such degrees to those who shall study and take courses in the faculties of arts, philosophy, and theology, or in anyone of them, in each of the said colleges. And with reference to the question of precedence, let seniority be observed between the said colleges of San José and Santo Tomás, in virtue of which let the College of San José have and enjoy precedence, as being the older.

The representatives of the College of Santo Tomás at Madrid now requested the council to reconsider this decision. It did, and on 25 November confirmed it "in its entirety and in every respect thereof as contained and set forth" in the document quoted above. To make assurance doubly sure, the procurator of the Jesuit Philippine province,

Miguel Solana, asked the king to give this administrative and judicial declaration of the council the force of an executive order. This was granted. On 12 March 1653, Philip IV ordered his governor in the Philippines "to observe, comply with, and execute" the decision of the council, "and to cause it to be observed, complied with, and executed in its entirety and in every respect," under pain of the royal displeasure and a fine of 100,000 maravedís. As soon as the conciliar decision and the executive order were received in Manila, the Jesuit provincial, at that time Juan de Zarzuela, presented them to the governor, Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara, and requested that they be officially notified to the rector and faculty of the College of Santo Tomás.

Although the Peace of Westphalia ended Dutch attempts to dislodge the Spaniards from the Philippines, the need of the latter for ships continued to be as great as ever, not only for the Manila-Acapulco run, but for the naval units stationed at Zamboanga and the Visayas and for the protection of the Chinese junks plying between Manila and Canton. Hence the drafting of labor for the shipyards and lumber camps did not lessen during this period. On the contrary, it was more widely extended; for, in order to relieve the Tagalog and Pampango provinces which had for so long supplied the Cavite navy yard, the government decided to tap the manpower resources of the Visayas. In 1649 the alcaldes mayores of the region were ordered to call up a muster of able-bodied men for service at Cavite. A quota was fixed for each province which, according to Murillo, was not unreasonable, for it would have amounted to no more than one laborer from each village; moreover, the wages offered were more than fair, and the necessity was after all a public one, to which all good citizens should feel obliged to contribute. The Visayans, however, did not look upon it in this light. Such a levy had never been imposed on them before, and to many Cavite was at the ends of the world; how could they be sure that they would ever see their families again?[7]

The missionaries, fearing an outbreak if the draft was carried out, made urgent representations that it be suspended; but Governor Fajardo, who had never set foot outside Manila, looked upon this as only one more instance of clerical opposition to the government, and issued stringent orders for the levy to be raised without further argument. The resentment of the Visayans found a focus in the town of Palapag, on the northern coast of Samar. Here the people were more knowledgeable, and having seen the Spaniards occasionally beaten by their enemies and always in fear of them, they had lost much of the awe with which their simpler brethren still regarded the mailed fist and shining breastplate of the conquistador.

There was a small fort at Palapag which the Jesuits of the mission had built as a defense against the Moros. To command its garrison of local militia they chose a man named Sumoroy. Daring, intelligent, and

dependable, Sumoroy had on several occasions ventured far out to sea to give an incoming galleon timely warning of the presence of the Dutch; the fathers trusted him implicitly. But he had a roving eye, and one day he left his wife and took up with another woman. The rector of the residence, Father Miguel Ponce, admonished him to cut short this adulterous union, and when he failed to do so ordered the woman taken away from him to another village. Sumoroy raged inwardly, but since he was obviously in the wrong there was nothing he could do about it except take to drink, which he did.

The deep popular feeling against the labor draft gave him a splendid opportunity to settle his score against Father Ponce. As pastor of Palapag, Father Ponce was given the unpleasant duty of notifying the ordinance to the people and assembling the town's quota of draftees. This drew upon him much of the indignation with which the measure was regarded, an indignation which Sumoroy was at pains to cultivate in various clandestine gatherings where the potent palm brandy of the region gave rise to hot words and rash counsel. Thus disaffection grew, until Sumoroy had behind him a considerable following determined to rise in revolt rather than be herded like carabaos to labor in some distant shipyard. The fathers were told that Sumoroy was up to something, but they did not think it could be anything serious. He was sulking, naturally, because his woman had been taken away from him; but he would get over it in time and become his old self again.

On 1 June 1649, at about eight o'clock at night, just after the church bell had rung the *ánimas*, a reminder to pray for the dead, Sumoroy knocked at the door of the mission house and was admitted. He carried his spear in his hand. There was nothing unusual in his visit, for as commander of the fort he had sometimes to make a report to the rector. Father Ponce waited for him at the head of the stairs. Sumoroy walked up and without a word plunged his spear through the priest's heart and killed him instantly. Then he called out, and all of a sudden the entire compound was full of fighting men. There were three other Jesuits in the house; Father Giulio Aleni, Ponce's assistant, Father Vicenzo Damiani, a visitor from Catubig, and a lay brother. Sumoroy ordered that they should be spared, for they had nothing to do with the levy; but they were to leave town at once. When they had gone, the rebels sacked the compound and took to the hills.

Stirred by this example, a wave of disorder swept through the Visayan missions. Rebels at Catubig killed a Spanish resident, sacked the church, and burned it. Similar outrages occurred at Pambuhan, Catarman, and Bobon. The superior of the Franciscan convent of Sorsogon was hustled out of the town by a mob. A Spanish ensign was killed on the island of Masbate. There were disturbances in Cebu. The Recollect pastor of the island of Camiguin was bound and roughly handled. Manobos razed the

town of Cagayan de Oro to the ground. At Linao, in the upper reaches of the Agusan, another Recollect missionary was put to death.

The alcalde mayor of Samar led the local militia against the rebels, but he could not rely on his troops, for many of them had relatives and friends in the enemy camp. He sent for help to Manila, and Andrés López de Azáldigui, the commander of the galley fleet, was dispatched to take charge of operations. By this time the rebels had established themselves in a strongly fortified camp near the inland town of Catubig. Anxious to avoid bloodshed, Father Damiani asked Azáldigui's permission to go to the rebel camp and secure its peaceful surrender. Azáldigui consented, and the Jesuit set out, unarmed and unescorted, for Catubig. Shortly after he got there Sumoroy came down from the camp with 100 of his followers. He gave Damiani no chance to talk, but ordered him killed forthwith, for Damiani was well liked, and might have shaken his people's resolution.

It was now October. Azáldigui was called away to salvage the silver cargo of a galleon that had run aground at Camarines. Sumoroy, growing in strength, advanced his camp to a hill near Palapag. Samar levies laid siege to it, but their Spanish officers did not trust them sufficiently to mount an attack. The problem was finally solved by Governor Fajardo ordering the squadron stationed at Zamboanga to take a force of Christian Lutaus to Palapag. They arrived in May 1650. On the night of 2 July they scaled a cliff behind Sumoroy's camp and took the stronghold by storm the following day. The rebels fled in all directions. Organized resistance was at an end. The Lutaus mopped up ruthlessly. They captured Sumoroy's mother in a highland village, dragged her through brambles and hurled her over a precipice. Trapped rebel remnants, to win a measure of mercy for themselves, cut off Sumoroy's head and presented it to their pursuers.

The related outbreaks in other parts of the Visayas were put down with the same severity. However, they accomplished their purpose at least to the extent that the labor draft was abandoned. In 1652 Governor Fajardo reverted to Tabora's policy of building ships outside the colony. A galleon was constructed at Cambodia with local labor and materials for 100,000 pesos. Father Francesco Messina, who had been parish priest of Santa Cruz and spoke Chinese, was sent as chaplain. But when the completed galleon perished in a storm on its way to Manila, the policy was once again abandoned, and the burden of supplying labor to the Cavite shipyard and the lumber camps of the Sierra Madre fell as crushingly as before on the Tagalog and Pampango provinces.[8]

It would seem that even the payment of wages to drafted laborers, which was largely a fiction in any case, was temporarily abandoned. The fiction was retained in the case of requisitioned foodstuffs and supplies; the colonial government continued to "owe" the towns and villages for them. By 1657 this debt amounted to more than 200,000 pesos, and the total

indebtedness of the colonial treasury had reached the enormous figure of 1,000,125 pesos. What was the reason for this alarming state of affairs? In 1658 a Jesuit, Magino Solá, appeared at Madrid to represent the plight of the Philippines and to seek a remedy. He had been chosen by the colonists to act in their behalf, exactly as Alonso Sánchez had been chosen eighty years earlier; and the fact that there was no objection this time from the Jesuit general is an indication of the seriousness and urgency of the crisis.

The memorial submitted by Solá to the king in council[9] was based on the assumption, which did not need to be stated at the time, that the finances of the Philippine government were completely dependent on the galleon trade. Anything which interfered with the normal functioning and gradual expansion of that trade had an instant adverse effect not only on private fortunes but on the stability of the colony itself and hence on the proper administration and evangelization of the natives. Now during the two decades since 1635 the trade had been subjected to a series of shocks which had reduced both it and the Philippines to the last extremity.

In 1635 Don Pedro de Quiroga, who had been sent as royal visitor to Mexico, impounded 900,000 pesos' worth of merchandise which the galleon of that year had landed at Acapulco. The ostensible reason for this was that the cargo of the galleon exceeded by that amount the maximum value of the *permiso*; the real reason was that the home government was badly in need of funds. Unfortunately, while Quiroga did indeed enrich the royal treasury by 900,000 pesos, he impoverished the Philippines by over 2,000,000 pesos, which was what the sale of the merchandise would have brought. And ever since then, the losses suffered by the trade had been continuous and drastic, for the Mexican officials insisted on keeping it down to a limit which it had far outgrown and which no longer sufficed to maintain the expenses of the colony. Worse still, the year previous to Quiroga's visitation the trade between the Philippines and Peru via Acapulco was suspended for five years, and at the end of that period banned indefinitely, despite repeated protests of the viceroys of both Mexico and Peru. In this way a branch of the trade which was beneficial to the two vice-royalties as well as the Philippines was abandoned; and abandoned to foreigners, for merchant ships of other nations brought to the Atlantic coast of South America and sold at high prices goods which Manila could have supplied much more cheaply.

The straitjacketing of the galleon trade by the home government through these unreasonable restrictions must, then, bear a large share of the responsibility for the ruinous state of Philippine finances. The ruin was completed by a series of natural calamities. In 1636 no ships could be sent to Mexico. In 1638 the *Concepción*, returning to the Philippines from Mexico, was lost in the Ladrones. In 1640 a large part of the junk fleet

from China was intercepted by the Dutch. In 1643 one of the two galleons bound for Acapulco was compelled by bad weather to return to port. In 1645 Manila was destroyed by an earthquake, and the incoming galleon was lost at Cagayan. In 1647 and 1648 no ships came from Mexico. In 1652 no ships came from Mexico. In 1654 and 1655 they were lost, and a brand-new galleon constructed at Cambodia was likewise lost. In 1657 the outgoing galleons were forced to return. In view of these disasters, was it any wonder that the colony's debt should amount to over a million pesos, that it should be unable to pay for the labor and supplies it requisitioned from the natives, and that even the wages of army and navy personnel should be in arrears?

What, then, was the remedy? That proposed by Solá in behalf of the Philippine colonists may be summarized as follows. In the first place, the galleon trade on which the Philippines was wholly dependent must not only be maintained but allowed to expand. To this end, it should be subjected to as few restrictions as possible. The interrupted commerce between the Philippines and Peru by way of Mexico should be restored. Goods from the Philippines landed at Acapulco should not be subject to customs inspection by Mexican officials. (In other words, the permiso should in practice be repealed and Manila merchants allowed to ship as much as the trade will bear, though Solá does not make this explicit.) Participation in the trade should be extended to Mexican merchants. The ban against carrying spices on the Manila galleon, originally imposed to favor the Portuguese, ceased to have any basis when Portugal seceded from the Spanish monarchy in 1640; it should be abolished. The *alcabala* or sales tax on the merchandise conveyed by the Manila galleon should be reduced from 5 to 3 per cent; the 2 per cent tax introduced to defray the expenses of convoying the Windward Fleet should be remitted; the foodstuffs and gifts moving in both directions of the Manila-Acapulco run should pass duty-free. No new duties should be imposed on the trade except at the express order of the king in council, and before any such duty goes into effect the procurator of the city and commerce of Manila resident in Mexico should be notified, in order that he might make suitable representations.

Secondly, the galleon service should be improved. If the ships of the line were better constructed and better handled, losses could be cut down considerably. Hence naval architects should be sent from Spain to supervise the work in the shipyards, and the galleons should be entrusted only to trained pilots and seamen.

Thirdly, the annual subsidy from Mexico is absolutely essential if the colonial government is to meet its obligations from year to year. Hence the viceroy of Mexico should be instructed to dispatch it without fail even if no galleons arrive from Manila, for many causes may conspire to prevent them from making the voyage.

Finally, since the good estate of any colony depends in the last analysis on the quality of the colonists, emigration from the homeland to the Philippines should be stimulated and encouraged. Good officers and troops are especially needed, for those being currently sent from Mexico are either mere boys or half-breeds of various kinds (exactly as in Alonso Sánchez's time!). There is also great need for professional men: doctors, lawyers, and notaries. The establishments at Ternate and Zamboanga, for instance, do not have a single resident physician or surgeon. "In Manila the Chinese make up for the lack to some extent, but at great risk to the sick."

The labor and sacrifices required to extricate the Philippines from its present difficulties will doubtless make that colony appear to be more trouble than it is worth. This is an error. Let the facts be candidly examined, and they will show that "the Philippines are neither as costly as some would make it out to be, nor as unprofitable as they seem to imagine." Properly administered, it has a great future before it.

Such were the proposals which Magino Solá laid before the central government in 1658. Very little was done about them, for the economic reforms on which they were premised ran counter to powerful vested interests which could not be ignored. The textile manufacturers and exporters of the Peninsula were convinced that the cheaper and more attractive China goods brought by the Manila galleons threatened their very existence, and so they fought bitterly, and on the whole successfully, any attempt to release the trans-Pacific trade from the straitjacket of governmental restrictions. All that Solá and later colonial agents were able to accomplish was to persuade the government to make each successive straitjacket a little bigger than the last. This is undoubtedly one of the principal reasons for the "momentous change," as Schurz puts it,[10] which came over the Philippines in the latter half of the seventeenth century, a change whereby "it gradually drew within itself and vegetated in glorious obscurity." The observation is just; but the reason was not so much that the colony had been "exhausted by the efforts of the heroic age," as that further progress was rendered impossible by the repression of its expanding commerce, which, as the mercantilist theory of the age directed, ought never to be permitted to compete with the industries of the mother country.

The king and council took a much greater interest in another problem which came to a head in the 1650's, and shook the body politic quite as much as the various other shocks we have been chronicling in this chapter, though at an entirely different level. It had been preceded by a series of minor seismic disturbances which we must briefly review the better to appreciate the conflict which now developed.

Reference has been made earlier to the patronato conceded by the sovereign pontiffs to the Spanish monarchy relative to the church in its

overseas dominions, and to the fears entertained by Jesuit and other missionaries in the Philippines that the actual exercise of this patronage might conflict with their respective religious institutes. On 13 September 1589 that industrious and painstaking autocrat, Philip II, addressed a long cédula to Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas in which he stated in great detail what he understood to be the force, extent, and implications of his patronal rights.[11]

First of all, he said, let it be clearly understood that the patronato belonged to the crown "unico e ynsolidum"—solely wholly—and was inalienable. Hence, there was no other patronal right or privilege that could exist or be exercised in the Indies independently of the king. Let no one, said Philip, upon any pretext whatever

> . . . dare to intervene in any matter touching my royal patronage, or stand in the way of its exercise, or invest anyone with any church, benefice, or ecclesiastical office, or acknowledge him to be invested with the same, throughout the whole realm of the Indies, unless he has been presented for such investiture either by Us or by whomsoever We have delegated for that purpose either by law or letters patent. Anyone who contravenes this mandate, if he be a lay person, incurs the loss of all the favors he may have received from Us in the whole realm of the Indies and becomes incapable of holding or obtaining any others, and he shall be banished perpetually from all our realms and possessions. If an ecclesiastic, he shall be regarded as a stranger and alien [*estraño y ageno*] to all our realms and may neither hold nor obtain any benefice or ecclesiastical office and shall incur all the other penalties provided for in such cases by the laws of these My realms. Let Our viceroys, audiencias, and royal justices proceed with all severity against those who stand or act in this fashion against our royal right of patronage.

It was this solemn anathema which Governor Corcuera invoked when he sent Archbishop Guerrero to exile on the island of Corregidor; and it was to be invoked again against another archbishop of Manila with far more serious consequences. Philip II then proceeded to enumerate the various cases in which the royal right of patronage must be enforced.

In general: without the consent of the Crown or the competent Crown official, no cathedral church, parish church, monastery, hospital, votive chapel, or any other pious or religious institution may be erected, founded, or built; nor may any archbishopric, bishopric, prelacy, canonry, prebend, half-prebend, benefice, curacy whether simple or otherwise, nor any other ecclesiastical or religious office be created or appointment thereto made. In particular: appointments to archbishoprics and bishoprics are made by royal presentation to the Holy See. Appointments to cathedral posts, that is, canonries and prebends, are made by royal presentation, coursed through the Council of the Indies, to the archbishop or bishop concerned, who thereupon bestows canonical collation of the office to the royal nominee.

Appointments to other benefices such as parishes or charitable foundations are to be made in the following manner. As soon as the vacancy occurs, the diocesan prelate should make a public announcement of it and assign a sufficient period of time for those who wish to present their candidacy or take the competitive examinations for the post. He should then select from among the number of candidates the two whom he considers most suitable and submit their names to the competent royal official, who chooses the one upon whom the prelate is to confer the post canonically. The same procedure is to be followed with regard to nonbeneficed posts, such as missions among the natives, wherever such missions are customarily given to the secular clergy.

Philip was well aware, however, that most of the missions in his overseas dominions were administered by religious who were not, like the secular clergy, wholly subject to the diocesan prelate but had superiors of their own who held their authority from the Holy See directly and who governed according to certain special institutes or constitutions framed to meet the exigencies of the religious life. Hence the exercise of the royal patronage in their regard had to proceed on a somewhat different basis, and a section of the cédula is devoted to fixing this procedure.

First of all, no commissary general, visitor, provincial, or other religious superior may go to the Indies without first presenting his credentials to the Council of the Indies and receiving the king's permission to exercise his commission. Secondly, all newly appointed or elected religious superiors in the Indies must, before taking office, give notice of their appointment or election to the viceroy, governor or other competent royal official. Thirdly, provincial superiors must every year submit to the same official a detailed list of the houses, missions and members of their respective provinces. Fourthly, "provincials, every time that they appoint a religious to a mission or a post involving the administration of the sacraments or remove one from such a post, must give notice of it to our viceroy, audiencia president, or governor, whoever holds supreme authority in that province, and to the diocesan prelate; and they must not remove anyone from such a post without appointing another in his place."

One can immediately observe the difference between this procedure and that previously indicated for filling a secular parish. In the case of missions administered by religious all that Philip required was that the religious superior notify the government of all new appointments, and see to it that no post is left vacant. Bishop Salazar objected strenuously to having to obtain the governor's approval for his parish appointments, but aside from that these directives found fairly general acceptance. In 1603, however, Philip III added a further requirement. Reports had apparently been received in Madrid that priests were being appointed to parishes and missions in the Philippines who had no acquaintance with the native

language, or were otherwise unsuited to the post. Whether or not there was any truth in the report, the king ordered (14 November 1603) that before any priest, secular or religious, could be appointed to a native ministry, he should first be examined by the diocesan prelate both as to his general suitability and as to his familiarity with the language of the locality to which he was being assigned. Moreover, if the diocesan prelate finds any religious parish priest or missionary in his diocese unsatisfactory either as to his conduct or the performance of his duties, he may require the religious superior to remove him and appoint another in his place.[12]

This directive coincided with a claim which the bishops of the Philippines had been urging for some time, namely, that according to the decrees of the Council of Trent, they had full jurisdiction over religious engaged in the ministry in their dioceses no less than over the secular clergy, to the extent of being able to examine, inspect, and correct them if necessary. Against this claim the mendicant orders alleged that the sovereign pontiffs, notably Adrian VI, had exempted them from such jurisdiction, while the Jesuits put forward the added objection that their centralized organization could not be reconciled with it. When Philip III's cédula was received at Manila in 1605, they represented these difficulties to the government; although the Jesuits, and doubtless the other orders also, said that they were perfectly willing to be examined by the bishops as to their ability to hear confessions and speak the native language.

In 1610 the newly arrived archbishop of Manila, Don Diego Vázquez Mercado, decided to put the question to the test. He called together the provincials of the religious orders and informed them that he intended to make a visitation of all the parishes and missions of his archdiocese, as he was empowered to do both by canon law and the royal statutes. He did not, however, put forward the full claim; he would limit his visitation to strictly administrative matters, such as the proper maintenance of the parish and mission churches, conduct of liturgical services, administration of the sacraments, and the general religious state of the faithful. The provincials returned the expected reply: their papal privileges exempted them from such a visitation, it had never been done before and they could not agree to it. The archbishop then appealed for support to the government; but Governor Silva, having considered the matter with the audiencia, requested him to suspend the visitation. It is not difficult to see why. The religious orders had served notice that if the archbishop pressed his claim they would resign all their parishes and missions, and since they constituted the overwhelming majority of the clergy in the colony, and in many localities were the sole representatives of Spanish authority, civil as well as ecclesiastical, it would have created an impossible situation.

Archbishop Vázquez Mercado agreed to drop the matter, but wrote a full report of it to the king and in subsequent letters pressed him to obtain

from the Holy See the revocation of the religious' *omnimoda* faculties. These faculties, he argued, were granted by Adrian VI before the Council of Trent, and when the newly discovered Indies were still being opened up to missionary enterprise; under such conditions they were perfectly valid and necessary. But now that conversion had been largely completed, even in the Philippines, and the regular hierarchy of the Church established, these faculties were not only an anachronism but positively interfered with the proper exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; they should therefore be abolished.[13]

No action seems to have been taken on this proposal; on the other hand, the cédula of 1603 remained in the books and could be enforced at any time. In 1622 Archbishop Miguel García Serrano decided to make the attempt. On 2 and 3 April he notified the provincials of his intention to make a visitation and on 24 June actually began it in the Franciscan parish of Dilao, where he caused the following announcement to be read from the pulpit during high Mass:

> We, Don Fray Miguel García Serrano, by the grace of God and the holy apostolic See archbishop of Manila and member of his Majesty's council . . . to you, faithful Christian citizens and inhabitants residing in the town of Dilao, of whatever state, quality or preeminence you may be, health in our Lord Jesus Christ. Know that the holy Fathers, inspired by the Holy Ghost, have piously and justly ordained in their sacred councils that all the prelates and pastors of the universal Church are obliged either personally or through their visitors to make each year a general visitation and inquisition of their subjects and clergy, both secular and regular, who have charge of the administration of souls, with reference to their office as parish priests, and the churches, shrines, hospitals and confraternities [under their care], in order that all may be directed to the spiritual good of souls, which consists in being in the state of grace with God our Lord and removed from sin, especially those public and scandalous sins with which his Majesty is so much offended. In accordance with this our obligation We admonish and command all those who have known or heard say anything about the father your pastor who has charge of you relative to the administration of the sacraments, or about any other person, which cannot and ought not to be tolerated by the citizens and inhabitants of the said town of Dilao, of whatever nation and condition they may be, to communicate and reveal the same to Us, especially if they have committed what shall be enumerated and explained to you further on in this edict, in whole or in part, or anything else of like nature; all of which you shall declare and manifest before Us within the three days immediately following that in which this edict is promulgated and read to you.[14]

This is followed by the list of defects and transgressions which should be reported to the archbishop by those who had observed them in the parish priest. For instance, did the parish priest charge more for the administration of the sacraments than was set down in the scale of stole fees of the archdiocese? Did he neglect to punish public sins and scandals, or did he

punish them by the unlawful method of imposing pecuniary fines? Did his *fiscales* or sextons vex the parishioners by purchasing rice, chickens, and other commodities from them at less than the market price, or by forcing them to contribute money under the guise of alms for the church? Were there any public sinners in the parish, or persons who kept in their houses slaves, or men and women of evil life? Were there any usurers who lent money on interest, or sold on credit at a higher price than they would have got in cash, or bought for less than the just price because they paid cash down? Were there any persons who practised witchcraft, worshipped the devil, cast lots, or obtained forbidden knowledge by incantations? In short, what Archbishop García Serrano proposed to do was not only an inspection of the parish, but a public inquiry into the personal conduct and administrative acts of the parish priests, in which the parishioners would be invited to testify and their depositions taken down by notaries.

If the religious had balked at a simple visit of inspection without such publicity, they were certain to resist this one; and they did. The parish priest of Dilao, Fray Alonso de Valdemoros, was ordered by his provincial not to submit to the visitation. The archbishop thereupon declared him excommunicated. Valdemoros denied that he had incurred excommunication and took part in a religious procession a few days later. He was haled to the ecclesiastical court after the procession and sentenced to imprisonment in some convent; the archbishop graciously permitted him to choose the convent, as long as he did not choose one of his own order. Valdemoros of course refused to submit, and the archbishop was thus compelled to request the government for aid in enforcing the sentence of his court. The audiencia arrived at the same conclusion as in the time of Archbishop Vázquez Mercado: to support the diocesan prelate in the face of the determined opposition of the orders was highly inopportune. On 4 July the oidores declared "that there was no occasion for the time being to grant to the archbishop of these islands the royal aid requested by him." Thus García Serrano fared no better than his predecessor, and like his predecessor was compelled to report his failure to the king. He concluded his dispatch with the following reflections:

> I have made this report to your Majesty in order to . . . make of record the lack of restraint with which the religious conduct themselves in this land, relying on the fact that they constitute the greater part of the commonwealth, and that since their power is so great in all these provinces which they administer they are certain of accomplishing whatever they may put their mind to. This is true to such an extent that they have bruited it about in Manila that if the archbishop had gone ahead with the visitation they intended to excommunicate him publicly and not absolve him until he went to beg for it in the convent of Santo Domingo. Sire, I could very well have insisted; but I prefer to be reprimanded for laxity than for letting loose the grave scandals which I have been assured will follow

from engaging in litigation with these religious; for to be quite frank, they think less of that than that everyone, Spaniard and native, should acknowledge no power to be greater than theirs in these realms.[15]

It should be noted that the archbishop, influenced by a very natural feeling of resentment, considerably oversimplifies the case. The religious were not being merely obstructive or striving to maintain themselves at all costs in a privileged position to which they had no right. As they saw it, there was a real problem in reconciling the claims of the diocesan prelate with their distinctive status in the Church as religious. Unlike the secular clergy, they carried on their ministry not as individuals but as members of an organization; they had their own superiors, to whom they were responsible, and these superiors in turn were responsible directly to the Holy See, which had placed its seal of approval on their rules and regulations. If they admitted the bishops' claims, there were sure to be conflicts of jurisdiction; contradictory orders; irreconcilable directives; how was a missionary to attend to his work under such circumstances? A religious had quite enough superiors as it was; it surely could not be necessary to transform the organization to which he belonged into a monster with two heads.[16]

But even while Archbishop García Serrano wrote his report to the king, the Holy See moved slowly toward a solution. Similar conflicts had been brought to its attention from other parts of the Spanish Indies; in view of which Pope Gregory XV addressed a constitution to the archbishop of Mexico ("Inscrutabili Dei providentia," 1622), wherein he ruled that religious engaged in the ministry were subject to the "jurisdiction, visitation, and correction" of the diocesan prelate in all matters concerning the administration of the sacraments and the performance of their parish duties.[17] This was a definite step forward, for it sketched out the area in which the episcopal authority was necessary and admissible, and by implication excluded from that area what pertained to the religious as such, as members of a religious order. It was this that the religious felt they could not possibly concede, since to do so would be, equivalently, to cease being religious.

The instructions sent by Philip IV to the archbishop of Manila on 14 August 1624 followed the course indicated by the papal constitution.[18] The diocesan prelate, he declared, was authorized to subject religious parish priests to a visitation in what concerned their parish duties and nothing more: "en lo tocante al ministerio de curas y no en más." This meant that he had the right to look into the proper maintenance of the parish churches, reservation of the blessed Sacrament, upkeep of the baptistry, management of parish confraternities and their funds, and in general "all that pertained to the mere administration of the sacraments

and the said parish ministry." If he found the religious parish priest negligent in these matters he could of course impose the necessary penalties.

In what concerned the personal conduct of the religious, however, the diocesan prelate had no authority to take direct action. If he found anything objectionable in this particular he was to notify the supreme civil head of the colony, who as vice-patron would then take the necessary steps to remove the parish priest in question. Note that it was the governor, not the priest's religious superior, whom the diocesan prelate was to notify; this, said the king, was in order that the religious orders might not consider themselves to have acquired by prescription a right in perpetuity to their missions. The Crown in virtue of the patronato could always take back these missions and give them to others; an ominous caveat.

On the other hand, the king reprobated by implication Archbishop García Serrano's attempt to subject the religious parish priest to a public inquiry. This should not be done, he said, even though the inquiry bore on matters within the scope of the visitation. If there were any complaints against the priest, let the bishop receive them privately, without legal apparatus. If he found anything that needed correction, a simple admonition would in most cases suffice; if not, let the bishop talk the matter over with the religious superior; only when these measures proved inadequate should the formal notification to the governor mentioned above be made.

So much for the question of episcopal visitation. But this was not all that the cédula contained. It also directed that in the appointment and removal of religious parish priests and missionaries, the authorities in the Philippines were henceforth to observe the procedure followed in Peru. This forbade religious superiors to transfer their subjects from one parish or mission station to another, or withdraw them from the ministry altogether, without the consent of the vice-patron. To obtain this consent, he had to make known his reasons for doing so, and the vice-patron was to be the judge of the cogency of these reasons. Only two exceptions to this rule were recognized: the death of the religious concerned or his promotion to a superiorship. If this requirement was not complied with the stipends attached to the office would be stopped.

Such was the policy-making document issued by Philip IV in 1624. In 1626 and 1627 its provisions regarding episcopal visitation were confirmed by the Sacred Congregation of the Council, replying to two queries of the archbishop of Manila. According to the congregation, "the bishop may exercise over religious having the pastoral care of souls the same authority as over secular parish priests in what concerned the said pastoral care and the administration of the sacraments." And, again, "religious having the pastoral care of souls are subject to the jurisdiction, visitation and correction of the archbishop, but only in what pertains to the said pastoral office."[19] This seems to have encouraged Philip IV to add another

turn of the screw in the elaborate mechanism of patronal control. Philip II, it will be recalled, merely required religious superiors to notify the vice-patron of any new appointments to parishes and missions. Philip IV now demanded that before making any such appointment the superior should submit to the vice-patron a *terna* or list of three of his subjects whom he considered suitable for the post, out of which the vice-patron would choose the one to be appointed. In effect, he took away from the religious superior the right of appointment as far as parishes and missions were concerned and transferred it to the governor. These instructions were embodied in a cédula dated 6 April 1629.[20]

When it and the preceding cédula of 1624 were notified to the heads of the religious orders in the Philippines, the Dominican provincial, Fray Francisco de Herrera, replied that "in accordance with his general's instructions and the constitutions of his order he is unable to comply with what is herein commanded; so much so that in the forty years and more during which his order has been in these islands the like has not been practiced, because it is incompatible with the religious state." The Jesuit provincial, Juan de Bueras, declared that "the Society of Jesus desires to serve his Majesty in what he commands, as long as it does not go counter to its rules and constitutions and the orders of its general." The Augustinian, Franciscan, and Recollect superiors excused themselves from making any comment.[21] It seems reasonable to suppose that they would have had no difficulty in submitting to the king's instructions regarding episcopal visitation, especially since they had been confirmed by the Holy See. Unfortunately, these instructions were bound up in a single policy statement with other demands which they could not possibly accept, and so they felt compelled to register their protest to the whole. This was in 1632, and again, the colonial government did nothing beyond calling the two cédulas to the attention of the religious orders; it made no attempt to enforce them. This calls for an explanation.

I have described two major attempts to impose episcopal visitation on the religious. They failed because the archbishops were unable to obtain the backing of the government. One reason for this has already been given, namely, the fear of the civil authorities that the religious orders if pressed would carry out their threat of abandoning their missions. Another reason was that, while the diocesan prelates were perfectly willing to help the government impose the requirements of the patronato on the religious orders, they were not themselves noted for their meekness in submitting to those requirements. Not only Bishop Salazar but almost all of his successors carried on a running battle with the governors and audiencias on various questions involving the exercise of the royal patronage, culminating in the Corcuera–Guerrero imbroglio. If the religious orders were able to go their own way in peace, it was undoubtedly because the civil and

ecclesiastical heads of the colony were so often at loggerheads. But what would happen if, setting aside their differences for the moment, governor, audiencia, and archbishop combined to enforce observance of the patronato on the religious orders? In 1654 this very situation was realized.[22]

The attorney-general of the colony, Don Juan de Bolívar, fired the opening gun of the government's campaign by presenting the cédulas of 1624 and 1629 to the audiencia and petitioning their enforcement. The audiencia notified the petition to the heads of the religious orders and asked them to state their reasons why it should not be granted. Fray Juan de Abarca, replying in behalf of the Augustinians, prayed that the attorney-general's petition be set aside until the orders could appeal to "the king better informed." He gave three reasons. First, the cédulas were contrary to constant and unvarying practice both before and after they were issued, and hence to prescriptive right. Secondly, the requirement of submitting a terna for each parish and mission post was impossible of execution; the order had great difficulty as it was in finding one man for each post. Thirdly, the cédulas had been issued without the orders, as parties prejudiced thereby, being permitted to state their case, contrary to equity in both canon and civil law.[23]

The other religious orders joined the Augustinians in interposing an appeal to the king. Fray Francisco de San José, the provincial of the Recollects, noted in particular that for a religious superior to make known to the governor his reasons for removing a subject from his post, as the cédulas prescribed, was to violate the right of the subject to his reputation, since it might result in the publication of defects which ought to remain confidential.[24] Miguel Solana, the Jesuit provincial, stated that as far back as 1620, when the requirement regarding the submission of a terna to the government for each appointment was being considered, the general had issued instructions that if the requirement was insisted on, all parishes and mission stations entrusted to the Society in the Philippines should forthwith be resigned. These instructions were submitted to the Council of the Indies in the usual way, and the council, far from taking exception to them, continued to call upon the Jesuits to undertake new missions. This proved that the council at any rate did not consider the Society's objection to the terna requirement to spring from any reluctance to be of service to the king in whatever he might legitimately command. He would like to stress this point once again, Solana said. If the cédulas were enforced, the Jesuits of the Philippine province would have no choice but to abandon their present establishments; but they would always be ready at the king's behest to undertake new missions wherever circumstances permitted their doing so without injury to their institute.[25]

Attorney-general Bolívar, having examined these replies, submitted that they offered no grounds for postponing enforcement of the cédulas. He

therefore renewed his petition and prayed that in case of noncompliance the issuance of missionary stipends should be stopped, and any parishes resigned by the religious should immediately be given to the secular clergy. On 22 February 1655 the audiencia approved Bolívar's petition. The government had thrown down the gage, and it was now up to the orders to make good their threat of mass resignation.

They began to do so by recalling the men from their most distant and difficult missions. This was highly embarrassing to the government, for there were no secular priests in the colony who could speak the language of these remote outposts; and in any case, few if any secular priests had either the inclination or the training for pioneer mission work. Fortunately for the government, it was at this juncture that the archbishop of Manila chose to enter the lists. Don Miguel Millán de Poblete took possession of his see in 1653. A Mexican born of Spanish parents, he had risen from the ranks of the secular clergy to become doctoral canon of the cathedral of Puebla and rector of the University of Mexico, and came to the Philippines determined to make the religious orders submit to the episcopal jurisdiction.[26] His conception of how far this jurisdiction extended, however, went considerably beyond that of the Holy See and the Crown, for he claimed authority to inquire not only into parish affairs, but the private lives of the religious parish priests—*de moribus et vitae*—and in this sense proceeded to make a visitation of the archdiocese.

He began his visitation at the opposite end of the scale from that where the religious began their withdrawal, that is, not in the outlying mission territories, but in the vicinity of Manila, where the most prosperous and flourishing parishes were located. He presented himself at the Dominican parish of Binondo, and when as he expected the Dominicans resigned the parish rather than submit to the visitation, he immediately handed it over to the diocesan clergy. Thus he proceeded, picking out for special attention those city suburbs where the religious orders had invested most heavily in men, money, buildings, and equipment.[27]

The shoe was now on the other foot. In great distress the five provincials hastened to seek relief from the only authority in the colony that could give it to them, namely, the audiencia. "It is not reasonable," they complained in their petition, "to take away our best and most desirable parishes to give them to the secular clergy, and leave to us religious those which have only exile, sufferings, and perils to life and limb to offer; advantages must be counterbalanced with disadvantages, and vice versa." Nor was it merely a question of comfort and ease. These prosperous parishes were a necessary complement to the more needy missions, for it was from the surpluses of the former that they supplied the necessities of the latter. Moreover, it was these better endowed houses which served as places of rest and recuperation for superannuated missionaries or those broken in

health by their labors. The religious, after all, deserved some consideration for the great services they had rendered and were rendering to the crown in the Philippines. They were, in fact, indispensable to the security of the colony, and it would be disastrous to the entire body politic if they were forced in this manner to abandon all their establishments. Hence,

> . . . we beg and beseech your Highness [the governor in his capacity as president of the audiencia] to order the royal treasury officials to release our stipends as before; and not to permit us to be deprived of our better parishes unless we are relieved of all of them; and to command the said archbishop, beseeching and charging him in the prescribed form to desist from the aforementioned edicts and visitations; and if not, then to transfer *all* our parishes and missions to the secular clergy, for the reasons previously set forth.[28]

When the audiencia vouchsafed no reply to this petition, the provincials took the final step which everyone dreaded. They submitted not only to the audiencia and the archbishop of Manila but to the three suffragan bishops a formal resignation of all their parishes and missions, requesting that secular priests be sent at once to take their places, for the resignation was effective immediately.

Toward the end of June 1655 Attorney-general Bolívar submitted the following figures to the audiencia. The religious orders in the Philippines had under their care 252 parishes and mission stations with their attached villages, in which were employed (until recently) 254 priests. To take the places of these 254 religious, the archbishop of Manila had available 54 secular priests, of whom 39 knew Tagalog, 3 Visayan, 3 Pampango, 1 Bicol, 1 Japanese, and the rest no native language. No reports had as yet been received from the other three dioceses, but it was fairly certain—"es pública voz y fama"—that there were scarcely 15 secular priests in all of them together who did not already have a parish. Having produced these figures, he washed his hands of the whole affair with the cheerful remark that "your Highness will command to be done what you shall judge to be most appropriate."[29]

"Most appropriate," indeed! The situation was impossible. Yet, the government had gone too far to take the first step towards a restoration of the status quo. Someone else had to do it, and—to their great honor be it said—it was the Franciscans who did. It was some time now since the stipends had been stopped, and some of their missionaries in the provinces, who had no other income, were in dire straits. There was a forthright and touching humility in the brief petition which their procurator, Fray José de los Santos, submitted to the governor: "I beseech your Highness for the love of God to order that the fathers stationed both in the encomiendas of his Majesty as well as those of private individuals be given at least rice, in order that they may have something to eat."[30]

This gave the authorities the opportunity they needed to back down gracefully. The Franciscan petition was endorsed to the attorney-general for comment, and he returned it with another of his pious but not particularly helpful reflections. "Let right be done," he said; though he did add a gentle hint, noting that the petition was for an alms to relieve poverty, and was not based on any other claim. The adversary had sued for mercy; the audiencia could now afford to be generous. But as a further face-saving device, the oidores declared themselves in deadlock and co-opted an associate justice to break the tie. On 25 October the following majority ruling was reached: "Let the royal treasury officials disburse to the missionaries of the Order of Saint Francis their stipendiary rice, and let the encomenderos give them the customary stipends of wine and rice; so ordered."[31]

The other religious orders now petitioned for a similar resumption of their stipends. The audiencia allowed the attorney-general to nudge them further toward a restoration of the status quo. On 4 January 1656 he begged the court to take official notice of the fact that due to the lack of a sufficient number of secular priests it was impossible to accept the renunciation made by the religious orders of their parishes and missions. They must therefore remain where they are. But they could not do so without the necessary sustenance. Might it please the court, then, to order "what shall be most appropriate"? The court *was* pleased, and on 17 February 1656 ended a year of petitions and injunctions, marches and countermarches, excursions and alarms by restoring all missionary stipends to the religious orders "as long as they administer the parishes and missions committed to their charge."[32]

This did not mean, of course, that the audiencia had come to recognize the justice of the religious orders' cause. They merely recognized the impossibility under the circumstances of enforcing the claims of the Crown, and referred the whole question to the Council of the Indies. The dossier was accompanied by an interesting minority opinion from the pen of the oidor Salvador Gómez de Espinosa. He pointed out several errors in the conduct of the case, the most serious of which was that both the attorney-general and the audiencia assumed that the religious orders could validly resign their parishes and missions. They could not; or at least the audiencia had no authority to accept such a resignation. What it should have done was to direct the orders to present their resignation to the king as the only competent authority, and in the meantime forbid them to leave their posts; in this way all that trouble might have been avoided.[33]

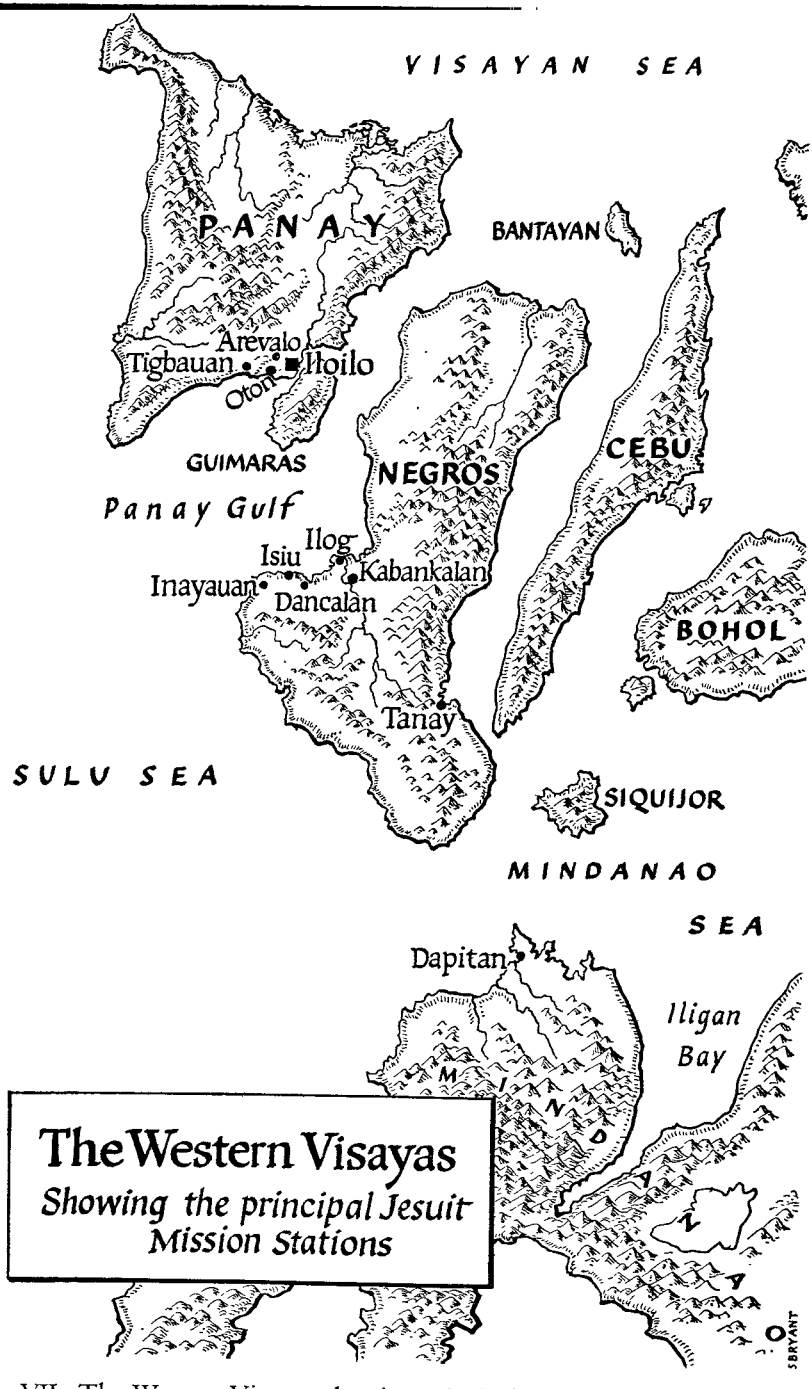
The Council of the Indies was at first inclined to take a strong line with the Philippine religious. Its attorney-general observed that the cédulas of 1624 and 1629 were being enforced in the rest of the Spanish dominions; why, then, should the missionaries in the Philippines alone be permitted

to exempt themselves from them? However, even the Council of the Indies could not change the terms of the problem. Whatever the conditions might be in the rest of the Indies, there were not enough secular priests in the Philippines to take the places of the regular clergy. Hence the Crown had no choice but to accept the services of the latter on their own terms. The dossier remained in the council's case-pending file for ten years. On 23 October 1666 it was rubricated "visto"—seen—and transferred to the archives.[34]

BOOK THREE

The Livery of Christ

The Province, 1655-1768



Map VII. The Western Visayas, showing principal Jesuit Mission Stations.

Chapter Eighteen

RECOIL AND ADVANCE

In 1655 the Jesuit province of the Philippines completed fifty years of its existence, and the following year was the seventy-fifth since Sedeño and his companions established the first house of the Society at Lagyo. The province now had five colleges, of which the principal one, the College of Manila, conducted an elementary school, a grammar school, and higher studies leading to degrees in arts and theology; the second, accredited to it but with its own rector and endowment, was the residential College of San José; and the other three, at Cebu, Cavite, and Arévalo, were colleges only in the sense that they were endowed and conducted free elementary schools. In 1659 the Zamboanga residence, though not endowed, began to be classified as a college, apparently because it had acquired some land from which it derived a small but stable income. A novitiate and tertianship had been founded at San Pedro Makati, but as we have seen the novices and tertians after a brief sojourn there were moved back to the College of Manila and San Pedro used merely as a villa house and house of retreats.

There were five other Jesuit residences in the archdiocese of Manila: Santa Cruz, San Miguel, Antipolo, Silang, and Boac on the island of Marinduque. In the diocese of Cebu there were seven: Loboc on the island of Bohol, Carigara and Dagami on the island of Leyte, Catbalogan and Palapag on the island of Samar, Dapitan and Zamboanga on the island of Mindanao. Each of these residences, except the suburban parishes of San Miguel and Santa Cruz, had the spiritual administration of several towns, to which were attached a number of villages as *visitas*. In 1656 there were 79 towns altogether under Jesuit care, with approximately 17,931 families or an estimated population of 71,724 (see Table 5). Jesuit chaplains were stationed at the garrisons of Iloilo, Iligan, and Zamboanga, and a small band of missionaries had been sent to take the place of the Portuguese Jesuits in the Moluccas.[1]

Three other seventeenth-century statistical tables have been preserved giving the names of the towns under Jesuit care and their respective Christian populations for the years 1659, 1675, and 1696.[2] They are too lengthy to be reproduced in full, but the demographer will find them of considerable interest. The figure for each town is itemized according to the various classes of the population. The Latin labels for the seven classes given are:

uxorati, soluti, ephebi, virgines, pueri, puellae, mancipia; which we may translate as: Married Persons, Single Adults, Unmarried Males between the

Table 5. Parish and Mission Residences of the Philippine Province in 1656

Residence	No. of towns	No. of families	Population[a]
Archdiocese of Manila:			
Santa Cruz	1	600	2,400
San Miguel	1	140	560
Antipolo	5	500	2,000
Silang	3	1,000	4,000
Boac	4	450	1,800
Diocese of Cebu:			
Loboc	6	1,200	4,800
Carigara	10	2,000	8,000
Dagami	9	2,000	8,000
Catbalogan	6	1,400	5,600
Palapag	8	1,600	6,400
Dapitan	11	1,750	7,000
Zamboanga	13	4,251	17,004
Mandaue[b]	1	40	160
Ilog and Oton[c]	2	1,000	4,000
Total	79	17,931	71,724

a. Estimated on the basis of four persons per family, the asumption made in the statistical reports of this period.

b. Not strictly speaking a residence, but a pastoral charge attached to the College of Cebu.

c. Ilog in Negros and Oton, the native town which with the Spanish settlement of Arévalo formed the city of Iloilo, were pastoral charges attached to the College of Arévalo.

Source: Colín-Pastells III, 792–802.

ages of puberty and majority, Unmarried Females between the same ages, Boys, Girls, and Slaves (male and female). The 1659 figures for the Bohol towns are given as a sample in Table 6.

Note that unlike Colín's appendix of 1656, these tables enumerate only the Christian population; that is why the 1659 table shows a grand total of only 52,265, as against Colín's 71,724. In 1675, however, the Christian population totaled 70,561, in spite of the loss of Zamboanga; and in 1696 it stood at 97,000. Because of the loss of Zamboanga the number of towns, which was 82 in 1659, was reduced to 78 in 1675, but was up to 81 in

Table 6. The Population of Bohol: A Sampling from the Catalogus Christianorum of 1659

Town	Uxorati	Soluti	Ephebi	Virgines	Pueri	Puellae	Mancipia	Total
Loboc	350	150	110	125	200	235	100	1,270
Baclayon	360	170	150	165	230	251	150	1,476
Malabohoc	170	100	53	69	80	100	65	637
Inabangan	90	50	20	30	40	50	31	311
Panglao	130	40	35	41	62	71	50	429
Total	1,100	510	368	430	612	707	396	4,123

Source: ARSI *Phil.* 2, 314–317v.

1696 due to the expansion of the Negros mission. An interesting detail is the fluctuation in the number of slaves: 3,135 in 1659, 170 in 1675, and 2,857 in 1696. I can offer no explanation for this, except that when the colonial government recovered sufficiently to strike back at the Moros, war prisoners were undoubtedly sold into slavery, as the laws permitted.

The succession of provincials during the second half of the seventeenth century was as follows:[3]

1653	Diego Patiño	1671	Andrés de Ledesma
1654	Miguel Solana	1675	Luís Pimentel
1658	Simón Bautista	1675	Javier Riquelme
1659	Francisco de Roa	1678	Giovanni Pallavicino
1661	Ignacio Zapata	1681	Tomás de Andrade
1663	Rafael de Bonafe	1683	Francisco Salgado
1665	Ignacio Zapata	1687	Luís Pimentel
1666	Domingo Ezquerra	1690	José Sánchez
1667	Rafael de Bonafe	1693	Magino Solá
1668	Miguel Solana	1696	Antonino Tuccio
1670	Luís Pimentel	1699	Luís de Morales

In Chapter 10 dates were given of the first seven congregations of the Philippine province, the seventh of which was held in 1651. Eight more were convoked during the second half of the seventeenth century, although the proceedings of all of them have not yet been located. Of the fourteenth congregation in particular we know only that it was held, presumably during the interval between 1687 and 1696, and possibly in 1691. The list below gives the number of the congregation, the year it was held, and the name of the procurator elected to go to Europe.

VIII	1659	Antonio Abarca
IX	1665	Andrés de Ledesma
X	1671	Juan de Landa

XI	1675	Pedro de Espinar
XII	1681	Jerónimo Ortega
XIII	1687	Antonio Jaramillo
XIV	1691?	?
XV	1696	Juan de Irigoyen

Diego Patiño, the procurator elected at the seventh congregation (1651), did not leave until after 1654, for we find him acting as provincial in the interval. Moreover, he died at Tenerife in the Canaries in 1657, before reaching Rome. His place was taken by Miguel Solana, who was also commissioned as the agent at Madrid of the entire colony, as we have already seen. Antonio Abarca, the procurator elected by the eighth congregation, was unable to go; Luís Pimentel went instead. Juan de Landa (1671) died on his way to Rome; no one seems to have taken his place. Pedro de Espinar (1675) was accompanied by his alternate, Francisco Salgado, and it was Salgado who returned to Manila with the mission expedition of 1679 while Espinar remained behind as resident procurator at Madrid for all the Jesuit provinces of the Indies. Jerónimo Ortega (1681) was prevented from leaving the Philippines by his involvement in a court case; his alternate, Luís de Morales, went instead. It is interesting to note that soon after Antonio Jaramillo (1687) had left the Philippines his appointment as provincial arrived. He was doubtless informed of this at Mexico, but decided to continue on his way. Such contingencies were provided for by including alternates with all appointments sent from Rome; in this case, José Sánchez was the alternate choice. Juan de Irigoyen (1696) died at Monaco in 1699 while on his way to Rome. The question of episcopal visitation was revived at this time by Archbishop Camacho, and the religious orders were obliged to carry their case to Rome. They entrusted the conduct of this business to a Jesuit also named Juan de Irigoyen (I mention it here in order to avoid confusion between the two).[4]

The total membership of the province in 1655–1656 was 108: 74 priests, 11 scholastics, and 23 lay brothers. Sixty-three of the priests were actively engaged in ministry among the natives; the others were in administration or school work, or dealt principally with the Spanish population; all, however, were qualified for the native ministry, as it was a policy of the province to require each of its members to learn at least one native language. The membership fell to 94 in 1665 but rose again in succeeding years until it stood at 135 in 1693, the highest figure attained in the second half of the seventeenth century (see Table 7). It should be noted, however, that 10 or 12 of these were regularly stationed in the Marianas Islands, which became a mission of the Philippine province in 1668.

It was noted earlier that, because of the increasing inability of the Spanish provinces to provide the Philippines with the missionaries it needed, the Philippine procurators sought volunteers in other European provinces of the Society; there were 20 non-Spaniards, for instance, in the expedition of 1643 headed by Diego de Bobadilla. Some time before 1651 this practice was forbidden by the government, which directed the religious orders to limit their recruitment of missionaries for the Indies to Spain itself. The Philippine provincial congregation of that year requested the general to negotiate the revocation of this prohibition, but the general was apparently unsuccessful, for on 15 June 1654 the prohibition was reaffirmed. Because of this the Philippine procurators had the greatest difficulty in filling their quotas, that is, the number of men they were allowed to take back with them at government expense. In 1652 Miguel Solana, driven to desperation by the reluctance of the Spanish provincials to part with their men, asked the general to exempt all volunteers for the Philippines from obedience to their provincials and put them under his, Solana's jurisdiction. The general, Goswin Nickel, wisely rejected this drastic measure, which would have created more problems than it solved.[5]

However, he and his successor, Gian Paolo Oliva, continued to press the Spanish government to allow Jesuits from other countries to come to the aid of their Spanish brethren overseas, and in 1664 their efforts were finally crowned with success. On 10 December of this year Philip IV consented that one-fourth of the number of Jesuits in each missionary expedition to the Indies be recruited outside Spain, "provided that they are my vassals [that is, citizens of Spanish-held territory, such as Naples], or belong to the hereditary realms of the House of Austria; provided further that they are approved by their general and have from him letters-patent in which are indicated their place of birth, the place of their entrance into the Society, and the colleges where they have resided, and that they are already ordained priests. Furthermore, I ordain that having arrived in this country they remain for one year in this province of Toledo before proceeding to the Indies, in order that their attitudes and behavior may be observed at close quarters; the provincial shall submit a report on them, and on the basis of this information the said my Council [of the Indies] shall issue them their visa."[6]

Not a very generous concession, but wonderful news for the Society, which Oliva hastened to share with the provinces where volunteer missionaries waited for an answer to their prayers. In his eagerness, in fact, he seems to have anticipated the official publication of the cédula, for his letter is dated 29 November.[7] The royal decree, he said, now opened the American and Philippine missions to Jesuits of the provinces of Austria, Bohemia, Upper Germany, and Upper and Lower Belgium. Applicants were to submit their names to their respective provincials, who would pass

Table 7. Distribution of Personnel of the Philippine Province, 1659–1696

Establishments	1659	1665	1675	1687	1693	1696
Colleges:						
Manila	17	37	44	31	41	42
San José	6	3	5	6	7	8
Cavite	5	3	4	5	7	4
Cebu	7	4	2	3	3	4
Arévalo	6	5	6	7	4	5
Zamboanga	4	–[a]	–	–	–	–
Residences:						
Santa Cruz	2	–[b]	2	3	1	2
San Miguel	1	1	1	3	1	1
Antipolo	3	4	4	3	3	3
Silang	4	4	4	4	6	3
Boac	2	2	2	2	2	3
Loboc	3	3	4	5	5	5
Carigara	4	5	5	8	7	8
Dagami	4	5	5	8	7	8
Catbalogan	3	3	3	6	4	5
Palapag	5	5	5	5	5	5
Dapitan	3	2	4	5	4	3
Missions:						
Moluccas-Siao	3	2	3	–[c]	–	–
Marianas	–	–	13[d]	9	13	12
Special assignments[e]	5	2	3	11	9	8
Unaccounted for[f]	9	3	3	2	5	2
Total	96	94	124	124	135	131

a. Closed when the garrison was retired in 1662; reopened in 1718.

b. Demolished during the preparations for Kogseng's expected invasion; rebuilt some time before 1675.

c. Moluccas mission closed when the garrison was retired in 1662, but another mission established on the island of Siau, which in turn was closed 1677 when the Dutch annexed the island.

d. Mission founded 1668.

e. These include procurators of the provincial congregations still in Europe or on their way there, procurators of the province resident in Mexico, and their lay-brother companions.

f. These almost certainly include the provincial and his *socius* (companion and secretary); probably also the procurator of the province resident at Manila; and possibly those placed under confinement for serious offenses against the rule, according to the custom of the period.

Source: "Catalogi triennales", ARSI *Phil.* 2. In the second half of the seventeenth century these "triennial" catalogues had become sexennial, and not all have been preserved.

them on to Rome along with all pertinent information regarding each applicant, in order that those most fit for the arduous life of the missions, both physically and spiritually, might be chosen. Oliva mentioned in passing that there was hope of obtaining a more generous concession, but this hope was not realized until ten years later. On 12 March 1675 Marie Anne of Austria, regent of Spain during the minority of Charles II, gave permission for one-third of Jesuit missionary expeditions to consist of non-Spaniards. She also revoked the requirement of one-year residence in the province of Toledo before proceeding overseas. The foreign missionaries could await embarkation in any of the Spanish provinces, and as long as the provincial of that province vouched for them they could sail as soon as the fleet was ready.[8] This wise move brought to the Philippines a number of saintly and learned Jesuits from central and northern Europe, of whose varied achievements I shall have occasion to speak later in this narrative.

The provisioning and transportation of all missionaries from Spain to the Indies continued to be generously undertaken during this period by the royal government in spite of increasing financial embarrassment. An anonymous Jesuit pamphlet of 1687 presents an itemized computation of what this subsidy amounted to annually.[9] The grand total for the Jesuit provinces in Spanish America and the Philippines, including not only the transportation of missionaries but the yearly stipends given to those engaged in the ministry of natives, was 219,250 pesos a year. For the Philippine province and its mission of the Marianas Islands alone, it was 42,500 pesos a year, itemized as follows:

For 4 priests in the College of Manila engaged in the ministry of natives, at the rate of 100 pesos and 100 fanegas of rice per year	500
For the missionaries in the Visayan islands and Mindanao, at the same rate	6,500
For the missionaries in the Tagalog provinces, at the same rate	4,000
For the missionaries in the Marianas islands, including the subsidy for the boarding school at Guam and the maintenance of the garrison there	22,000
For the annual supply ship sent to the Marianas from the Philippines	4,000
For oil to keep the sanctuary lamps burning perpetually before the Blessed Sacrament in all these mission churches, and for Mass wine	2,000
For the provisioning and transportation of missionaries from Europe (about 50 or 60 every six years); yearly	4,000
Total	42,500

The duration, discomforts, and dangers of the voyage from Seville or Cádiz to Manila remained pretty much what they were earlier in the century. The expedition of 1663 landed at Aparri in northern Luzon, where they were very hospitably received by the Dominicans, to whom the missions of that entire region belonged. Because of the lack of roads through the interior of the island they had to proceed from that point by dugout and on foot around Cape Bojeador and down the western coast; a long and painful journey as a result of which one of their number died soon after reaching Manila.[10] As previously noted, non-Spanish members of the expeditions either assumed or were given Spanish names. The Austrian superior of the expedition of 1681, Karl von Boranga, writing home to a fellow Jesuit, informs him of some of these changes among his companions. He himself was henceforth to be known as Juan Bautista Pérez de Calatayud; Andreas Mancker had become Alonso de Castro de Viena; Johannes Tilpe, Luís Turcotti de Niza; Augustin Strobach, Carlos Javier Calvanese; and Theophilus de Angelis, Juan de Loyola de Azpeitia.[11] As was to be expected, minor misunderstandings occasionally arose between the Spaniards in the expeditions and their German or middle-European brethren. Much of it was due simply to the barrier of language, and disappeared as soon as the foreigners were able to make themselves understood in Spanish. As the Czech Jesuit, Adam Kaller, explained:

> With regard to the complaints which certain individuals have written back from Spain or the Indies to Prague, they are well founded, but the causes which produced them are now almost nonexistent. The fault has been corrected and we have nothing to complain about at present, although in the beginning we were made to suffer a little. The principal reason for these difficulties was language, for we understood no Spanish at first, and they [the Spaniards], in order to oblige us to learn their native tongue, would not talk to us in Latin; for the Spaniards in the two Indies [eastern and western], like the Romans, are convinced that their language should be conterminous with their sovereignty. But as soon as we acquired a certain ease in speaking it—which we had reason to do quickly, not only in order to communicate with them but to hear confessions and perform our priestly duties in this language—they have gone out of their way to pamper us, so to speak, and anticipate our every wish.[12]

Once the language barrier was surmounted, the foreign missionaries had little difficulty in winning the respect and affection of the Spaniards. We saw above that Von Boranga was appointed superior of a mixed expedition to the Philippines, in spite of the fact that he was an Austrian. But it was the German and Austrian lay brothers who were particularly appreciated. The Philippine procurators were kept busy warding designing Mexican rectors away from them, because of their skill as druggists and infirmarians. The Spanish doctors had, of course, nothing but contempt for their "German remedies"; but the fact remained that the remedies worked,

even in cases which the doctors had pronounced incurable. Kaller, in the letter cited above, reports triumphantly that he and his companions had safely got aboard the Manila galleon, out of the clutches of the Mexican Jesuits, a certain Brother Georg Kamel of whom we shall hear more.

In spite of the difficulty of bringing missionaries from Europe, there is no appreciable increase in the number of candidates locally admitted to the Society during this period. This may be gathered from the data supplied by the extant catalogues of the period. During the six years from 1659 to 1665, nine applicants were received, five as scholastics and four as lay brothers, and an equal number pronounced their first vows at the completion of the noviceship. In 1671–1675, three were received for the lay brotherhood; one pronounced his first vows. In 1682–1687, nine were received, two scholastics and seven lay brothers; two pronounced their first vows. 1687–1693 were fat years; nine scholastics and seven lay brothers were received for a grand total of seventeen, and thirteen completed their noviceship. But that was exceptional; from 1693 to 1696 only four pronounced their first vows, and of the six applicants received two had to be dismissed, leaving only one scholastic and one lay-brother novice. The unusually lean years from 1671 to 1675 find their explanation in a memorial of the provincial Rafael de Bonafe dated 1665. In this memorial he asks for "several lay brothers of proven virtue who know something about the management of affairs, especially farming, because for several years now the governors have refused permission for soldiers to cut short their term of service in order to enter religion; as a result the brothers are getting fewer and fewer and the farms, having no one to take care of them, are being ruined." Oliva said he would do his best, but did not hold out much hope; for, he said, such brothers were at a premium in Spain itself.[13]

There is no record of full-blooded Filipinos being admitted to the Society during the second half of the seventeenth century, but a Chinese-Filipino mestizo was. The proposal to admit him was made by Juan de Irigoyen, who spent several years in China as a missionary. Upon his return to Manila in 1686 he wrote to the general recommending the admission as a lay brother of Julián Cruz, who had accompanied him to China as a servant or, more probably, a donado.[14] Cruz, Irigoyen said, was "a youth of rare virtue, modest, pious, devout, and extremely able in the management of affairs." He had already taken a private vow of chastity, but wished to complete his dedication to God by becoming a Jesuit. However, he has not yet gained admission "because he is a mestizo, that is, born of a Chinese father and an Indian mother, and it is not the custom in this province to admit such persons without your Paternity's approval." The general's actual reply to this proposal is not known but Julián Cruz was received into the Society at Manila on 31 December 1689.

As for criollos, the reservations made earlier in the century regarding

their fitness for the religious life disappeared completely. One of the petitions submitted by the procurator Andrés de Ledesma in 1669 was that the general urge the provincial of Mexico to be more generous in sharing his Mexican-born subjects with the Philippines, "for of the criollos born in New Spain and admitted to the Society there, those who were sent to the Philippines did splendid work, being exemplary religious and ready for anything."[15]

We must now resume our narrative of events in the Magindanau and Sulu area, starting from where we left off at the end of Corcuera's administration in 1645. By that time Corcuera's brilliant conquests had been to a large extent nullified by the stubborn resistance of Kudrat and Bungsu. The garrisons stationed at Bwayan and La Sabanilla had had to be withdrawn, and, while Jolo remained in Spanish hands, it was practically beleaguered by a hostile population.

Governor Fajardo quickly grasped the essential fact about this situation which his predecessor was either too busy to realize or too proud to admit, namely, that with the forces at his disposal he could not defend the Philippines from the Dutch and at the same time maintain a state of war against the Magindanaus and Sulus. It was essential then to stabilize the situation in the south by arriving at a peace settlement as quickly as possible and on the most advantageous terms with the two Moslem potentates. The man Fajardo chose for this task was the rector of the Jesuit residence at Zamboanga, Alejandro López.

López decided to sound Kudrat out before starting formal negotiations. Kudrat sent one of his nobles to Zamboanga with an encouraging letter. "The Sultan of Magindanau," it ran, "writes to pay his devoir to Father Alejandro López, Rector of Zamboanga, who understands the things of this world, who can distinguish the true from the false, who perceives the reality behind the appearances, and whose fame, because of this, has spread throughout all my realm . . . I send this embassy with Orangkaia Datang that he may bring the Father Rector back with him, and that he may convey my affection for, and my wholehearted desire to be a friend and brother to, the King of Spain."[16] López made the voyage in Datang's ships to Simuai, Kudrat's capital, and was soon able to send back to the governor of Zamboanga, Don Francisco de Atienza, the draft of a treaty which Kudrat was willing to sign. Atienza found it similarly acceptable to the Spanish government. It was duly ratified on 24 June 1645, Atienza going in person to Simuai to sign it on behalf of the Crown.[17]

The principal terms of what may properly be called the López Treaty were as follows. First, between Kudrat, Sultan of Magindanau, and his successors, and Philip IV, King of Spain, and his successors, there was to be perpetual friendship and alliance, both defensive and offensive. Any breaches of the peace were to be settled by arbitration between the con-

tracting parties. Secondly, any captives and spoils taken in joint military operations were to be equally divided between the contracting parties, except that Christian captives were to be released and slaves belonging to either party were to remain the property of that party. Third, the Spanish government recognized the inhabitants of the territory "from the Iho River, in the interior, and the middle of the Bay of Tagalook to the Sibugai River" as vassals of Kudrat. The highland clans of Cotabato and the people of Magolabon, though not yet completely reduced by Kudrat to his obedience, were similarly recognized as being his vassals. Kudrat, for his part, recognized the territory around the Lake of Lanao as belonging to the Spanish sphere of influence. Fourth, the contracting parties were to help each other reduce their rebellious vassals. Fifth, commercial intercourse between the contracting parties and their subjects was to be free and unrestricted, save that Magindanau traders were to pay a 5 per cent duty on all merchandise they brought to Zamboanga. Converts from Islam to Christianity could enter Magindanau territory for purposes of trade without being compelled to return to their original religion. Sixth, the Jesuits were permitted to establish a church and residence in Kudrat's capital, "in order that they may minister to the residents thereof who are already Christian, or whom they may openly persuade to become Christians; and the said Christians, if they be slaves, are automatically to be released by their owners as soon as they are able to ransom themselves at the rate of 40 pesos for a healthy adult, male or female, 30 pesos for boys and girls, 20 pesos for old or sick people, and 10 pesos for infants." Finally, Manakior, lord of the highland clans and Kudrat's brother-in-law, was to be forgiven all the offenses he might have committed against the Spaniards, and admitted to their full friendship.

At the very moment that the signing of this treaty was being joyfully celebrated at Simuai, the garrison at Jolo, unknown either to the Spanish authorities or the Magindanaus, was suddenly and without warning placed in the gravest danger. Some time before this, Prince Sarikula, one of Raja Bungsu's sons, had gone to Batavia to seek the aid of the Dutch against the Spaniards. His application was favorably received. Two warships were detailed to reduce the three small forts with which the Spaniards held Jolo. They arrived before the town in June 1645 and succeeded in landing a force, building trenches, and mounting a shore battery. They commenced operations against the Spanish positions on 27 June. The defenders, commanded by Esteban de Ugalde Orella and encouraged by their chaplain, Father Adolf Steinhauser, gave a good account of themselves. When the Sulus perceived that the Dutch were getting the worst of it, they withdrew their support and stood by to watch the Europeans fight it out; whereupon the Dutch commander, utterly disgusted with the whole affair, sent his men back to their ships and sailed away.[18]

Although the attack was unsuccessful, Governor Fajardo realized that if it was repeated under slightly more favorable circumstances—and there was every reason that it would be—a garrison of the size he could afford to maintain at Jolo, no matter how valiant, would not be able to hold it. He therefore decided to withdraw from Jolo while he could; but at the same time he did not want the withdrawal to be taken by the Sulus as an indication of weakness. This impression could be avoided, he thought, by making the abandonment of Jolo one of the consequences of a treaty of peace, and so López was hurriedly instructed to begin negotiations with Raja Bungsu for such a treaty.

López shrewdly prepared the way by asking Kudrat to use all his influence in persuading Bungsu to come to terms with the Spaniards, judging correctly that Kudrat would be more than willing to do this, since the Sulus if uncommitted to a Spanish alliance like his own would have a considerable advantage over him. When, therefore, López went to confer with Raja Bungsu at Jolo, it was in the company of Kudrat's nephew, Kechil Batiokan, and the admiral of his fleet, Orangkaia Datang.

The terms of the treaty were quickly agreed upon, and Atienza was already on his way to Jolo for the signing when news was received of the approach of a powerful Dutch squadron. At this, Raja Bungsu left the conference and retired with his entourage to the hills among the warlike Gimba people. In this unexpected crisis, with the Spaniards caught between a Dutch invading force and the Sulus mustering in the hinterland, López took the audacious step which saved the situation. Unarmed and unaccompanied, he took the trail after Bungsu, overtook him, and persuaded him to return and conclude the peace. Atienza, without waiting for them at Jolo, met them halfway, and the treaty was signed at Lipir on 14 April 1646.[19]

This second López Treaty was substantially the same as that negotiated with Kudrat. It too was a treaty of perpetual friendship and an offensive and defensive alliance. The respective territorial limits of the contracting parties were defined: the jurisdiction of Raja Bungsu, designated in this treaty as sultan, was recognized as extending from Tawi-tawi to Tutup and Bagahak, while it was understood that Spain would have a free hand in the islands of Tapul, Balangingi, Siassi, and Pangutaran. As a token of continuing friendship, the sultan was to send to Zamboanga every year three joangas, each eight fathoms in length, filled with rice; and the Spaniards, not to be outdone in generosity, were to withdraw their garrisons from Jolo. Arrangements were made for joint expeditions against the Camucones of Borneo, in which all booty would be divided equally. Jesuit missionaries could preach Christianity freely anywhere in the sultan's dominions and any of his subjects could embrace Christianity without let or hindrance. Spain recognized Prince Pakian Baktial as the legitimate successor to the

sultanate. Bungsu engaged to obtain the consent to the treaty both of Prince Pakian and Prince Sarikula.

Two days after the withdrawal of the Spanish garrison from Jolo had been completed the Dutch squadron, four warships, arrived. But Bungsu meant to keep the terms of the treaty he had just signed and the Dutch had no option but to retire a second time without accomplishing anything. The two princes at first refused to ratify the peace their father had made, but when Prince Pakian Baktial was worsted in a naval engagement with the Zamboanga squadron, Prince Sarikula sent for Father López and declared his formal adhesion to the treaty. López then went to Manila to report to Governor Fajardo personally. His success in carrying out the difficult task committed to him helped to dispel the initial disfavor with which Fajardo regarded the Jesuits because of the affair of the College of San Felipe and won his wholehearted cooperation in López's plans for the development of the Zamboanga mission. The usual stipends were granted for the support of six priests to be stationed at Zamboanga: one to serve as chaplain of the garrison, another as chaplain of the naval squadron, a third as missionary among the Lutaus, a fourth to evangelize Basilan Island, a fifth to take care of the Subanun settlements along the western coast of the Zamboanga peninsula, and a sixth to preach the gospel to the Sulus.[20]

The Lutaus, who had not fallen under the influence of Islam to the same extent as the Sulus, took to Christianity much more readily. They migrated in increasing numbers to Zamboanga and formed three settlements around the town: Bagumbayan on the beach, Kagangkagang beside the river, and Buayabuaya in the mangrove marshes. It was to the Christian Lutaus of Zamboanga, as we have already seen, that Governor Fajardo assigned the task of putting an end to the Palapag rebellion of 1649. López went with them as chaplain on this expedition. Governor Atienza of Zamboanga and his successors helped the fathers provide the town with much-needed services, among them a hospital, chapels for the Lutau settlements, and a refuge for fallen women.[21]

Francisco Lado, the missionary assigned to Basilan, succeeded in winning the friendship of the Lutaus of the coastal settlements. They expelled the Moslem panditas or preachers who were among them and built Lado a church and house. The Yakans of the interior, however, proved more recalcitrant; not until their rebel chieftain Tabako was killed in a skirmish with Spanish commandos was Father Lado able to undertake mission work among them. In 1649, Pedro Durán de Monforte, commander of the naval squadron and later governor of Zamboanga, undertook two successful expeditions against the Camucones of Borneo. He put several of their villages to the sack, took 200 captives, burned more than 30 vessels, and thus smothered a slaving expedition which was being readied for the

Visayas at its source. The Zamboanga Jesuits who accompanied succeeding expeditions made a vigorous start in the evangelization of that great island. It was slow work taming the barbarous ferocity of the Camucones; but by 1660 the missionaries had made 700 converts among them.[22]

The Subanuns will be discussed in detail when the Dapitan mission is mentioned. They were most numerous on the northern coast of the Zamboanga peninsula, but their clan villages were strung out along the beaches and at the river mouths of its western seaboard all the way down to Zamboanga itself. Hence missionary work among them was divided between the two residences of Dapitan and Zamboanga, with a floating demarcation line in the neighborhood of Sindangan Bay. In 1648 one of the Dapitan Jesuits lost his life in this ministry, and in 1650 one of the Zamboanga Jesuits. It was usual for the Dapitan missionaries to take with them while on tour an escort of Christian warriors for their personal protection. In the beginning young Francesco Palliola conformed to this practice, but, fearing that the presence of an armed guard might make him less approachable to the Subanuns, he abandoned it, going on his missionary excursions accompanied only by two boys as Mass servers. He also made it a point to learn the Subanun language. He was in fact the first Jesuit to do so, for previously the Dapitan missionaries preached to the Subanuns in Visayan, which the Subanuns understood after a fashion.

Because of his great devotion to the Mass, he demanded regular attendance at it from his converts, and probably used the method of roll call and public reprehension then in universal use for checking absentees. Irked by this, certain women of the town of Ponot, just above Sindangan Bay, incited their warriors against the priest. A band was formed, led by an apostate Christian named Huana and a pagan named Tampilos. They broke into the house where Palliola was staying at Ponot, clove his skull with a kris and left him dead. He died on 29 January 1648.[23] The Christians of Ponot took his body to Dapitan, where it was buried. His murderers fled the region and some of them settled further south, in the village of Siukun.

Siukun lay within the mission territory of the Zamboanga Jesuits. It was a difficult mission because the Subanuns had a deep-rooted conviction that the principal purpose of the Spaniards in coming there was to reduce them to slavery. In spite of this Father Juan del Campo, to whom the Subanun circuit was assigned, succeeded by dint of unremitting labor to win a measure of confidence. He persuaded some of the highland clans to take up a more settled mode of existence and their datus to dismiss their superfluous wives. However, it was on the next generation that he placed his hopes. On his mission journeys he kept a lookout for the most intelligent and spirited boys, and whenever he found one he would send him to Zamboanga to be raised and educated in one of the Christian households

there. The apostates from Ponot who had settled at Siukun used this to poison the minds of the Subanuns against the priest, saying that he was really sending the boys into captivity as hostages to keep their families in subjection. The suspicions engendered by this rumor were further aroused by the labor draft of 1649 and the uprising in Samar against it. A band of warriors gathered around a certain Imutum and descended on Siukun at a time when Del Campo was engaged in building a new church there. Wounded by a lance thrust, the priest had enough strength to stagger to the river bank, where a navy patrol boat was moored. However, the conspirators overtook him as he was trying to climb aboard and finished him off. The Spanish corporal and five Pampango troopers who were with him were also killed. It was 27 January 1650. In the confusion, no one thought of retrieving Del Campo's corpse, which was carried out to sea by the tide and never recovered.[24]

Meanwhile, on the other side of the island, the peace with Kudrat had been placed in grave jeopardy by the Spaniards of the Caraga fort. There too the Palapag rebellion had had its repercussions, and the Caraga commander while in pursuit of rebels made several raids into Kudrat's territory and took prisoners. Aroused by this, and possibly because he was getting bored with the peace, the old Magindanau warlord began to assemble a raiding fleet, calling for assistance on the warriors of Sangil, past masters in the art of piracy. At Governor Fajardo's request Father López turned once again from mission work to diplomacy. He went to Simuai and succeeded in calming Kudrat down. The raid was called off, much to the disgust of the Magindanau and Sangil warriors. However, this did not deter López from making a side trip to Bwayan, where Balatamai was now lord, and winning his adhesion to the treaty. It may be taken as a measure of the great personal charm of this saintly priest that before leaving Simuai for Zamboanga he had converted to Christianity two of the most important members of Kudrat's household: Prince Guadin, Kudrat's second son, and Orangkaia Ugbo, one of his most trusted ministers. The hopes which the Spanish government placed on Guadin as a possible Christian successor to Kudrat were disappointed by the prince's untimely death; but Ugbo after his catechumenate was solemnly baptized at Zamboanga and left Kudrat's service to accept command of the Lutau troops in the Spanish service.[25]

The prospects for the eventual Christianization of the Moslem south never looked more fair, and when the provincial congregation of 1651 convened at the College of Manila, López proposed as a *postulatum* that the general request the Holy See to create an episcopal see at Zamboanga. The fathers did not think the time was quite ripe for this; but they did ask the general to obtain for the missionaries among the Moros the faculty of administering the sacrament of confirmation in the absence of a bishop.[26]

The cheerful confidence in the future which presided over these deliberations was destined to be rudely dashed to the ground in the next decade.

When Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara succeeded Fajardo as governor in 1653, he sent envoys to Kudrat to announce this fact and to declare his intention of abiding by the López Treaty. Kudrat received the embassy with every sign of cordiality, affirming that he too meant to abide by it, in spite of the flagrant violation of its terms by the Caraga garrison and the attractive offers which the Dutch of Batavia were constantly making to win him over to their allegiance. Spanish agents in Lanao and the Moluccas, however, told a different story. They reported great and increasingly vocal discontent in the towns and villages of the Great River, where the younger warriors chafed at the enforced idleness to which the López Treaty had reduced them; the prevailing opinion was that Kudrat, in order to retain his ascendancy, would have to yield to pressure and tear up the treaty.

These indications were confirmed in 1655, when Kudrat suddenly sent an embassy to Manila headed by one Banua. The choice of ambassador was significant, for whereas previous Magindanau envoys had been noblemen, this Banua was a household slave, the son of a Tagalog captive. He was also a boor, and at the various stops which he made in the course of his leisurely progress, he went out of his way to affront the Spanish officers who gave him hospitality. At Tungauan he referred insultingly to an image of Saint Francis Xavier and struck the resident missionary there, Father Miguel de Pareja, a blow on the face. At Zamboanga he told the Lutaus plainly that the days of the peace were numbered. The message which he delivered at Manila was a provocative one. Kudrat demanded the instant release of all Magindanau prisoners, whom he accused the Spanish government of retaining in contravention of the treaty, and the return of all the artillery captured by Corcuera in his Magindanau campaign.

Lara agreed to these demands, although he knew very well that the prisoners referred to, having become Christians and released, had no wish to return to the Great River; and that the artillery captured by Corcuera had long ago been melted down for metal. He did so apparently to give himself the opportunity of making counter-demands, which he asked Father López to present in the hope that that accomplished diplomat would be able once again to avert a crisis. López went. At Zamboanga, where he arrived in the beginning of November, the Lutaus tried to dissuade him from going any further, telling him that he was going to his death. López probably suspected as much, but he set his face steadfastly towards Simuai and the accomplishment of his mission. A young priest recently assigned to Zamboanga went to keep him company: Father Juan Montiel.

The embassy was received at Simuai without the usual demonstrations

of welcome. Kudrat stayed in his house, and López was obliged to notify him of his arrival by messenger. Kudrat sent back word that he could deliver his message in writing. López protested that his instructions were to see the sultan personally, and demanded audience. Kudrat consented with bad grace. Governor Lara's counter-demands were not very conciliatory, and López could not tone them down without falsifying them. They were prefaced by a long bill of particulars in which Kudrat was accused of violating the terms of the treaty, among them the fact (which was undeniable) that he had never bothered to fulfill his promise of allowing a Christian mission to be established at Simuai. Kudrat fell into a rage. López tried to calm him down, and in the course of doing so let fall what was doubtless uppermost in his mind and heart, namely, that all these quarrels and crises went back to one prime root, the difference in their faiths, and that by far the simplest way to put an end to them was for Kudrat and his people to embrace Christianity. The missionary had got the better of the diplomat.

Kudrat shouted at him to say no more, or he would have him killed. López replied that he would not in the least mind being killed, as that would make him a martyr. "What then?" said Kudrat. "Is it as ambassador, or as martyr that you have come?" As ambassador, the priest replied, but no matter what the message he brought from men, he was above all and always God's ambassador, ordained for the teaching of the true law, so that by teaching that law he was fulfilling his embassy. At that, Kudrat dismissed him.

Although the blame for López's subsequent death has always been attributed to Kudrat, it was actually in Balatamai's house at Bwayan that the deed was done. Balatamai sent word to the Jesuit that Kudrat's queen, who was sojourning at Bwayan, wished to see him. López went, and while Balatamai engaged him in conversation, assassins entered the hall where they were and felled him with a lance thrust. As he sank to the ground, they dealt him two more blows with the kampilan on the head. Thus he died on 13 December 1655. Montiel, his companion, was killed at the same time, and of his entourage only the Lutau crew of the vessel in which he came and two Spaniards escaped.[27]

War was now inevitable. While Kudrat assembled an armada and sent his agents ranging widely through the Moluccas and the Sulu islands for additional ships and troops, he excused himself to the Spanish authorities, claiming that it was Balatamai who had put the ambassadors to death. Lara returned no reply to this, but ordered the forces at Zamboanga to mobilize against Magindanau as soon as possible. The naval commander there, however, kept putting off the expedition, because he felt that with López dead he could no longer rely on the Lutaus who manned his ships. Encouraged by the apparent impotence of the Spaniards, Balatamai set

out with a raiding fleet in 1656, sailed round the far side of Basilan, struck at Marinduque and Mindoro, and returned unscathed. The following year Sarikula of Sulu followed suit, cutting a wide swath of destruction across the Visayas and taking 1,000 captives. The expedition against Kudrat that was being mounted at Zamboanga finally got under way in 1658, but inflicted little real damage. On the other hand, the Sulu cruisers once again evaded the Spanish naval patrols and raided Bohol, Leyte, Samar, Masbate, and the Luzon coast as far as the entrance to Manila Bay. Thus, after an uneasy existence of a decade, the treaty system that Alejandro López had built up died with him.[28]

But the series of Spanish reverses had not yet run its full course. In May 1662 a delegation of Chinese, accompanied by a Dominican friar named Vittorio Ricci who acted as interpreter, presented itself at Manila to deliver a message from a certain Cogseng or Koxinga, which was how the name Cheng Ch'eng-kung sounded to Spanish ears. Some eight years previously the Manchus had put an end to Ming rule in north China by taking the capital, Peking. In the southern provinces, however, the last of the Mings kept up a stubborn resistance, and among their partisans was a dynasty of robber barons whose most energetic representative was this same Koxinga. Koxinga seems to have fought just as much if not more for his own hand as for his sovereign, for whatever he took he held in his own name. In 1653 he took Amoy and in 1656 Ch'ungming Island. In 1656 he attacked Nanking but failed to take it; whereupon he turned on Formosa, and by taking Fort Zelandia from the Dutch (1662) made himself master of the island. His attention was called to the fact that there were still more islands to the south for him to grind under his victorious heel; whereupon he sent the embassy of which we speak, with a letter which said in part:

> Your small kingdom has ill-treated and oppressed our *sampan* traders in a manner not very different from that of the Dutch, thus giving rise to double dealing and discord. Further; the affairs of the island of Formosa have now been settled satisfactorily, and the trained troops under my command number hundreds of thousands, my warships many thousands. Further; only a narrow strip of water separates the island of Formosa from your small kingdom, so that by setting sail in the morning, one may reach there by nightfall. My first thought was to go at once in person with a fleet to punish your evil ways; but then I called to mind that although you have given me ample reason to be displeased with you, you have in recent years shown some signs of repentance . . . I have therefore decided to detain the fleet at Formosa and send instead the Father Ambassador [Ricci].[29]

Briefly, what the Spaniards now had to do was to acknowledge his sovereignty and send tribute, otherwise he would destroy them all. Governor Lara sent back Ricci and the Chinese envoys with a defiant reply and immediately set in motion defense preparations of the most drastic kind.

One of these measures was the recall to Manila of all the garrisons dispersed throughout the Philippines and the Moluccas. It was vigorously opposed by the Jesuits, particularly Francisco Combés, the historian of Mindanao and for many years a missionary there; but to no avail. On 17 June 1662 orders were received at Zamboanga to abandon the fort to the Christian Lutaus. The withdrawal was not achieved without difficulty. Pakian Baktial, who had by this time succeeded to the sultanate of Sulu, tried to take it before the Spaniards could dismantle its artillery. He was repulsed. One of the officers, Ensign Nicolás García, offered to betray it to Kudrat. The plot was discovered; García fled to Basilan; the Lutaus there cut off his head and sent it back to the fort.

In April 1663 the governor of Zamboanga, Don Fernando de Bobadilla, delivered the fort to the datu of the Christian Lutaus, Don Fernando Makombon, and sailed away with the entire garrison. The Jesuit missionaries went with him. Thus was extinguished this flourishing mission, not to be reëstablished until the second decade of the following century.[30]

The Dapitan residence on the north coast of the island was not, however, abandoned. As mentioned earlier, Dapitan was founded by Visayan colonists from Bohol shortly before the arrival of Legaspi's expedition. They were led by Datu Pagbuaya who allied himself with the Spaniards and whose descendants embraced Christianity. His son and successor, Pedro Manuel Manook, a great soldier, fought side by side with the Spaniards at Camarines, Jolo and Caraga. Manook's daughter, María Uray, was a fervent Christian. Upon the death of her husband, Gonzalo Maglinti, she ceded her property and rule to her two children and retired to a house apart to lead a life of prayer and penance. She applied for admission to a convent of nuns in Manila. When her application was refused because she was a native woman, she asked if she could be admitted as a slave. The Jesuits of Dapitan, however, persuaded her to stay and be an example to her people. She led a quasi-conventual life in her house, following an order of time which included several hours of mental prayer, daily Mass, examination of conscience, rosary and other devotions, weekly confession, and the weaving and sewing of vestments and altar linen for the mission church.[31]

The Dapitan mission was founded by Pedro Gutiérrez in 1629. Dependent at first on Cebu, it was transferred in 1639, along with the Iligan mission, to the Zamboanga residence; then, in 1643, to the Loboc (Bohol) residence; and finally, in 1645 or a little later, it was made a residence in its own right with Iligan as a dependency.[32] Its jurisdiction extended eastward from Iligan along the coast of Zamboanga to Sindangan Bay. This was the country of the pagan Subanuns, to whose conversion the Dapitan Jesuits devoted themselves. It is mountainous country, for the Zamboanga peninsula is really a heavily forested mountain range with

foothills folding down almost to the water's edge and few patches of level ground anywhere save at its marshy tip. Hence it was at the mouths and banks of the mountain streams that the Subanuns built their villages; from this they derive their name, which means in their language river-dwellers.

Their economy and social organization differed little from that of the Visayans of Bohol, Leyte, and Samar. Each clan was governed patriarchally by a *timuai*, whose authority depended largely on the consent of the clan and whose chief function was to lead the clan in war and settle disputes according to customary law. The anthropologist Christie has this to say about the administration of justice among the Subanuns:

> Trials among the Subanuns, like all other public business, were conducted by *bichara* or conference. The interested parties would go to the headman's house either of their own motion or on receipt of a summons, where they would be assigned a mat on which to sit, and would be passed the *betel* box. There was no appearance of unseemly haste. Ordinarily all concerned would chew for some moments in silence before they proceeded to business. Then one or the other would start the argument, either personally or by deputy, and talk almost interminably, with endless repetitions, trying to convince the headman that custom was on his side. If the case was important, the headman would send for the most influential men of the region to assist him. The Subanus enjoy argument, both as speakers and as listeners, and a debate is often spun out for hours and frequently taken up again at intervals for weeks in succession. On the whole, though . . . the final decision, laid down by the headman with the concurrence of his assistants, was, if I may be allowed to judge from one or two trials which I witnessed, almost sure to be a fair one.[33]

It had to be, for the timuai's ascendancy was based not so much on birth as on the tacit acceptance of his rule by the community. As Christie says elsewhere,

> . . . it was rarely possible for him to commit great abuses. If he showed himself to be harsher in his punishments than the community believed was allowable under . . . custom, he found his followers drifting away from him; this occurred by the simple process of their going into another district and placing themselves under the orders of another headman.[34]

But this same mobility of the Subanun clans, while protecting their freedom from oppression, created the usual difficulties for the missionaries, who had to pursue them from hill to hill and stream to stream, as Gutiérrez ruefully reported, "like wildcats." Once overtaken and their affection won, however, they were easily "domesticated." Gutiérrez himself became so dear to them that when another missionary came in his place the Subanuns said they wanted Gutiérrez back and were prepared to purchase him from the government. Surely the governor would be willing to sell, in order that

the Subanuns might have their "first Father" permanently. Only rough estimates are extant of the size of the Subanun population at that time; the annual letter of 1632 hazards the figure of 2,000 as a minimum.[35]

Like the Visayans, the Subanuns worshipped spirits; those of forest, field, and stream, and those of their ancestors. Their shamans offered sacrifice before the planting of the rice, before the weeding of the grown rice, and at the time of the first fruits just before the harvest. Each sacrifice was followed by a *buklug* or feast, a tremendous spread at which much was eaten and much drunk. The Subanuns did not have the Tagalogs' capacity for holding their liquor; but they developed certain prudent practices to prevent their doing anything when drunk which they would afterward regret. According to Christie,

> . . . the men are commonly relieved of their spears on arrival, and certain men are appointed to be custodians of the weapons, which, of course, are returned to the owners when, the drinking being over, they are in their right minds . . . Just before it [the drinking] begins, one of the leading men present, at the request of the host, warns all present against any infraction of decorum. He hangs from the roof beam or other conspicuous timber of the house pieces of rattan with knots tied in them representing the number of fathoms of cloth or number of brass cannon, gongs, etc. which will be the amount of the fine if anyone commits one or more of a series of offenses which he enumerates in a loud voice. The two delinquencies against which he warns the men especially are quarreling and making improper advances to any of the women present. The most careful hosts arrange that there shall always be a small number of men not drinking—men who relieve each other in abstinence on successive days—who shall act as a sort of friendly police.[36]

As will be gathered from the above, the buklug lasted several days, at the end of which the principal shaman present offered a final sacrifice. On a wooden altar set across the path leading to the hall of feasting he placed a bowl of rice, some eggs, tobacco, betel, and a cup of rice beer, intoning over these offerings the *ponolud* or chant of farewell: "Return from whence you came, O spirits, for the feast is ended. All the sacrifices have been performed; the rice beer has been offered."[37]

Because of the wildness of the country and the dispersal of the population, Dapitan was a particularly difficult and lonely mission. The missionaries on their tours had to go coasting in dugout canoes or small sailboats along an irregular shore line whose headlands were so difficult to navigate that at certain times of the year it might take a month to round them, whereas in good weather it might take no more than half an hour. Where the mountain torrents formed swampy pools near the sea they were infested with man-eating crocodiles which took great toll of life. The funeral books of the mission stations would often contain such items as: "On such a day burial was given to the head of So-and-so, this being the only part

of his body that was recovered after he was torn to pieces by a crocodile." Each member of the Dapitan community might be assigned ten or twelve villages to take care of, so that he was kept continually on the move. Nor could he limit his activity to his purely priestly functions, for as the Subanuns became Christians, they tended more and more to have recourse to the missionary instead of the timuai in all their difficulties and disputes. They did so, of course, using the time-honored process of the leisurely bichara, which must have taken up untold time the missionary could ill afford.[38]

But while the Subanuns were in general peace-loving and even timid, they had their outbursts of blind, headlong violence, as the murders of Francesco Palliola and Juan del Campo attest. Hence the missionaries thought it more prudent to bring an armed escort with them on their circuits, usually of reliable Boholano warriors from Dapitan. This was all the more necessary after 1663, for with the abandonment of Zamboanga the Subanuns of the west coast began to swing away from the Spanish allegiance and attach themselves to the Sulus. Josef Zanzini, who took Palliola's place, wrote in 1670 that they were becoming increasingly restive and rebellious, and that some of them were going off to enlist in the Sulu armadas. As for the Lanao country, it was by this time completely lost to Spain.[39]

Another mission field which was lost to the Philippine Jesuits because of Governor Lara's decision to recall the southern garrisons was that of the Moluccas.[40] It should be noted that after Portugal broke away in 1640 from the dynastic union of the two Iberian crowns effected by Philip II, Spain managed to retain the Moluccas. Its civil government therefore passed to the jurisdiction of Manila, although the missions there continued to be administered by the Jesuit province of Goa. The loss of Malacca to the Dutch, however, made it practically impossible for the Portuguese Jesuits to continue sending men to the Moluccas. Because of this Lara, soon after he became governor in 1653, requested the Philippine provincial to take the mission over, which he did, sending three priests, Vicente Chova, Francisco Miedes, and Diego de Esquivel to Ternate. In 1658 Miedes was transferred to the island of Siao, whose Christian ruler had asked for missionaries; he was joined soon afterward by Jerónimo Cebreros. The Ternate mission was closed when the garrison was withdrawn in 1662, but Miedes and Cebreros stayed on at Siao and were still there in 1670 when Father Miguel de Pareja toured the area at the request of Governor Manuel de León. The Dutch, of course, lost no time in establishing a protectorate over the sultan of Ternate as soon as the Spaniards withdrew. Pareja found hardly any Catholics in the islands within the Dutch sphere of influence. In contrast, tiny Siao, which had steadfastly repelled all offers of Dutch "protection" and refused to part with its two Jesuits, was

a flourishing Catholic community. The Dutch resident at Ternate, who was a Catholic himself, told Pareja that he had orders from Batavia to take Siao by force, but was resolved to shelve them indefinitely.

Miedes and Cebreros seem to have accompanied Pareja to Manila for a short furlough. They returned to their mission with two other Jesuit priests and the crown prince of Siao, Don Francisco Javier, who had just completed his education in the College of San José. Don Francisco duly succeeded his father, but lost his kingdom when the Dutch attacked and conquered the island in 1677. The first thing the conquerors did was to cut down all the clove trees, for their principal interest was to protect their monopoly of this product. However, they were sufficiently zealous for the spread of Protestantism to intern the Jesuits in Melayu and replace them with a dominie. Murillo, writing in 1749, tells us that by his time Catholicism had been completely wiped out in the island. He had this on the testimony of the Siaos themselves who came to Manila to trade, and who were, to a man, stout Protestants.

More permanent than the Moluccas mission was that of the Marianas Islands, founded by Diego Luís de Sanvítores in 1668. Ever since Magellan named them the Ladrones because of the inhabitants' inadequate grasp of the distinction between mine and thine, they had been a welcome halfway house on the long westward voyage across the Pacific. Because of their isolation and poverty of natural resources, however, there was little interest in colonizing them, except among missionaries who regretted that the islanders should be for so long deprived of the knowledge of Christianity. It was Sanvítores who finally decided to do something about it. He was born in the city of Burgos on 12 November 1627 of noble parents; his mother's family, in particular, claimed descent from the great Cid himself. While making his grammar studies in the Imperial College of Madrid, he came to the conclusion that there was no life like that of his Jesuit teachers, and in 1640, at the tender age of thirteen, he was admitted as a novice. After the usual course of studies he was assigned to teach philosophy in the College of Alcalá, but having volunteered for the missions was assigned to the Philippines in 1660. Incidentally, Sanvítores is one of the few Jesuits in our narrative of whom we are vouchsafed a physical description. Murillo tells us that he was of medium height and very fair, with blue eyes and a long hooked nose on a long face.[41]

He made his first acquaintance with the Marianas when the dispatch boat which was taking him to the Philippines in 1662 made the usual stopover at Guam.[42] His proposal to open a mission there met with no enthusiasm at Manila. For the Jesuit authorities, it meant another drain on their limited manpower; for the civil government, the prohibitive expense of establishing and maintaining a garrison on the island. Sanvítores was not, however, a man easily discouraged. He applied to the queen regent

herself, Marie Anne of Austria, through her Jesuit confessor, Everard Nithard. On 4 June 1665 Marie Anne issued a cédula approving the project, whereby she not only conferred on the tiny archipelago the benefits of Christianity, but substituted for Magellan's ungracious appellation her own more charming name; henceforth, men would call it *las islas Marianas.*

On 7 August 1667, Sanvítores, with Tomás Cardeñoso for companion, left the Philippines to start the mission. They went to Acapulco first, for it was at Mexico that the queen regent directed the necessary funds to be released. Here they were joined by three other priests, Luís de Medina, Pedro de Casanova, and Luís de Morales, and a scholastic, Lorenzo Bustillos. On 23 March 1668 the little band left for the Marianas and reached their destination on 16 June of the same year. They established their main base at Agaña, on the island of Guam. This was the biggest of the group; according to Sanvítores it had a population of 20,000 distributed among no less than 180 little villages.[43] He mentions twelve other populated islands in the group, to each of which he gave a christian name. The native names have proved more hardy, but a parallel list of the native names and Sanvítores' Christian names may be of interest:

Native name	*Christian name*
Guam	San Juan
Rota	Santa Ana
Agiguan	San Angel
Tinian	Buenavista
Saipan	San José
Anatayan	San Joaquín
Sarigan	San Carlos
Guguan	San Felipe
Alamagan	La Concepción
Pagon	San Ignacio
Agrigan	San Francisco Javier
Asoncon	Asunción
Maug	San Lorenzo

Although the Marianas mission was a dependency of the Philippine province, its detailed history is outside the scope of the present work, and should be undertaken separately. Here I shall merely add that, although the Philippine government provided a small garrison of mixed Spanish and Filipino troops for the protection of the missionaries, the Marianas remained for many years one of the most dangerous mission fields in the annals of the Society of Jesus. On 21 January 1671, Luís de Medina met his death at the hands of the natives of Saipan. Sanvítores himself was killed by an apostate Christian on 2 April 1672. Other missionaries put to death by the islanders in subsequent years were the following:

Francisco Ezquerra, priest; 3 February 1674
Pedro Díaz, lay brother; 9 November 1675
Antonio María de San Basilio, priest; 17 January 1676
Sebastián de Monroy, priest; 6 September 1676
Manuel Solórzano, priest, 23 July 1684
Balthazar Dubois, lay brother; 23 July 1684
Teófilo de Angelis, priest; 24 July 1684
Augustin Strobach, priest; August 1684
Karl von Boranga, priest; August 1684
Pierre Coemans, priest; July 1685

As the dates indicated suggest, these missionaries perished in two native insurrections, 1674–1676 and 1684–1685. Beginning in 1695, the military government of the Marianas adopted the policy of transporting the population of the smaller islands to Guam, Rota, and Saipan, and eventually the population of Saipan to the other two islands, where they could be better administered and kept under surveillance. This put a stop to the frequent revolts of earlier years. Christianity made rapid progress thereafter, and by the 1740's, paganism had been reduced to the vanishing point.

Chapter Nineteen

THE LONG HAUL

What was it like to be a Jesuit missionary among the Visayans in the second half of the seventeenth century? If we expect any revolutionary changes in the situation as it was earlier in the century, we shall be disappointed. The work of transmuting a collection of primitive pagan clans into civilized Christian communities is necessarily a slow process, with almost imperceptible results save at very great intervals; a long haul in which the audacity and enterprise of the pioneer must yield pride of place to the patience and endurance of his more pedestrian but no less dedicated successors. An intimate glimpse into the daily life and labors of the latter is vouchsafed us by a precious document of 1660. It is a long letter written by Ignacio Alcina, a veteran of the Visayan missions, to Juan Marín, the general's assistant for the Spanish provinces.[1]

He begins by saying that ordinarily 25 or 30 priests were employed in the Jesuit missions of the Visayas, but because of lack of replacements there were at present barely 16. Hence, since there was no reduction in the number of mission stations, each missionary had to do the work of two.

> Each father has under his care at least two towns; some have three, others four and even five. I myself, this Lent of 1660, visited and heard confessions in four. Thus we are always on the move, carrying our houses on our backs like the tortoise, for wherever the missionary goes he must bring with him his domestic effects, and in many places his church equipment too. This is one of the heaviest burdens of this ministry. But over and above that is the fact that the missionary must be forever raveling and unraveling his work. What he accomplishes by a sojourn of 19 or 20 days (sometimes more, sometimes less, depending on the size of the town), he finds when he returns one or two months later to be altogether undone and forgotten. Thus we are continually starting all over again.

The same complaint had been voiced fifty years earlier by those who preferred residential mission stations to the system of mission tours. They gained their point, but the difficulty was back again, this time because there simply were not enough men to cover all the mission stations. Another major problem remained largely unsolved; many of the towns were still towns on paper.

> For the most part there is nothing in the towns except the priest's house and the chapel, small or big according to the number of people, and a few huts which

the natives use when they come to town. This they do only when the father is there, and they do not come every day but only on Sundays. The only ones who stay are the boys who are still learning their catechism, for we insist on their being there as long as the father is; the old folks too and the sick stay for a while. But even this much requires a great deal of persuasion, for they are scattered all over the countryside, wherever they have a mind to dwell. There they make the clearing from which they derive their sustenance, for they have neither store nor barn to draw on save forest and stream and their little rice field. Even the rice lasts them for only a small part of the year; the rest of the time most people manage with edible roots and leaves and an occasional fish or wild pig when they can catch it, for there is nowhere to buy these things even if they wanted to. These clearings are some of them two leagues, others three, four, five and six leagues from the town; few are any closer, for the Visayans have no love for town life. Thus it takes them a day or more to come to town, and if the weather is bad and the seas rough they cannot come at all. When they come they must bring their food, pots to cook it in and plates to eat it out of, for there is nothing to be had in the town but weeds . . . Most of the people do not even bother to go to their town huts, but proceed directly from their canoes to the church, both men and women, and from church back to them again, so that Sunday Mass over not a soul is left in town.

It seems clear from this that neither the missionaries nor the government had succeeded in making the town a viable economic unit, capable of supporting a permanent population. As pointed out earlier, merely to direct or oblige the clans to settle down in one place without providing them with the means of survival in that situation could not have any lasting effect. A change in the social structure demanded of necessity a change in its economic base. But to effect such a change would have meant agricultural planning and organization similar to that undertaken by the Jesuits of Paraguay, and it does not seem to have occurred to the Philippine Jesuits to attempt this. Not that they had no interest in the temporal welfare of their people. Alcina points out, for instance, that the missionaries considered it part of their regular duties to see to it that the clearings were made and the fields planted in season. The land was fertile enough; anyone willing to do a reasonable amount of work was certain not to starve; but the Visayans, at any rate during this period of their development, were more akin to the grasshopper of the legend than to the ant.

They have so little foresight that they never put by anything for the future or save for a rainy day. As long as they have anything they eat it with both hands—*a dos llenas*—or give it away or sell it or pay the tribute, so that it is a rare man among them who has any rice, aside from what they keep for sowing, two months after the harvest, and one in a hundred makes his rice last him all year. For this reason it is an exceptional year in which they do not suffer four months of hunger . . . with the result that during most of this period they are up in the hills

grubbing for roots and other edible plants, and as likely as not finding little even of these; all of which prevents them from coming to Mass and the sacraments.

Did this amazing improvidence argue to a lack of natural capacity in the Visayans, as some contended? By no means, Alcina asserts. Missionaries who say such a thing should examine their consciences carefully to see whether the difficulty lies in the people or in themselves; one naturally hates to admit one's lack of zeal; far easier to accuse the natives of being unteachable. But "it is false; they have more than enough ability; they simply do not make use of it. They are intelligent enough, if they will only apply themselves. They know very well the difference between good and evil, and are veritable lynxes when it comes to settling disputes and casting up accounts; so that in matters spiritual and supernatural they ought not to be inferior to the most enlightened and cultivated nations." The difficulty is that, having lived in darkness for so long, like moles, they are unused to the light, and so need continuous and close direction until they become accustomed to it. But this is precisely what the missionaries cannot give them, or give them only to a very limited extent, in their present scattered state. And there are other difficulties as well.

Many evils result from the distance and inaccessibility of their settlements, such as, in the temporal order, the complete lack of human intercourse and refinement, and in the spiritual order, the undisciplined manner of life, the survival of their ancient usages and superstitions, the drunken feasts they indulge in whenever they are able to lay their hands on a little wine (to which they are greatly attached), the frequent extramarital relationships, the crimes of violence and rapes committed without witnesses, in a word, the fact that they leave their faith and their Christian principles the moment they leave the church. The majority die without the sacraments, for even if the priest were a man of iron he cannot be everywhere at the same time. Moreover, they wait until the very last minute before sending for the missionary or bringing the sick man to him, with the result that when the priest arrives the man is already dead, or else if they undertake to bring him to the priest he dies on the way. This being the case we may be sure that 70 per cent die without the sacraments, and this even if the father is in town, for if he happens to be out of town no one, naturally, gets the sacraments. That is, unless he takes the precaution of visiting all the sick of the area before leaving, a very difficult thing to do because of the distance of the settlements mentioned above. Your Reverence shall judge whether even Hector or Hercules can be equal to the labor this involves.

The Jesuits in the Visayas, then, clearly grasped their particular missionary problem, but saw no way of coping with it save to multiply themselves by working twice as hard. The government was no help. The alcaldes mayores visited the towns of their jurisdiction only when they wanted something from the natives. Having got it they left as quickly as possible, "like a cat walking on live coals." Thus, the organization of the missions

into central residences and subordinate stations remained unchanged. Of the superior or rector of a residence Alcina says that he has the authority commonly granted to local superiors, which, "in good Spanish," came down to this, that he was a good provider.

> His job is to collect the stipends due to the missionaries and supply them with all they need in the way of food, clothing, Mass wine, hosts, candles, etc. Upon his greater or less care and diligence depends whether the missionaries carry on their work in straitened or easy circumstances . . . The fathers meet in their central residence four times a year, twice for a period of eight days and twice for fifteen. At these times they perform their religious duties and devote themselves exclusively to their personal sanctification [*a lo formal de la religión*]. During the rest of the year each one takes care of his stations and the spiritual needs of his communities, having recourse to the superior in all cases of special importance or difficulty. The missionary is by himself in his station, and so is all things to all men, and bears in himself the reputation of the entire order. This means that he must be a man of prayer, for here it is difficult to live as one ought without great intimacy with God.

Here Alcina takes up the observation sometimes made that there were an unusual number of defections among the Visayan missionaries especially in the matter of chastity. He admits that such defections occurred, although the greater number remained faithful to their vow. One reason was that superiors, either because of lack of men or because of lack of sufficient knowledge of their men, assign some to the missions who "are physically in the order, but in their affections already out of it." Men of this sort were an easy prey to the temptations and opportunities afforded by life in a lonely mission station. But, he adds, "take it from one who knows; if a man does not go out of his way to look for an occasion of sin, no one will solicit him to it." There were far greater temptations—*sin comparación*—in a Spanish community than in a native village, for the first missionaries had trained their converts so well that the women will not even look a priest in the face, much less permit themselves to deal familiarly with him. Thus, when you came down to cases, there were really not very many who had been guilty of this particular offense relative to the total number of missionaries. During Alcina's twenty-six years in the Visayas it had been necessary to expel fourteen from the Society, and not all of these for offenses against chastity.

The stipend allowed each missionary by the government at this time was 100 pesos and 100 fanegas of hulled rice yearly for every 500 families or "tributes" in his area. Out of this stipend the superior of the residence gave to the missionary, as needed, provisions for himself and the four companions he usually took with him on his mission tours: two sacristans and two domestics. Out of it also came the money to buy equipment for houses, chapels, and portable Mass kits. But by far the biggest item of

expenditure in the missionary's operating budget was the food and wages of the oarsmen or pack carriers without whom he could not go on the road at all. The government stipend, intended as a subsistence allowance for the missionary personally, did not cover this expenditure; hence the superiors of residences had to look for other sources of income. This was not a problem in the Tagalog missions, where the settled population of the towns gave generously to help support their pastors; but in certain areas of the Visayas it could assume serious proportions. One way in which the superiors tried to make up their deficits was by buying beeswax which the natives gathered in the forest and sending it to the procurator of the province for sale in Manila. Some of the fathers objected to this as falling under the canonical ban against clerics engaging in trade. Alcina did not think so; first, because most of the beeswax was bought for their own use, to provide candles for the churches and residences which they would otherwise have to buy. Only the surplus from this was sold. Secondly, the income derived from its sale was not spent by the fathers on themselves but on the needs of their missions.

There was one reform which Alcina asked Marín as Spanish assistant to urge on the general, and that was that missionaries of advanced age or broken health should be retired to Manila, instead of being left to die at their posts. Otherwise they ran the grave risk of dying not only without medical assistance but even without the sacraments and the consolation of having a brother Jesuit to ease their last hours. Alcina's estimate was that during his quarter century in the Visayas about half of the missionaries who died did so without a priest. He gives the names of all he could remember, thirty-five priests in all, not counting lay brothers. He adds, with a touch of malice, that one way to remedy the situation was for some of the good fathers who criticized the methods of the Visayan missionaries from their comfortable Tagalog parishes be made to change places with some poor, broken-down Leyte or Samar missionary for five or ten years. Whoever did so would then be able to speak with some authority on the subject.

It would seem that some of the Luzon Jesuits actually wrote to Rome suggesting that the Visayan missions be given up, for ten years later we find Alcina protesting vigorously against such a move. He had just been transferred to Manila after a term as vice-provincial of the Visayas and rector of the Catbalogan residence, and he writes to comply with the general's request, transmitted through Marín, for his opinion as to the desirability of retaining the Visayan missions.[2] These missions, he said, were the most glorious that the Society possessed in the Philippines; the ones which employed the greater number of its members; the ones in which they did the most good to the greatest number of people. Why on earth should we give them up? It was argued that the faith made very

little progress in the Visayan missions. Alcina retorts the argument. Would it make any more or any faster progress if the Jesuits abandoned them? Could the handful of secular priests who would have to take their places cover a thousandth part of the territory which the Jesuits were covering now?

> Moreover, if these critics were really sincere, and it is the desire of the glory of God and the salvation of souls that moves them, as it moved Saint Francis Xavier and other apostolic workers of the Society, they would first make trial of this ministry and experience at first-hand what it costs and how much is accomplished . . . But what do we see? We see that these men do not even know the native languages, have not seen the missions or do not wish to see them; and if one or the other of them has been to the missions he did not stay there very long, giving as his excuse for getting out the little good that could be done. Was this the real reason? Was it not, perhaps, the fact that the missionary is very often by himself, often in peril of his life, often deprived of the most ordinary comforts?

And even if it were necessary for some reason to give up the Visayan missions, this was absolutely the worst time to do it. The government in recent times had placed such crushing burdens on the Visayans that if they were poor before, they are practically destitute now. At no time in the past did they need the support, encouragement, and protection of their pastors as badly; if we pulled out now, what would they say? What would the Spaniards and the other missionaries say? They would say that "the fathers of the Society took care of the Visayans when they were rich and had gold and other things of value; but now that they are poor they leave and abandon them to seek for booty elsewhere."

Well, then, if the Visayan missions were to be retained, how could the work of the Society in them be improved? For Alcina did not deny that there was room for improvement. The objections of the critics were valid to this extent, that there had been a great falling off of zeal for the missions; and the remedy was obviously to revive this zeal, not to give up the missions. As to the means; first,

> . . . let all the fathers zealous for the salvation of souls, the advancement of faith and good works, and the reputation and good name of the Society seek to be assigned to those missions and labor in them . . . putting aside new, doubtful, and possibly imprudent enterprises . . . This is why it is so necessary, as I have often written to our Father [General], that his Paternity ordain that everyone without exception who is sent here be assigned for a number of years to that ministry and get to know the language and know it well, for on this depends the preservation of those missions.
>
> Secondly, let superiors see to it that the language is learned, if not exceptionally well (for this is given only to a few) at least sufficiently well; enough to be able to explain the teachings of Christianity in such a way that the natives will understand what is said and what is meant; for as Saint Paul says, *quomodo audiant sine*

praedicante? There is much remissness in this, and there is no increase of faith for this reason. The fault does not lie with those who learn but with those who teach. Let the teachers look to their ability to teach, for the natives have more than enough ability to learn, as we know very well who have lived among them for many years.

Thirdly, let our foremost, our greatest and our best care be to teach them the faith, preach to them its lessons, and encourage them to good works more by example and deeds than by words. It was thus that our first fathers converted all the Visayans of our missions to Christianity in so short a time that in a few years there was not a single pagan in them, whereas in other areas there are large numbers even now. They accomplished much, they who completed the work of conversion. Today we are merely keeping alive what they taught, and in some places even that has been forgotten, because we do not concentrate as much as they did on the essentials of our ministry. Today we are more solicitous about collecting beeswax, civet, rice, and other commodities. In former times there was not as much of these things collected in all the missions together as is collected today in a single residence. This causes talk among the Spaniards, hardship to the natives, resentment and discredit to our profession. True, we are obliged to seek what is necessary to sustain life, and missionaries need many things, especially in remote regions where they must exercise greater foresight and care, but let us content ourselves with the simple requirements of Saint Paul: *habentes alimenta et quibus tegimur, his contenti simus*. The frugality, or, more accurately, the abstinence and mortification of the first missionaries was great and all-embracing; a little was more than enough for them. Today, much no longer suffices. A single missionary today spends more than three did then, whereas a single missionary then did more work than four today. Thus, excessive solicitude for the temporal prevents us from devoting the necessary time and effort to the spiritual. The natives are decreasing in number, becoming poorer and losing their respect for us, for how can they bear our increasing demands with patience? It should cause no surprise if the natives say that the missionaries of today are not like those of yesterday, seeing how different are the tasks which we assign to them. In the past, they were required, first and foremost, to learn what they were taught; at present this is a minor consideration, and our chief care is to buy and sell and collect. If, then, there is so little faith, if charity has grown cold, if good works are neglected, the reason is simple: we have failed to teach these things.

Fourthly, to prevent any further loss of the disinterestedness and austerity of life which we ought to have as apostles and religious, we must put a stop to excessive buying and selling. Let us limit to our current needs the quantity and price of the commodities we buy and sell, and let the natives see that all we want is a sufficiency, not superfluities; in this way complaints and abuses will be checked.

Such were the reforms which Alcina proposed with regard to the missionaries themselves. With regard to the natives, he urged further efforts to gather them into larger communities, but offered no new suggestions as to how this could be accomplished. In view of Alcina's obvious sincerity and the authority of twenty-six years of missionary experience

which stands behind his assertions, there is no reason why we should question the fact that a slackening of missionary zeal and an increasing preoccupation with temporal matters had taken place among the Jesuits in the Visayas. Indeed, it is to be expected that a certain fatigue should set in at this stage of the "long haul," after the unremitting labors of the period of expansion and before the enterprise caught what might be termed its second wind. Later, when the Tagalog parishes are discussed, it will become evident that these doldrums affected not only the Jesuit missions in the Visayas but other areas of the Philippines as well. However, one must be careful not to generalize beyond the evidence. There are other indications that the primitive spirit of selfless dedication to the missionary task was kept up in many places.

There is Alcina himself, for example; both as simple subject and as local and regional superior, he must have exerted a wide influence in maintaining the high standards set by his predecessors. In the unpublished book which he wrote on his beloved Visayans, he mentions quite incidentally an example of cooperative effort which goes far to show that the estrangement between priests and people which he notes and regrets above was by no means general. One of the Leyte churches of which he had the supervision lacked a monstrance and lunette. He proposed to the townspeople that they help him sow four fields of rice, each of 25 gantas; any income derived from the harvest the Jesuits would match from their stipends, peso for peso; thus they would pay for their monstrance and lunette. The people readily agreed. The crop failed in two fields, but the other two yielded 250 pesos. Alcina duly added the counterpart fund (the yearly cash stipend of 2.5 missionaries) and placed an order through the province procurator of Manila for a gold ostensorium to be executed according to his design. When the procurator mildly remonstrated that it was too rich, and more suited to a cathedral in Spain than to a village church in Leyte, Alcina returned a memorable reply. Let the monstrance be made as ordered, he said, for the Blessed Sacrament of the Visayans was just as much God as that of the Spaniards.[3]

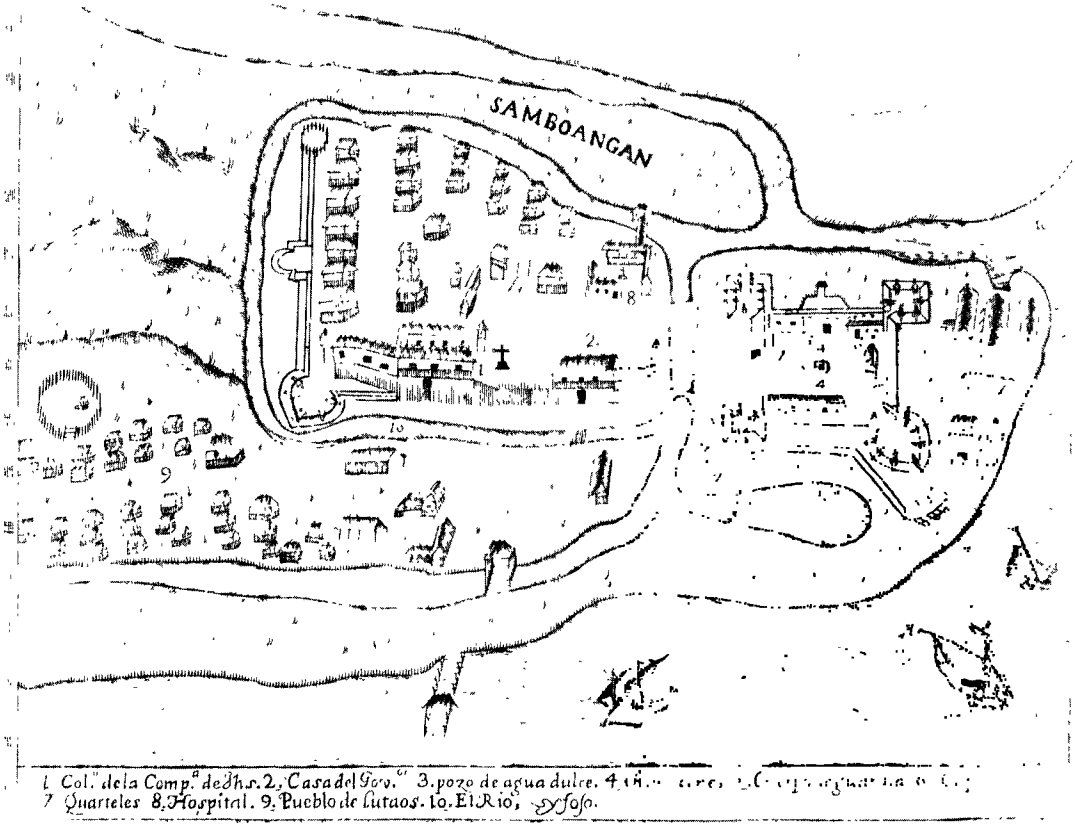
We need not read too much into Archbishop Poblete's report to Pope Innocent X of 12 July 1654, in which he says of the Society in the Philippines that "apostolicae charitatis igne exaestuans ad innumera se objicit vitae discrimina, quo saluti et conversioni ethnicorum consulat, nihil ei intentatum aut inaccessum existit; novas in dies indefesso studio missiones sudore ac sanguine exaugendas ad majorem Dei gloriam ubique disseminandam aggreditur;" etc.[4] These courtly Latin phrases may be largely formal compliment; although it is quite true that Jesuits in the Visayas continued to bear witness to Christ not only by their sweat and tears, but when the occasion offered by their blood. On 10 April 1645, Father Domenico Aressu, missionary of Cabalian, was killed by a Leyteño whom he

reproved for not reporting the illness of his mother and thus allowing her to die without the sacraments. On 17 February 1659, Father Esteban Jayme, the founder of the mission of Ysui in Negros, was killed by a brave whose concubine he had persuaded to leave him. In 1663 Father Ventura Barcena, recently arrived from Spain, was captured by Moro raiders on his way to his station and died of hunger and exposure in Tawi-Tawi.[5]

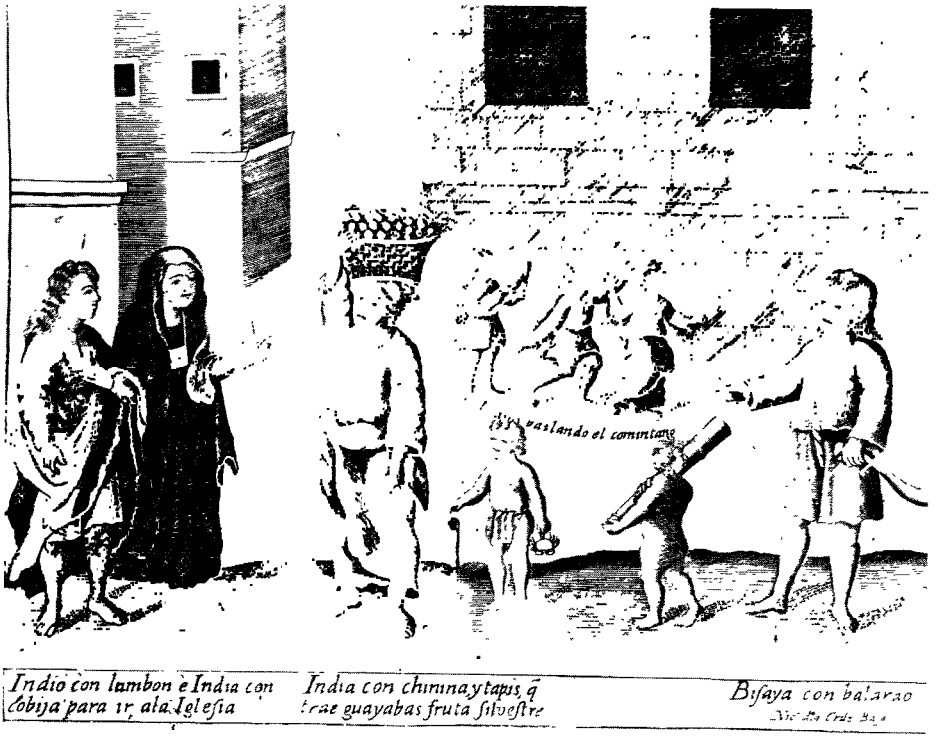
Another reliable indication that progress had been and was being made, in spite of occasional defections and deficiencies, is the steady increase in the number of Christians as recorded in the statistical tables mentioned earlier. That this increase kept pace with the increase in population is brought out by a report of Rafael de Bonafe, provincial, to Father General Oliva. Oliva had instructed all provincials in the missions to send a yearly statement of adult baptisms to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda. In acknowledging this directive Bonafe stated that ever since the Spanish withdrawal from Mindanao and Sulu, where the Philippine Jesuits were doing most of their convert work, there were hardly any adult baptisms to record, "for in the other missions of these islands Christianity is already well established and all the hill people brought into the fold, so that baptism is very rarely conferred on adults. All the baptisms are of children, as in the towns of Europe. If it is your Paternity's wish that a Latin report of these baptisms be drawn up for submission to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, it is easily done."[6]

Finally, Alcina himself bears witness that in the island of Panay the Jesuits had by no means lost their reputation of being sincerely and exclusively interested in the welfare of the communities under their charge. In the letter of 1670 previously alluded to he mentions the fact that recently, the people who had fled in considerable numbers from the settled areas of that island to the jungle fastnesses of the interior in order to avoid the burdens of taxation and other demands made upon them by the authorities had sent word to Iloilo that they would return to their allegiance if they were allowed to form towns of their own under the direction of the Jesuits. It would seem that these *mundos* (for so the runaways were called) presented their request to Bishop Juan López of Cebu in 1668, when he was visiting the island, and that the bishop gave verbal assent to the project.[7] The two envoys of the mundos then approached the alcalde mayor and obtained a similar permission, this time in writing (22 August 1668), and confirmed by the audiencia of Manila (23 October and 3 November of the same year). Having completed these arrangements the mundos, of whom there were an estimated 3,000, began to come down from their hiding places to Suaraga, the former site of the cattle ranch bequeathed by Figueroa to San José, and Bongol, where the Jesuits had in the meantime acquired another cattle ranch.

The resettlement project was proceeding serenely when it was thrown


SAMBOANGAN
1. Col.ª dela Comp.ª de Jhs. 2. Casa del Gov.or 3. pozo de agua dulce. 4
7 Quarteles 8. Hospital. 9. Pueblo de Lutaos. 10. El Rio, y foso.

X. Zamboanga



XI. Christian Filipinos



XII. The College of Cebu

into confusion by an unexpected decree of Bishop López declaring that the Jesuits had no permission whatever to administer the sacraments to the mundos (20 April 1670). It would seem that he quite forgot the permission he had granted two years previously, and since no one had thought of getting it in writing, there was no way of effectively reminding him of it. Moreover, he apparently resented the audiencia's ordering the establishment of the Bongol and Suaraga communities without coursing the matter through him. Finally, the Augustinian missionaries, who had charge of most of the towns of the island, had represented that the mundos originally belonged to their communities, which was quite true, and therefore should be made to return to them. The preference of the mundos to live in communities by themselves was apparently not thought worth considering.

In any case, the Jesuits obeyed the bishop's orders, as they were bound to do, but appealed the case to the audiencia. Friction developed, which led to various unpleasant incidents narrated in detail in the various contemporary accounts extant. The dispute dragged wearily on for over two decades, becoming involved in other controversies, until it was finally settled extrajudicially in 1696 by the Augustinians and the Jesuits coming to an amicable agreement regarding all the differences that had arisen between them.

Alcina died in 1674. If he had been permitted a decade later to revisit the missions he loved so well and served so faithfully, he would surely have been delighted by the progress they had made since his time. Much, of course, still remained to be done; but in many aspects of organized Christian living the Visayan missions were now much closer to being established parishes than they were in the middle of the century. Here is what an Austrian Jesuit, Andreas Mancker, had to say of them in 1682:

> They [the Visayans] have a cheerful disposition and are wide-awake mentally; they are loyal subjects of the king and for the most part sincere Christians . . . Most of them have two houses, one in the country where they reside on working days, and another in the town or market village, near a church, where they go on Sundays and feast-days . . . Like other Asian peoples they are sexually precocious, for this reason the fathers see to it that they marry young . . . On Sundays everyone comes to town, some on foot, others on the backs of cattle or carabaos; very rarely on horseback. When most of the people have arrived the boys form a procession, carrying banners, ringing hand bells, and chanting the catechism. Then the church bells are rung and holy Mass is celebrated to the accompaniment of music.[8]

Mancker stops to explain to his Austrian correspondent that almost every town and market village in the Philippines had a band of sixteen or seventeen musicians who were exempted from tribute for providing music at the church services. Among their instruments were "lyres, harps, cornets,

and flutes"—by lyres and harps he meant, of course, guitars and *bandurrias*. Mancker thought their playing quite respectable; in fact, he ventured to say that many European towns had never heard music comparable to that produced by these village bands; a fine compliment, coming as it does from a countryman of Mozart.

Mass over, the young girls line up in the middle of the church and sing the *Salve Regina*, followed by the catechism, while at stated intervals the whole congregation, men and women, old and young, answer in chorus. Then a sermon is given or a catechism lesson conducted in which anyone present could be asked to answer questions. The service ends with a roll call in which absentees were noted. Those who were absent the previous Sunday without a good excuse are either beaten with rods or otherwise punished. The youngsters are similarly penalized for the same faults during the special class held for them in the afternoon. The duty of inflicting this punishment is committed to two vergers or beadles who are high born natives of great standing in the community, who take care of the mission house by turns and who are also charged with supervising the affairs of the community and seeing to it that everyone lives in a manner worthy of his Christian profession.

The priest was summoned to the bedside of those seriously ill, to whom he imparted the sacraments of penance and extreme unction. However, the viaticum was never taken to the sick; the sick had to be brought to the church to receive it. This practice, which was general throughout the Philippines, caused some concern at Rome, and had to be explained, as we shall see later. Besides the church and the priest's house every town or market village had two other mission buildings, one the residence and schoolhouse of the master who taught the boys their first letters, and the other that of his female counterpart who conducted school for the girls. Both were Filipinos. Mancker makes no mention of boarding schools, which seem to have been discontinued when their original purpose, that of training catechists to instruct adult converts, had been outgrown.

What is particularly to be noted in this account is the characterization of the mission stations as market centers, which suggests that the Visayan town was finally acquiring an economic life of its own as a place of exchange. This meant that, although the bulk of the population still lived for the most part in the country, the town was now able to support a resident population, as is evidenced by the schools which were functioning at this time not only in the central residences but in the mission stations. The number of missionaries have increased from Alcina's sixteen to sixty, but Mancker probably included the Tagalog Jesuits in this total; moreover, the population had increased to such an extent that each mission station now had three or four villages of its own. There was one priest, rarely two, residing in each station. Mancker makes no mention of lay brothers; their

lack was probably the biggest handicap on the Visayan missions at this time as compared with earlier in the century.

Alcina's observation that the Jesuits engaged in the ministry among the Tagalogs had a much easier time of it than those in the Visayas is true as far as living conditions and travel were concerned. The population was more settled and more prosperous; the towns and villages were closer together; travel was mostly by land; the capital of the colony was within easy reach. For this reason towns like Antipolo, Taytay, and Silang, which began as missions just as much as Dulag and Loboc, developed much more rapidly, and were now almost indistinguishable from parishes. To Sanvítores, at least, they *were* parishes, and he raised the question of whether the time had not come to turn them over to the diocesan clergy according to the policy laid down by Acquaviva. He had been asked by Oliva to report on precisely this matter, and on 23 July 1663, one year after his arrival in the Philippines, he wrote as follows:

> The missions here [that is, the Tagalog missions; he had not been to the Visayas] . . . are essentially towns in which we impart the instruction and discharge the duties of parish priests. Doubtless your Paternity has already been informed of this. I do not feel competent yet to express a firm opinion on this subject, as I probably need somewhat more experience to see in their proper perspective certain things which appear to me to be out of focus. Still, if we are to administer towns in this fashion, I do not see why the directive given by our Father Claude of holy memory when he erected this province should not now be put into execution. As I understand it from Father Miguel Solana, this directive is to the effect that we accept the administration of towns on the understanding that they shall be under our care for 25 years or so, or until the knowledge of our holy faith and the practices of Christianity are well established therein, at the end of which period they are to be turned over to his lordship the Archbishop, in order that we may go further afield to open new missions under the same conditions or restore run-down parishes. The excellence of this policy consists in that it not only leaves us free to go where we are most needed, but that it avoids certain drawbacks connected with permanent curacies in towns which are already very much like those of Spain; as a matter of fact, in some of them the fathers have even less work for souls to occupy them than some parish priests over there. Only recently the archbishop gave us an opportunity to put the policy into effect, offering us the territory of Mindoro, where the missions are more difficult and less settled and where I believe there are still pagans, if we give him in exchange the parish of Silang, which is near Manila and has a well instructed community and is more suitable in other ways for his clergy. But this as well as other matters pertain more properly to the Father Visitor whom I understand this province has asked your Paternity to send.[9]

The provincial congregation of 1659 had indeed asked for a visitation of the province; Oliva granted the request but for some reason or other the visitor was never sent. Sanvítores went on to say that there seemed to

be little interest among the members of the province in extending the frontiers of Christianity to neighboring islands, such as Borneo and the Ladrones, still populated by Moslems or heathen. He thought that this was either because the colonial government was not very enthusiastic about it either, or because "there are not among the religious many like Saint Francis Xavier," or because subjects were too deeply involved in parish work and superiors in the administration of parishes to realize that although the Philippines had been conquered and settled so long ago there were still islands close by where Christianity had never been preached.

One reason actually given was the lack of men; but Sanvítores thought this could be easily remedied precisely by surrendering some of the established parishes in order to free a number of priests who could then be sent as itinerant missionaries just as Xavier was. And, even if the parishes were retained, surely they could be taken care of by the old and infirm in order that the younger and more robust could be employed in the more arduous work of real missionaries! Clearly, Sanvítores did not think parish work very demanding. Nothing was done about giving up the parishes at the time, for the problem was somewhat more complex than he put it, as was discovered when it was subjected to a thorough going-over in the 1690's. However, the province did, slowly but eventually, rise to his challenge of conquering new worlds for Christ. At considerable cost to itself it provided him with men and materials to found the Marianas mission, and after his death expanded and maintained it in spite of formidable difficulties.

Sanvítores himself, unlike the armchair critics mentioned by Alcina, did not confine his zeal to finding fault. During the five years before his departure for the Marianas he became the acknowledged leader of a movement which put new life into the Tagalog parishes and did an incalculable amount of good: the popular mission. It will be recalled that the popular or parish mission was the only kind of mission in which Saint Ignatius and his first companions, except Xavier, engaged in; and that it was what Acquaviva wanted his sons in the Philippines to confine themselves to until they were able to convince him that it was not feasible at the time. The parish mission consists of a Jesuit or a group of Jesuits working in a parish for a few days or weeks to help the parish priest effect a revival of Catholic faith and practice through preaching, teaching, administering the sacraments, settling feuds, solving personal and group problems, and taking selected groups through the spiritual exercises. This obviously presupposes a parish and a parish priest needing or willing to accept such help; conditions not verified in the early days of the mission and province. Now, however, they were, both in the Jesuit parishes and in some secular parishes in and near Manila. Moreover, there had been

shortly before this a great revival of the popular mission in Spain, begun by Jerónimo López, and in this revival Sanvítores had taken part. Finally, the need and opportunity was present, for soon after the arrival of Sanvítores and his companions in 1662, Archbishop Poblete asked the provincial for several fathers to give popular missions in various parts of the archdiocese; especially, he said, "in the cattle ranches, where there were ordinarily many vagrants whose idle and undisciplined manner of life led them to commit a thousand sins and excesses, and who were badly in need of religious instruction." These *vagamundos* were a hard-bitten assortment of all races and conditions of men: Spaniards, mestizos, negroes, Kaffirs, and Filipinos from all over the islands in whom the cowpunchers, wranglers, and cattle rustlers of the great American West would immediately have recognized kindred souls.

Sanvítores, assigned to the task, prepared for it by an intensive study of Tagalog at Taytay, in the course of which he translated Jerónimo López's famous *acto de contrición*. López had found in the course of giving innumerable missions to the simple folk of the Spanish countryside that one of the most effective means of drawing them to a better life was to march through the streets of a town or village carrying a crucifix and crying out the act of contrition in a loud voice, varying this with short extempore ejaculations expressive of sorrow for sin, and wherever a crowd collected, at street corners or in the squares, expanding the formula into passionate exhortations to repentance. Usually people who merely stopped to stare stayed to pray, and soon the missioner was being followed by a vast procession singing hymns and shouting the act of contrition with him, often with sobs and tears. He led them in this manner to the church, where, after a brief instruction on how to make a good confession, he sent them to the priests waiting in the confessionals. It must all have been very much like a Protestant revivalist meeting, but it was extremely effective. Moreover, we must not forget that the Catholic Church does not disdain such manifestations of religious enthusiasm, as long as they bring people closer to God. Indeed, the Church had been making use of them in the Middle Ages and even earlier.

What Sanvítores rendered into Tagalog, then, was not merely the familiar short formula of the act of contrition, but the more powerful paraphrases used by López, which had been taken down and were widely circulated in the Society. Armed with these and with the ample faculties for lifting censures and regularizing marriages conceded by the archbishop, Sanvítores and his companion, Tomás de Andrade, set out on their mission tour late in 1662. They spent the advent season of that year and the lenten season of 1663 working their way from cattle ranch to cattle ranch east of Manila, making a sweep through the Aeta town of Santa Inés, a dependency of the Antipolo residence, and going as far as

Maralaya Mountain near the Lake of Bai. The tour was a triumphant success. Not only did they bring many old and hardened sinners to repentance, but at Santa Inés pagan Aetas who had come down from the hills stayed to begin their catechumenate. The most spectacular mission, however, was that at the foot of Maralaya; for Maralaya was the hide-out of a large band of outlaws and of others who owed money to the Spanish treasury or their heads to Spanish justice. The government seems to have guaranteed immunity from arrest to those who came to hear the missioners, for they came down in large numbers accompanied by their women and children. The two missioners had their hands happily full hearing confessions, solemnizing marriages, and teaching catechism to children as untutored as the wild creatures of the forest among which they were born. After the mission this strange community melted back into the jungle out of reach of the law, although the missioners were able to persuade many whose lives were not forfeit to return to the more settled if less exciting life of the ordinary taxpayer.[10]

This first mission was followed by another, equally successful, held that same year of 1663 in the city of Manila itself. After Lent of 1664, in April, Sanvítores was sent once more to the same general area as that of his first mission. This time, however, he seems to have concentrated on the agricultural towns and villages rather than the ranches. Nicolás Cani, his companion and fellow missioner on this occasion, is probably the author of the account which we have of it.[11] Although they chose the time when the rice harvest had usually been taken in and the people free from their usual occupations, they started rather early, and so were obliged at least in the beginning of their tour to hold the mission in the early evening after work in the fields. The people came in great numbers to hear them, forming huge, torchlit act-of-contrition processions and throwing themselves wholeheartedly into its hymns and recitatives.

> It brought tears of devotion to see this spectacle, and to hear echoing through those valleys, fields, and forests the voices of these rational turtle doves. A halt was called near a shelter of boughs erected for the purpose. There Christian doctrine was taught, especially those truths which are necessary for salvation. Prizes were distributed to those who gave a good account of themselves, in order to encourage the others to learn. They were also taught how to make a good confession. The horrible sacrilege of concealing sins in confession was emphasized by narrating, crucifix in hand, fearful examples and considerations. They were also taught how to assist a dying person in the absence of a priest, for in those hills, farms, and villages they do not ordinarily see a priest more than once or twice a year . . . They were further taught how to administer baptism in case of necessity. In fact, we left in each town and stock farm wooden tablets on which was written in Spanish and Tagalog what had to be done in such cases. The fathers ended each mission after thoroughly instructing the people in this way, and appointing

a trustworthy person to gather them together on certain days for a reading of the instructions and recitation of the rosary. Many pairs of beads were distributed to those who had none, and as a closing exercise the act of contrition was recited. It was usually ten or eleven at night by the time the mission broke up.

The fruit of the mission was gathered the morning after, when confessions were heard in the church and holy communion distributed at the Mass. The priests kept hearing confessions sometimes until one or two o'clock in the afternoon, after which they took up marriage problems and administered baptisms. The account notes as worthy of special mention the conversion during this mission of the exiled prince of Tidore, a Moslem, who was solemnly baptized in the college of Manila after his catechumenate; and that of a number of Calvinists and Lutherans, who may have been Dutch merchants from Batavia.

The parish mission movement was now fairly launched. In 1665–1666, between the June sailings of the galleons, five missions were undertaken, the first among the Aetas of Santa Inés, the second in Manila, the third in the port of Cavite, the fourth on the island of Mindoro and the fifth again in Manila.[12] The second of these missions, held in the walled city, received unexpected assistance from an earthquake which took place between six and seven in the morning of 19 July 1665. Nine persons were killed and many buildings suffered considerable damage. The fervor with which the people took part in the mission held that night may well be imagined. The mission at Cavite was memorable in that Archbishop Poblete himself was the principal giver of it, and the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Recollects, who all had parishes in the town, took part.

The Jesuits who went to Mindoro were led by the ubiquitous and tireless Sanvítores. In their company was a Filipino donado whose name the chronicler of the mission unfortunately fails to mention, though he gives him credit for doing as much as the priests to bring estranged Catholics back to the sacraments. From October 1665 to the end of Lent 1666 they gave missions in the three parishes of the island administered by the secular clergy: Baco, Naujan, and Calavite. Besides the usual effects on the Catholic population, the fathers were able to instruct and baptize about 500 Mangians, whom they helped to settle down near the existing Tagalog and Visayan villages. Thus the mission resulted in the establishment of three new Mangian villages: Santa María, San Ignacio, and San Francisco Javier. A fourth settlement, Burgos, was formed of *cimarrones*, that is, Christians who for various reasons had fled to the hills and were now persuaded to return to civilization.

The principal obstacle to the conversion of the Mangians, as the missioners soon found out, was that the Christians of the coastal towns did not particularly want them to settle down, since they were much more useful

as ignorant tribesmen whom they could send into the forest for wild beeswax or employ as slaves in their farms. Thus the missioners had to start by convincing the old Christians of the error of their ways. Their exhortations were so effective that the Christians tramped to the hills, sought out their Mangian serfs, brought them down to be instructed by the fathers, and fed and housed them while they were being prepared for baptism. This newly found fervor led to an amusing incident during the baptism of a poor wretch who did not even have a rag to cover his nakedness. Seeing this, the Tagalog datu who had probably been ruthlessly exploiting him for many years took off his own coat and trousers and ordered the Mangian to put them on. Fortunately, he had a shirt long enough to cover *his* nakedness.

The following year another band of missioners led by the rector of San José, Gian Andrea Pallavicino, toured Mindoro, while other bands resumed the cattle-ranch and Marikina Valley circuits.[13] Thereafter parish missions became a regular summer assignment of the teaching fathers in the two Manila colleges. The year 1677 was particularly notable in the number and quality of the missions given.[14] That held at Cavite in the beginning of the year was an elaborate one lasting five days, in which Pallavicino, now rector of that college, put not only priests but some of the scholastics of the College of Manila to work. The scholastics made themselves particularly useful in preparing the galley slaves for confession. Pallavicino was also fortunate in obtaining the assistance of two zealous Dominicans, Fray Juan de Paz and Fray Domingo Samper, the former a distinguished moralist and a great friend of the Jesuits. The Cavite mission was followed by another in the suburbs of the north bank of the Pasig, in which more than 1,200 communions were distributed, and a third in the eastern suburbs, with over 1,300 communions. The mission in the walled city itself lasted from Passion Sunday to Easter Sunday. It was followed by a fifth mission in Silang, which brought 1,200 persons to the holy table. Later in the year the provincial, Javier Riquelme, introduced the movement to the Visayan towns, and missions were held at Dagami (Leyte), Guiuan (Samar), Catbalogan (Samar), Cebu, Inabangan (Bohol), and Baclayon (Bohol).

Thus, while the Jesuits in the Tagalog houses were not, as Alcina observed, subject to the same privations and hardships as those in the Visayas, they were by no means idle, nor could their work be considered less important or fruitful. Moreover, the terms of the problem regarding the retention of the Tagalog parishes, as stated by Sanvítores, must be modified by the consideration that without them the popular mission movement would have been impossible, or at least would have been much more limited in scope.

The establishment of several new houses and mission stations in the

archdiocese of Manila must be recorded at this point.[15] When the mission of Ternate was closed in 1663, the Jesuit stationed there, Diego de Esquivel, brought with him to the Philippines a group of Christians who preferred exile to the almost certain loss of their faith. These stouthearted Moluccans, who bore the proud name of *merdekas* (free men), were allowed to settle by the government near Maragondong, on the south shore of Manila Bay. They have long since been absorbed into the local population, but the memory of their origin survives in the name of their town, which is called Ternate to this day. Because of their proved loyalty and valor the merdekas of Ternate were charged with the defense of the bay shore against marauding Moros and the custody of merchant vessels riding at anchor near Cavite. Their spiritual administration was naturally entrusted to the Society, and Ternate became a dependency of the Silang residence along with Maragondong. In 1692 the merdekas completed a fine stone church, built under the direction of a descendant of the illustrious Borgia line, Father Antonio de Borja. There they enshrined the image of the Child Jesus which they had brought with them from their homeland. The church still stands, though much weathered; and the Child is still there.

Very probably as a result of the missions given at Santa Inés by Sanvítores and others, two new, predominantly Aeta villages took root in the area. It is not known exactly when they were founded. Like Santa Inés, they were attached to the Antipolo residence. In 1684 Antipolo was further augmented by the town of Binangonan, due south of it on the shore of the Lake of Bai. In 1696, the population of Binangonan had grown sufficiently to justify a resident parish priest. In the same year the town of Cainta was restored to the Society after having been in the hands of the Augustinians for eight years.

In an account of the Tagalog parishes of this period it would not be fair to pass over in silence certain documents in which a number of abuses are laid at the door of the parish clergy by the civil authorities. Ex-Governor Corcuera, for instance, in returning to the Council of the Indies a report on the state of the Church in the Philippines which had been referred to him for comment, observed that the report failed to stress two outstanding abuses, namely, the practice of parish priests having the sick brought to the church for the last sacraments instead of their bringing the sacraments to the sick, as they were in duty bound, and the exorbitant stole fees charged in some parishes for marriages and funerals. He was careful to state that these abuses were by no means universal; nevertheless they existed, and were sufficiently widespread to require some appropriate action by the central government. He suggested that the king write a letter to the provincials of the religious orders requesting them to look into the matter, and another to the archbishop of Manila proposing that a table of stole fees be published, taking into consideration the modest means of the

natives and inflicting grave penalties on anyone who demanded more than the prescribed fees.[16]

It was not until thirty years later, in 1677, that the royal government took action with reference to the first of these charges. On 22 August of that year Charles II decreed that the last sacraments should be brought to the sick in their houses, instead of the sick being carried to the church to receive them, as had been the practice hitherto in the Philippines. Upon receipt of this cédula the diocesan prelates represented the difficulties that made it impracticable, but on 28 July 1681 the king insisted that means be found to overcome these difficulties. The archbishop of Manila at the time, Fray Felipe Pardo of the Order of Preachers, thereupon called a meeting of representatives of the religious orders and asked them to submit their opinions on the matter.

The spokesman for the Dominicans, Fray Cristóbal Pedroche, stated that it was the practice in the Philippines as everywhere else to bring the viaticum to the sick in their houses whenever this could be done with decency. In the majority of cases, however, especially outside the larger towns, this was not possible for many reasons, such as the dispersal of the population, the absence of roads, the poverty and peculiar structure of the native dwellings, and the shortage of priests. The Augustinians concurred in this opinion. The Jesuit provincial, Francisco Salgado, admitted that it was the general practice in the Philippines to have the sick brought in litters to the church to receive the viaticum. This was required, however, only if there was no danger of aggravating the illness. If the sick person could not be moved, then the parish priest or missionary brought him the viaticum, often at great inconvenience, hardship, and even danger to life. Assuming that the sick could be brought to the church by litter without prejudicing their chances of recovery, the practice had this advantage, that the parish priest or missionary, whose people were usually scattered over an extensive territory, could administer the sacrament to five or six at one time when it would have been physically impossible for him to do so if he had to bring it to them singly over rough country at widely separated points of the compass. He suggested that under the circumstances the practice should be tolerated for the time being; although priests engaged in the ministry should be instructed that they ought to bring the viaticum to the sick whenever and wherever possible, even if the solemn accompaniment prescribed by the ritual for normal conditions could not be observed.[17]

In the minds of Archbishop Pardo and his clergy this problem concerned only the viaticum, not all the sacraments imparted to the sick. They saw no difficulty in the priest visiting the dangerously ill in order to hear their confessions and administer extreme unction; the difficulty was in exposing the Blessed Sacrament to possible profanation by carrying it over

long distances under the most primitive conditions of travel. This is brought out in a memorandum submitted by the auxiliary bishop of Manila, Fray Ginés Barrientos O.P., to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda. Commenting on a paper attacking the Philippine practice which had been filed with the congregation by his fellow Dominican Fray Alonso Sandín, and which the congregation referred to him for comment, Bishop Barrientos reiterated the arguments of Archbishop Pardo's commission in favor of tolerating the practice regarding viaticum, but added that "with regard to confession, I can state, because I have seen it with my own eyes, that the priests engaged in the ministry do not excuse themselves from this act of charity when the sickness or infirmity is serious, for they go in person to the houses of the sick and hear their confessions there."[18] These explanations apparently satisfied both Madrid and Rome, at least for the time being.

Corcuera's second charge, that parish priests exacted exorbitant stole fees, was more often repeated by other observers. It is one of the principal accusations brought against the parish clergy of the Philippines by Don Salvador Gómez de Espinosa in the *Discurso parenético* or Hortatory Discourse which he published in 1657.[19] We have already made the acquaintance of this gentleman; he was one of the oidores of the audiencia of Manila during the controversy regarding episcopal visitation and the royal rights of patronage in 1655–1656. This suggests that he might not be an altogether objective and uncommitted witness. Still, there is a judicious restraint in his observations and a circumstantial ring to some of the evidence he produces that entitles his treatise to serious consideration. Francisco Combés, the Jesuit historian of Mindanao, was moved after reading it to write an encomium in the most involuted baroque style, but sufficiently clear to convey his unreserved admiration:

> I have read the Hortatory Discourse which Piety dictated to the noble spirit of your Excellency, withdrawing your pen from themes of greater moment in order to heed the groans of these wretched natives, who saw themselves being swept past the uttermost limits of misfortune into the uncharted desert of despair . . . We, all of us, were aware of the truth, but no one dared to speak out in her behalf . . . The cries of those most concerned, that is to say the natives, are too weak to be heard . . . If, now and again, they catch the attention of those who govern, vested interest gives them the lie, and contempt buries them in silence . . . All-powerful here is that tyrant, Avarice, for it is able not only to quell the clamors of the afflicted, but even to set at naught the fatherly solicitude of the sovereign.[20]

And so on for several printed pages. Gómez de Espinosa sent a copy of the *Discurso* together with this encomium to Bishop Rodrigo de Cárdenas of Nueva Segovia. The bishop in his letter of acknowledgment said that he would be a better friend than Combés, for he would tell Gómez de Espinosa the plain truth, instead of merely paying him compliments. He

was absolutely certain that the *Discurso* would be suppressed by the Inquisition, not because it contained erroneous doctrine, but because it defamed the religious, upon whose good repute depended the reformation of those very abuses which its author described. If its free circulation were allowed, it was sure to fall into the hands of the Moslem Malays and Dutch and English Protestants trading in China and Japan, who would not hesitate to use it to prejudice the Chinese and Japanese against Catholic missionaries. Was it necessary to give a work of this kind such publicity? Would it not have been sufficient to bring these abuses to the attention of the governor, the king and the pope, who alone can do something about them?[21]

Note that Bishop Cárdenas did not deny that the abuses existed, any more than Combés did. What he objected to was giving them an indiscriminate publicity which might preclude or delay their being remedied, given the political and social organization of the colony and the empire. He seems to have been proved right, at any rate as far as the suppression of the treatise is concerned. It was published in printed form, but, although there are a number of references to it in other works, I have encountered only one copy of it, and that an incomplete manuscript version.

Gómez de Espinosa did not limit himself to a criticism of the parish clergy. He took a broader view, and subjected the civil government of the colony and even the social organization of the natives themselves to a searching examination. We shall postpone consideration of these portions of the *Discurso* to a later chapter, for we are here concerned only with the parishes, and specifically the parishes on the island of Luzon. It should be borne in mind that these were the only parishes of which Gómez de Espinosa had any first-hand knowledge. There is no record of his having traveled in the Visayan islands.

One of his criticisms was, as we have said, that previously made by Corcuera regarding stole fees. Here it is in his own words:

> The obventions and subventions which are ordinarily demanded for funerals, weddings, baptisms, and other sacramental and ecclesiastical functions are generally held to be extremely burdensome. I do not overlook, on the contrary, I freely acknowledge with admiration the fact that many of the religious orders and many of their members not only do not accept these fees, but even supply the wax candles and other paraphernalia used in funerals and in the rites of baptism and marriage. I have several times called attention to the fact that this Hortatory Discourse is not addressed to those apostolic, observant, just and holy men who strip themselves in order to clothe the natives and fast in order to give them food, but to those lax religious who dress daintily by reducing the Indian to naked misery, and dine delicately by depriving him of his sustenance. Such men are to be accounted persecutors rather than pastors of their flocks—*no serán curas sino enfermedades.*

If we put aside the rhetorical flourishes, this seems to be a fair enough statement of the fact. Fray Alonso Sandín, in the memorial to Propaganda already mentioned, confirms it, going so far as to say that because of the excessive marriage fees charged by some parish priests, many Filipinos preferred to live in concubinage. He also makes the astonishing statement that many parish priests, both secular and regular, did not bother to assist in person at burials in distant villages, but sent their sacristans and choristers instead, while demanding the usual stole fee. I think we can safely say that the Jesuits were among those to whom these strictures did not apply, for the simple reason that they charged no stole fees whatever. Saint Ignatius ruled—and the ruling is still in force—that the members of his order "are to give freely what they have freely received, neither demanding nor accepting any stipend or alms whereby Masses, confessions, lectures, consultations, or any other office which the Society according to its institute can exercise may seem to be recompensed."[22] Only since the restoration of the Society have there been any dispensations granted in this matter, and these had to be obtained from the Holy See.

The other abuses listed by Gómez de Espinosa fall under three main headings: obligatory contributions, forced labor, and corporal punishment. Under the first heading may be classed the *pasalamat* (literally, thank-offering), which must have been originally a gift of rice brought by the people to their priest at harvest time, but which, according to Gómez de Espinosa, had degenerated in his time to the priest planting himself at the door of the church and telling the farmers as they came out how big a "gift" was expected of them. Other contributions similarly enforced were those to defray the expenses of the town fiesta, and to construct or repair parish buildings, churches, monuments, and so on. Under the heading of forced labor, Gómez de Espinosa enumerates the drafting of rowers and carriers when the priest went on a journey, the appointment of young men to a stated number of days or weeks of work in the mission compound, the custom of giving the girls of the village the task of keeping the church clean and the women that of furnishing the sacristy with linen and keeping the vestments in repair. Finally, Gómez de Espinosa objected to some of the forms of corporal punishment inflicted by some parish priests or by their fiscales, such as heavy beatings, the cutting off of women's hair, and the use of stocks and cangues.

For a parish priest to get his people to contribute to the expenses of the parish or to share in its common tasks is not in itself an abuse. By doing so, he is merely urging on them their ordinary obligation as Catholics. Nor, in fairness to Gómez de Espinosa, does he anywhere suggest that he thought otherwise. What he considered objectionable was that some parish priests urged the obligation in a manner difficult to distinguish from extortion. Were the Jesuits in the Tagalog parishes guilty of any of

these abuses? It is difficult to say. I have not come across any specific instances in the documents I have been able to examine; but, since they were human, there is no reason to claim for them a greater exemption from such occasional lapses than for the other religious and diocesan priests engaged in the same ministry. On one item of the indictment they may, however, plead not guilty. It was the Visayan rather than the Tagalog fathers who had occasion to employ rowers and bearers on their mission tours, and these they did not impress but paid, their wages being a major item in the missionary's expense account.

The question of inflicting corporal punishment for breaches of divine or ecclesiastical law is more of a problem, whose elucidation is better left to Fray Alonso Sandín. In a printed pamphlet of his published in 1685, he has this to say:

> It is true that there are parish priests who punish them [the natives] corporally when the need arises. They do so for the most part as fathers, and in matters which pertain to their spiritual welfare, for otherwise they would neither attend Mass of obligation, nor come to confession, nor perform their other Christian duties. This is because they pay little heed to reprimands, and would pay no heed whatever if they did not fear a moderate amount of corporal punishment. They are not, however, perturbed by such punishments, as long as they are within reason; for, although they are of limited intelligence, they know enough not to resent being punished if they deserve it; indeed they will freely admit that the father is quite right to punish them. Everyone who has any understanding of the native character considers these punishments to be absolutely necessary, otherwise they would hardly be Christians at all; as it is, they are preserved from committing many faults . . . I doubt not but that there are some parish priests who punish immoderately. But you may be sure that if he has no influence with the alcalde mayor, he will be pulled up short at the least complaint of the native. However, this is also true, that if parish priest and alcalde mayor are of one mind, and if they are not zealous for the honor of God, then the native has no choice but to suffer in silence, or join the pagans in the hills.[23]

At the end of his *Discurso* Gómez de Espinosa proposed a number of reform measures. First, not only provincial officials but parish priests and missionaries as well should be forbidden to demand personal services of the natives or to requisition commodities except in accordance with law. Secondly, if it is necessary for them to employ native labor, they should pay for it in cash, in person, and in the presence of witnesses. Third, that the wage scale for such labor should be fixed not by the alcaldes mayores as hitherto but by the central government. Fourth, the hierarchy should be requested to enforce a definite schedule of stole fees. Fifth, in legislating about these matters, the governor should seek the advice of virtuous priests who have first-hand knowledge of what goes on in the provinces.

Finally, a strict accounting on all such matters should be demanded of officials at their *residencia*.

The general impression that emerges from this brief survey is surely that of men who, whatever their faults, continued with courage and perseverance the work of their pioneering predecessors; continued it often at the peril of their lives, in lonely outposts, for interminable desert stretches of seemingly barren years; stumbling occasionally, yet never faltering or turning aside from that long haul which drew the people of the Philippines from the darkness of paganism to the broad daylight of Christianity. It is against the background of this humdrum but enduring achievement that we must see the more lurid events that were taking place in the capital.

Chapter Twenty

THUNDER AND LIGHTNING

The great earthquake of 1645 was followed by others in 1654 and 1658, but these did relatively little damage to the new, thick-walled, low-slung buildings with which Manilans had replaced their more ambitious pre-1645 mansions. By the 1660's hardly any trace was visible of these disasters. Manila was once again the Pearl of the Orient; smaller, less costly, but nonetheless, at least in the eyes of its citizens, a pearl. A Franciscan traveler, Fray Bartolomé de Letona, has left us a physical description of it as he saw it at this time.

Half of the city, that on the north and west, is surrounded by water; and the other half, toward the east and south, by land and a ditch. It is entirely surrounded, almost circular in form, by a rampart wall of stone; this is high and strong and so thick that in some parts it is more than three *varas* wide, and one can walk on top of it everywhere. It extends three quarters of a *legua*, and is adorned and furnished with battlements and merlons in modern style, with towers, cavaliers, and flankers at intervals, and with two castles and some bulwarks. It is furnished with excellent artillery, and a force of six hundred Spanish soldiers (sometimes more), with their master-of-camp, *sargento mayor*, captains, wardens, and other military officers. There are five gates and several posterns.

The streets of the city are beautifully laid out, and level, like those of Mexico and Puebla. The main plaza is large, rectangular, and well-proportioned. Its eastern side is occupied by the cathedral; the southern, by the government building, which is a splendid palace, large, handsome, and very spacious. It was built by a merchant [Manuel Estacio Venegas], the favorite of the governor, for his own use. The northern side of the plaza opposite the palace contains the *cabildo's* house, the jail, and other buildings that belong to private persons; these also occupy the western side.

The houses in the city, before the earthquakes of the years '54 and '58, numbered six hundred. Many of them must be rebuilt by this time [1662]. Most of them are of hewn stone with handsome iron balconies and rows of windows, and built in costly style. In them resided various gentlemen and nobles, and two hundred citizens who were merchants and who form a commonwealth by themselves [the "city and commerce"]. There were also soldiers, royal officials, prebends, and other citizens. Much of its material grandeur and beauty was destroyed by the earthquakes abovementioned, but it lost not the essential greatness which it has and always had as a court and an illustrious commonwealth. In the villages of Bagunbaya [Bagumbayan] and others of its suburbs there are probably six hundred houses more, not counting those of the Parian, which

number many more than those of the city and suburbs together. Along the river are a great many country houses for recreation—some very costly, and all very convenient and pleasant, with gardens, orchards, and baths. . . .

On the eastern side of the city but outside of it and in front of its walls, at the distance of a musket-shot, is a silk market which they call the Parian. Usually 15,000 Chinese live there; they are *sangleys*, natives of Great China, and all are merchants or artisans. They possess, allotted among themselves by streets and squares, shops containing all the kinds of merchandise and all the trades that are necessary in a community . . . They have a governor of their own nation, and a Spanish *alcalde mayor* and other officers of justice and a notary; also a jail. They have a parish church where the sacraments, the word of God and burial are administered to the 4,000 Christians among these *sangleys*. The rest of them are heathen.[1]

For a few anxious days in 1660 it looked as though this jewel of a city, so newly restored, might be reduced to rubble once again; this time by a social rather than a physical upheaval. The people of Pampanga, driven to desperation by the repeated demands of the shipyards on their labor and by the continued inability of the government to pay for the goods it requisitioned, rose in revolt. It was an extremely dangerous revolt, for the Pampangos were perhaps of all the peoples of Luzon the best organized socially, and large numbers of them, having seen service in the colonial army, were familiar with Spanish methods of warfare. Governor Manrique, however, showed great coolness and resolution in this grave emergency. There was only one road running south from Pampanga which could be used to move any considerable body of troops. By immediately dispatching a cavalry squadron to straddle this road near Arayat, its most defensible section, he sealed off the south of the island, at least by land, and thus at one and the same time localized the rebellion and saved the capital from any immediate danger of attack.

He followed up this military stroke with skillfully developed diplomatic moves, whereby he prevented the rebels from decisively using their vastly superior forces, and eventually enticed their leaders to come to Manila to negotiate. While entertaining them with promises of a full settlement, he speedily regained control of the principal towns of the province. Meanwhile, disaffection had spread further north, into Pangasinan and Ilocos, but although it took some hard campaigning to deal with the rebellion there, the safety of Manila was no longer at stake. As soon as he had the situation under control, Manrique stopped negotiating with the rebel leaders and had them executed instead.[2]

It is strange that so capable if ruthless a governor as Manrique showed himself to be on this occasion should be thrown into a veritable panic by Koxinga's threatened invasion of 1662. Yet such was the case. No sooner had he dispatched Fray Vittorio Ricci back to Formosa with his defiant

reply than he took a number of hasty measures which were, to say the least, unwise. The recall of the Moluccas and Mindanao garrisons, which involved the loss of these islands both to Spain and to Christianity, has already been noted. These troops, concentrated at Manila, could not have contributed very much to his effective fighting strength; whereas if they were free to operate outside it they might at least have created a diversion.

Worse still: fearing that the Chinese in the Philippines might make common cause with the invader, Manrique issued an ordinance banishing all but the Christians among them. It soon appeared that there was not enough shipping to take away all that multitude, so he followed this up with another ordinance directing those who remained in the country, wherever they might be, to betake themselves without fail to the Parian or the suburb of Binondo. Anyone found outside these internment areas after the impossibly short term allowed for compliance would be put to the sword. This ordinance was broadcast in the city and the provinces and once again as on earlier occasions mobs thirsting for loot taunted and harried the Chinese into providing them with some excuse for anticipating the ordinance. A demonstration of the Parian residents before the city gate was mistaken by the garrison for a general uprising. Without more ado they subjected the entire quarter to an artillery bombardment, causing great carnage and sending the survivors, along with the Chinese of the other suburbs, fleeing into the country. Governor Manrique had succeeded in producing precisely what he was trying to prevent: a Chinese rebellion.

While roving bands of sangleys terrorized the provinces around Manila, a large concentration of them fortified themselves in the San Mateo hills. Nor could any considerable body of Spanish troops be sent against them, for Koxinga was expected at any moment, and all hands were needed in the breathless race against time to put the city in a posture of defence. In this desperate situation it was the Pampango troops, ironically enough, who covered themselves with glory. Brilliantly led by Don Francisco Laksamana, they smashed the sangley bands that had penetrated into Pampanga, then hurled themselves at the San Mateo stronghold and leveled it to the ground, taking no prisoners. Thereafter it was merely a matter of extermination. In recognition of this feat, guard duty over the entire circuit of the city walls was turned over to the Pampanga units for twenty-four hours; an astonishing act of confidence and, as Murillo rightly observes, one of the most exceptional privileges ever conferred by the Spanish government on its native subjects.

Meanwhile, the massacre ordered by Manrique of all Chinese who had failed to intern themselves in time was executed with the greatest rigor even in the most distant provinces. This needless tragedy was followed by other measures almost as ill conceived. In order to obtain ready-cut stone as quickly as possible for the elaborate additional fortifications planned by

his staff, Manrique ordered the principal suburban churches torn down. Thus, in one stroke, the churches of Bagumbayan, Ermita, Malate, Parañaque, Dilao, Binondo, and Santa Cruz, which had taken years to build, were demolished. With reason could the Jesuit chronicler Spinelli exclaim, "What more might that heathen barbarian Pumpuan [Koxinga] have done, if he had actually come?" The withdrawal of the garrisons in the south and the consequent loss of the Moluccas, Mindanao, and Sulu to Spain and Christianity has already been noted. Practically the entire native population of Manila and its suburbs, not excluding women and children, were called away from their ordinary occupations to dig ditches and build breastworks. Requisitioning agents scoured the provinces of Luzon for rice and other foodstuffs to stock the city for a siege. As the Cavite shipyards clamored for more lumber, more masts, more cables, huge gangs of drafted laborers hacked their way painfully deeper and deeper into the Sierra Madre jungles, lashed furiously on by their overseers. The stock farms of the island were emptied of all their horses to provide mounts for the cavalry companies stationed at all the likely invasion beaches. This would not have been so bad if the volunteer cavalrymen confined themselves to their military duties. They preferred, however, to take advantage of the immunity given them by the emergency to plunder the helpless civilian population.[3]

In calling these measures ill-conceived, I do not mean to imply that they were not to some extent necessary; but they were plunged into in so headlong a fashion, with such appalling wastefulness, and with no care being taken to distribute the burdens equally, that, although the invasion never materialized, the country was left almost as prostrate as though it had. They also had the effect of lowering the prestige of the gubernatorial office in the eyes of the colonists themselves. Hitherto the authority of the governor as the king's personal representative was as unchallenged as that of the king himself. Now, men began to question whether an absolute power which could be exercised so irresponsibly ought not to be placed under some kind of control by the community. The Spanish colonial system, however, provided no machinery for such control. The governor acted in the name of the king; he bore, for all purposes of rule, the very person of the king; and who in that age of royal absolutism was to say nay to the king? There was only one other power in the colony which might possibly check the governor with impunity. That was the Church. And there was one agency of the Church which possessed a recognized power of physical coaction. That was the Inquisition. It was in this perilous direction that the colonists groped for a system of checks and balances of which they felt the need, but for which they had no precedent. The results were well nigh disastrous.

Governor Diego Salcedo, who succeeded Manrique de Lara in 1663,

apparently came to the Philippines with the sole, or at least the paramount interest of enriching himself and his personal adherents. In an economy such as that of the Philippines, based chiefly on the limited lading space of the galleons, he could not do this save at the expense of the "city and commerce." At no time in the past, therefore, did the hand of the governor lie so heavily on the citizens of Manila as during the first five years of Salcedo's administration. The commissary of the Inquisition at the time was an Augustinian, Fray José de Paternina. There seems to be little doubt that he was prevailed upon to do what he did on the grounds that it was demanded by the common good and safety.

On the night of 9-10 October 1668, between midnight and one o'clock in the morning, he broke into the governor's palace, surprised Salcedo in his bed, and with the assistance of the two Franciscans and the familiars of the Inquisition who were with him, took him prisoner to the Franciscan convent. The charge was heresy; but the real purpose of the arrest became clear enough that very morning when Paternina, enthusiastically aided by the leading merchants, proceeded to a wholesale search and confiscation of the governor's goods. These amounted, according to one report, to half a million pesos.

At the same time the junior oidor of the audiencia, Don Juan Manuel de la Peña Bonifaz, who seems to have been privy to the plot, occupied the government buildings with his faction, declared the governorship vacant, and without bothering to consult his colleagues proclaimed himself acting governor and captain general. The other two oidores, Don Francisco Coloma and Don Francisco de Montemayor, and the attorney-general, Don Francisco Corvera, were not disposed to recognize this high-handed seizure of power. They could not, however, meet at the hall of the audiencia for fear of arrest, and so, on 16 October, decided to establish themselves in the College of Manila.

Javier Riquelme, the rector of the college, was most reluctant at first to allow them to do this, as he had every right to be. The oidores, however, insisted that, since Bonifaz was clearly a usurper, the king's authority in the islands devolved on themselves; it was therefore in the king's name that they sought admittance. "Your reverences would not deny sanctuary to a felon in order to assure him of a just trial," Coloma added. "You ought not, then, to deny to the king what you would not deny to a felon." They were admitted, and from that moment on the library of the college became, from one point of view at least, the hall of the audiencia. Not only that, but Miguel Solana, the provincial, gave permission to some of the fathers to assist the oidores in strengthening their authority against Bonifaz by summoning to their side the most influential citizens of the city. Solana himself undertook to see Bonifaz and invite him to a conference at the college with a view to regularizing the transfer of authority.

Meanwhile, Bonifaz had stolen a march on the other oidores by assuring himself of the allegiance of the troops inside the city. Solana found the government house surrounded by armed men and the anterooms filled with officers. When Bonifaz heard what he had to say, he upbraided him bitterly for giving asylum to his colleagues, and vowed that had he not been such a devoted friend of the Jesuits he would have ordered the college leveled to the ground by artillery. Solana tried to persuade him, for the sake of peace, at least to come and hear what the other oidores had to say. Bonifaz insisted, however, that they should come to him. Solana's companion, Tiburcio de Zifuentes, one of the college professors, pointed out that the palace, teeming as it was with the military, was hardly the place for peaceable negotiations. But Bonifaz would not be moved; in his view, negotiation was out of the question; submission was what he required of the oidores and the attorney-general. What they were doing was completely illegal and treasonable. "It is mutiny," he shouted. "A tumult, a tumult!" The officers around him vigorously assented, and the two Jesuits had perforce to return to the college with this reply.

The oidores, who had been joined by a number of prominent citizens, made another attempt later in the day to come to an understanding with Bonifaz. This time their messenger was one of the professors of theology, Jerónimo de Ortega. But Ortega was even less successful than Solana and Zifuentes had been, for he had no sooner returned than the college was surrounded by troops. Bonifaz respected the ancient right of sanctuary to the extent of not breaking in and summarily arresting his adversaries; but after permitting servants to bring supper to the laymen besieged within, he gave strict orders that no one was thereafter to be allowed to go in or out.

Fortunately, the siege did not last too long. What the wit of man could not encompass, the women quietly achieved by their own methods. The worried wives of those inside the college met at Coloma's house the next day. That afternoon Coloma's wife went to the college church, where she was joined by her husband. They sat conferring quietly for a few minutes, after which Coloma went to the lobby of the residence, where a sedan chair was waiting for him. It was dusk, and the officers and men stationed at the entrance were studiously looking the other way. Without saying anything to his colleagues, the fathers, or anyone else, Coloma stepped into the sedan chair and was borne, first to the palace and then to his house.

That was the end of it. Whatever pretensions to being the legitimate government the original faction in the college might have had, Montemayor and Corvera by themselves could not possibly make good that claim. Moreover, Bonifaz sent word to assure all those still within of life and liberty if they dispersed quietly to their homes. They did so. That night (midnight, 17-18 October), Bonifaz had Montemayor arrested and banished him out of the city.

Further arrests followed of citizens known or suspected to be sympathetic to the stand taken by the two senior oidores. Attorney-general Corvera, who for some reason or other was permitted to function, kept protesting with rare courage against these arrests, but in vain. No one felt safe in his house; wakeful men listened anxiously to the stroke of midnight, and ruefully reflected that if Salcedo had scourged them with whips, Bonifaz was scourging them with scorpions. Their ordeal ended in July 1669, when word reached Manila that a new governor had landed at Palapag. Bonifaz lost no time in seeking sanctuary in a church, where he died soon afterward. But such was the fear inspired by the Inquisition that even the new governor, Don Manuel de León, a hard-bitten veteran of innumerable campaigns in Flanders, Germany, and Galicia, did not dare demand Salcedo at Paternina's hands. The hapless ex-governor was put aboard the galleon of 1670, to be dealt with by the tribunal of the Inquisition at Mexico. He died at sea. The tribunal took up his case anyway, and decided the following year that he had been illegally and unjustly arrested. Paternina was arrested in his turn and sent to Mexico for trial (1672). He too died at sea; at approximately the same latitude, it is said, as his victim Salcedo.[4]

In Governor de León the city and commerce of Manila found a man who not only did not interfere with their interests but took steps to promote them. One of his first official acts was to send an agent to Macao to revive the Canton-Manila trade, which Koxinga's depredations and the massacre of 1662 had disrupted. To assist the agent, Don Juan Enríquez Losada, De León requested and obtained the services of Father Francesco Messina, last seen as acting chaplain of the shipyard workers who built the Cambodia galleon. As an old China hand, Messina was of considerable help to Losada in negotiating fresh trade agreements with both the Portuguese and Chinese Governments, and opening not only Canton but Ning-p'o to Spanish commerce.

Governor de León unhappily failed to maintain the same harmonious relations with the ecclesiastical authorities. His views on the royal rights of patronage were, if possible, even more extreme than those of his predecessor Corcuera. When, for instance, Monseigneur François Pallu, titular bishop of Heliopolis and vicar apostolic of Sima, being on a voyage to China, was driven by storms to seek refuge in Manila, he was promptly deposited by the governor and audiencia in the Jesuit residence and told to consider himself under house arrest. When he inquired for what reason, the startled bishop was told that he had violated the patronato by permitting wind and wave to cast him on patronato territory. He was subsequently placed on the next galleon and sent back to Rome via Mexico and Madrid. This astonishing act justifiably drew vigorous protests from the Holy See, but, curiously enough, received the blessing of the royal government.

Archbishop Poblete having died in 1667, Bishop Juan López of Cebu was promoted to the archdiocese of Manila, of which he took possession in 1672. He was soon at loggerheads with the militant governor, chiefly on account of the chaplain of Fort Santiago, Master Jerónimo de Herrera. Herrera apparently believed that as such he was *ex officio* the military vicar of the colony and exempt from the jurisdiction of the diocesan prelate. He was supported in this contention by Governor de León, who stoutly repelled all the archbishop's efforts to bring Herrera to order. The archbishop took this so ill that it gravely affected his health, and after only a year and a half in Manila succumbed to a fever on 12 February 1674. He was succeeded in 1677 by a Dominican, Fray Felipe Pardo.[5]

Fray Felipe Pardo was 67 years old and in his second term as provincial of the Philippine Dominicans when the official notice reached him of his presentation by the Crown to the Holy See for the archdiocese of Manila. Since his arrival in the colony in 1648, he had taught philosophy and theology in the College of Santo Tomás and held various positions of distinction and responsibility in the order. He did not receive episcopal consecration until 1681, when the papal bulls of appointment reached Manila; but the cathedral chapter turned over to him the government of the archdiocese immediately. He thus entered upon his duties as archbishop-elect on 11 November 1677; whereupon a new cycle in the recurrent jurisdictional conflict between Church and State in the Philippines began.[6]

Governor de León died that same year; his successor, Don Juan de Vargas, a knight of the Order of Saint James, arrived the following year. In 1681, the arrival of new appointees brought the audiencia of Manila to full strength, as follows: Diego de Calderón, Juan Antonio de Viga, Cristóbal de Grimaldos, and Pedro Sebastián de Bolívar, oidores; Esteban Lorenzo de la Fuente Alanís, attorney-general. In order to prevent the long vacancies which often intervened between the death of a Philippine bishop and the arrival or appointment of his successor, the Holy See and the Spanish government had agreed that some at least of the dioceses in the islands should be provided with auxiliaries. Thus it was that two prelates arrived in Manila at the same time as the new oidores: Fray Ginés Barrientos, Dominican, titular bishop of Troy and auxiliary to the archbishop of Manila, and Fray Juan Durán, Mercedarian, titular bishop of Zenopolis and auxiliary to the bishop of Cebu. Further, the mail that came with them brought official notice of the presentation to the vacant see of Nueva Segovia of the archdeacon of the Manila cathedral, Don Francisco Pizarro de Orellana. All these names will figure prominently in our narrative.[7]

Some time before this, while the diocese of Nueva Segovia was still vacant, a minor conflict had already arisen between Archbishop Pardo and

the civil authorities. The administration of the vacant diocese had devolved on the archbishop as metropolitan, and to represent him he appointed a vice-administrator named Arqueros. Between Arqueros and the parish priest of Vigan, Marañón, a violent dispute arose; and when Arqueros tried to impose a visitation on Marañón, the latter appealed to the audiencia on the grounds that his rights as a subject of the king were being violated—the so-called *recurso de fuerza*. The audiencia ordered Arqueros to cease and desist from his visitation until the case could be investigated. At this, Archbishop Pardo politely but firmly informed the audiencia that since he was the administrator of Nueva Segovia, any instructions it thought fit to issue to his delegate should be coursed through him. The oidores, recognizing their mistake, remanded the entire case to the archbishop's court; but it was with some resentment that they did so.

Meanwhile, tensions were developing between Archbishop Pardo and his chapter. The fact that the new prelate was a friar predisposed the cathedral priests to see in his every move a tendency to favor his fellow friars at the expense of the secular clergy. They noted for future reference that even after his consecration he continued to reside in a Dominican house, the hospital of San Gabriel on the north bank of the Pasig, instead of transferring to the archiepiscopal palace in the walled city; and that his most trusted adviser was a Dominican, Fray Ramón Berart. What brought this undercurrent of hostility to the surface was Archbishop Pardo's decision to do something about the anomalous parish of Santiago de Bagumbayan. This was the secular parish to which all the Spaniards resident outside the walled city belonged. It was constituted when most of them lived together in the suburb of that name, which lay, as previously noted, south of the city. In the course of time, however, many of them found it more healthful and convenient to reside on the north bank of the Pasig, within the territorial limits of three other parishes, Tondo, Binondo, and Santa Cruz. But since these were Filipino or Chinese parishes, they continued to belong to the Spanish parish of Bagumbayan. It was from the pastor of Bagumbayan that they were supposed to receive the sacraments and at the church of Bagumbayan that they were expected to attend religious functions.

There seems to have been considerable dissatisfaction with this arrangement. For a resident of Tondo or Binondo it was obviously more convenient to hear Sunday Mass in a nearby church than to go across the river to Bagumbayan, over a mile away. But a more serious inconvenience was that it was difficult for the pastor of Bagumbayan to answer sick calls promptly or even for the calls to reach him, especially on dark and stormy nights. When this was called to his attention, Archbishop Pardo decided to attach all the parishioners who had left Bagumbayan to the parishes in which they now resided. Before giving effect to this decision he took care

to obtain the government's approval and consent. To the ordinary observer this may appear to be an eminently sensible solution; but not, alas, to the cathedral chapter. They looked upon it as a dark device drastically to reduce the income of the secular parish of Bagumbayan for the purpose of fattening the stipends of the regular parishes of Tondo (Augustinian), Binondo (Dominican), and Santa Cruz (Jesuit).

At the instance of the aggrieved pastor the capitulars drew up and published a vigorous protest in which they assumed the challenging title of "head of the clergy." They refused to recognize the partition of Bagumbayan, called on the archbishop to cease favoring the religious at the expense of the seculars, and demanded the dismissal of his adviser Berart, whom they considered the "grey eminence" behind the archbishop's proceedings. Pardo replied with an equally vigorous pastoral letter in which he summoned the capitulars to submit, sharply reminding them that the only "head of the clergy" in the archdiocese was the archbishop. When the chapter defiantly refused to comply, he applied for aid to the governor and audiencia. The answer they gave him was an evasive one, for they too had little liking for the archbishop's learned and lynx-eyed legal expert. Emboldened by the government's attitude, the capitulars filed suit against their own archbishop, alleging that his arbitrary measures against them and against the secular clergy in general constituted fuerza. To lift this fuerza they demanded the dismissal of Berart.

The audiencia now decided to take the bull by the horns. On 16 and 17 May 1681 they issued two injunctions, one addressed to Archbishop Pardo and the other to the Dominican provincial, Fray Baltazar de Santa Cruz. Pardo was asked to dismiss Berart; Santa Cruz, to send him to the missions. Both naturally refused to do anything of the sort. Pardo flatly asserted that the improvements which Berart was introducing into the functioning of the ecclesiastical tribunal made him indispensable; "and if certain parties are disturbed by these reforms and your archbishop deserves to be deprived of an adviser who tells him what to do according to the law, then it would be preferable to deprive him of his archbishopric altogether, for it is a lesser evil that justice should fail to be administered in a community without a head than with one."[8] Unwittingly prophetic words!

Tempers being now thoroughly ruffled on all sides, almost every action taken by either side was interpreted as a challenge by the other. To fill the post of archdeacon vacated by the promotion of Orellana to the see of Nueva Segovia, the government nominated Herrera, the man who sent Archbishop López in sorrow to his grave. Pardo not only ignored the nomination but summoned Herrera to his tribunal to answer for his conduct toward his predecessor. Herrera appealed to the audiencia, alleging fuerza. The audiencia admitted the appeal and enjoined Pardo to suspend proceedings. At about the same time, Bishop-elect Orellana took a sudden

interest in the case of Arqueros versus Marañón. It was, after all, a case radicated in what had now become his jurisdiction, and on this ground he asked Pardo for the pertinent papers. Pardo refused, alleging that, since he had already commenced the inquiry, he had a right to finish it. Orellana appealed to the audiencia on the familiar plea of fuerza, and again the audiencia admitted the appeal, issuing the customary injunction. To none of these injunctions did Archbishop Pardo pay the slightest heed, though he was well aware that according to the royal statutes, a series of three such injunctions unheeded could bring a fourth "sword in hand," that is, decreeing banishment and sequestration of goods: *extrañeza y temporalidades.*

Such was the state of affairs when Fray Francisco Villalba, the Dominican vicar provincial, ascended the cathedral pulpit to preach the sermon at the solemn Mass *coram episcopo* on the feast of the Epiphany, 6 January 1682.

Clad in full pontificals, the archbishop sat on his throne beneath the purple canopy on the gospel side of the high altar. On the epistle side, facing him across the wide sanctuary, the oidores of the audiencia in their sober gowns and bonnets set off the governor in their midst, resplendent in the cross and colors of the military order of Saint James. The gospel had just been chanted, and the congregation was settling down to listen to the sermon. Villalba took for his text Matthew ii, 1–6, the account of Herod's dealings with the Wise Men who sought a newborn king of the Jews. We can readily imagine the electric stillness that greeted his opening remarks when it became clear that he intended to apply certain details of the sacred narrative in a rather pointed manner to current events.

Apropos of the *consulta* which Herod proposed to the chief priests and learned men of the Jews regarding the birthplace of the Savior, Villalba pointed out that the prince—or the president, as the case may be—does well to seek the advice of his ministers, but the ministers do very ill indeed if they permit their passions to becloud their counsel. This was a little too much for Calderón, the senior oidor, who leaned toward Governor Vargas and suggested that someone be sent across to the archbishop to request that the sermon be stopped. The chaplain of the audiencia took the message and was instructed to inform the gentlemen that the preacher was merely doing his duty. By this time, Villalba had really warmed up to his subject.

> Let all considerations of human respect that the world can muster be arrayed against us [he cried], the cause of God and of his Church must at all costs be maintained. Allowing for all legitimate jurisdiction, giving to God what is God's and to Caesar what is Caesar's, holding fast to this principle, we must fear neither sequestration of goods nor death itself, but only God.[9]

Temporalidades; the fatal word was uttered. Villalba underscored it. Turning to the episcopal throne he addressed Pardo directly: "My Lord, pay no heed whatever to temporalities; look only to God." Instantly

Vargas was on his feet, shouting to the preacher to come down from the pulpit and to the priests at the altar to go on with the Mass. It would seem that the language he used was of the kind more often heard on the parade ground than in church. There was an answering roar from the officialdom in the front pews and violent gestures to the sanctuary calling upon the canons to be quick with the *Credo*. They complied perhaps more hastily than the rubrics permitted. Mass was concluded without any further disturbance, but there must have been quite a lot of talk about it afterward on the cathedral steps.

Three days later gendarmes arrested Villalba at the Dominican priory of Binondo where he resided, hustled him out "in his white habit, just as he was, minus cloak, hat and staff," and put him aboard a vessel which took him to Catbalogan, Samar. There he was kept in close confinement until picked up by the galleon *Santa Rosa*, outward bound. When typhoon weather forced the *Santa Rosa* to turn back, the audiencia sent word that Villalba should be set down at Romblon. Villalba protested that he was ill and needed medical attention; whereupon he was taken, not to Manila, but to the Franciscan hospital at Naga. There he remained until the next galleon sailed for Acapulco. Archbishop Pardo's counter to this was to excommunicate the officer who executed Villalba's arrest as *vitandus*, a man to be avoided by all God-fearing Christians.

The conflict which had bubbled out of nothing more momentous than a small-town feud among the petty officialdom of a distant diocese now bade fair to sweep the whole colony into its turbulent stream. One by one cathedral canons, secular priests, Dominican friars, and Manila citizens had been drawn into the maelstrom as passionate partisans of either audiencia or archbishop. The Jesuits were next. Direct conflict between Archbishop Pardo and the Jesuits was preceded by a recurrence of the tiresome dispute between the two colleges of Santo Tomás and San José. Which of the two should precede the other in processions and similar functions? It was by this time an almost wholly academic question; for, as Díaz points out, they were very seldom seen together in public anyway. However, it need cause no surprise that academic questions should generate so much heat—in academic circles.

It happened that among the royal cédulas received in 1682 there was one dated 17 May 1680, wherein the king graciously consented to be the patron of the College of Santo Tomás. The Dominicans very properly gave wide publicity to this signal favor, set up the royal arms over the main entrance to the college, and faculty and students held high festival. While these celebrations were in progress the Jesuits of the rival College of San José filed a petition with the audiencia alleging that the rector of Santo Tomás, using the royal concession as a pretext, had in certain of his ceremonial acts clearly implied that Santo Tomás now took precedence over

San José. This, they claimed, was in direct contravention of a royal cédula of 12 March 1653 which had settled the question definitively in favor of San José. They prayed, therefore, that this cédula be enforced. On 11 May 1682 the audiencia granted the petition, ordering that the cédula referred to "be kept, observed, and executed, and its entire contents be notified to the father rector, masters, and doctors of the College of Santo Tomás in cloister assembled."

When the clerk who was sent to serve the writ failed to find the rector of Santo Tomás, he resorted to the somewhat unusual expedient of posting copies of the document at all the city gates and principal street corners. He even went so far as to have it translated into Tagalog for publication in the suburbs. This was indeed to serve notice with a vengeance, and we cannot help suspecting that the Jesuits of San José had a hand in the business, moved by the ungenerous desire, as one contemporary pamphlet put it, of throwing cold water on the Dominican triumph: "aguarnos la fiesta."

One of the posters had in fact been plastered opposite the very entrance to the College of Santo Tomás. But it had not been there long before there appeared a paper squarely pasted over the text with a scrawl to the effect that "if anyone wishes to buy CROCKS, POTS, and DISHES, let him apply to the Jesuits."[10] The implication of course was that the Jesuits were deeply involved in mercantile operations ill-suited to their vow of poverty; a pleasantry which the Jesuits did not find very amusing. The Santo Tomás authorities, for their part, felt that the proximity of the defaced proclamation to their premises called for some explanation. It was found upon inquiry that the lay brother who was porter of the college was responsible. Some unknown soldier, he confessed, had approached him with the paper in his hand and requested that it be posted beside the proclamation. The lay brother, who must have been completely illiterate or else an unusually trusting soul, affixed it not merely beside but right on top of the official poster. He was immediately punished by being removed from his post and sent out of Manila; and this, the writer of the pamphlet mentioned above concludes with a pardonable smile, "is the sum and substance of the tragedy."

Archbishop Pardo, however, did not treat the charge of unlawful commerce made against the Jesuits quite so lightly. According to Fray Cristóbal de Pedroche,

> . . . the reason for the ill will borne by the fathers of the Society towards the archbishop is that his Illustrious Lordship, moved by a holy zeal, by the complaint of two prominent citizens, and by the scandal being caused in these lands; and knowing what was contained in the cargo of the galleon *Santa Rosa*, which by the just judgment of God and because of our sins failed to complete her voyage in the year '82; and considering the very great injury done to the people of Manila,

many of whom were prevented from lading their bales, whereas it is common knowledge that the said fathers took up a great part of the hold of the galleon with their merchandise, bales and cakes of wax; and considering likewise that their whole province shared in the guilt, especially their provincial, who failed consistently to put a stop to it; considering all these things, his Illustrious Lordship decided, so it is said, to institute an inquiry into the matter with all secrecy, in order to remedy the situation, not by independent action, but by reporting it to his Holiness, to their general, and to his Majesty, for what was going on was not only a violation of numerous bulls and apostolic letters but was also to the detriment of his Majesty's vassals and the whole realm; for it is common knowledge that they deprive the Crown by this method of many millions, which they send to the general.[11]

Fray Cristóbal might have qualified that last remark by saying that it was indeed common knowledge, save to the general who received these millions and the Jesuits who sent them. At any rate, as soon as the archbishop's secret inquiry became generally known—for what could be kept secret in seventeenth-century Manila?—the Jesuit provincial, Francisco Salgado, filed a protest claiming exemption from Pardo's jurisdiction on two counts: the privileges of his order, and the known partiality of the judge. Disregarding this protest, the archbishop completed his inquiry and on the basis of his findings sent a notary aboard the *Santa Rosa* with a search warrant and authority to impound whatever he should find belonging to the Jesuits. Between 150 and 180 bales and cakes of wax were thus set aside as forbidden merchandise belonging to the Jesuits. In vain did the Jesuits protest that these were not merchandise but supplies intended for the houses of the order in Mexico and the Marianas. Pardo remained unconvinced until the Dominican bishop of Cebu, Fray Pedro de Aguilar, and his auxiliary, Fray Pedro Durán, succeeded in persuading him to proceed no further in the matter.

At the same time, he found another bone to pick with the Jesuits; or, more precisely, with a Jesuit. A secular priest named Nicolás Cordero, whose estate included several trusteeships, died leaving a will in which he designated as his executor the Jesuit Jerónimo de Ortega. The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus direct that its members "should abstain, as far as may be, from all secular business," and specifically from "the making of wills, the being executors and proctors in civil matters, and other such offices," and that "they must not be led by any entreaty to undertake them or suffer themselves to be employed in them."[12] The Jesuit canonist and historian Murillo put it more briefly: "In the Society no one may accept a private commission or an executorship without the permission of our general."[13] We do not know whether Ortega obtained this permission or not. We know simply that he accepted the executorship; as it turned out, much to his regret. The commission included, of course, the trusteeships

which were part of the estate; a veritable legal and financial tangle which Ortega had considerable difficulty in straightening out. However, when one of the parties interested in the estate demanded an accounting, he was ready with the accounts and duly presented them to the audiencia; but before the audiencia could complete the case, the interested party suddenly changed its venue to the archbishop's court.

Pardo now demanded the accounts from Ortega, and Ortega was forced to reply that he was unable to submit them because they were already in the audiencia's possession. This reply did not satisfy Pardo, who apparently wanted to force the audiencia, through Ortega, to transfer the case to him. Ortega, in short, was neatly caught between the upper and nether millstone; a most uncomfortable position from which we hope he obtained a deeper insight into the wisdom of the Constitutions of the Society. Three more summonses were served on him by the archdiocesan tribunal, the last of which threatened excommunication if he failed to comply. He failed, and was excommunicated (8 March 1683). Poor Ortega! It is not difficult to sympathize with his anguished complaint:

> How comes it that this party is commanded under pain of excommunication to deliver what is not in his possession, since he cannot get it back from the audiencia's power save by scaling its archives or breaking down its doors to withdraw his papers? And if major excommunication presupposes not only the commission of a mortal sin but contumacy on the part of him who is to be excommunicated, on what grounds does the archbishop threaten with this sort of excommunication one who is guilty neither of mortal sin nor of contumacy in failing to give what is not in his power to give?[14]

The audiencia, having allowed Ortega to be wiped out like an expendable outpost in order to draw out the enemy, now launched a major offensive. It declared the case to be a purely civil suit and not only disallowed the change of venue but summoned the archbishop to surrender all the documents in his possession pertinent to the case. Pardo yielded to the extent of sending his chief notary to appear before the audiencia, but when the oidores discovered that he brought no documents, they dismissed him in high dudgeon. Writs and injunctions now began to flow in a steady stream and in both directions between the two tribunals, so that Archbishop Pardo was moved to complain that the oidores were sending them in barrowloads—*a montones*—deliberately "to wear down and bring to his grave this old man of more than seventy-two years." The upshot of it all was that the audiencia ordered the arrest of one of the archbishop's lawyers and the disbarment of two others from pleading in the civil courts; to which Pardo replied by ruling that no suit could be filed in his court unless countersigned by the disbarred lawyers. "With this," says Díaz, "the mine was charged and fused which forthwith exploded with ruin

irreparable, and a detonation that struck all Christendom with terror and amazement."[15]

On 28 March 1683, the audiencia met and signed the fateful decree of *extrañeza y temporalidades*, to wit, that the archbishop of Manila "be taken and banished to one of the Babuyan islands, or the province of Cagayan, or that of Pangasinan, whichever he shall choose, and that all his goods be confiscated and deposited in the royal warehouses, saving only the pontifical paraphernalia."[16] At two o'clock in the morning of 31 March, just as the friars of San Gabriel were filing out of the choir after matins, a band of soldiers came to execute the decree. Since no one would admit them, they forced open the front door. Pardo himself offered no resistance, though he would not get up from the chair in which he sat, so that they had to carry him out, chair and all, to the brigantine that was to take him to Pangasinan. When morning dawned, Manila found itself without its archbishop.

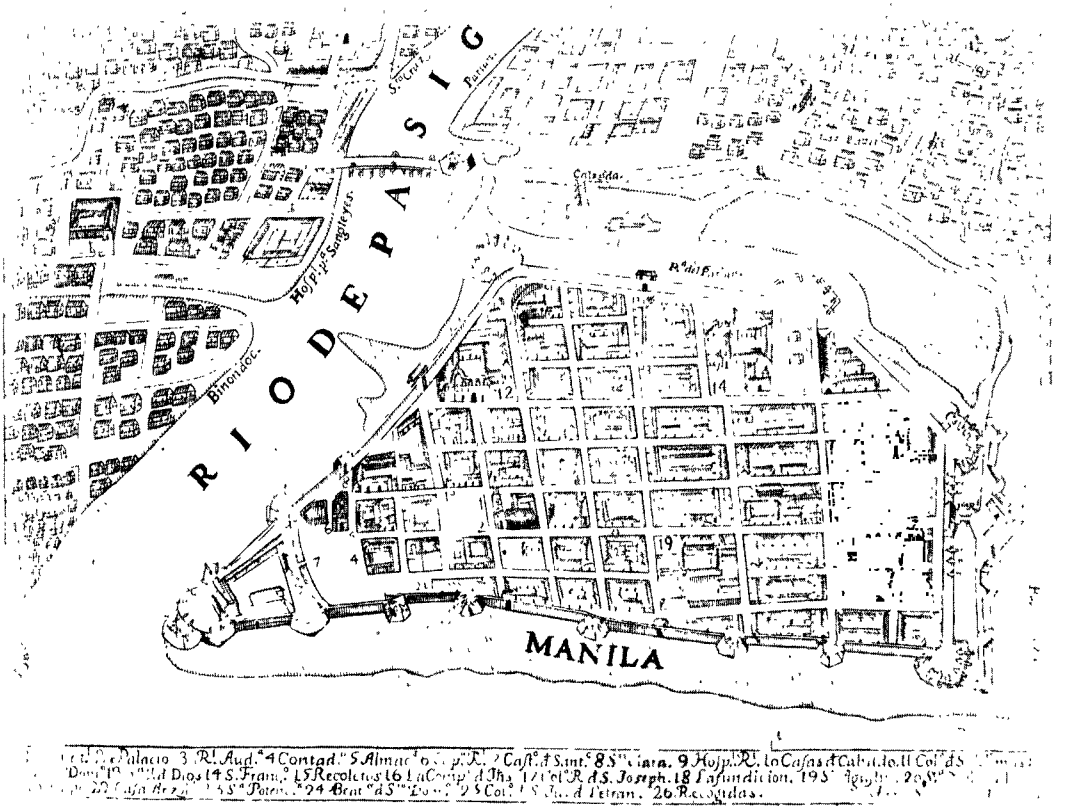
Knowing full well that his banishment was a distinct possibility, Archbishop Pardo had taken the precaution of appointing Bishop Barrientos administrator of the see if it should actually take place. Bishop Barrientos now presented his appointment to the audiencia, duly signed and sealed, but the audiencia informed him that "for reasons of state [*superiores motivos*] . . . it is not expedient for the bishop of Troy to make use of this appointment, nor on the strength of it exercise jurisdiction in this archdiocese."[17] Instead, it directed the cathedral chapter to "make use of its right" to administer the archdiocese as though it were vacant. The capitulars were most reluctant to do this, because, for one thing, it was extremely doubtful whether they had any such right; the see, after all, was not "vacant" in the usual sense. At the audiencia's insistence, however, they consented, justifying their assumption of authority by a declaration in which they endeavored to prove that the see was "quasi-vacant"—an unfortunate term which earned them much ridicule afterward.

At this, Bishop Barrientos retired to the Dominican convent of San Juan del Monte, some distance from the city. Before leaving, however, he circulated a message to the provincials of all the religious orders. This was to the effect that, in spite of what the audiencia and chapter had done, he was still the sole legitimate representative of the exiled archbishop. Hence, in virtue of the delegated powers he possessed, he granted to the fathers provincial and to the priests they wished to appoint faculties to absolve all who had taken part in the arrest and banishment of the archbishop from the censures which they had incurred, under the usual conditions. He excepted the ringleaders and those who by reason of their office had the power to revoke the decree of banishment. For some reason or other this communication became so distorted in its progress

through the streets of Manila that when it reached the ears of the governor and audiencia it had taken the following form: that Bishop Barrientos and the Dominicans had called upon all the religious orders, except the Jesuits, to join them in a general revolt, the signal for which would be the bells of Santo Domingo tolling an interdict immediately after the evening angelus. Without stopping to check the accuracy of this report, the audiencia acted at once. The dean of the cathedral chapter, Miguel Ortiz de Covarrubias, was dispatched to Santo Domingo with an armed guard to arrest the man who was supposed to have been commissioned by Bishop Barrientos to declare the interdict, a secular priest named Francisco González. When Dean Ortiz was refused admittance by the friars, troops were sent to surround the convent and to prevent its bells from being rung. The friars, however, stoutly persisted in their refusal to surrender González; whereupon the oidor Calderón in a towering rage ordered powder and shot to be issued to the troops. This had the desired effect. Fray Juan de Paz came out to parley, and it was agreed that if González gave himself up he would merely be placed under house arrest.

But although the "siege" of Santo Domingo was lifted, the audiencia had not quite finished with the Dominicans. A formidable inquiry was instituted into their life, customs, and proceedings, at the end of which (18 May 1684) several friars were sentenced to banishment as disturbers of public peace. Fray Juan Ibáñez and Fray Francisco de Vargas were to be sent to the Cagayan missions, while Fray Ramón Berart, Fray Bartolomé Marrón, and Fray Cristóbal de Pedroche were to be banished from the Philippines altogether and sent to Mexico. This sentence was executed on Ibáñez and Vargas, but Berart and Marrón had apparently vanished into thin air, and even a second siege of the Dominican convent, this time lasting four full days, failed to start them from cover. Finally, the thoroughly exasperated audiencia proscribed the Dominican provincial himself, Fray Antonio Calderón, and together with Pedroche put him aboard the outgoing galleon. Relief from this intolerable situation came when on 9 July 1684 the church bells of Manila rang out the news that the galleon *Santa Rosa*, back from Acapulco, had been sighted, and that she had on board a new governor: Don Gabriel Curuzeláegui y Arriola, knight of the Order of Saint James, *veinticuatro* of Seville, and sometime general of the Windward Fleet.

Curuzeláegui took formal possession of his office on 22 August. After acquainting himself with the situation he decided that the first step to any settlement was to recall the archbishop from exile. The oidores were naturally very much against this, but he put them under such strong pressure that they finally agreed on 24 October to revoke their sentence. That same night, the capitulars thought it prudent to appear in a body before Bishop Barrientos, acknowledge their error in assuming the interim



XIII. Manila in 1734



P. Alexander Lopez Hispanus. P. Ioannes Montiel Calabri Soc. IESV ad Fidei Christianae crudeliter truncati ab Idololatris Indis Mundanae [illegible] Decembris

XIV.
The killing of Alejandro López and Juan Montiel



[illegible] Diego [illegible] Sanvitores [illegible] Barbara [illegible] Christo [illegible] Aprile [illegible]

XV. Diego Luís de Sanvítores

government of the archdiocese, and humbly beg to be absolved from any censures they might have incurred. Bishop Barrientos gave them absolution, but subject to confirmation by Archbishop Pardo.

On 16 November the archbishop returned to Manila in triumph. As the coasting vessel which bore him entered the Pasig, all the guns of Fort Santiago boomed in salute, followed by the guns of each bastion of the wall as he sailed past them. He disembarked hard by Santo Domingo gate to the pealing of bells and the cheers of the populace; chanted the *Te Deum* in his cathedral; paid a brief state visit to the new governor; and then retired to his old quarters at San Gabriel, where he found all his furniture and effects carefully restored exactly as he had left them.

"All now looked forward to an Augustan peace," wrote the anonymous author of the *Relación curiosa*, rather naively. He failed to realize that the archbishop was not the kind of man to let bygones be bygones. On 29 November, he declared ex-Governor Vargas, the oidores, and Attorney-general Alanís publicly excommunicated in virtue of the canon "Si quis suadente diabolo" and the bull "In coena Domini," which impose this penalty on those who lay violent hands on a cleric. This immediately created an impossible situation for Governor Curuzeláegui; he could hardly run the government with an audiencia entirely composed of persons with whom Christians were forbidden to hold intercourse. After days of pleading—"with tears in his eyes," according to one account—the archbishop relented and absolved the oidores and the attorney-general from the ban.

Not, however, Vargas, who was now merely a private citizen. In his case, Pardo demanded as a condition for his being absolved that he should expose himself to the public gaze at the entrance to the cathedral, dressed in penitential garb and with a halter around his neck, every Sunday and holyday for a month; and for a month each thereafter, in the same manner, outside the churches of Santo Domingo, Binondo, and San Gabriel. Vargas not only refused to submit to this humiliation, but acted as though he had not been excommunicated at all. His conscience, he said, was clear; he had merely done his duty as he saw it. As for the archiepiscopal censure, he had appealed it to the Holy See; besides, he could produce two distinct papal documents exempting a knight of the Order of Saint James like himself from excommunication by any ecclesiastic inferior to a papal legate. Thus he retired with every appearance of contentment to the sumptuous residence he had built for himself on Isleta, the little island in the middle of the Pasig River, sallying forth occasionally to take the air, stopping to engage people in affable conversation as he crossed the bridge or even under the very windows of the archbishop's chambers; and in all his comings and goings his private and personal trumpeter sounded a trumpet before him, while the guards at the city

gates presented arms for all the world as though he were still governor. Despite the fulminations hurled at him from the city pulpits, he continued to attend bullfights and theatrical presentations, to receive visitors, and even to hold trumpet concerts (he apparently had more than one trumpeter) in his house.

The capitulars were in a very different case. They had no medieval privileges to invoke, no cozy retreat in which to find refuge. They were compelled to comply with whatever conditions the archbishop chose to impose upon them before he confirmed the absolution imparted to them by Bishop Barrientos. They were subjected, first of all, to a full-dress trial. At the end of it they were arraigned before the archbishop on a stage erected for this purpose in front of the cathedral, and made to retract all the acts against their lawful superior of which they had been found guilty. Only then were they definitively absolved from all censures and irregularities.

And what of the Jesuits? Ortega, who had been elected procurator by the provincial congregation of 1681, left for Europe during Pardo's exile and died at sea; it was thus at a higher tribunal that he finally submitted his accounts. However, two complaints were filed against the Jesuits after the archbishop's return of which he took cognizance. One was submitted by certain leading citizens of the town of Cainta, who desired that their Jesuit parish priest be removed; the other by the Augustinians, who claimed that the Jesuit stationed at the Jesuit estate of Jesús de la Peña, which was within the territorial limits of two Augustinian parishes, was usurping the functions of a pastor. As in the earlier case the Jesuits when summoned refused to recognize the competence of the judge on the grounds of notorious partiality. They appealed to the audiencia, which, after two years of litigation, decided against them. On 23 February 1688, it found that the archbishop had not exceeded his jurisdiction in restraining the Jesuit at Jesús de la Peña from acting as a parish priest, and ordered the church which had been built on the property to be torn down. Three days later, Governor Curuzeláegui approved Pardo's proposal that Cainta be transferred to the Augustinians.[18]

All this time, of course, the official packets were bringing to king and council in Madrid a flood of reports on the astounding events in the Philippines. The first step they took was to call the case to Madrid. On 2 July 1685, Charles II instructed governor and audiencia that

> . . . if it is true that a fixed place [of exile] was indicated and assigned to this prelate at the said convent of the Dominicans in Pangasinan, according to reports received, they should immediately take the necessary measures to set him at liberty and permit him to go where he pleases outside the limits of the territory of the said archdiocese, choosing the place which seems good to him, until a decision should be arrived at after examination of the documents transmitted by that royal audiencia which I await.[19]

The sentence which the council recommended and the king pronounced two years later was almost entirely favorable to Archbishop Pardo.

> I declare by these presents that the banishment to a fixed place of exile [*confinación*] of the said archbishop of Manila and other religious and ecclesiastical persons, and the suspension [*embargo*] of the spiritual jurisdiction of this prelate, and the violent manner in which the arrest of the above-mentioned persons was carried out by the orders of the said president and oidores of the audiencia referred to, were unjust. In consequence of which it is my present will to relieve these persons of the sentence of banishment and sequestration imposed by the said president and oidores, with full restitution of the goods and revenues which had been taken away from them by reason of the sequestration.[20]

Accompanying this sentence were strict orders to Governor Curuzeláegui to send to Spain by the first available transportation Dean Miguel Ortiz and Fray Ramón Berart, "this being necessary to my service and the peace and tranquility of those islands." To see that the sentence was faithfully executed, a *juez pesquisidor* or special commissioner, Don Francisco Campos Valdivia, was dispatched to the Philippines. Pending the arrival of the commissioner, Vargas and Calderón were to be sent prisoners to the same place where they had banished Pardo, the other two oidores and the attorney-general to the other places where the Dominicans had been exiled.

Valdivia arrived in July 1689 to find that three of the oidores had escaped him by death: Grimaldos in 1683, Calderón in 1686, and Viga in 1687. Viga and Bolívar had been placed under arrest in 1687 on charges of attemped conspiracy against the government, or, more precisely, against the governor. Viga, banished to Lal-lo in Cagayan, had died there; Bolívar was still being held at Tuao in the same province. Ex-Governor Vargas was sent by Valdivia first to Pangasinan and then to Mexico; but he died on the voyage. Bolívar, summoned to Manila, died before he could comply. This left Attorney-General Alanís, whom Valdivia took back with him to Mexico, along with Ortiz and Berart.

Thus, no one can say that the king did not try to make honorable amends for the excesses of his officials. However, he looked with little favor on the manner in which Archbishop Pardo proceeded against his persecutors after his return from exile. Besides the rigors mentioned above, it was reported at Madrid that Pardo had ordered the church of the College of Manila closed on the grounds that it had been desecrated by the burial in it of the oidor Grimaldos. Since Grimaldos received the last sacraments from Dean Ortiz, Pardo held his absolution to have been invalid. He ordered the remains disinterred, but they could no longer be distinguished from other bones turned up by the clumsy searchers, and Pardo had perforce to desist and reopen the church to the faithful. But what gave

Charles II and his councillors the most concern was Pardo's continued hostility to the audiencia. In a cédula of 20 June 1692, the king informed Cruzat y Góngora, Curuzeláegui's successor, that he was sending a letter to Pardo in which

> I beseech and charge him to keep within the limits of his jurisdiction and not meddle in affairs pertaining to my royal patronage nor impede the exercise of my royal prerogatives. He must understand that just as I favor him in that no one should interfere with what is his concern, so I will not permit him to intervene in anything pertaining to my royal patronage. . . . I am likewise charging him to absolve, if he has not already done so, all the principals and accomplices found guilty in all the above-mentioned cases in those islands, both living and dead, in accordance with the brief issued by the papal nuncio with the delegated authority of his Holiness Innocent XI. If not, he should restore their reputation, mindful of the clemency which our holy mother the Church uses in such cases, and which his Holiness Innocent XI enjoins in his brief. I hope by these means to facilitate the reconciliation of the faithful, the union of minds, the peace of those realms, and the good example of all those missions.[21]

This admonition never reached the archbishop, who died in December 1689, in the seventy-ninth year of his age, thus bringing to a close what may certainly be regarded as one of the most eventful decades in the history of the Philippines. However, one must not allow the abundance of documentation on this and the other disturbances recorded in this chapter, and the amount of space devoted to them, to distort one's perspective on this period. In the intervals between these sudden alarms ordinary folk were doing their best to attend to their ordinary duties; and who shall say that what they accomplished was not in the long-run more important than these admittedly spectacular but rather sterile controversies?

The College of Manila and the College of San José quietly continued to supply the colony with a small but steady stream of educated men who led useful lives as diocesan priests, army officers, and civil administrators. Now and then, it is true, an Old Boy would bring shame to his preceptors by acquiring notoriety rather than fame, as did that brash bishop-baiter, Master Jerónimo de Herrera. But by and large, the alumni of the two colleges brought credit to themselves and to the Jesuits who had some small part in their formation. In 1654, for instance, Bishop Antonio de San Gregorio of Nueva Cáceres mentions the following sons of San José who had in his time distinguished themselves in the service of the Church in the colony: Dr. Juan de Vélez, bishop-elect of Cebu; Fray Alonso de Carvajal, provincial of the Augustinians; Don Gregorio de Escalona, dean of the cathedral chapter of Manila; Dr. José Cabral, canon of the same; and Dr. José de Salazar, chaplain of the royal chapel of the Incarnation [Fort Santiago].[22]

The Annual Letter of 1701 furnishes us with an interesting list of the graduates of the College of Manila who were resident at that time in or near the city, and hence *ipso facto* members of its *claustro* or academic senate. Of the twenty-two in the list, seven were doctors and fifteen masters; all but three were alumni of San José. Three of the masters were still residents of San José, possibly because they were candidates for the doctorate. The majority (nineteen) were priests, and included the vicar-general of the archdiocese of Manila, two canons and three prebends of the same, three parish priests, two curates, the chaplain of the Misericordia, the chaplain of the audiencia, two military chaplains, and Fausto Cruzat y Góngora jr., son of the governor, who obtained his master's degree in 1699 and his doctorate in theology in 1701. The letter adds that some of the lay alumni whom San José had graduated as masters of arts were currently holding government posts, some as alcaldes mayores; it does not, however, give their names.[23]

During the war scare caused by Koxinga in 1662, most of the students of the two colleges volunteered for service; only seven residents were left at San José. However, by 1665 sixteen had returned to resume their studies, and by 1672 the number of scholars had risen to thirty. The average enrollment of the college during the closing years of the seventeenth century was between thirty and fifty. The Annual Letter of 1701 gives us a breakdown of the thirty-one students that year which was probably typical: four theologians, six philosophers, sixteen grammarians, and five graduate students, three clerical and two lay. Because of wars, rumors of wars, earthquakes, and other calamities, the wolf was never very far from San José's door. However, it scraped through somehow, and even managed to maintain six foundation scholarships, although the Annual Letter of 1665 says that by that time the original Figueroa endowment had practically vanished. Vanished, that is to say, as a significant source of income, not as the juridical element which gave the institution its permanent personality. However, the hand of Providence was not shortened, as we have had occasion to point out earlier, and the Annual Letter of 1672 strikes this cheerful note: "At present, there is good hope of increasing [the revenues of the college] through the development of an agricultural estate which an extremely capable lay brother is administering with great care and assiduity; and another which was donated to the college and is being managed by a *donado*." The first of these estates was that of San Pedro Tunasan; the second that of San Juan Bautista in the town of Lian, province of Batangas, which Alumnus José Cabral bequeathed to the college by the terms of his will, dated 22 November 1666.[24]

There is little change in the regular order of time of the college, save that studies seem to have encroached somewhat on prayer; for instead of the period originally given to meditation in the morning we find a study

period. Here is the distribution as indicated by the Annual Letter of 1696:[25]

A.M.

5:00	Rise
5:30	Morning prayers; Mass
6:00	Study
7:00	Breakfast? Classes in the College of Manila

P.M.

1:00	Study
2:00	Classes
5:30	Study
6:30	Free time
6:45	Rosary in common
7:00	Supper; recreation
8:00	Litanies; examen
8:30	Review
9:00	Bed

I put a question mark after breakfast because our anonymous chronicler fails to give even a hint that such a meal existed. He does mention dinner, but not the dinner hour; one presumes it was as before, around 10 or 11 in the morning, which would have given the scholars time for siesta before the one o'clock study period. We are given to understand, incidentally, that they were now furnished with individual rooms, instead of living in a dormitory as earlier. The specimen lecture by a student continues to be a feature of the dinner hour three times a week. In fact, it has now been expanded to include a question period at the end; for this reason the student's professor comes to dinner from the College of Manila at this time, in order to see how well—or ill—his disciple fares. The grammarians read at supper four times a week under the watchful eye of the grammar master, who ordinarily resided in the college. A daily exercise not previously mentioned is the half-hour "review" period at 8:30 in the evening, during which theologians, philosophers, and grammarians foregathered with their respective professors for a quick run-through of the day's work. The object was apparently to make sure that each one had completed his themes, assigned reading, etc., and was ready for the next day's classes.

Besides taking part in the regular academies and disputations of the College of Manila, the San José scholars occasionally held their own on a Sunday, which alumni and religious from the various convents of the city were invited to attend. All the scholars came to a doctrinal exhortation given by the rector on Saturday evenings, and to a spiritual conference on

the eve of all the feasts of Our Lady. Everyone took the discipline in common five days a week during Lent. Frequent communion was encouraged. The older students made the spiritual exercises of Saint Ignatius every year. In 1671 the provincial congregation requested the general for permission to change the long vacations from June–July to May–June, because the latter was the season of the greatest heats; the request was granted.[26]

That there was a continuing need for a residential college of the type of San José during this period, even for students whose families resided in Manila itself, is brought out by the Annual Letter of 1701. Experience shows that "very few of our students who are not boarders of this college turn out satisfactorily, because their homes are so noisy that they do not have the necessary quiet to apply themselves properly to their studies. This is due to the fact that families here have a much larger staff of servants than in Europe or America; and so the best people of this city have learned to part with their sons and put them to board in this college, realizing that otherwise they will make little progress in their studies."[27]

What has been said so far applies to the regular scholars of the college, who were all Spaniards during this period. The Annual Letter of 1665 informs us, however, that in that year or possibly a year or so earlier, the college opened its doors to a second category of boarding students, recruited chiefly from prominent Pampanga families. This may have been in recognition of the signal services rendered by the Pampango troops during the Chinese uprising of 1662; possibly, too, the government saw in it an excellent means of strengthening the loyalty of the people of that province, so badly shaken by the abortive rebellion of 1660. Whatever the reason, in 1665,

> . . . there are also being educated in the same residential college of San José, besides the scholars, a number of youths of the Pampango nation, who have the status of domestics but are not paid servants, for they devote their attention and energies to the study of reading, writing, and Christian doctrine. For this reason one of our priests devotes himself to their spiritual formation, encouraging them by his teaching and exhortation to the frequent reception of the sacraments and the practice of every virtue, so that when they go back to their homeland they may serve as an example to the other Pampangueños. They usually number more than sixty, counting their slaves. Some of them are from the first families of the region, whose parents send them here to receive a Christian education, paying generously for their sustenance.[28]

The Annual Letter of 1672 clarifies the status of these unpaid and even paying domestics by saying that they performed the duties of Mass servers, butlers, waiters, and porters. We have already mentioned another non-Spanish alumnus of San José—Don Francisco Javier, the ill-starred king

of the island Siau. Upon his return to his kingdom he immediately sent his younger brother, who was to succeed him according to the laws of Siau, to receive the same education that he did.[29]

The elementary school for boys attached to the College of Manila was in a flourishing state in 1701. It had an enrollment of 200, in spite of the fact that there were many private pedagogues in the city willing to teach children their first letters in their own homes for a fee. A lay brother was in charge of the school. It is worthy of note that although the oidores of the audiencia and other high officials sent their boys to it, it was open to all boys without distinction of race.[30]

Certain weaknesses of administration and instruction in the College of Manila are brought out in a memorandum of 1690 submitted to the general by Antonio Jaramillo, its former rector.[31] With regard to the faculty, he notes that some were appointed to teach theology without first having taught in the arts course; that the provincials changed the professors too often—as often, in fact, "as hot compresses applied to a stomach ache"—with the result that very seldom did a member of the faculty teach three years running; that appointments were made at the last minute, sometimes only three days before the beginning of term; that some professors, instead of coming to class, simply sent down their lecture notes to be read aloud by one of the students and taken down verbatim by the others. Modern Jesuits will perceive in some of these criticisms a vaguely familiar ring.

With regard to the curriculum, Jaramillo would like to see it made more practical and suited to the needs of the times and the region. There were, for instance, two professors of dogmatic theology, both of whom expatiated at great length on "scholastic metaphysics of a purely speculative kind." Would it not be better if one of them at least taught the theoretical part of moral theology? There was, of course, a separate class of moral theology; but apparently this was devoted chiefly to the solution of moral cases, or casuistry. Nowhere in the course did a professor analyze and expound the principles of moral science as a consistent body of doctrine. Because of this lack, it was not unheard of for a student to go into parish work after four full years of theology with a mind completely blank as far as the principles of moral guidance were concerned. Even the conferences on moral cases could be made more practical. Let the problems proposed for solution be those that were most likely to occur in the Philippines; problems connected with trade, profits, interest, loans, investments, the duties of colonial officials, native usages governing contracts and family relations, the obligations of parish priests, and so on. Moreover, the solutions given should be written down and preserved in the college library for future use. This was formerly the practice, but it had been discontinued; let it be resumed. Finally, a word of advice to superiors:

After the example of a virtuous life, nothing will make the Society better known and loved in Manila than a man truly eminent in the solution of cases of conscience, or a man who expounds the word of God from the pulpit with grace, vigor, and learning. Such men are universally esteemed and listened to. And yet, why is the Philippine province commonly referred to among Jesuits as the burying place of talents? Because its superiors lack the will and the foresight to cultivate such talents; because they fail to provide the necessary means to bring them out; because those who show promise along these lines are continually being changed from one and assignment to another, now as pastor of a native parish, then as professor of theology for a year or two, then giving a course of sermons or a Lenten mission, with the result that a really great opportunity is missed. One example will suffice. Consider Father Paul Klein. He is a German by birth; forty years old, more or less; health, fair; intellectual ability, outstanding; capacity for work, vast; and with no small fund of information in a wide variety of fields. This father knows the native language well; he has seen service in a native parish; he is at present teaching theology; for one whole year he presented the solution in the moral conferences to the satisfaction of everyone. Now, why couldn't we keep a man of this sort teaching for several years, and devote him particularly to the study of moral theology? I truly believe that if we do this, all Manila will beat a path to his door.[32]

It is a pleasure to record that his superiors did give Klein the opportunities to devote his great gifts to the service of God, and that he took full advantage of these opportunities. He remained a professor of theology at the College of Manila from 1687 through 1696 and possibly later; was concurrently prefect of studies of the College of San José from 1690 to 1696 and its vice-rector for a term beginning 1701. He seems to have acted as provincial for a year (1708), and was back as professor of theology in 1716.[33] In 1712, drawing upon that amazing fund of encyclopedic information noted by Jaramillo, he published a book entitled *Remedios fáciles para diferentes enfermedades* (Simple Remedies for Various Complaints). It achieved immediate success in a country where physicians were few and far between, and was still very much in demand in the nineteenth century, for the University of Santo Tomás Press put out a second edition in 1857. His second book appeared in 1713, and was a series of considerations in Tagalog on an unpleasant but salutary subject: *Ang infiernong nabubucsan sa tauong Christiano, at nang houag masoc doon* (Hell Laid Open to the Christian, that He may be Advised Not to Enter Therein), 313 pages. And in 1714, a Tagalog translation of a book of meditations by the French Jesuit Bohours, entitled *Pensamientos christianos, sa macatouid manga panimdimin nang tauon christiano* (Christian Thoughts; or, Reflections of a Christian Soul). A second edition of this work appeared in 1748.

But Klein will perhaps be best remembered as the spiritual director of the saintly woman who founded the Philippines' first religious congregation of women, Ignacia del Espíritu Santo. In 1684—at the very height

of the disturbances caused by the exile of Archbishop Pardo—young Ignacia, a mestiza of Binondo, decided to form a religious community to which not only mestizas like herself but pure-blooded native Filipinas would be eligible for admission. Klein helped her and her first companions to draw up their rule of life, modeling it closely on the Spiritual Exercises and the Constitutions of Saint Ignatius. Because of this, and because they used the college church for their devotions, having established themselves in a house nearby, they came to be known as the *Beatas de la Compañía de Jesús*. No official or administrative connection was ever established between the congregation and the Society, for the institute of the latter expressly forbids assuming the permanent direction of religious women. However, the fathers did help the *beatas* as much as they could, both spiritually and materially. We learn from Murillo that in the 1740's the community numbered fifty, and that their most important works were the education of girls and the holding of closed retreats for women. In Murillo's time their boarding school included twenty Spanish girls, and several groups of Spanish ladies made the spiritual exercises in their house under Jesuit directors. Madre Ignacia died, full of years and good works, on 10 September 1748. Her congregation flourishes today under the name of Religious of the Virgin Mary.[34]

Closed retreats for men continued to be held both in the College of Manila and at San Pedro Makati. The participation of the college fathers in the parish mission movement initiated by Sanvítores has already been mentioned. It should be noted, however, that long before Sanvítores popular missions both in Spanish and Tagalog were a regular feature of the services in the college church. These were usually held during Lent, or on the occasion of the publication of a plenary indulgence (*jubileo*) granted by the pope. One such jubileo, published in Lent of 1655, resulted in over 20,000 confessions in the college church alone; that is, not counting those in the other churches of the city.[35] But even outside of such occasions the Jesuit confessionals were much sought after during this period. During Lent and Eastertide especially there was an almost continuous stream of people coming into the college church to fulfill their Easter duty. Confessions were heard from dawn to dusk in order to take care of all who came not only from the city itself but from the Tagalog provinces and from as far away as Pampanga. Four distinct series of Lenten sermons were usually given: one to the negroes and slaves on Sundays, a second to the Tagalogs on Fridays, a third to the Spaniards on Tuesdays and Saturdays, and a fourth to the troops of the garrison.[36]

An interesting mission of which we happen to have a detailed account was that given in 1698 to the convicts of the government foundry. This grim establishment, where the colony's artillery was forged, stood for many years beneath the bastion of Nuestra Señora de Guía, at the angle of

the city wall back of the college. Those condemned to its blazing forges were "ordinarily the most desperate felons from Mexico: sex criminals, habitual drunkards, murderers, city gangsters, highwaymen. Some of them who had been condemned to death there but for one reason or another had escaped both the hangman's noose and the headman's axe, were first remanded to the dungeons, workhouses, and galleys of New Spain; but when even these institutions could not stand them, were sent here to be hammered into shape."

The mission was conducted by Fathers Joaquín Asín and Ignacio Capdevila and lasted for a week. Work at the furnaces and anvils was stopped half an hour earlier in the afternoon to allow the missioners to give their talks. Every day a dozen convicts in leg irons were led to the college church to make their confessions. On the last day the director of the foundry made a remarkable act of confidence in the efficacy of the mission. He sent all his convicts to the college church for Mass and communion escorted by their usual guards, but without any leg or wrist irons whatever. When they returned to the foundry, a banquet was waiting for them, sent down by Governor Cruzat himself, and even a bull calf with which to stage a mock bullfight as a boisterous close to the festivities. The writer of the account of the mission probably had his tongue in his cheek when he noted that right afterward it was unanimously voted to hold another mission the following year.[37]

Toward the end of the century the magnificent church built by Campioni was further embellished with frescoes by Brother Manuel Rodríguez, whom the Annual Letter of 1701 calls an outstanding painter. Unfortunately, none of Brother Rodríguez's work has survived, at least to my knowledge. The college fathers also made full use of another art, that of music, to give splendor to the liturgy; too full a use, at times, as we learn from a memorandum of Father Provincial Bonafe to the general in 1665. In it he says:

> His Excellency the Governor and the gentlemen of the royal audiencia are most reluctant to attend our feast days because at the solemn Mass two *villancicos* are usually sung, lasting almost half an hour; and now, by order of your Paternity, the creed, the preface, the paternoster, and all the other parts of the Mass so designated by the rubrics must be sung too; all of which, added to the sermon, which is usually of some length, they find it very hard to sit through. In the cathedral they intone the creed, but they go on with the Mass without waiting for the choir to finish singing. They do not sing the paternoster nor the *Pax Domini* nor even the Preface, because it is very hot in this country. . . .

The rest of the passage is difficult to read because of a patch on the manuscript; but enough is legible to make it clear that Bonafe wanted permission to adopt the short cuts of the cathedral. Father General Oliva's

laconic reply would have rejoiced the heart of Saint Pius X: "The solution is simple; omit the *villancicos* or make them very short."[38]

So much for the ministries of the college fathers; now for a few fleeting glimpses of the domestic life of the community. And first, what of the training given to the scholastics and novices? As pointed out earlier, the admission of candidates to the Society in the Philippines continued to be severely limited. My information, admittedly incomplete and limited to five six-year periods (see Table 8), shows that during those thirty years

Table 8. Candidates admitted to the Noviceship and Novices admitted to first vows in the Philippine Province during Five Six-Year Periods, 1659–1696

Years	Admissions			First Vows		
	Scholastics	Brothers	Total	Scholastics	Brothers	Total
1659–1665	–	?	9	5	4	9
1671–1675	0	3	3	0	1	1
1682–1687	2	7	9	–	–	2
1687–1693	9	8	17	–	–	13
1693–1696	1	3	4	–	–	4
Total			42			29

Source: "Catalogi triennales," ARSI *Phil.* 2, *passim.*

only 42 were admitted to the novitiate and only 29 novices were permitted to pronounce their first vows. Included in this number, however, is at least one extraordinary vocation: Doctor Don Lorenzo de Avina y Echavarría, oidor of the royal audiencia, aged 32, who disappeared from his chambers one fine day in October 1693. In the note which he left for his colleagues he told them that after mature deliberation he had decided to resign his post and apply for admission to the Society of Jesus. The other oidores hurriedly met in extraordinary session and agreed that they could not allow Avina to take a step so completely without precedent. They dispatched the clerk of court to woo the absconding jurist from the Jesuits; but Avina, who had already exchanged his robes for the simple cassock of a novice, refused to be wooed. The clerk of court returned with Avina's last dissenting opinion: that he knew of no statute or ordinance, either of Spain or the Indies, which would prevent a man of his age and condition from entering the religious life.[39]

Sanvítores noted a regrettable tendency to be lenient toward the scholastics in the matter of studies. Writing to the general in 1663, he reported

that the scholastics who came to the Philippines with him were all promoted a year without undergoing the usual examinations, and this in spite of the fact that their previous course, having been taken in bits and pieces during the voyage from Spain to Mexico, in Mexico for a few weeks, and again during the Pacific crossing, was sadly incomplete. The reason given was that the poor things were exhausted by their long journey and had arrived just as the school year was about to start. Sanvítores did not think this was a very cogent reason.[40] Here too, as in the matter of parish missions, Sanvítores seems to have started a movement, for two years later the provincial congregation itself underscored the importance of examinations. Besides the examinations at the end of each year of philosophy and theology, Jesuit scholastics who take the "long" or extended course must undergo comprehensive examinations on the matter of the entire three years of philosophy and four years of theology before a board of four examiners. However, the scholastic appointed to hold the public disputation known as the "grand act" was ordinarily exempted from the comprehensives, since he was required during his act to explain and defend his views on any philosophical or theological question proposed. The fathers of the congregation of 1665 proposed that this exemption be abolished, because the dignitaries invited to present objections at a grand act and even those who got up to argue from the audience, not being Jesuits themselves, were too polite. They did not press the attack on the disputant with sufficient ruthlessness—"non omnino nervose sed plane remisse argumentanda oppugnant." Hence the faculty sometimes lacked a sufficient basis for judging whether the man deserved to pass or not. Father General Oliva agreed entirely; "placet quod petitur; omnino fiat."[41]

The comprehensives at the end of the theology course are common to the whole Society. An additional requirement informally introduced in the Philippine province almost since its foundation was that every member should be able to understand and speak at least one native language. In 1664 the practice received the formal approbation of Oliva, who ruled that no member of the province was eligible for any teaching, parish, mission, or administrative post unless he fulfilled this requirement to the satisfaction of superiors.[42]

Mancker, the Austrian Jesuit whom we encountered earlier, found the residence of the college a comfortable house to live in. Philippine architects had discovered by this time that by providing living rooms with high ceilings and insulating them by means of a *galería* or enclosed balcony, they could be made tolerably cool for Europeans; the Jesuit quarters were so constructed. Cassocks of thin black cotton had replaced the dark brown habits of the last century. The fare was plain but plentiful; wine was provided at table but taken sparingly, because of the heat.[43] Chocolate

continued to be looked upon with suspicion, although a more sensible attitude toward it was beginning to prevail. In 1690, the procurator of the province, Alejo López, came right out with it and told the general that the ban against chocolate should either be made less strict or, better still, abolished altogether. Everyone, high and low, now took chocolate as a matter of course, and Jesuits could not possibly scandalize anyone by doing the same. On the other hand, people were scandalized to see some Jesuits taking it on the sly. Because it was so commonly used, it was no longer particularly expensive; in fact, cacao was so plentiful in the Ilog mission on the island of Negros that it could be had for nothing. Finally, it was the most convenient breakfast so far discovered, especially for busy missionaries: substantial enough to last one until lunch, and yet not so heavy on the stomach as rice.[44]

Another convenience hitherto forbidden to Jesuits in the Philippines was sea or river bathing. It will be recalled that the early missionaries thought this practice to be injurious to health, viewing with alarm the propensity of Filipinos to take daily baths. By the middle of the century they had been won over completely to the Filipino point of view, and the general was asked to soften the prohibition. Oliva's reply was cautious: let it be done with the physician's advice, the provincial's permission, and in a bathing machine.[45]

As Mancker observed, external religious discipline was strictly, even rigorously observed. One example of what seems to be excessive rigor was the proposal of the provincial congregation of 1659 that the lay brothers, scholastics, and novices of the college community should make the morning meditation together, either in the choir loft of the church or in an ascetory. Father General Vitelleschi was very reluctant to approve this, pointing out that Saint Ignatius preferred his sons—after their first few years in the religious life—to make their mental prayer in private. However, he left the matter up to the fathers provincial, and the practice was adopted, though for how long we cannot say.[46] On the other hand, Jaramillo noted in 1690 that the fathers could well afford to tighten up on one important particular. The college had entirely too many servants, and almost every father with an office had his personal and private amanuensis. Let the rector and procurator decide how many of these domestics were really necessary and dismiss the rest; and let the fathers do a certain amount of their own writing themselves, especially confidential correspondence, which ought not on any account to be given to an amanuensis.[47]

But by far the most important problem which exercised the Philippine Jesuits during this period was what to do with the missions they had developed into parishes; an old problem, but given a new urgency by recent events.

Chapter Twenty-One

CROSSROADS

The farms on the north bank of the Pasig which Sedeño had purchased toward the end of the sixteenth century to provide an income for the College of Manila had, by the end of the seventeenth, become a large and flourishing parish: the parish of Santa Cruz. Chapter 15 described how the ecclesiastical administration of this district came to be entrusted to the Society. It originally belonged to the secular parish of Quiapo, but in 1619 the Quiapo parish priest requested the Jesuits, as a measure of convenience, to take charge of the tenants on their estate, which had grown to include the districts of Mayhaligi and Santa Cruz. This arrangement was approved and rendered mandatory by the archdiocesan and civil authorities. In 1634 another parish priest of Quiapo, Don Jerónimo Rodríguez de Luján, petitioned that the Jesuits be put in charge not only of the tenants on their estate, but of all the Filipinos and Chinese in the districts of Mayhaligi and Santa Cruz and on Isleta, the little island in the middle of the Pasig. Furthermore, since the diocesan priests of Quiapo ordinarily knew no Chinese, whereas the Jesuits of Santa Cruz did, he asked that the Christian Chinese of Quiapo, while continuing to reside therein, be considered parishioners of Santa Cruz. This petition was approved by Cerezo de Salamanca, then acting governor.

The next proprietary governor was Corcuera, and we have already seen how embarrassingly friendly he was to the Society. In 1635 or thereabouts, at the instance of certain Jesuits (I cannot now identify them positively, but the historian Colín, then rector of the College of Manila, was very probably one), Corcuera transferred the entire parish of Quiapo to the Society. The diocesan clergy very strongly objected to this, and quite rightly too. Their representations to the central government were successful; on 8 April 1639, and again on 8 July 1645, cédulas were issued ordering the restoration of Quiapo to them. The Jesuits offered no objections, and everything was once more serene.

In the years that followed Santa Cruz developed under Jesuit care into a well-organized and prosperous parish consisting chiefly of Chinese and Chinese mestizos. Because of the composition of the parish, the fathers in charge of it had of necessity to be proficient in the Chinese language, like the Dominicans in charge of the similarly constituted parishes of Binondo and the Parian. For this reason there was a tendency on the part of the

authorities to attach all the Christian Chinese of Manila to one of these three parishes. In 1648, for instance, Governor Fajardo ordained that all hitherto unattached Chinese in the farms and truck gardens of the north bank should be considered parishioners of Santa Cruz; and in 1666 Archbishop Poblete definitely partitioned the Chinese population of Manila among the two Dominican parishes and the Jesuit parish.

As time went on, the parish priests of Quiapo found these arrangements less and less to their liking. Aside from the fact that the Chinese were usually among the most solvent and generous of parishioners, the free and frequent intermarriage between Chinese and Filipinos and the various degrees of *mestizaje* resulting therefrom must have created interminable conflicts of jurisdiction. Furthermore, there was a growing conviction among the secular clergy that the religious orders had no business administering parishes at all. Their mandate was to convert the heathen, to be missionaries; let them go to the missions, then, and leave the developed parishes to the increasing number of secular priests—whom they themselves, incidentally, were turning out in the two colleges of Manila and Santo Tomás.

Such, undoubtedly, were the motives behind the action taken by the cathedral chapter of Manila, at the instance of the parish priest of Quiapo, Don Juan de Rueda, in 1670. In a petition to the queen regent, the chapter put forward the claim that the cédulas of 1639 and 1648 not only restored the parish of Quiapo to the secular clergy, but gave them Santa Cruz as well; hence they had never been fully enforced. The queen regent's reply referring the petition to the local authorities reached Manila soon after Bishop López of Cebu had been transferred to the archdiocese. On 28 May 1673 Archbishop López decided in favor of the cathedral chapter, and on 29 September 1675 the queen regent confirmed his decision. The Jesuits appealed the case, which was now referred to the Council of the Indies. On 9 May 1678 the council reversed Archbishop López's decision. Charles II accepted this reversal and issued an executive decree on 13 December of the same year confirming the Jesuits in the possession of Santa Cruz. On 24 February 1684 Governor Vargas duly published the decree.[1]

Archbishop Pardo did not challenge this decision, but he did issue an unusual ordinance to the effect that no Chinese convert could be baptized and no Chinese Christian permitted to go to confession unless he had first been examined by the Dominican parish priests of Binondo and the Parian. The Jesuit provincial represented that the incumbent pastor of Santa Cruz, Francesco Messina, was a priest in good standing and knew Chinese perfectly; would the archbishop consider permitting him to administer the desired examination to the parishioners of Santa Cruz? If the archbishop so desired, Messina was perfectly willing to submit to a previous

examination by the Dominican fathers on his proficiency in the language. The archbishop turned down this suggestion. He also forbade the Jesuits to conduct parish missions in his archdiocese and refused to renew the faculties of three of them because they had applied for a similar renewal to the cathedral chapter during his exile. At the repeated insistence of Governor Vargas the Jesuit provincial Pallavicino had accepted the pastoral care of a portion of Mindoro island; this Archbishop Pardo now took away. His decision to transfer the administration of Jesús de la Peña and Cainta to the Augustinians has already been mentioned. The diocesan clergy had filed suit with the Crown to obtain possession of pastoral charges attached to the colleges of Cavite, Iloilo, and Cebu.[2]

On top of all this came the decision of the Philippine bishops, arrived at in late 1686 or 1687, to make a concerted effort to impose on religious engaged in parish or mission work the full extent of episcopal jurisdiction, including canonical collation and visitation *de vita et moribus*. The new Jesuit general, Tirso González (elected 6 July 1687), took a very serious view of the situation. On 3 January 1688 he wrote as follows to the Philippine provincial, Francisco Salgado:

> All this has me suspended in a state of doubt, unable to decide one way or the other; and so . . . I order your Reverence as soon as possible to call into consultation not only the regular and extraordinary consultors but any others in whose maturity of judgment and experience your Reverence places confidence. Exhort them in my name by the blood of Jesus Christ to express their views without passion or human respect. This is the question your Reverence must propose to them: Do they think that the renunciation of our parishes and missions can be delayed for the length of time it will take to send me a full report and await my decision? If the consensus of opinion is that it will be gravely inconvenient to retain the said parishes and missions for that length of time, then let them be given up at once, with the sole exception of Bohol. If not, then your Reverence will ask each consultor to state his opinion as to whether they should or should not be given up at some future date. All these opinions and the arguments on which they are based are to be carefully taken down and sent to me, and afterward all those present at the consultation must write out their opinion and send it to me in a separate letter.[3]

Three months later, on 17 April, he wrote as follows to Luís de Morales, the procurator of the Philippine province at Madrid:

> It is imperative that your Reverence make every effort there to oppose this project of the most Reverend Bishops, because it is not only injurious to the welfare of those missions, but altogether incompatible with religious observance and the subordination whereby the superiors of the Society are able to remove subjects from those missions and send others in their place if and when they judge it to be for the greater service of God. Your Reverence may represent how much the Society has labored to develop these missions; that it has spared no effort in

developing them; that it has watered them with the sweat and blood of its sons; and that the service it has rendered for so many years does not deserve an imposition so contrary to the welfare of those missions and the religious observance of our brethren. If all this, put forward with all due humility and modesty, fails to prevent the project of the most Reverend Bishops from being favorably considered there, then your Reverence must state that the Society is ready to resign all its parishes and missions in that province rather than be brought into subjection in this way. In fact, if the project of the most Reverend Bishops finds no opposition in that court, and there is no likelihood of the missions being left with the same independent form of government they have hitherto possessed, your Reverence will write to the father provincial of the Philippines, enjoining him in my name to make the same representations, with the same humility and modesty, to the most Reverend Bishops, asking them to abandon the project. If notwithstanding they insist on carrying it through, then let the father provincial resign the parishes and missions and immediately recall all the fathers stationed in them. I fully realize that great harm to the parishes and missions will follow from such a renunciation; but equal harm will follow from the projected subjection, and more and ever more harm from the relaxation [of religious discipline] which we have good reason to fear will result if our members cease to be entirely dependent on their religious superiors.[4]

A year later, when Morales was already in Mexico on his way to the Philippines, González modified his stand to some extent in fresh instructions issued to the procurator of the Indies provinces at Madrid, Pedro de Espinar. He now believed that before resigning their parishes and missions, the Philippine Jesuits should first find out whether the other religious orders there were willing to do the same. If they were, then they should all act in concert; if they were not, then the Jesuits at Madrid should try to obtain an exemption for the Philippine Jesuits on the grounds of the different, more centralized form of government of the Society. If they fail in this attempt, then the provincial of Toledo should call a consultation and decide whether to make the renunciation at once or refer it once more to Rome. Espinar was to pass these instructions on to Morales. They were dispatched from Rome on 11 June 1689; Morales received them in Mexico on 16 July 1690.[5]

Meanwhile, two new procurators, elected by the provincial congregation of 1687, had arrived in Europe. One of them, Antonio Jaramillo, stopped at Madrid to set the record straight regarding the part played by the Philippine Jesuits in the banishment of Archbishop Pardo. The wildest rumors were being bruited about that the Jesuits were chiefly if not solely responsible for that deed. The Jansenists, whose controversy with the French Jesuits was at its height, eagerly pounced on the reports which had begun to come in and rushed to press with a garbled version of the affair. Published with an equally slanted account of the controversy between the Jesuits of Paraguay and Bishop Cárdenas, it had a wide sale as the fifth

volume in the series *Morale pratique des jésuites.* Its title sufficiently indicates the spirit in which it was written: *Histoire de la persécution de deux saints évêques par les jésuites.*

The other procurator, Alejo López, seems to have gone straight to Rome. There the general made him sit down and write a detailed statement of the reasons for and against abandoning the parishes and missions of the Society in the Philippines. The result was a lengthy but extremely interesting paper which I shall attempt to summarize.[6]

Four alternative courses, López said, had been proposed. First: give up all the parishes and missions (the colleges were not in question). Second: give up the Visayan establishments, retain the Tagalog. Third: give up the Tagalog establishments, retain the Visayan. Fourth: retain them all. His own opinion was the fourth. He would therefore take that up first, giving the arguments in its favor. Then he would present the arguments in favor of the first alternative and his answers to them. The second and third alternatives he would treat in the same way.

The first argument in favor of retaining all our parishes and missions in the Philippines is the incalculable amount of good that is being done in them. This good is at least equal to that being done in other areas in the Philippines, and it far exceeds the occasional abuses and scandals which creep into the lives and activities of the missionaries, as they will creep into any work carried on by human beings. To abandon a good work because those assigned to it might possibly do it badly, or be led into sin while doing it, is hardly a sensible solution. Superiors are obliged not to expose their subjects to occasions of sin, yes, if such occasions are likely to be too much for them. But all apostolic work necessarily exposes the apostle to occasions of sin. What is the remedy for this? Withdraw him altogether from the apostolate? Certainly not; but prepare him both naturally and supernaturally either to avoid or to overcome such occasions. Instead of abandoning our parishes and missions, let us devote more care to the selection and training of our missionaries.

The second argument is that by far the greater number of our establishments in the Philippines are not parishes at all but true missions, and hence perfectly compatible with the missionary spirit and institute of the Society.

> It is true that among the Tagalogs it has been possible to form towns whose population lives near the church for the greater part of the year. But in most of the Visayas—in Dapitan, on the islands of Negros and Cebu, and in many towns of Panay—this has not been nor ever will be feasible, because of the difficulties arising from the nature of the soil. The earliest towns to be founded chose the best sites, amid land which can be tilled by the plow, and is uniformly fertile over an unbroken area. But in our Visayan missions every fourth or half league of good land is interrupted by a stretch of barren soil; so that for everyone to have a

farm on which he can grow what he needs to live, families are compelled to live at some distance from each other. In the Tagalog region, on the other hand, they can all settle in one place, because there is hardly a patch of land that is uncultivable.

This is what principally gives the Visayan establishments the character of real missions. What can be more of a mission than Borongan, where the priest is by himself for six months of the year, without even a fellow priest to hear his confession? What can be more of a mission than that of the Subanuns, where the missionary lives in a different "town" every fifteen days? What can be more of a mission than to make a two or three hours' journey on foot in order to hear one confession? "Whether these are parishes or missions in the sense understood by the institute of the Society, I confess I am not competent to judge; but this I will say, that they are missions at least as far as the sacrifices, the risks, the never ending toil, and the results are concerned."

The third argument is that, if we abandon these establishments, who will take our places? Secular priests might perhaps be found for the Tagalog parishes; but neither they nor the other religious orders can possibly give as many men as we are giving to the Visayas. If our missionaries complain because they cannot cover three or four towns satisfactorily, what kind of a job can any other priest do with six or eight?

The fourth argument is that we cannot devote ourselves to parish missions (which is considered to be more conformable to our institute) unless we have our own parishes and missions. We simply cannot meet the transportation and living expenses of such mission tours unless the parish priests pay for it, and only our men will be willing to do this; nor can we reasonably ask others to do so.

The last argument is that after so many years of continuous experience, we have come to understand and appreciate the Visayans of our territory pretty thoroughly, and they in turn to understand and appreciate us. They regard our fathers for the most part with affection and respect, and are willing to do what they say; it is extremely doubtful whether others will be able for many years to come to win from them the same degree of loyalty and devotion.

The principal reasons advanced for giving up all our establishments are the following. First, because they are no longer missions but parishes. This has already been answered. Secondly, because the solitary life in a parish or mission station necessarily leads to laxity in religious observance. This is simply not true. My own observation and that of others has been that most of our men engaged in the ministry faithfully perform their daily exercises of piety. All the priests celebrate Mass daily, and most of them make their hour of meditation before Mass. Most keep their vow of chastity inviolate, and to do this amid circumstances in which it is so easy

to be unchaste is practically impossible unless one is quite strict in observing the rules of the religious life. Thirdly, because our living and working in these establishments has led not only to laxity but to many serious defections which are the cause of grave scandal not only within but outside the Society.

López's reply to this argument deserves to be given in greater detail. First of all, such defections (he is concerned almost entirely with grave external sins against chastity) should certainly not be tolerated or excused; and they are not. The Philippine province, by God's grace, has always dealt severely and even harshly with those whose guilt in this matter has been established. They have been either dismissed from the Society out of hand, or, in the case of those who cannot be expelled without recourse to Rome, withdrawn altogether from the ministry and kept in close confinement in one of the major houses until the general decided what was to be done with them. Full satisfaction is given in this way to any justifiable scandal caused by such falls. The operative word here is "justifiable"; for much of the scandal which causes so much concern to the more timorous of our brethren is either hypocritical or malicious, based on downright falsehoods invented by enemies of the Society. The actual transgressions, those that really happened, are far less, and far less heinous, than the scandalmongers would have people believe. There are some, yes, undeniably; there are bound to be, over a period of time, in so large a group as ours. We may guard against them, we may regret them when they do occur; but our most sleepless vigilance, our deepest regret will not do away with them altogether; priests are men, not angels. But there are far too many, say those who want to close all our provincial houses. What is "many"? It is a relative term. "Many" in relation to what? How many of these serious defections suffice to prove that parish and mission work, in the Philippines at least, is not for Jesuits? That is for superiors to decide; the facts are as follows.

During the quarter of a century that López had been in the Philippines (1666–1690), there had occurred five certain cases of seriously sinful and scandalous behavior among the fathers and brothers stationed in the Tagalog houses, and two doubtful cases. Among the Visayan Jesuits there had occurred during the same period two certain and five doubtful cases; while two others which caused a great deal of talk turned out upon careful investigation to have no truth to them whatever. All those involved in the certain cases—four priests, two lay brothers, and one novice—were either summarily dismissed or, if they were solemnly professed, asked to transfer to some other religious order after having performed the penance imposed on them.

The following are some instances of what is here classified as a doubtful case. One: the commander of Fort Santiago, out late at night, thought he

saw three Jesuits prowling about the streets. He did not recognize them, but felt pretty sure they belonged to the community of the college. The rector had a secret watch kept on all the doors of the residence for several nights. No one ever turned up with a private passkey. Two: a Visayan missionary journeying to Manila stopped at a beach where a woman lay seriously wounded by her husband in a quarrel. He took her and her mother in his sailing vessel to Manila for treatment. She recovered and returned home. Unsavory gossip developed connecting her name with the Jesuit's. The Jesuit stoutly denied having had anything to do with her, except possibly save her life; and nothing was ever proved against him. Superiors dismissed him anyway. Three: the rector of the College of Manila intercepted a love letter written by a priest of his community. Some time later, it was reported to him that this priest, while spending the holidays at the villa house of the college in Meisilo, spent the night outside the house with the woman to whom the letter was addressed. The rector investigated thoroughly but could not verify the report. It is out of such thin material that gossip has woven so vast a tissue of scandal. Let it be noted, moreover, that quite a number of both the certain and the doubtful cases did not involve those in the parishes and missions, but those in the colleges.

The fourth argument in favor of withdrawing altogether from the provincial ministry is that it entangles the Jesuit in temporal cares to such an extent that he is sooner or later betrayed into unlawful commercial transactions. López's answer to this is that we must carefully distinguish between the management of temporal affairs and undue solicitude for things appertaining to the body. Every form of apostolate necessarily involves some temporal management, and missionary work is no exception. We are not obliged to pay any attention to those who are shocked at seeing a missionary prudently providing for the temporal needs of himself and his mission. We *are* obliged to see to it that this necessary management of affairs does not insensibly turn into greed and avarice, and does not lead us into ways of providing for our needs which are forbidden by ecclesiastical or civil law. Does this happen sometimes? Certainly; but abuse does not invalidate lawful use.

Finally, it is argued that the attempt to retain some of our parishes has involved us in so many and such troublesome lawsuits that we would do better to give them up. This is a very poor argument. Are we to abandon every work we undertake as soon as it leads us into difficulties or arouses opposition? Rather, let us consider whether the work is good in itself, whether it is for the greater glory of God. If it is not, then by all means stop it; if it is, then no amount of persecution should frighten us away from it.

Ought we at any rate to give up our Visayan stations? The reasons in favor of this alternative are: that it seems impossible to support them

financially without doing a certain amount of buying and selling in contravention of canon law; that we seem to have made very little progress in making the people really Christian in spite of the length of time we have been their pastors; that they are too far away to be effectively administered by superiors; that the missionary there is too much alone and has too much time on his hands for his own good; and that they provide too many occasions for sinning against chastity. With regard to the first argument, López shows in some detail, adducing facts and figures, that the Visayan missions can support themselves on the government stipends alone, without engaging in any commercial transactions whatever, even those allowable under the laws, provided the colleges assume the general expenses of the province, such as the support of the provincial and his staff and the sending of procurators to Europe, which they can easily do. To the next three arguments he gives pretty much the same answers as Alcina did on an earlier occasion. As for the last argument, he simply calls attention to the facts given above.

What about giving up the Tagalog parishes? The Jesuits there are certainly much more in the public eye, and hence the scandal of a fall is much greater. Moreover, it cannot be denied that they are fully developed parishes, no different from those served by the secular clergy. Thirdly, they do not even serve as bases for expansion into mission territory. Fourthly, we can do the same amount of good by performing our ministries from our colleges. Finally, if we *must* make a choice between the Tagalog parishes and the Visayan missions, surely it is the Visayan missions that we should retain, as being the more needy and difficult. López's answer to the first argument is that if the scandal is more public, so is the satisfaction given by swift and condign punishment; so that as long as the Society continues its present policy of severity in these matters it need not fear for its good repute. He admits the second argument, but contends that there is much to be gained in retaining these parishes, for they constitute a challenge to the Society to run parishes which shall be models of their kind. And, while they do not serve as bases for pagan missions, they do serve as bases for parish missions, which have been and are immensely fruitful. The fourth argument can be retorted; for, if an equal amount of good can be done from the colleges as from the parishes, surely a double amount of good can be done from both. As for the final argument, he would be the first to concede it; "but," he adds, "whether this will be to the greater glory of God and edification of the neighbor, someone else can judge more objectively who has less love than I have for the poor Visayans."

Thus far Alejo López. His fellow procurator, Jaramillo, was of exactly the opposite persuasion; and when he arrived in Rome, submitted a point-by-point refutation of López's memorial.[7] He begins by laying down certain propositions as fundamental to the whole question and not subject to

dispute. The first is, that not the Society alone but all the religious orders in the Indies recognize the very great dangers to religious observance involved in parish work. The second is, that all the religious orders, including the Society, have accepted the care of parishes only because there was no one else to do so. They did this with extreme reluctance, and on the express condition that they would be relieved of the charge as soon as there are secular priests to take their place. The third is, that the constitutions of the Society expressly forbid accepting parishes as a permanent responsibility, and that the constant practice of its generals is to accept the responsibility temporarily only when forced by circumstances, and only as long as the necessity exists. The fourth is, that the prototype of all Jesuit missionaries, Xavier, never engaged in parish work himself nor allowed his subjects to do so. If these presuppositions are admitted, and they must be, then all that is required is to show that it is now possible to resign our parishes in the Philippines. But this hardly needs demonstration. Not only are there secular priests willing to take over from us, they can hardly wait to do so.

Jaramillo now takes up the principal arguments propounded by López. First: We are doing a great deal of good as parish priests. Reply: We could do a great deal of good as parish priests in Europe, too; why aren't we parish priests in Europe? If we make such good parish priests, we ought to make good bishops; why don't we accept the episcopal office? The reason is clear; these are indeed excellent works, productive of great good, but it does not follow that therefore they are for Jesuits.

Second: Scandalous defections do no harm to the Society as long as they are severely punished. Reply: The Society is not only obliged to punish faults when committed but to prevent them from being committed, and hence to remove its sons from the occasion of committing them. Nor is it an argument to say that we should be willing to expose ourselves to some danger in order to help others; that to do any work for God we must take risks. This particular risk is too great to take; our first duty is not to our neighbor but to ourselves, in the sense that we must first attend to our own salvation before attending to that of others.

Third: Many of our so-called parishes, especially in the Visayas, are not parishes at all but missions. Reply: The principal proof of this assertion is that the Visayan missionary must be continually traveling from place to place in order to attend to the spiritual needs of his scattered flock. There is a great deal of exaggeration in this. On the admission of the Visayan fathers themselves, their people come to town for Mass on Sundays and holydays; that is to say, the people travel, not the missionary. The missionary does have to go out on sick calls; but how often does this happen? Is it not true that they follow the general practice in the Philippines of requiring the people to bring their sick to the church for the last sacraments?

Fourth: There are not enough priests in the Philippines to take our places in the Visayas. Reply: It is at least admitted that there are a sufficient number to provide every eight towns with a priest. That is just about all we can do now in some of the Visayan areas, so that the Visayans will not be much worse off. Besides, why must we always assume that other priests cannot possibly do as much or more work than we can? They have at least as much zeal and energy as we have.

Fifth: If we give up our parishes, the cost of parish missions will be prohibitive. Reply: This holds only for the Visayan parishes where water transportation is necessary; and we rarely give parish missions there anyway for this very reason. As for the Tagalog provinces, there is absolutely no difficulty in our giving parish missions there, even if the parishes are not ours.

If it is absolutely necessary to retain some parishes, then, says Jaramillo, let them be the Tagalog parishes. They are the ones in which we can do the most good. The population is settled, more numerous, and more highly concentrated. Popular missions, our ministry par excellence, are more feasible. The work and the men can be more easily supervised by superiors. The teaching fathers in the college will have an opportunity to engage in ministerial work and to learn a native language. The old and infirm can be sent to the more commodious houses.

Archived with these two memorials are several shorter memoranda on the same question by various fathers of the province.[8] All were opposed to abandoning the parishes and missions, especially those of the Visayas; but none of them considered the important question of what to do about the project of the bishops if the parishes and missions were retained. Doubtless they looked upon it as the general's problem. The decision which González finally arrived at was submitted to the Spanish Crown by Jaramillo in the form of a memorial published in 1691. We have referred to the narrative portion of this memorial earlier. It concludes as follows:

> In view of what has been said . . . The Society is obliged to present a petition to your Majesty . . . The petition concerns its parishes and missions in the Philippines, which the Society of Jesus, with the utmost humility prostrate at your Majesty's royal feet, by command of its general superior Tirso González and through me in the name of the said general and of the province of the Philippines, hereby returns to your Majesty in order that your Majesty may entrust them to others . . . And since by resigning the care and administration of the said parishes and missions . . . the Society will not have the means to support the religious who lack employment in those islands, it petitions your Majesty to issue the necessary orders that some of them may proceed either to China or to the Marianas or to New Spain or to their respective provinces of origin, where they shall be able to serve God and your Majesty without the worries and hindrances which compel them to return the said parishes and missions to your Majesty.

Jaramillo then proceeds to summarize the causes that produced these "worries and hindrances," which he had described in detail in the body of his memorial. The recent proceedings of Archbishop Pardo had made it abundantly clear that the Society in the Philippines possessed no effective means of safeguarding its most essential rights. It could not have recourse to the audiencia against any dispositions of the archbishop by making use of the appeal known as the *recurso de fuerza*, for the archbishop had declared this appeal to be "contrary to the integrity of the faith"; in fact, "a heretical innovation." Nor could the Society appoint a *juez conservador* or judge advocate with legal powers to repel any invasion of its rights, for to do so required the permission of the other bishops, and they did not see fit to grant it. Finally, the transfer of the Jesuit parishes of Cainta and Marikina to others brought home the fact that the Society had no security whatever in the administration of its other parishes and missions, and so would be well advised voluntarily to resign them all.[9]

The king refused to accept this resignation, and the Philippine Jesuits, ordered to remain at their posts, complied. Meanwhile, the other religious orders were having their troubles with Archbishop Pardo. In 1686 and 1687 he notified them that in his view their *omnimoda* faculties had long been abrogated by the Holy See, and hence that they were obliged to submit all parish and mission appointments to the diocesan prelate for approval. This move, and the subsequent agreement of the Philippine bishops to act in concert in the matter of episcopal visitation, served to bring the religious orders together to take common action for the defense of their threatened rights and privileges. Although with the death of Archbishop Pardo in 1689 the project of the bishops seems to have been held in abeyance, it was the prevailing sentiment among the religious that the question would be reopened sooner or later, and so they had better be ready for it. On 5 May 1697, the religious superiors or their accredited representatives met in the convent of the Augustinians and signed an agreement or *concordia*, the principal terms of which are as follows.[10]

First, whenever a papal brief or royal cédula affecting the religious should be presented for their compliance by the ecclesiastical or civil authorities, they would hold one or more conferences on the matter, "in order that all may consider and deliberate upon the manner and form whereby the said dispatches may be put into execution without prejudice to the apostolic privileges granted to our sacred orders and without contravening the royal statutes decreed by his Majesty for the universal governance of the Indies." The decisions taken at these conferences were to be by majority vote, one vote to each religious order, to be cast by its provincial or his delegate. Provision was made to break a deadlock by means of arbiters. The decision voted was to be binding upon all.

Secondly, the same common action would be taken with reference to ordinances of the Philippine hierarchy and civil government affecting religious.

Thirdly, with regard to episcopal visitation, "we are resolved, now and for the future, that in case a diocesan prelate should wish to make a visitation in whole or in part of any parish or mission under our care, or of any religious parish priest or missionary subject to us, all the superiors of the aforesaid provinces must and will consider such a cause to be proper to each and common to all, holding the necessary meeting or meetings to adopt the most efficacious measures to the end that the said diocesan prelate may proceed no further, either in whole or in part, in the intended visitation." If, however, the bishop did proceed, then the signatories of the agreement engaged themselves, now and for the future, to resign all their parishes and missions.

Fourthly, if any religious order resigned a parish or mission, no other religious order would accept the charge of it without the resigning order's consent. The same held good if a parish or mission was taken away from a religious order.

Fifthly, all disputes, past, present, and future, between the signatories of the agreement were to be decided by arbitration.

One good effect of the consciousness of a common cause which led to this concordia was that, shortly before it, the Augustinians and the Jesuits came to an amicable settlement of their outstanding differences. By two cédulas dated 31 March 1694, Charles II had ordered Cainta and Marikina restored to the Society; but instead of simply standing on these decrees, the Jesuit provincial offered to exchange Binangonan in Luzon and Suaraga in Panay for these two parishes. The offer was accepted.[11]

The religious orders were soon given an opportunity to test the efficacy of their concordia. In September 1697 the new archbishop of Manila, Don Diego Camacho y Avila, arrived to take possession of his see. One month after his arrival he announced his intention of making a visitation of all the parishes of his archdiocese, and in spite of the protests of the religious orders, proceeded to do so, starting with the Dominican parish of San Gabriel.[12] The heads of the orders immediately resigned their parishes and notified Governor Cruzat. The archbishop proceeded from San Gabriel to the other suburban parishes on the north bank of the Pasig, replacing the religious with temporary appointments from his diocesan clergy. In less than a week, however, the provincials had withdrawn their men from over a hundred towns of the archdiocese; and since the archbishop had only fifty-three secular priests altogether, he was confronted with the same impossible situation as Archbishop Poblete on an earlier occasion. Two days before Christmas he suspended the visitation, removed his temporary appointees, and restored the parishes to the religious. At the

same time he gave notice to the provincials that he was referring the question to the Holy See.

Shortly thereafter the same provincials who had challenged his right to subject them to visitation were compelled to appear before him as suppliants in another matter. A special Crown commissioner, Don Juan de Sierra y Osorio, had come to the Philippines in 1692 for the purpose of verifying the title deeds of all lands allegedly held by royal grant. The religious orders contended that their lands, being church property, were immune from such inquiry, and refused to present their title deeds. Sierra set them a term for compliance; no one came forward. The term expired at just about this time, whereupon Sierra declared the estates of the orders forfeit to the Crown as having no valid title. This sent the provincials to the archbishop, as the supreme ecclesiastical authority in the colony, to request that their immunities be maintained. It was hardly a propitious time to make such a request, but they apparently trusted that Archbishop Camacho would be sufficiently dispassionate to distinguish between their refusal of his jurisdiction and their need for his protection.

The archbishop did not quite succeed in making this difficult distinction. He declared that none of the estates of the religious orders were covered by ecclesiastical immunity except the endowments of the Poor Clares and the colleges of Santo Tomás and San José; a decision that satisfied no one. The orders appealed to Bishop González of Nueva Cáceres, who had the powers of apostolic delegate, and Sierra directly to the Holy See. Bishop González came to Manila to inquire into the matter. Archbishop Camacho considered this to be unwarranted interference and asked the bishop to return to his diocese. A lively exchange of firm notes between the two prelates resulted in their excommunicating each other. Partisans of one and the other party roamed the streets in bands, put up provocative posters, and engaged in brawls. Wisely, Governor Cruzat intervened. Through his good offices, a meeting between the prelates was arranged, and, after they had absolved each other from censure, Bishop González peaceably returned to his diocese. Meanwhile, Sierra left for Mexico, having been promoted to the bench there. His successor in the royal commission, Don Juan Ozáeta, quietly quashed his order confiscating the estates of the religious orders and notified the provincials that the Crown would be satisfied if they showed him their title deeds informally out of court. This the provincials willingly did, and Ozáeta, having verified them, confirmed the orders in their possession. Thus was this unpleasant affair brought to a satisfactory conclusion.

There remained the thorny question of episcopal visitation. Archbishop Camacho decided to try again. His previous attempt had come to grief because of the solid front presented by the orders. If he could detach one of them from their concordia, all might yet be well. He would try the Jesuits.

He considered himself, and was, a good friend of their general, under whom he had studied theology at the University of Salamanca. If the Jesuits gave in to his claims, the other orders would be placed in a highly embarrassing position, for if they persisted in refusing to submit, he could threaten to divide their parishes between his own clergy and the Jesuits. The attempt failed. Wherever he put in an appearance—at San Pedro Tunasan, at Lian, at Silang—the resident Jesuit politely turned over to him not only the parish or chapel records, but the entire parish or chapel, and left for Manila forthwith. The concordia held; it was not in the Philippines but in Rome that the question was finally to be settled.

In 1698 the orders had sent two procurators to plead their cause at Madrid and Rome: the Dominican Fray Jaime de Mimbela and the Recollect Fray Juan Antonio de San Agustín. The climate at Madrid being extremely favorable to the archbishop, the two procurators decided to stay there and asked a Jesuit at Rome, Juan de Irigoyen, to act for them at the papal curia. From the voluminous correspondence which passed between Irigoyen, Mimbela, and San Agustín[13] we gather that it was decided to brief a lawyer of the curia, Girolamo Meloni, to argue the case of the religious orders before the commission of cardinals appointed by Clement XI. Meloni seems to have conducted the case competently enough; he at least had the foresight to warn Irigoyen that the decision was likely to be adverse. Irigoyen at once sent a hurry call to the two procurators to come and attend to the case personally, but they replied that they did not think it was necessary.

The decision was adverse. On 19 January 1705 the special commission of the Sacred Congregation of the Council issued the following rescript:

> The archbishop of Manila and the other bishops of the Philippine Islands have the right to make a visitation of the religious in what pertains to the pastoral care of souls and the administration of the sacraments; nor may the said religious resign the parishes and missions in question under pain of censure, forfeiture of goods, and other penalties.[14]

The generals of the religious orders, upon being presented with this rescript, declared that they accepted it and would cause their respective subjects to give it prompt and unqualified obedience. When this decision reached the Philippines, however, Archbishop Camacho had already been transferred to the see of Guadalajara.

The significance of the events related in this chapter would seem to be this. As the seventeenth century drew to a close, the Philippine Jesuits became more or less aware that they were approaching a crossroads. Several exasperating lawsuits and disputes had arisen over the possession of some of their parishes. A number of priests and brothers stationed in provincial houses had been guilty of grave immorality; their transgressions came to

the notice of the public, and the prurient inferred a great deal more than the fact. The Visayan missions were so hard up that some of the missionaries had resorted to sending local commodities such as beeswax to Manila in order to obtain needed supplies. This was done in a manner that, rightly or wrongly, was considered by many—even by influential religious of other orders—to be contrary to canon law. All this was deeply disturbing and some of the fathers began to wonder whether it would not be better to give up their parishes and missions, or at least their more developed parishes, and devote themselves to less troublesome ministries. The problem did not appear to be an immediate one until it was posed in concrete and urgent if slightly different terms by the events of Archbishop Pardo's administration and the subsequent decision of the bishops to subject the religious to episcopal visitation. The provincial congregation of 1687, after discussing the question thoroughly, took the unusual but very prudent step of dispatching two procurators to present to the general the two principal opposing views in the province.

The general, González, decided that whatever might be the merits of the arguments proposed by the two procurators, this at least was certain: that the Philippine Jesuits should withdraw altogether from parish and mission work rather than submit to episcopal visitation. This decision was based on González's understanding that that visitation, at least in the form projected by the Philippine bishops, would automatically deprive the superiors of the Society of the free disposal of their subjects which was so much a substantial part of its institute that it could not function without it. It will be recalled that Acquaviva took precisely the same stand. González was not framing a new policy but merely reaffirming an old one, although never before had it come to the point of proposing the alternatives so sharply to the Spanish government.

The policy of the Society coincided with that of the other religious orders, for they were in exactly the same case. This community of interests led to the formation of the concordia, which ought not to be regarded as a conspiracy to defy legitimate authority, but rather as an attempt on the part of the orders to provide themselves with a measure of protection during the long interval between an appeal to Rome or Madrid and the return of a decision.

The decision of the Holy See in this particular case is in many ways an admirable one. It affirmed the right of the diocesan prelate to make a visitation, but it also set very definite limits to it; he was to concern himself only with "what pertains to the pastoral care of souls and the administration of the sacraments." If this was to be the sum and substance of an episcopal visitation, there was no longer any reason why the religious orders should not submit to it. But they had made trial of a weapon, the mass resignation of parishes, which had proved most efficacious; danger-

ously so; they would be sorely tempted to use it again. It was therefore removed. This had the subsidiary effect of rendering nugatory the intramural question among the Philippine Jesuits of whether or not they should voluntarily give up their parishes. For good or ill they had taken their turning at the parting of the ways and must now follow the road to the end.

Chapter Twenty-Two

DOORS OPENING

The Jesuit historian Murillo has left a description of the typical Jesuit parish as it was in the first half of the eighteenth century.[1] The parish consists of a town, or *población*, which is the market, social, and administrative center of several *barrios* or villages (Tagalog *nayon*) of the surrounding countryside. The most important building in the town is the church, invariably of adobe stone, with a bell tower and the parish residence beside it. In front of it is the town square or plaza, at the center of which there is usually a tall wooden cross. Around it are the houses of the townspeople, each with its garden or orchard; some are of wood with adobe foundation walls, the majority of bamboo and nipa. Although Murillo does not mention it, we know from other sources that most towns had their town hall or *casa real*, which was not used for much except as a hostel for travelers, since it was really from the parish residence that the town was administered.

Every morning the school children—the boys are called *escuelas* and the girls *rosarios*—come to Mass. After Mass they hold classes until 10, when they troop back to church at the sound of the bell to pay a visit to the Blessed Sacrament and recite the *Salve Regina* and *Alabado sea el santísimo sacramento del altar*. Then they go in procession to the town cross, chanting the prayers of the catechism, and are there dismissed. They come back to school at 2 in the afternoon, hold classes until 4, and repeat the closing exercises of the morning, except that they recite the rosary during their visit to the Blessed Sacrament. On Saturdays they are joined at Mass and morning prayers by the young men (*baguntaos*) and maidens (*dalagas*) who are not yet of an age to pay tribute. The Mass celebrated on this day is invariably that of the Blessed Virgin. In the afternoon the whole town comes to church for the recitation of the rosary. The mystery corresponding to each decade and the litany of Loretto at the end are chanted by the parish choir. Thursday is the weekly school holiday.

On Sundays the school boys take the parish standard in procession through the principal streets of the town in order to summon the people to Mass. The parish priest celebrates a sung Mass, with choir and orchestra, and preaches a sermon. After Mass the entire congregation recites the prayers of the catechism. This is followed by a question period called *toksohan*, in which those present are examined on the principal truths of the faith and the method of administering baptism in case of necessity.

Before the congregation is dismissed, the *padrón* or list of parishioners is read and absentees noted down. In the afternoon the parish priest holds a catechism class in the church for the children and young people of both sexes, after which he administers baptisms.

Every parish has a men's and a women's sodality. They hold regular meetings and devote themselves to charitable works. The women sodalists make themselves responsible for keeping the church clean and decorating the altar with flowers. The more devout parishioners go to confession and communion on the principal feast days of the year, especially those of the Blessed Virgin and that of their patron saint. It is customary for those who receive communion in the morning to return to church in the afternoon for a visit to the Blessed Sacrament. Another widespread custom is that of praying the rosary at home in the evening, with all the members of the household present; or when starting off on a journey. An increasing number are joining the school children for daily Mass.

Women about to give birth are advised to come in from the barrios to receive the sacraments and to have the baby in town, in order that in case of danger of death they may be promptly attended to. Mothers bring their newly born infants to the Lady altar, usually on a Saturday, to offer them to the Blessed Virgin; and they are churched at the same time. Farmers bring their seed rice to church to be blessed during the planting season, and their first fruits likewise before starting to harvest the crop. Three times a week during Lent the menfolk gather in the church in the evening to take the discipline. Murillo says, however, that this custom was much better kept in the preceding century; in his time it was rapidly falling into disuse or had become a mere formality.

Not so, however, the custom of going on pilgrimages to various shrines in order to pray for special favors or simply to join in the merrymaking of the shrine festival. One of the most popular of these shrines was Antipolo, the home of Our Lady of Peace and Happy Journeys. The devotion of Filipinos to the blessed Mother of God is indeed one of the most marked characteristics of their Catholicism. At this time, and almost to the end of the nineteenth century, Our Lady's beads, worn around the neck, was part of the formal attire of both men and women. Another detail worthy of remark is the omnipresence of music, both instrumental and choral, in their religious life. Prayers and even catechetical formulae were not only recited but chanted. The parish choir and the parish orchestra were indispensable and honored institutions, their members being exempted from tribute and statute labor. Even during the elevation of host and chalice at Mass, it was the custom in some parishes for the congregation to sing a motet. A band played gay tunes at the burial of infants, who were brought to their graves dressed in their baptismal robes and sometimes with tiny wings attached to their shoulders. This is based on the Catholic

belief that children who die without losing their baptismal innocence go straight to heaven, and may therefore be considered, without putting too much of a strain on theology, *angelitos*.

Even before the coming of the Spaniards a definite distinction existed among the Tagalogs between an upper class consisting of the datus, their families and the wellborn (*maharlika*) generally, and the rest of the people free or less-than-free. This class distinction was preserved and to some extent deepened by Spanish rule. The upper class became the *principales* or leading citizens of each parish, through whom, as village headmen (*cabezas de barangay*) or as petty governors of towns (*gobernadorcillos*) the colonial government administered the provinces, collected tribute, requisitioned supplies, and drafted labor for public works. Certain privileges went with these responsibilities, such as exemption from taxation and statute labor, and the acknowledged right to demand certain personal services of their villagers or townsmen (Tagalog *kabansâ*), a right which, as we have seen, was already theirs by customary law. It was not unknown for principales to demand more from their kabansâ than they were entitled to, as Gómez de Espinosa had occasion to note in the seventeenth century; but even apart from such abuses their privileged position gave them numerous opportunities to broaden their lands, part of which they let to tenants for a share of the crop.[2]

It was from this relatively leisured class, not subject to the daily grind of subsistence farming, that the colonial government recruited a rudimentary civil service—amanuenses, clerks, interpreters, and even provincial notaries, who added to their ability to read and write an increasing familiarity with Spanish law and literature. Devotional books composed by the clergy or translated into Tagalog by them from European originals constituted by far the greater portion of the people's ordinary reading matter: indeed, Murillo makes no mention of anything else. However, it is almost certainly to the early eighteenth century that we must trace the beginnings of Filipino literature; that is to say, written (as opposed to oral) pieces composed by Filipinos either in the native languages or Spanish. The matter has not been sufficiently investigated, but the earliest *corridos*—Spanish tales of strange adventure ("ocurridos"?) freely rendered into Tagalog verse—can probably be traced to this period. The same may be said of the Tagalog theater, that engaging mixture of Spanish and native elements so charmingly described by Martínez de Zuñiga at the close of the century.[3]

Although each province had its alcalde mayor, the parish priest provided the link between him and the town officials. He it was who supervised them in the performance of their duties, and he doubtless had a great deal to say about who was to occupy which post. Nevertheless, it should be noted that until the end of the seventeenth century all town officials were elected, usually for a term of one year, by all the householders of the

parish. In 1696 Governor Cruzat ordained that in the provinces of Tondo, Laguna, Bulacan, and Pampanga only the village headmen, to the number of at least twelve, should have the right to vote in the election of a petty governor. This change is made necessary, he says, by the fact that the system of popular elections "has led to the formation of factions among the natives, resulting in lawsuits, disturbances, and secret deals [*negociaciones*]." In the other Tagalog provinces, presumably less sophisticated politically, the old system was retained.[4]

The parish priest received invaluable assistance from the *principalía* of his parish, for it was they who acted as his *fiscales*, supplied bearers or oarsmen when he went on a journey, assigned the young men of the town in rotation to do the parish chores, managed the festivals, and in general set the tone of the community. It was they, too, who collected and managed the funds of the community chest, by which the charitable works of the parish as well as public improvements were financed.[5] On the other hand, they could occasionally be a thorn in his side, as Murillo ruefully observes.

> In almost all the towns there are usually certain individuals who have clerked for the Spaniards in Manila, and there familiarized themselves with pleadings and actions at law. They have no difficulty in persuading the natives to make a thousand false affidavits, for their intimate association with the Spaniards has given them a great fondness for stamped paper. And if the father tries to restrict their activities, a meeting is organized on the instant, and a petition drawn up against the priest is fairly covered with signatures and crosses. . . .
>
> Natives who wish to file a suit against the priest go to one of these quondam clerks, who carefully keeps a number of old dossiers, complaints, and bills of particulars for just such a purpose. The higher the fee, the more outrageous the accusations, which he prepares in much the same way as a purgative, the dosage being increased in the measure that a more complete evacuation is desired. Signatures are affixed to the petition by people who have no idea of what it contains; instead of its being read to them, a convivial glass of wine is drunk instead. The document, covered with flourishes and crosses, is now brought to the appropriate official, to wit, the official who has the least love for the priest; for they are most expert in this. No navigator can tell how the wind blows better than these natives can predict where their petition will be received with approval. And if the official to whom it is presented happens to be of some importance, a great deal of suffering lies in store for the innocent father until the truth is finally revealed.[6]

We might add that the converse was also true; if the natives had justice on their side, they were not entirely destitute of the means to obtain a redress of grievances. Indeed, the character of unrelieved tyranny and oppression given to Spanish rule in the Philippines by historians whose inspiration derives from the Revolution of '96 needs to be drastically revised. To be sure, the tyranny and oppression existed; it would be completely naive to deny it in the face of the repeated affirmations of the

colonial officials themselves. Nevertheless, in fairness to the Spanish administrators we should recognize, first, that they were often aided and abetted in their abusive practices by the native principalía; second, that effective representation and petition were by no means denied to the natives; third, that in the Spanish colonial system clergy and officials, Church and State, provided a mutual check and balance which operated, on the whole, in favor of the subject population; and finally, the very cumbersomeness and inefficiency of Indies administration before the Bourbon reforms of the middle eighteenth century left the people pretty much to their own devices. This last point is well brought out by Crawfurd in his well known *History of the Indian Archipelago*. The compliment he pays the Spaniards is a left-handed one at best; but it is something for an Englishman roundly to affirm that "almost every other country of the [Indian] Archipelago is, at this day, in point of wealth, power, and civilization, in a worse state than when Europeans connected themselves with them three centuries back. The Philippines alone have improved in civilization, wealth, and populousness . . . Upon the whole, they are at present [1820] superior in almost everything to any of the other races."[7]

Superior or not, they were probably happier, on the whole, than the Indonesians under the Dutch "culture system." The idyllic picture painted by Martínez de Zúñiga of Philippine provincial life in the eighteenth century is, we suspect, somewhat touched up; but other contemporary sources suggest that it was not far from the truth.

> The native who works for the fourth part of the year can take his ease during the rest of it in the assurance that the land will supply him with what he needs to support his family in comfort. Remote from the rest of mankind, they live in villages—called *nayon* in their language—where vice seldom takes root, because there is not the opportunity for it. They neither gamble nor get drunk, for the taverns and gaming tables are too far for them to indulge in these excesses at the price of so long a journey. In each *nayon* there are six, eight, or more households. One of the inhabitants, either because of his age, his lineage, or the benefits he has conferred on the rest, is obeyed and respected by all, and preserves the harmony of the community. When they have nothing in particular to do—which is the greater part of the year—they go out of doors and pass the time of day under some shady tree. In a word, theirs is the life of the Old-Testament patriarchs. True enough, they have an alcalde mayor; but if they pay him the tribute, which is no more than five rials and a half, he usually leaves them alone. The abuses which are related of the alcaldes mayores are usually committed against those wealthier and more prominent persons with whom they do business. Each town also has a native as petty governor. This functionary sees to it that everyone performs the body service which they are bound to by statute; but whoever does his one week's stint is not bothered thereafter. The gobernadorcillo settles their disputes in accordance with custom, assisted by two elders who act as his legal advisers. His decisions are generally respected.[8]

A sturdy Augustinian, but no stranger to the ideas of the Enlightenment, Martínez de Zúñiga concludes from this that Spanish rule had added considerably even to the purely temporal felicity of the Filipinos; "I say nothing of the advantages of knowing the true God and being in a position to gain the soul's eternal happiness, for I am writing now not as a missionary but as a philosopher."

The Jesuits in the Tagalog parishes may not have been subjected to the privations of the Visayan fathers, as hard-bitten veterans like Alcina and Alejo López loved to point out, but it should be clear from the parochial activities enumerated by Murillo that theirs were no sinecures either. This is brought home to us by an informal obituary which seems to have survived quite by accident.[9] Neither Murillo nor Delgado mentions Bartolommeo Gavanti, a Ferrarese who volunteered for the Philippines and died at Antipolo in 1729. He was first assigned to the Aeta town of Paynaan, where he learned Tagalog; then to Santa Cruz for two years, where he learned the Fukien dialect; and finally to Cainta for seven years until his death. His death came about in this way. He had gone to Antipolo to help out with confessions before Corpus Christi when a sick call came from Taytay. He called for a horse and set out at once at a gallop. He found the sick man in no particular danger. He was about to return to Antipolo when the alcalde mayor sent word that he wanted to see him at Cainta; so thither he went. Late that afternoon they asked him to come back to Taytay, saying that the sick man was much worse. Again he took to the road, and when he finally returned to Antipolo, it was by riding, dripping with perspiration, through the sudden coolness of the tropic night. He caught pneumonia. After Mass the next morning he took to his bed and sank swiftly. As soon as they heard about it in Cainta, his parishioners rushed over and pressed into his room, weeping, to receive his last blessing. He gave it to them, and then asked them, very gently, to forgive him for any shortcomings of which he might have been guilty. Then he died.

What had endeared him to the people as well as to his fellow Jesuits was that he lived as he died, responding to the demands made upon him to the utter forgetfulness of himself. He also tried to supply for the complete absence of country doctors by answering sick calls not only with pyx and stole but with a medicine kit strapped to his saddle bags. The fact that he is not even mentioned in any of the standard Jesuit annals suggests that his career was not considered in any way exceptional; and in any case the qualities singled out for praise by the manuscript obituary to which we refer give us an idea of the kind of priests he and his brethren tried to be according to their lights.

Another Jesuit who combined medical assistance with his priestly ministrations was Paul Klein, whose manual of household remedies has already been mentioned. When he was appointed rector of the College of

Cavite in the first years of the century, his first care was to try to induce the port authority to do something about the appalling living conditions of the shipyard workers. The Annual Letter of 1706 tells us that

> . . . they are drafted from the four provinces of Tondo, Bai [Laguna], Bulacan, and Pampanga. His Majesty has enacted laws for the relief of these vassals of his, but since the execution of such laws lies with men who are more concerned with their private gain, the poor natives are most grievously oppressed on the pretext that the royal service requires it. While the skimpy rations given them are scarcely sufficient to sustain life, the work demanded of them is heavier than bodies more robust than those of these natives can bear. They are turned out for work at three o'clock in the morning and are given no rest until almost eleven. They are back to work at one and do not stop until ten at night. There is neither Sunday nor holyday for these wretches, and their quarters are some ruined sheds open on all sides to wind and weather. They sleep on the hard ground, and matters are not mended by their natural lack of foresight, for they bring with them not so much as a piece of matting on which to lie. Little food and hard work cause many of them to fall sick, and then they have nowhere to go but this college for the good of their souls and the relief of their suffering. It is sometimes necessary to keep them in the college for some time to get them back on their feet again. Father Rector has asked the commandant to make somewhat better provision for the sick, and a sort of shelter has been put up as a result, but it is so unsuitable that they cannot be treated there without danger. So we have found it more convenient to keep the sick here at home to undergo treatment and be taken care of.[10]

Klein's tireless charity found scope not only in the navy yard but in the town. A priest of the college came back from a sick call to report that it was a woman with several children and no visible means of support. This was apparently standard procedure, for Klein then went himself, diagnosed the woman's illness, and left her medicines and money to buy some food. But at his next visit, Klein found out that instead of buying food for herself she had bought it for her children. At this, the annual letter says, "he felt obliged to send her two chickens and money every day to take care of everybody, mother and children both," until she got well.[11]

One would expect the college to go into receivership after a few months under so prodigal a rector; but as often happens, God saw to it that the money spent on his poor came back with interest. By investing shrewdly in a row of shops which he rented to some Chinese, Klein was able to increase the college revenues appreciably. He used the added income on a project which had needed doing badly for many years, but the college never seemed to have the funds for it. This was the construction of a sea wall to protect the foundations of the church and house, which were constantly being eaten away by the sea. He even had enough money left to finish the church tower, and with the help of a Dutch lay brother, Jakob Xavier, to put a

clock on top of it. Thereafter Klein's clock regulated the activities of port and town.[12]

This is the Philippine Jesuits' great age of church building, finishing, and decorating. The following list, compiled from available sources, of the dates of completion of the stone churches in the residences and mission indicated, is almost certainly incomplete:

Guiuan, Samar	*ca.* 1700
Borongan, Samar	before 1710
Indang, Cavite	1710
Santa Cruz, Marinduque	*ca.* 1714
Dagami, Leyte	*ca.* 1714
Tanauan, Leyte	*ca.* 1714
Umauas, Samar	*ca.* 1714
Santa Cruz, Manila	*ca.* 1715
Cainta, Rizal	*ca.* 1715
San Mateo, Rizal	*ca.* 1715
Abuyog, Leyte	1718
Loboc, Bohol	1734
Catbalogan, Samar	1760

The new residence at San Miguel was completed around 1703 and that at Cebu in 1730. The lay brother Manuel Rodríguez who painted the church and residence of the College of Manila was active in the Tagalog and Visayan churches until 1714.[13]

One of Alejo López's arguments against retaining the Tagalog parishes in preference to the Visayan missions was that the Tagalog parishes could not because of their location serve as bases for further missionary expansion into unevangelized territory. This was not quite exact. True, Luzon was the most settled and Christianized of all the islands; but there were still considerable areas of it, principally the uplands of the Cordillera and Sierra Madre ranges, which awaited the missionary pioneer. The Annual Letter of 1716 records requests from Camarines to come to the aid of the Franciscans there, and from the governor to send Jesuits to evangelize the Igorots of the present Mountain Province. Lack of men compelled the provincials to refuse them.[14] In 1750, however, two German Jesuits penetrated further into the Sierra Madre jungles than any European ever had before. The exploration, partly ethnological and partly missionary, was jointly sponsored by the Society and the colonial government. They encountered some wandering tribes either of Aetas or proto-Malays whose way of life they were able to observe; but they reported that to get them to settle down long enough to missionize them would be a very difficult and costly proposition.[15] However, had there been time, the Tagalog

Jesuits would probably have done something in this direction, using Antipolo as a base and continuing the work begun by Almerici over a century earlier.

The Visayan Jesuits carried on in the eighteenth century pretty much as they were doing when we last saw them. The Christian communities continued to grow not only with the natural increase of population but with the conversion of the remaining tribesmen in the hills. During the four years from 1711 to 1714, for instance, besides the 8,546 infant baptisms registered in all the missions, about 15,000 or 16,000 adult converts were added to the four Leyte residences alone.[16] New mission stations were established on the smaller islands which had had to be bypassed earlier. In 1719 the Cebu fathers were taking care not only of Mandaue but also of Poro Island, between Cebu and Leyte. Moreover, the grammar school which had been discontinued early in the seventeenth century was now reopened with a priest in charge, while a lay brother continued to teach in the elementary school which had never been closed.[17]

But the mission which made the greatest advance at this time was that of Negros. It was also that which gave the greatest promise for further progress; like the Sierra Madre range in Luzon, Negros was one of the doors that now began to open to Jesuit enterprise.[18] Negros Island is divided by a mountainous spine into an eastern and western part, which are today two provinces: Negros Oriental and Occidental. Not many years after the foundation of the Cebu residence, the fathers there went on temporary missions to eastern Negros; its permanent administration, however, remained with the diocesan clergy. It was the uncultivated field of western Negros that the Society claimed for its own, the Iloilo Jesuits establishing their first mission station there (at Ilog) in the 1630's. Lack of men allowed them to do little more than hang grimly on to this beachhead until the flow of volunteer missionaries from the northern European provinces in the eighteenth century enabled them to develop it.

In 1730 or thereabouts Ilog was entrusted to Bernhard Schmitz, a German Jesuit born in Holland who entered the province of the Lower Rhine in 1708 and came to the Philippines in 1721. In 1732 he was joined by two Czechs from the old Jesuit province of Bohemia: Anton Malinsky of Prague and Lorenz John of Leitmeritz. Instead of trying to cover a lot of territory, they concentrated their efforts on the southern part of the island. Schmitz took Ilog and nearby Himamaylan; John, Kabankalan and Buyonan; and Malinsky, Kauayan (formerly Isiu), Inayauan, and Sipalai. When the Spaniards first came to the Philippines the pygmy Negritos still had pretty much the run of the island, and this suggested its name; but by the eighteenth century the ethnic pattern had become that of the rest of the Visayas, with Visayan settlers occupying the lowlands and the Negritos the mountainous country inland.

The task of the Negros Jesuits, then, was essentially that of the founders of the Leyte mission a century earlier: to convert the lowland people wherever they were; then, slowly, to organize them into larger communities; and, finally, to establish contact with the elusive Negrito tribes and persuade them to settle within reach of the older centers, as a preliminary to their conversion. This process did not, of course, take place in clear-cut, successive stages, but overlapped a great deal, the fathers going into the brush to missionize the Negritos whenever they had the leisure or the opportunity. The methods they used differed in no essential respect from those of the Spanish Jesuits. Neither did the hardships and obstacles they encountered. However, there is not a word of complaint or discouragement in their chatty letters home. They fared, Malinsky said, as their people did; well if the harvest was abundant, badly if there was a Sulu raid or if the locusts ate up the crop. They ate what their people ate, boiled rice without salt or spices, drank river water like everyone else, and lived in a nipa house. Nevertheless they kept well, thanks be to God; and, John adds, "One would hardly have believed that a European can keep healthy without bread, without wine and without beer; but I do, in great joy and contentment, without feeling the lack of these things."

Negros Occidental today is the great sugar province of the Philippines; but sugar-cane cultivation did not begin until later. At this time the people grew rice as a subsistence crop and cacao and tobacco as export crops. They seem to have been as sober and industrious then as they are now, and would have been more prosperous were it not for the marauding Sulus, against whom they were too unwarlike to put up effective resistance. The Jesuits stayed with them in all their vicissitudes, fleeing inland with them when the raiders struck, and staying to nurse them during the recurrent smallpox epidemics. No wonder Malinsky could say that his Christians kept watch over him day and night as though their lives depended upon it. As soon as they saw him go out his door, they leaped out of their huts, armed, to accompany him wherever he went.

> I always have near me as my bodyguard one of three men whom the king [datu] has given me as a pledge of his loyalty and as a kind of acknowledgment of my services. His duty is to protect me, my house, and my church, and to keep watch at night. At stated times he rings a bell to make known that he is very much alive and flourishing. In my travels from one place to another one of the headmen of the village from which I set out keeps me company, along with others, marching to the sound of drum and *agun*. The *agun* is a kind of bell, in shape like a brass basin, but with a silvery sound. As we draw nigh the next village they announce my arrival with a great din on the drum and *agun* and with joyous shouts. At this the people of the village range themselves along the path, receive me from my escort, lead me to the chapel and then to my hut. I spend the next few days or weeks with them, according to the circumstances.[19]

The Philippine Jesuits began to agitate for the restoration of the Zamboanga garrison and mission almost as soon as the threat of Koxinga's invasion had been lifted. In fact, some of the fathers, Sanvítores among them, regretted the fact that the mission had ever been closed at all.[20] They felt that the Zamboanga missionaries could have stayed and carried on their work even after the garrison had been withdrawn. Superiors, however, thought that the risk to their lives was too great, and consistently followed the policy of making the re-establishment of the Mindanao missions contingent on the return of Spanish power. They got little encouragement from the Manila authorities. The project was too expensive; and few officers relished the idea of being stationed so far from the capital and so close to the enemy. The Jesuits took their petition to Madrid. The same reasons, they argued, that had justified the original establishment of Zamboanga still held good. It was the only way to prevent or at least to cut down the destructive Moro raids on the Visayas, and it served as an excellent outpost from which to keep watch over the movements of the Dutch in Indonesia. They succeeded in convincing the queen regent, who issued a cédula in 1666 ordering the restoration of Zamboanga.[21]

Nothing happened, for inconvenient royal orders of this sort could under the Hapsburgs be pigeonholed by an unwilling viceroy or governor with the formula "obedezco pero no cumplo;" that is to say, the command would indubitably be complied with if it were feasible, but since it was not feasible, it was still inwardly obeyed, though outwardly unrealized. The orders were repeated in 1672, but again the governor "obeyed without carrying out."[22] Manila apparently hoped that without extending its military frontier to Zamboanga it could settle the problem of the raids on the Visayas by negotiation. The Moslem Malays were, after all, interested in Spanish trade, and this could be used as a bargaining counter. An embassy sent by the Sultan of Brunei in 1679 to negotiate a trade agreement provided an opportunity to discuss the fixing of a clear boundary between Brunei and the Philippines. The conversations begun at Manila were concluded in Brunei by a Spanish mission headed by Juan Morales de Valenzuela. By the terms of the Valenzuela treaty the sultan not only ceded the island of Palawan to Spain, but paid indemnity for the damage done by the Camucon pirates who had their bases there.[23]

This signal diplomatic victory made the possibility of a restoration of the Zamboanga garrison more remote than ever, and the opinion gained ground among the Philippine Jesuits that they should "go it alone." In 1690 Alejo López proposed to Father General González that the Philippine province be permitted to re-establish the Zamboanga mission without military protection or financial support from the colonial government. He pleaded that the Lutaus there, who had embraced Christianity through the preaching of the Jesuits, were doing their best to keep the faith

in spite of strong Moslem pressure, but could not be expected to hold out indefinitely without priests. The danger that missionaries might be killed existed but was grossly exaggerated. Many of the Sulus were disposed to be friendly to the fathers, as López himself could testify from his own experience as a missionary in Dapitan. As for financing the enterprise, the province could easily do it if every house contributed according to its means—a point which López proceeds to prove by examining the financial status of each of the principal establishments. Finally, there was no problem as regards personnel. Once the project was approved, there would be more than enough volunteers not only for a mission at Zamboanga but for a second one at Siao.[24]

This proposal did not find favor at Rome, for the existing policy of working for a simultaneous restoration of garrison and mission was continued. In 1712 Philip V issued a third cédula to this effect, and this one succeeded in being not only obeyed but executed. In 1718 an expedition consisting of 140 Spanish troops set sail from Manila for Zamboanga, and in February of the following year the standard of Spain floated once more over the fort of our Lady of Pilar.[25]

During the fifty years and more of Spain's withdrawal from the south the Magindanaus and Sulus had made considerable advances in the direction of centralized government. The semifeudal confederacies with which Acuña and even Corcuera had to deal were now full-fledged sultanates with a fiscal administration, courts of justice, and a bureaucracy of a rudimentary kind. Internal disturbances were still possible and frequently occurred, but they were not so much contests between barons of roughly equal power as struggles for a throne admittedly supreme. The two sultans were beginning to treat each other as heads of state, and a quarrel between them in 1704 assumed the aspect of an "international" incident, which had to be submitted to arbitration if war was to be avoided. Curiously enough, it was to Manila that they applied for an arbiter. Governor Zabálburu sent a Jesuit priest, Antonio de Borja, who must have had the same irenic charm as Alejandro López, for his decision was accepted by both sides and saved the peace.[26]

Even the Dutch and the English treated the sultan of Magindanau with respect. In 1689 the Dutch East India Company sent Lieutenant Meindert de Roi with an offer of 2,000 rix dollars for permission to build a fort on Magindanau territory. The offer was refused. In 1694 the English made a similar request and were likewise refused. That these rebuffs were not followed up by threats or the actual use of force suggests a recognition by these powers that they were dealing not with a tribal aggregate but with a stable and functioning government. Doubtless the fact that the sultan was well provided with artillery was also a consideration; they could not fail to notice that "the king's house is built on two hundred large piles, with

a grand stair, and fifteen or sixteen guns regularly mounted on carriages."[27]

Certain aspects of Magindanau government are described for us by the English naval officer Forrest. He visited the Great River in 1775, but his remarks are probably applicable to the early part of the century also.

> The form of government at Magindanao is somewhat upon the feudal system, and is in some feature monarchical. Next to the Sultan is Rajah Moodo [Mura: the "young" raja], his successor elect. Then Mutusingwood, the superintendent of polity, and captain Laut, overseer of the Sultan's little navy, are both named by the Sultan. There are also six manteries, or judges named by the Sultan, and six amba Rajah, or asserters of the rights of the people: their office is hereditary to the eldest son . . .
>
> The vassals of the Sultan and of others who possess great estates are called kanakan. Those vassals are sometimes Mahometans, though mostly Harafooras [Tirurays?] . . . They pay a boiss, or land tax. A Harafoora family pays ten battels of paly (rough rice), forty lb. each; three of rice, about sixty lb.; one fowl, one bunch of plantains, thirty roots called clody, or St. Helena yam, and fifty heads of Indian corn. I give this of one instance of the utmost that is ever paid. . . .
>
> The boiss is not collected in fruits of the earth only. A tax gatherer who arrived at Coto Intang when I was there gave me the following list of what he had brought from some of Rajah Moodo's crown lands, being levied on perhaps 500 families, 2870 battels of paly of 40 lb. each; 490 Spanish dollars; 160 kangans [a piece of coarse Chinese cloth, 6 yards by 19 inches, used as a unit of currency]; 6 tayls of gold, equal to 30 l.; 160 malons, cloth made of the plantain tree, three yards long and one broad.[28]

Although there must have been several Jesuits working in the Zamboanga area in the first years after the restoration of the fort, we know the name of only two of them. One was Franz Maerckl, originally of the province of Bohemia, who came to the Philippines in 1729 and worked for several years as a missionary in Zamboanga until he was assigned to teach canon law at the College of Manila. The other was Bernhard Schmitz, who spent eight years in Mindanao before being appointed superior of the Negros mission. In a letter written at La Caldera in 1730, he informs his correspondent that he had recently assumed the duties of rector of the College of Zamboanga. All of the fathers were kept extremely busy, for the harvest was great. It was not unusual for him to administer as many as 50 baptisms in one day and to solemnize as many marriages. The previous year, during the month of September alone, he had 272 baptisms. We gather from the rest of the letter that in the division of labor he had reserved to himself the most laborious of all, that of resuming Juan del Campo's work among the Subanuns of the west coast. José Calvo, procurator of the Philippine province, reporting to Philip V in 1742, stated that there were 6,000 Christians in the Zamboanga mission when it was closed in 1662. By 1740 the restored mission had half that number.[29]

The re-establishment of Zamboanga did not appreciably reduce either the number or the destructiveness of the Moro raids. In 1721, the Christian settlements on the northern coast of Mindanao were ravaged; in 1723, Negros; and in 1730, a powerful Sulu armada harried the Visayas for almost a whole year. In 1734 the Sulus made a daring attempt to take the Zamboanga fort itself, and were repulsed only through the prompt action of a sentinel. Thus the opponents of the project had ample material to support their contention that it should be abandoned as a useless drain on the colony's treasury and manpower. It could reasonably be argued that the garrison was too small and too ill equipped to be effective. Its naval patrol, for instance, consisted of only two joangas; what could these do against armadas of thirty or forty cruisers? Such explanations, however, made little impression on the Manila merchants, who could only see that any addition to the Zamboanga item in the colonial budget meant a corresponding reduction of the available funds for the maintenance of the Acapulco trade.[30]

Efforts to supplement military weakness by treaty arrangements similar to those negotiated by Alejandro López in the seventeenth century were likewise unsuccessful. A dynastic struggle among the Magindanaus in the 1730's seemed to provide an excellent opportunity. Spanish troops were dispatched to support the "legitimate" aspirant to the throne, in the hope that if successful he would ratify the desired treaty. Unfortunately, they backed the wrong man. The negotiations with Jolo were more promising. With a Chinese trader named Ki Kuan acting as intermediary, a treaty was actually signed in 1725 establishing trade relations, providing for the ransom and exchange of captives, and ceding the island of Basilan to Spain. It did not, however, put an end to the raids.[31]

Hopes of a more effective peace were entertained with the accession of Alimuddin to the Sulu sultanate in 1735. This young man gave promise of being an enlightened monarch. He had received a more liberal education than his predecessors, had traveled widely in Southeast Asia, spoke both Arabic and Straits Malay fluently, and was well versed in Koranic law. According to Saleeby, he did actually introduce a number of salutary reforms. He revised the Sulu code of laws and improved the administration of justice. He tried to restore the religion of his people to its primitive purity by causing parts of the Koran and Arabic legal and religious texts to be translated into the Sulu language. He stimulated trade by issuing a standard coinage. He organized a standing army and navy to keep law and order, and especially to suppress private piratical expeditions. So Saleeby tells us; but he fails to mention whether these forces were used for any other object, as for instance an "official" raid.[32]

At any rate, he showed himself much more cordial to Spanish overtures, and in 1737 he signed an improved version of the Ki Kuan treaty. This

version, which we may call the Valdés Tamón treaty after the incumbent Spanish governor, added to the earlier convention two important articles. It was to be an offensive-defensive alliance, and the signatories made themselves responsible for infractions of the peace by their respective subjects. This second provision nullified the excuse so often used by sultans in the past, that the raids on Spanish territory were carried out by obstreperous subjects without their knowledge and consent.[33] What should be noted, however, is the absence from the Valdés Tamón treaty of one of the principal articles of the López treaty of 1646, namely, the freedom granted to Spanish missionaries of preaching and to Moslem Sulus of embracing the Christian religion.

Partly in order to remedy this defect, and partly also to neutralize the efforts of the anti-Zamboanga lobby at Madrid, the Philippine Jesuits sent José Calvo as special procurator to Spain. His representations resulted in Philip V's addressing a letter to Alimuddin, dated 12 July 1744, and another, couched in similar terms and of identical date, to Pakir Maulana Kamza of Magindanau, who had in the meantime subscribed to the Valdés Tamón treaty. He informed the two sultans that he had ratified the treaty, and expressed the hope that besides preserving the peace it might help them and their subjects to realize that the Catholic faith was the only true religion, and thus be led to embrace it. To this end he exhorted them to admit the Jesuits of the Zamboanga mission into their dominions and allow them to preach freely therein under their protection.[34]

Jesuits were charged with delivering the royal letters; Francisco Zassi to Sultan Kamza and Sebastián Ignacio de Arcada to Sultan Alimuddin. Kamza's reply (23 May 1747) was that he was glad to grant the king's request, and both his council and his subjects approved of it. As for giving the missionaries protection, "it is hardly necessary to remind me of this, as I have always done so. All your subjects who come to my kingdom receive my full protection." Alimuddin's reply (12 September 1747) was even more encouraging. He said that he had already informed the Jesuits that they could come to establish churches and residences in his kingdom, and that his subjects were perfectly free to listen to their teachings and embrace their faith if they so desired. In fact, his own son, Prince Israel, was already under instruction by one of the fathers. He had been moved to do this, he said, not only by the royal request, but

> . . . because of the edifying and virtuous life of these priests, who are regarded by all in our kingdom as dedicated men. Many of my subjects who have journeyed on their lawful occasions to the islands of your Majesty have been so graciously and hospitably received by these fathers that they cannot but show them the most respectful consideration. Your Majesty invites me to look upon the Catholic religion as the only true one. I shall endeavor to follow this suggestion insofar as God gives me the time, the grace, and the light for it.[35]

Saleeby states that Alimuddin scrupulously observed the treaty of 1737, and there is no reason to doubt this statement. In fact, he seems to have antagonized some of his datus for that reason, and in 1742 he was obliged to go to Zamboanga to seek the aid of the Spaniards in putting down a rebellion led by Datu Sabdulla. He returned to Jolo with a Spanish force which helped to prevent any actual outbreak, but the discontented datus drew up a list of grievances and asked the governor of Zamboanga to arbitrate between them and the sultan. The governor, after hearing both sides, decided in favor of Alimuddin.[36]

During the several sojourns at Zamboanga which Alimuddin had to make in connection with this affair, he became quite friendly with the Jesuits, particularly with Father Josef Wilhelm, formerly of the province of the Lower Rhine, who was assigned to Zamboanga in 1745.[37] It was Alimuddin's custom to drop in at the college and engage the fathers in conversation on matters pertaining to religion. They used Visayan, which Alimuddin could speak, as a common language. Wilhelm relates that one day, after one of the fathers had endeavored to explain to the sultan the first commandment of the Christian law, the latter made a comment which they did not quite expect: "Our very nature directs us to love our friends and do them good," he said. "Is it, then, necessary for us to be commanded to love God, from whom we have received so many benefits?"

Clearly, Alimuddin needed to be told about Original Sin and its effects. The better to be able to do this, Wilhelm set himself to learn not only the Malay of the Sulus but Arabic, which was their learned language. The Dominican commissary of the Inquisition at Manila, a very good friend of his, sent him a thoughtful present in the form of an Arabic Book of Hours lavishly printed at Rome in 1725. Alimuddin was very much taken with it. Turning the pages, he came upon the creed, and asked Wilhelm if that was a summary of the Christian belief. Wilhelm said yes, and made a few comments upon it. Recalling the incident in a letter to his brother Johann, Wilhelm wrote that he could not be sure what impression it had made on the sultan, who said nothing, though he was quite thoughtful and abstracted at the dinner to which the fathers invited him afterward. Later many of the datus in Alimuddin's entourage came to inspect the book of hours, and one of his panditas asked permission to copy out sections of it. Young Israel, the crown prince, also began to frequent the college.

True to his word, Alimuddin joined the Spaniards in a joint expedition against the Camucones of Borneo, taking with him a considerable force of 8,000 men. The expedition was highly successful and returned in triumph to Zamboanga after destroying 17 Camucon villages and 200 of their raiding cruisers. Israel, who was not above pulling a Jesuit's leg, told Wilhelm tall tales about the enemy which the latter gravely transmitted

to his brother, such as, that the Camucones ate human flesh and were provided by the Creator with tails.

When Governor Gaspar de la Torre died in 1745, the acting governorship was taken by the senior bishop of the colony, Bishop Juan de Arechederra of Nueva Segovia. This was in accordance with a new policy which came into effect in the eighteenth century, and it was fortunate for the Zamboanga Jesuits, for the new governor-bishop took a great deal of interest in their work and was enthusiastic about pushing forward the conversion of the Moros. Upon receiving the encouraging replies of the two sultans to Philip V's letter, he decided that no time was to be lost in founding a mission at Magindanau and another at Jolo. He personally selected the Jesuits who were to found these missions: Juan Moreno and Sebastián Ignacio de Arcada for Magindanau (or, more precisely, Tamontaka, further up the Great River), and Juan Anglés and Josef Wilhelm for Jolo. To be held in reserve as replacements at Zamboanga were Patricio del Barrio and Ignacio Málaga. Accompanying each group was a staff of servants and artisans who had had some military training, and so could serve as some protection for the missionaries in case of need.

The bishop's instructions to the missionaries are interesting.[38] They were to persuade the sultans and their principal datus to send some of their sons to Manila "in order that they become familiar with Spanish culture, learn the Spanish language, and acquire other accomplishments suitable to their age." The sultans themselves should be invited to pay Manila a visit. The fact should be stressed that the sole aim of the Crown in sending the missionaries was the spread of Christianity, "not to obtain any temporal advantage whatsoever." Let the missionaries closely supervise their respective staffs, in order to avoid friction between them and the local population. This should be called to the attention of the sultans, "that the colonial government, relying on their royal word to protect the lives of the missionary fathers, has refrained from sending with them the usual escort of one or two companies of Spanish troops, and has no intention of establishing any forts." In all other things not covered by these instructions, the fathers were to act according to their good judgment, regularly reporting to Manila on their progress and needs.

Since Arcada and Wilhelm were already in Zamboanga, Moreno, Anglés, Del Barrio, and Málaga left Manila in October 1747 to join them. Or so they hoped; but when they reached Zamboanga on 21 January of the following year, both were dead. An epidemic had broken out and they perished taking care of the plague-stricken. It was Málaga, therefore, who accompanied Moreno to Magindanau. Kamza had been succeeded by Muhammad Amiruddin, who was having difficulty establishing his right to rule against Muhammad Malinug. He therefore sent word to the governor of Zamboanga that he could guarantee the safety of the fathers only

if they came with troops to help him against Malinug. Two armed galleys were detached from the Zamboanga squadron, and with these Moreno and Málaga gained Amiruddin's side at Matiling. They were coolly received, for Amiruddin had begun to realize that he could not carry Magindanau with him as long as he showed himself friendly to the Spaniards and favorable to Christianity. Ugly rumors reached Zamboanga that Amiruddin planned to surprise the Spaniards and take possession of the galleys. When Moreno confirmed these rumors, the governor recalled both the missionaries and the galleys to Zamboanga. They had been at Magindanau only six months.[39]

It was also being brought home to Alimuddin that he had gone too fast and too far in the matter of admitting Christian missionaries to Jolo. A powerful faction led by his brother Bantilan openly announced that they would never allow it. Nevertheless, Alimuddin sent for Anglés and Del Barrio to come. He did not dare give them a house and church in the town, as originally planned, but kept them in his palace and seldom permitted them to leave it. They were safer thus, but they also could do little of the work they came to do. Meanwhile the attitude of Bantilan and his faction became more and more threatening. What exactly Alimuddin's reaction was, what passed between him and Bantilan, what his real intentions were in the actions that he subsequently took, are far from clear. The Spaniards accused him of double-dealing, for reasons we shall presently see; but it is difficult to be certain of this. We can only be certain of the facts, which were as follows.[40]

As we saw earlier, Prince Israel had been taking instructions as a catechumen, with his father's consent, first under Wilhelm and then under the Jolo missionaries. Alimuddin now sent him away from Jolo and Anglés subsequently learned that he had been placed under the tutelage of Moslem panditas. Next, Alimuddin suddenly announced his intention of going to see the governor at Manila. He confided to the Jesuits that it was to obtain military and financial aid to meet the situation at Jolo, which he described as extremely critical. Some color is given to this by the fact that he left at night, without his usual state, almost as a fugitive; but Anglés noted that among those who carried torches to light him to his ship were Bantilan and other datus of his faction.

As soon as Alimuddin had left, Bantilan took over the government without opposition. He did not send away the Jesuits, but he gave them no opportunities for accomplishing their mission, and as sultan he took the regnal name of Mu'izzuddin—Defender of the Faith. Anglés and Del Barrio took the hint and retired to Zamboanga.

Alimuddin landed at Cavite on 2 January 1749 and was given a royal reception by Governor Arechederra. But instead of immediately getting down to what he said was the main purpose of his visit, he told Arechederra,

to the great joy of that good prelate, that he wanted to be instructed in the Christian faith preparatory to receiving baptism. This task was assigned to Father Fulcher Spilimberg and other Jesuits of the College of Manila. After almost a year of instruction, the royal catechumen formally asked to be baptized (1 December 1749). Spilimberg, asked by Governor Arechederra for his opinion, replied rather unexpectedly that he did not think the sultan had the proper dispositions to receive the sacrament. The governor-bishop refused to believe this, anxious as he was to see a Christian on the throne of Jolo, and appointed a board of experts to examine Alimuddin. After the examination all but the two Jesuits on the board recommended that he be baptized. Arechederra now requested the newly arrived archbishop of Manila, Pedro Martínez de Arizala, to confer the sacrament; but this prelate, after consulting Spilimberg, refused. Whereupon the governor took the bold step of sending Alimuddin to Pangasinan, which was within the limits of his own diocese of Nueva Segovia, and having him baptized there (28 April 1750). Alimuddin returned to Manila as Fernando I of Jolo, and the city gave itself to four days of fireworks, bullfights, masques, and other festivities.

Three months later, in July, the new governor of the Philippines, Don Francisco José de Obando, Marquis of Obando, arrived. He decided to send an expedition with Alimuddin to help him recover Jolo from Bantilan. Whether he demanded as a condition that Alimuddin swear allegiance to the Spanish Crown as a vassal, is not certain. The fact is that he did, and afterward, either at Obando's request or dictation, wrote to Amiruddin of Magindanau exhorting him to do likewise. At least, this was what the Spanish text of his letter said. As for the Arabic text, it occurred to Governor Zacarías of Zamboanga to have it translated before transmitting it. It reproduced the Spanish version, but at the end were the following words: "I wish to give you to understand . . . that I write under pressure, being under foreign dominion, and am compelled to obey whatever they tell me to do and to say whatever they tell me to say." Was this proof of treasonable intent? Zacarías thought so.

Alimuddin and his retinue left for Zamboanga on 19 May 1751 aboard the frigate *San Fernando*. Convoying it were the seven warships of the Jolo expedition under the command of Field Marshal Ramón Abad. The Jesuit chaplain on the *San Fernando* reported later that Alimuddin's conduct during the voyage was hardly that of a Christian. He consented to be present at Mass, but did not kneel at the consecration nor show any signs that he recognized God in the sacrament. Arrived at Zamboanga, he waited there while Abad proceeded with his warships to Jolo. After a token resistance Bantilan retired inland and the datus he left in command capitulated. It was agreed that Datu Asin would go to Zamboanga with a suitable retinue to escort Alimuddin back to his kingdom.

Meanwhile, Zacarías' suspicions had been thoroughly aroused by Alimuddin's Arabic letter and by what he considered other indications of duplicity. The sultan, as an honored guest, had the free run of the fort and stayed within it with a considerable entourage; and now still another entourage was coming from Jolo to join him. As soon as Datu Asin and his followers had landed, he had their boats searched. It was as he had feared; they were loaded with arms and ammunition. He immediately placed Alimuddin and all his household under arrest. A search of their quarters turned up more arms, and among Alimuddin's personal effects were found a number of Islamic books and writings. That same year the man who had left Manila a king returned to it a prisoner.

War without quarter was declared against the Sulus. Abad, who had retired to Zamboanga, now returned to reduce Jolo in earnest. He landed after a seventy-two-hour bombardment, but was flung back on his ships in disorder. The Sulus retaliated with heavy raids on the Visayas, making 1753 in Saleeby's judgment the bloodiest year in the whole history of the Moro wars. The following year the people of Lanao began to muster against the re-established fort of Iligan. The garrison, reinforced by troops from Bohol and Manila, marched against them and won a number of resounding victories. Commanding one of the columns was the Jesuit chaplain of Iligan, Father José Ducós. But Jolo remained unconquered, and the Sulus, growing bolder every year, struck further and further north until they were steering their raiding cruisers right into Manila Bay. The Manila government attempted to negotiate with Bantilan, even releasing Alimuddin's daughter, the Lady Fatimah, for this purpose; but to no avail.

When the English occupied Manila in 1762, they found Alimuddin still a prisoner in Fort Santiago. They set him free and restored him, apparently with Bantilan's consent, to the sultanate; in return for which he ceded to them his territories in North Borneo and the adjacent islands of Tulayan and Balambangan. Thus the door of the Moslem south which had begun to swing open so promisingly to the Jesuits at Zamboanga swung shut again. But at least they were now at its threshold, and there they intended to remain until, with God's help, they could find a key to fit its complicated lock.[41]

Still another field of missionary enterprise which beckoned to the Philippine Jesuits at this time was that of the Palaus, or what are now the Caroline and Marshall Islands.[42] The people of this archipelago, sailing from one atoll to another in their primitive dugouts, would occasionally be blown off their course either to the Marianas or to the eastern Visayan islands. In 1671, for instance, the galleon *Buen Socorro* picked up some of them, half dead from hunger and exposure, near Capul. In 1696 a larger group of twenty-nine men, women, and children were cast ashore at Guiuan, Samar, and nursed back to health by the people of that Jesuit mission. By arranging

sea shells on a table they were able to convey to the missionaries the number and disposition of their island homes. Paul Klein, that man of wide-ranging interests, embodied all the information he could extract from them regarding these "new Philippines" in a report to the general. In 1697 the Dutch clockmaker of Cavite, Brother Jakob Xavier, set out in a sailing galley to search for them, but was wrecked on the coast of Samar.

However, the interest of the province was aroused, and in 1705 its procurator, Andrés Serrano, obtained Pope Clement XI's endorsement of a plan to open a mission there.[43] With this, and with cédulas from Philip V ordering the Manila authorities to give him all the assistance he required, he returned to the Philippines in 1708. Some months before his arrival three Jesuit priests and a lay brother had set out on their own in a galley provided by Governor Zabálburu, but were forced to return without finding anything. Another expedition set out in 1709 and was again unsuccessful. Finally, in 1710, Serrano himself set out with two ships and four Jesuit companions. His vessel foundered near Palapag, and he and his shipmate, Father José de Bobadilla, had to remain behind. Father Jacques Duberon, Father Joseph Cortil, and Brother Etienne Baudin went ahead in the other vessel, a small dispatch boat. On 30 November 1710, St. Andrew's day, they sighted Sonsorol, one of the Palaus. The two priests landed with some of the crew, but left Baudin behind, much to his disgust. Before they could get back aboard a stiff offshore breeze swept the ship out of sight of the island. Despite all the efforts of those left on board, they could not get back to retrieve their companions, but were compelled to run before the wind until they landed, on 3 January 1711, at Lianga on the eastern coast of Mindanao.

In October of that same year the pertinacious Serrano tried again—for the last time. His ship ran into a storm off Marinduque and sank with all hands except one seaman who staggered ashore at Tayabas. With Serrano died his two companions: Father Ignacio Crespo and Brother Etienne Baudin.

It was now decided to make Guam the base for further efforts to reach the Palaus and re-establish contact with Duberon and Cortil. Expeditions sent out in 1712 and 1722 were unsuccessful. Finally, Fathers Juan Antonio Cantova and Victor Walter, setting out from Guam in a small ship with a crew of twenty, were able to make the island of Mogmog on 2 March 1731. There they found out that Duberon, Cortil, and their companions had been clubbed to death by the natives of Sonsorol. Undaunted by this, Cantova stayed to begin the mission while Walter sailed back for more men and supplies. Walter returned in 1733 with Brother Lewin Schrevel and a crew of forty-four. They discovered the island of Falalep. The inhabitants fled at their approach, but they were able to capture one of them. Up and down that empty waste of waters they

sailed without catching sight of Mogmog, until they were forced at last to set their course for Manila, where they cast anchor on 14 July. When the man they had captured on Falalep was finally able to make himself understood, he told them what had happened to Cantova. Some of the Mogmog people enticed him with a summons to baptize a dying man. When he came, they told him that "he was always preaching to them against their ancient customs and law, and teaching them a different law and customs, which they had no mind to follow, being content with that of their ancestors." For this reason they had decided to kill him; which they did. Then they killed the rest of the expedition, fourteen persons in all, sparing only a Tagalog named Domingo Lizardo, whom the *tamol* or chief of the island had adopted as his own son.

Here again a door had opened. Blood was the price of admission; but in the Marianas and the Philippines, other Jesuits waited on wind and weather for the opportunity to set up once more the crosses that had fallen with Cantova, Cortil, and Duberon.

Chapter Twenty-Three

A DOOR IS CLOSED

During the last ten years of the seventeenth century and the first five or so of the eighteenth no Jesuits joined the Philippine province from Europe. This was partly because of the doubt which existed during this period as to whether the province could, or should, retain its parishes and missions. True, the Crown had not accepted the resignation of them which the general, Tirso González, had made in 1691; but immediately thereafter came the controversy between Archbishop Camacho and the religious orders, which was not definitely settled by the Holy See until 1705. The principal reason, however, was the lack of men under which the Spanish provinces continued to labor, with the result that the Jesuit missions in the Spanish Indies became even more dependent in the eighteenth century than in the seventeenth on volunteers from other European provinces. As has been shown, most of the volunteers for the Philippines came from the Hapsburg dominions in northern Italy and Central Europe. But, when the accession of the Bourbon Philip V in 1700 brought about the War of the Spanish Succession, this source was cut off until the restoration of peace in 1714.

Thus, with only Mexico to depend on for replacements, the Philippine province declined steadily in number, until in 1706 there were only 26 left in the community of the College of Manila: 13 priests, 2 scholastics, and 11 lay brothers. However, the procurators dispatched by the provincial congregations of 1701 and 1706 were able to send back a number of expeditions, and in 1713 the total membership of the province stood at 145, of whom 101 were priests, 7 scholastics, and 37 lay brothers. As may be seen in Table 9, it rose in subsequent years to 165, and even 172, for with the end of the war the Spanish government once again permitted non-Spanish Jesuits (except Italians from the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan) to volunteer for the Indies.[1]

We may say, in general, that a very high degree of harmony was maintained among the various nationalities that composed the Philippine province during the eighteenth century. The preceding chapter showed Spaniard and German, German and Czech, Frenchman and Italian working closely and effectively together at various enterprises. Nor was there any appreciable distinction made in selecting men for the more important and responsible posts. Fink and Maerckl succeeded Murillo Velarde in the

Table 9. Number of Members of the Philippine Province in the Eighteenth Century

Year	Priests	Scholastics	Brothers	Novices	Total
1713	101	7	37	?[a]	145
1719	110	7	35	13	165
1725	114	11	32	?[a]	157
1737	122	14	36	?[a]	172
1768	116	2	29	1	148

a. It is not certain whether or not the novices were being computed with the scholastics and brothers, as was sometimes done in earlier catalogues.

Sources: Annual Letters, ARSI *Phil.* 8.

chair of canon law; Serrano succeeded Klein as rector of San José. Of the ten rectors present at the provincial congregation of 1724, three were Italians; of the twenty-eight fathers present, thirteen were non-Spaniards. Between 1703 and 1768 the province was administered by one French, three German-Austrian, and three Italian provincials.

There was friction, naturally. The general was kept informed of it in great detail by a young Italian named Bartolommeo Lugo, who was, we suspect, somewhat deficient in a sense of humor.[2] When his expedition arrived in the Philippines, all were made to turn in the books and other equipment they brought from their respective provinces in order that they might be more equitably distributed. This was most unfair, says Lugo, for the non-Spaniards were simply loaded with all kinds of things, whereas the Spaniards had hardly anything at all to contribute. Again, when he was assigned to the College of Cavite, it was a sore trial for him to come to the recreation after meals, for his three Spanish companions teased him unmercifully. One of them who had been to Rome, kept making disparaging remarks about Italian cooking, while the others poked fun at the vile Spanish of Father Antonio Tuccio, even though he had been twice provincial and was now dead, having died in the odor of sanctity. At the renovations of vows, the non-Spaniards were always being tagged with certain defects, such as that of "seeking one's own comfort." And what do they consider comfort? Why, simply trying to be neat and to keep one's room in order—*compostezza et agiustatezza di camera*! One day, nine or ten of the fathers were in the barber shop of the College of Manila having their beards trimmed, Lugo among them, when one of the Spaniards present had the incredible gall to affirm that Italians were inclined to sensuality; and if you don't believe it, he said, look at the kind of books they write! Everyone laughed at this, and Lugo had great difficulty in restraining himself from giving them all a piece of his mind. However, he says

virtuously, silence was supposed to be kept in the barber shop, so he held his peace.

Remarks of this sort were undoubtedly faults, all the more inexcusable as they are explicitly forbidden in the Jesuit rules of conduct; still, the general and his assistants probably realized that Lugo had somewhat magnified the malice behind them. What gave them greater concern were certain more serious defects to which Lugo also called attention. One was that the provincial and the rector of the College of Manila were apparently served a different, and better meal than the rest of the community. At least, Lugo says, they seemed to have chicken much more frequently. This may conceivably have been for reasons of health; but, if not, then it was a violation of that common life which Saint Ignatius wanted the superiors of the Society to share with their subjects. Again, there was a noticeable lack of enthusiasm for the Marianas mission among some of the younger fathers, and a certain amount of maneuvering went on to avoid being sent there. The ministries of the college church, such as preaching and the hearing of confessions, were not being attended to as well as they used to. There was even opposition, when Tuccio was provincial, to such a characteristically Jesuit apostolate as the giving of lay retreats. The chapels in some of the outlying mission stations in the Visayas were reportedly being allowed to go to rack and ruin. In some places the fathers dealt too harshly with the people; in others, too familiarly. Certain rubrics of the Mass and other liturgical functions were not being kept, either through ignorance or carelessness. But most serious of all, scholastics were being put to study philosophy without having completed their juniorate. Lugo even mentions the case of five novices who were considered as having had their noviceship during the voyage from Mexico and were then assigned to the first year of philosophy without having any juniorate whatever. And then there was the lay brother who was sent to help take care of one of the estates while still a novice. Superiors, worried by a rapidly dwindling personnel, doubtless felt justified in taking these short-cuts; but they were dangerous short-cuts nevertheless. Lugo felt that a visitor was needed to put a stop to these irregularities and reorganize the affairs of the province after a thorough inspection.

Some of these observations are confirmed by other reports. In the memorial of his visitation of the College of Manila which the provincial, José de Velasco, drew up in 1705, he noted that the doors of the college church were being closed earlier than they used to be, thus turning away many people who would otherwise have come to confession. He ordered the former practice to be restored. Some of the missals in the sacristy lacked the more recently approved Masses, while in others they were inserted helter-skelter, so that it was no easy task to find them. Let the father prefect of the church take the trouble to look through all the

missals and remedy this defect. Many books were missing from the provincial's library and from that of the college; let them be returned, and returned to the right shelf and section, for there was great disorder in this respect. Also, there was some remissness in keeping the libraries up to date. The provincial's library was supposed to have a complete collection of all the books in the native languages published either by Jesuits or others; this should be attended to, "even if it should be necessary to buy such books."[3] Schmitz, in one of his letters, deplores the low estate to which the study of Latin had fallen in the province.[4] *Exsulat enim hic latinitas*, he said; "some are admitted to the Society who cannot even decline a noun, and anyone who can translate Thomas à Kempis is considered ready for philosophy; which, incidentally is taught here in Spanish, while the textbook to which our theologians have recourse most often is a Spanish translation of Busembaum [a Jesuit moralist]." Schmitz wrote this in 1730, after he had been away from Manila eight years. Matters improved considerably during his absence, for in 1721 Father General Tamburini sent a visitor to the Philippines.

The visitor was Juan Antonio de Oviedo, a criollo of Santa Fé de Bogotá. He had had considerable administrative experience as rector of three separate colleges in Mexico, secretary to the provincial there, and procurator of the province. A sharp-eyed biographer describes him as

> . . . above average in height, heavy-set, big-boned, and muscular. His complexion was choleric, fiery and resolute. There was an air of distinction about his baldness, for the little hair he had left was iron-grey and his skull was extremely hard [*durissimo*]. His countenance was full-faced and grave; his eyebrows, thick and overhanging; his eyes, small and bloodshot; his nose big, with mouth in proportion; his hands thick, sinewy, and powerful; his bearing active and alert.[5]

A thoroughly formidable person; or at least, as our biographer notes, he looked formidable until he spoke; and then it became apparent that here was a strong but very gentle priest. One of his first acts after receiving his appointment as visitor was to approach a wealthy friend of his, the Marquis of Villapuente, and obtain from him a gift of 5,000 pesos for the mission of Bohol, which needed it badly. He set sail from Acapulco on 10 March 1723, his companion being a young priest whose name must by now be familiar to those who have taken the trouble to glance at the notes to this narrative: Pedro Murillo Velarde. They spent a month in the Marianas and on 30 June arrived in Manila, where they were welcomed by the scholars of San José with orations—Latin ones, *pace* Schmitz—and a play in which the principal characters were Francis Xavier, Idolatry, Glory of God, and Society of Jesus, while a wit playing the part of a donado provided comic relief.

After spending some time in the College of Manila, the visitor spent

seven months touring the Visayan missions and discussing problems and policies at a general conference of the missionaries which he held at Carigara. He did as much for the Tagalog parishes and missions upon his return to Luzon, and on 14 May 1724 published the ordinances of his visitation. Unfortunately, I have been unable to find these ordinances. All that we know for certain is that he suppressed the category of donados, ordaining that those who performed domestic service in Jesuit establishments should either be lay brothers or paid employees. He also abolished the last vestige of any practice which might be interpreted as engaging in trade.[6]

It is regrettable that we have so little definite information regarding the results of Oviedo's visitation. However, we may reasonably suppose that he introduced whatever reforms were needed in the religious and academic life of the College of Manila, for the practices and procedures in force in that institution thirty years later suggest a much more vigorous spiritual life and educational standards far more demanding than those which, if we are to believe Lugo and Schmitz, existed earlier in the century. But before we take up the *Costumbres del Colegio de nuestro Padre San Ignacio de Manila* of 1752, it might be well to give the reader some idea of the physical plant of the college as it was in the eighteenth century.[7]

As mentioned earlier, the general plan of the main building was that of a quadrilateral with an inner patio open to the sky. Around this patio was a paved corridor, separated from it by a low wall and pillars. Opening on the corridor were the classrooms of theology, canon law, civil law, philosophy, and grammar; the *aula general* or assembly hall in which public disputations and other academic functions were held; the offices of the province and college procurators; and two establishments which deserve a closer look: the pharmacy and the printing press.

We do not know the exact date when the printing press was founded, but it was certainly in operation during the eighteenth century. Murillo proudly makes the claim that it produced work "as neat as any in Spain, and often with misprints less gross and more tolerable." After examining some of its extant publications, such as Murillo's own history and his deservedly famous map of the Philippines, we can confidently endorse the claim. The master printer and engraver in Murillo's time was a Filipino, Nicolás de la Cruz Bagay, about whom nothing, unfortunately, has survived except the silent testimony of his work that he was a skilled and conscientious craftsman.

We do not know either when exactly the college pharmacy was started, but we do know who started it—the very capable and very kind Brother Georg Josef Kamel.[8] Brother Kamel was born in 1661, a native of the city of Brunn in what is now Czechoslovakia. He entered the Society in 1682 and came to the Philippines in 1688. He had studied pharmacy before

becoming a Jesuit, and his superiors, realizing the value of such a skill, assigned him to the College of Manila and gave him every opportunity to develop and use it for the benefit not only of the community but of the colony. As Murillo tells us, the pharmacy which he established in the college

> . . . turned out to be of a great service to the whole neighborhood of Manila and to all the islands, because of the supply and variety of remedies it offered for every kind of illness. The citizens began to come to him with great confidence, and much more so when they saw his great ability. It happened occasionally that someone committed a slip of the pen, or that the *curanderos* [practitioners without professional training]—of whom there are plenty here without science or art—prescribed a bigger dose than the case required. At such times the brother would alter the prescription, reducing it to the proper dosage, with very good results . . . The doors of the pharmacy were always wide open to the poor, toward whom the brother always exercised the most generous charity. He not only gave them various medicines but administered these medicines himself and cured their ills and ailments . . . During an epidemic which broke out in those days, the care which he lavished on the sick was extraordinary. He saw Christ in his patients and gave himself to their service with such alacrity that anyone could see it was God who was the moving force of his ministrations. Nor did he limit his charity to those nearby in Manila or its environs. He sent medicines and drugs even to the natives and poor people of the Visayan islands, for whom he always had a special affection, for in their case charity was exercised with greater disinterestedness.[9]

All this must have kept Brother Kamel very busy; indeed, we know that in 1705 the rector of the college, with the unanimous approval of his consultors, gave him three lay assistants, one as an apprentice in the pharmacy itself and the other two to help take care "of the garden which Brother has planted, consisting entirely of rare and medicinal herbs." Nevertheless, he found the time to make botanical, entomological, and zoological observations which won him an international reputation. He corresponded with botanists in Batavia, Madras, and London, sending them meticulous descriptions and drawings of Philippine plants. Having got in touch with the English zoologist John Ray, he wrote a Philippine supplement to the latter's *Historia plantarum*. It was divided into three books, the first and third of which were published entire by Ray himself, and the second piecemeal by his colleague James Petiver. The drawings which he sent to illustrate his notes have not, however, been published; about 300 of them are preserved in the British Museum and the Jesuit archives at Louvain.

Brother Kamel seems to have been the first to call the attention of European pharmacologists to the Saint Ignatius bean (*strychnos Ignatii* Berg.), one of the plants from which strychnine is derived. The "bean" is really the seed of a vine known to the Visayans as *igasud*, and probably got its Spanish name from the Jesuits of Catbalogan, where it was common. Post-Linnaean botanists are sometimes inclined to look down upon Brother

Kamel as an amateurish and inaccurate observer, but this is in part the fate of all pioneers, and in part a consequence of the fact that only his published notes, not his drawings, are generally available as a basis for judgment. His contemporaries, who had access both to his notes and his drawings, had a great admiration for him; and the great Linné himself thought it eminently fitting to name an oriental flower, *thea japonica*, after this humble Jesuit savant. Today, everyone is familiar with the camellia, but few remember after whom it was named.

But to return to my description of the college building. Part of the inner patio was devoted to Brother Kamel's plots of medicinal herbs; the rest of it was a rose garden. Two stairways, one on the north wing and the other on the south wing of the house, led to the first story; a third staircase led from the lobby at the northeast corner to the choir loft of the church. The western and northern section of the first story was occupied by the community recreation room, which thus had windows overlooking the bay on one side and the city on the other. The view from the bay side was usually a lively one, for there, as Murillo tells us, one could watch "all the galleons, dispatch boats, galleys, junks, and vessels of every rig imaginable coming in from or sailing out to America, China, Coromandel, Batavia, and other ports of the East, and the provinces of these islands." The departure of the Acapulco ship must have been a particularly stirring sight. Schurz reconstructs it from the documents as follows:

> On the day when the galleon cleared from Cavite the final ceremonies and official formalities were performed. From her anchorage under the headland of Cavite she was brought up the bay as close to the walled city as her draught allowed. Here the governor consigned the ship's papers and the royal ensign to her officers and delivered over the galleon to her commander. From the church of Santo Tomás a procession of chanting friars carried the effigy of the Virgin Patroness of the galleon along the walls and then to a salvo of seven guns delivered it on board. Prayers were offered up in all the churches of Manila for a happy voyage, while the archbishop blessed the galleon from the ramparts as her sails filled and she moved heavily away toward Mariveles and the open sea.[10]

The walls of the recreation room, as well as those of the corridor outside, were decorated with portraits, maps, and landscapes, many of them the work of the gifted Brother Rodríguez. Next door to the recreation room was the college library, of which Murillo says that "it has not its like in the islands, either in the number or the quality of its books." Besides which, in many of the fathers' living rooms, there were "considerable collections." No wonder Father Provincial Velasco did not find as many books as he thought the library possessed! On the same floor was the community dining room, the domestic chapel, the infirmary with a smaller chapel for the convenience of the sick, and an entire wing reserved

for the laymen and clerics who came to make closed retreats. In this connection Murillo mentions the fact that the Brothers of Saint John of God, who had charge of the hospital of the Misericordia, regularly make their annual retreat in the college in two groups under Jesuit direction.

On the second story were living rooms and probably also the section reserved to the novices. There was a third story before the earthquake of 1645, but this had been torn down and replaced by an *azotea*. East of the college building and contiguous with it was the college church, running parallel to Calle Real and with a paved plaza in front of it. West of the college building, that is, between it and the city wall, was a garden and orchard, at the far end of which were the quarters of the college servants. Besides living rooms, they had a chapel of their own and a hall for their sodality. In the garden were seven wells which supplied the house with water; one of them was potable. South of the college building and church, on the next block, was the College of San José. The street now called Calle San José, which runs at right angles to Calle Real, originally separated the two blocks until it was closed to traffic. Thus, for all practical purposes, the two colleges and the church occupied a single compound. Where exactly in this compound the elementary school was located is not clear, though it was probably in the same block as San José. The architectural style of this complex building was baroque—insofar as it could be said to have any style at all. The French astronomer Le Gentil, who damns it with faint praise, prefers to call it "rustic."

> The College of Saint Ignatius [he says] is a fairly presentable edifice. Despite its shortcomings, it is without a doubt the best and most correctly constructed in Manila. The exterior of the church, which stands on Calle Real, presents a rustic type of architecture fairly well conceived. The main doors, on the other hand, are frightful, belonging to no recognized order and all out of proportion. The interior of the church is quite intelligently planned, although the main altar does not come up to the rest of the building, for all that it is overloaded with gilt. It is as much in poor taste as the portals.[11]

The Custom Book of 1752[12] gives us the order of time in which the Jesuits of the college performed their principal community duties. It may be summarized as follows:

	A.M.
4:00	Rise
4:30	Meditation
5:30	Mass
10:15	Examen
10:30	Dinner, recreation
12:00	End of recreation

P.M.

7:00	Litanies
7:15	Supper, recreation
8:30	Points
8:45	Examen
9:00	Retire

Breakfast was presumably taken immediately after Mass. The two "examens" refer to the examination of conscience enjoined by Saint Ignatius. "Points" is the preparation of the matter for the next morning's meditation, usually divided into a number of considerations or "points." After breakfast in the morning and after the noon recreation, the priests and lay brothers went to the several duties, for which, being diverse, no special order of time was prescribed. This was not the case, however, with the novices, the junior scholastics (that is, those studying grammar and humanities), and the fathers in their third probation (tertians). Their schedules, outside of the times when they followed the rest of the community, were as follows:

NOVICES

6:00	Reflection on the meditation. Make up bed; put room in order.
6:30	Breakfast
7:00	Private devotions
7:30	Conference by novice master
8:00	Review of conference
8:15	Manual work in the refectory and kitchen
10:00	Free time
1:15	Spiritual reading
2:00	Manual work
2:15	Memory lesson
3:00	Penmanship
3:30	Little Office of Our Lady
4:00	Manual work
4:30	Rosary
5:00	Walk in garden
5:30	Spiritual reading
6:00	Free time
6:15	Meditation
6:45	Reflection

JUNIORS

6:00	Reflection, etc. (as novices)
6:30	Breakfast
6:45	Private study
8:00	Class
9:00	Review of class matter
9:30	Private study
10:00	Free time
1:30	Spiritual reading
2:00	Rosary
2:30	Private study
3:30	Class
4:30	Review of class matter
5:00	Walk in garden
5:30	Extra reading under professor's direction
6:00	Free time

TERTIANS

5:30	Reflection on meditation. Little Hours.
6:15	Mass
7:15	Breakfast. Make bed; put room in order.
7:45	Conference by tertian director
8:15	Scripture study
8:45	Free time
9:00	Study of Institute of the Society
10:00	Free time
2:00	Vespers and compline
2:30	Rosary
3:00	Matins and lauds
3:45	Study of the Spiritual Exercises
5:00	Walk in garden
5:45	Spiritual reading
6:15	Meditation
6:45	Reflection

The "little hours" are those of the breviary; they, as well as the other hours indicated—vespers and compline, matins and lauds—were recited by the tertian fathers at the same time, but privately. It will be noted that novices and tertians made an extra half hour of mental prayer in the afternoon. The scholastics in philosophy and theology had an hour or so of private study before the morning and afternoon classes in these faculties.

To these we now turn. The daily class schedule according to the custom book of 1752 was as follows:

THEOLOGY

8:00	Moral theology or canon law
8:45	Recess
9:00	Dogmatic theology
10:00	Recess
3:00	Dogmatic theology
4:00	Recess
4:15	*Conferencias* or cases of conscience
5:00	Recess

ARTS

8:00	Lecture
9:00	Recess
9:15	Recitation; exercises
10:00	Recess
3:00	Lecture
4:00	Recess
4:15	*Conferencias*
5:00	Recess

Since no textbooks were used, the first part of each lecture period consisted in the professor's dictating the lesson while the student took notes. The rest of the period was devoted to explaining or expanding the more difficult points. During the recess those who wished could go out to the corridor for a breath of air, but the professor was to remain at his desk to answer any questions the students might have, leaving only when the next class was ready to begin.

The custom book does not elaborate on the conferencias scheduled for the last period in the afternoon. It does say, however, that on Tuesdays the period was devoted to the discussion of a practical moral case, or "case of conscience," in the theological curriculum. All the priests of the community were obliged to join the theology students for this discussion. The case was posted one or two days in advance, and several students or priests were told off to look up the opinion of some recognized authority. The period began with a brief review of the case discussed the previous Tuesday. This was followed by a statement of the case under discussion. Then those assigned presented the solutions of the authorities they had consulted, one after the other. Finally, the *Padre Resultor*, the priest appointed to solve the case, explained and defended his solution.

We also learn that it was during this period of conferencias that the candidates for the Bachelor of Theology degree fulfilled one of the degree requirements. This was a series of specimen lectures during which the candidate, after giving a brief exposition of some assigned topic, was subjected to questioning by three other students designated as objectors. We can only guess at what other forms the conferencia might have taken. The Professor of Moral Theology and the Professor of Canon Law were supposed to take charge of it by turns, which suggests that they did not lecture but merely presided over a class conducted by the students themselves, either as a review or as a discussion period. It would also be the appropriate time, both in the philosophical and the theological curriculum, for short lecture series or seminars in what we would call special or auxiliary disciplines.

The second morning period in the arts curriculum was apparently devoted to various forms of student activity, such as individual recitations, informal disputations, and quizzes, whereby the professor could make sure that his lectures were assimilated. It is, in fact, surprising how much time this plan of studies gave to classs exercises not only in the lower grades of grammar but even in the university disciplines. At practically every turn we find the student giving an account of what he has learned, or whether he has really learned it.

The philosophical or arts curriculum as prescribed by the *Ratio Studiorum* of 1599 took three years. Completion by the student of the humanities curriculum (one year of Poetry and one of Rhetoric) was a prerequisite. The first-year subjects were Logic and Introduction to Physics, with the professor basing his lectures on Aristotle's logical treatises. The second-year subjects were Cosmology, Physics, Psychology, and Mathematics. Aristotle's *Physics*, *De Coelo*, and *De Generatione* (Book I) were the texts on which the lectures were based. Mathematics was studied from Euclid. The third-year subjects were Psychology, Metaphysics, and Moral Philosophy, expounded from Aristotle's *De Generatione* (Book II), *De Anima*, *Metaphysics*, and *Ethics*.

The theological curriculum took four years, with courses in Dogmatic Theology, Moral Theology, Sacred Scripture, and Hebrew. In the Moral Theology course a weekly discussion of practical moral cases was prescribed. Canon Law was treated in this course before it was taught as a separate subject. The *Sentences* of Peter Lombard and the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas Aquinas formed the basis of the course in Dogmatic Theology.

Moral Theology and Canon Law were two-year courses. The Custom Book implies that they were taught by separate professors; early in the seventeenth century, however, there seems to have been only one professor for both. There were two professors of Dogmatic Theology. The professor

who lectured in the morning was said to occupy the chair of prime; the one who lectured in the afternoon, the chair of vespers. Since these two courses ran for four years, and since no separate course in Sacred Scripture is indicated, it must have been in one or the other of these courses that the subject was covered. There was never more than one class of theologians and one class of philosophers in any one year. The beginning student merely joined the cycle as given.

Formal disputations in philosophy and theology were held every month. These took place on Saturdays from 3 to 5 in the afternoon. A defendant was appointed to explain and prove a thesis against two or more objectors. Objections and replies had to be framed in the rigorous syllogistic form developed by the medieval schools. At least once a year a public disputation or "act" in philosophy was held, and another in theology. Invitations were issued for these disputations and the theses to be defended were printed and distributed in advance. Anyone in the audience could dispute with the defendant after the appointed objectors were finished. We have already mentioned the "grand act," in which an exceptionally capable student was appointed to defend against all comers a list of theses covering the entire field of philosophy and theology. A grand act was usually scheduled to coincide with the provincial congregations, which brought Jesuits from every part of the province to Manila every five or six years.

The custom book of 1752 specifies the degree requirements of the college. A student became eligible for the degree of bachelor of arts after one and a half years of course work in the faculty of arts. He was required to pass an oral examination before three examiners, each of whom would cover three areas or topics. The first examiner covered terms, propositions and oppositions, and syllogisms. The second covered predicables, predicaments, and the matter of Aristotle's *Prior and Posterior Analytics*. The third examiner covered physics, the matter of Aristotle's *De Generatione*, and the definition of the soul.

Completion of the philosophical curriculum (three years) was required for eligibility for the licentiate in arts; in addition to this the candidate seems to have been expected to spend a year in preparation for his examination, although the Custom Book is somewhat obscure on this point. The first degree requirement was a *repetición*, that is, the delivery of a prepared lecture on a text of Aristotle selected by the candidate himself. This was to be done in the presence of the rector of the college and the professors and students of the faculty of arts. It was to last one full hour by the hourglass, after which the candidate was to answer a number of questions proposed by the students, with no subsumptions allowed. The second degree requirement was a *lección*, that is, a quasi-extempore lecture on a subject assigned to the candidate. The procedure was as follows. At the end of the repetición the Aristotelian corpus was opened before the rector

at three places at random. Of the questions treated in the pages that fell open, the candidate selected one, and was then given forty hours in which to prepare a dissertation on it, to be delivered before the same audience and for the same length of time. At the end of the hour he was to answer three or four arguments, that is, questions with subsumptions, or "lines," proposed by the professors of the faculty. After this ordeal the faculty cast a secret vote, and if it was one of approval the candidate was awarded his license to teach on the spot. The licentiate in arts could obtain his master's degree at any time thereafter by presenting a minor act (*actillo*) or a philosophical question treated with a measure of originality. After a brief exposition of the question he was to answer arguments proposed first by the rector of San José, then by a master of arts, and lastly by a student.

The requirements for the bachelor's degree in theology were two years of course work and three specimen lectures given during the afternoon conferencias, as described above. After two more years of course work the bachelor was permitted to try for his licentiate. As in philosophy he was first asked to give a repetición. This was to be the exposition of a scriptural text in such a way that its dogmatic implications were made clear. At the conclusion of the lecture the dogmatic sense of the text was to be framed scholastically in the form of theses. Three arguments by student objectors were to be answered without subsumptions. Note that this is the same directive as that given by the custom book relative to the philosophical repetición; it is not clear whether the intention was to save time, or to prescribe that the candidate's replies were to be definitive, that is, admit of no subsumptions.

Next came the quodlibetal disputation. The candidate posted twelve theses which he was prepared to defend against any student in the faculty. Six of these theses were in scholastic and six in positive theology. During the morning session of the disputation three student objectors asked the candidates to explain and prove one of the six scholastic theses, after which each presented his "line" of argument. The same procedure was followed in the afternoon session, with three other students attacking one of the positive theses. At the end of the session the three points for the lección were chosen at random in the presence of the rector, in the same way as in the faculty of arts, except that this time the selection was made from the first three books of the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard. The same term of forty hours was given to the candidate to prepare, but instead of one lección, he was required to give two: one of an hour's duration on one of the three points and the other of three quarters of an hour on another. He was then subjected to questioning by four doctors of the faculty, after which his fate was decided by secret ballot. The doctorate of theology was obtained in the same manner as the master's degree in arts—by presentation of a minor

act on a *cuestión curiosa*, that is, one in which the candidate's ability for original thought could be examined.

In 1717 Philip V founded three professorships of law in Manila: one of canon law, another of civil law, and a third of Roman law. The purpose of this foundation was to provide the colony with qualified attorneys, because up to that time much of the pleading and legal work had been conducted by "men ignorant of the law, who not only had not taken any course in jurisprudence, but lacked even a nodding acquaintance with grammar." Indeed, some of these so-called lawyers, solicitors, and legal advisers were mestizos, native Filipinos, and even Negroes. Because of this lack of trained men, priests were sometimes forced to take briefs and appear in court.

The three professorships were independent of the two existing colleges of Manila and Santo Tomás, and constituted a third institution under the supervision of the audiencia. The first professors were sent specially from Spain and given a salary of 1,000 pesos a year each. Their lecture halls occupied one of the most commodious buildings of the city. There was only one drawback. They had no students. In 1725 the three professors had not managed to train a single graduate to succeed them. In view of this the audiencia attached the professorships to the College of Manila, requesting the Jesuits to provide the professors. Pedro Murillo Velarde was appointed professor of both canon and civil law.

The College of Santo Tomás protested this action of the audiencia and proposed to the king that the professorships should be abolished. The fact that after eight years and the expenditure of 100,000 pesos they had not produced even one jurist was clear proof of their utter uselessness. As a consequence of this proposal the king ordered the foundation abolished. However, the audiencia, suspending the execution of the order, represented that with the professorships incorporated with the College of Manila, the desired results were being obtained. By that time, the Jesuits had been able to separate the two chairs of canon and civil law and provide a professor for each. While Murillo continued to teach canon law, a lay graduate of the college, Don Domingo Neyra, who had offered his services free of charge, occupied the chair of civil law. The authorities of the College of Manila added their representations to those of the audiencia, suggesting that all would be well if the king were to establish similar professorships in the College of Santo Tomás.

Both these proposals were adopted. On 23 October 1733 Philip V issued a cédula directing that the two professorships in the College of Manila should be maintained and two similar chairs should be established at Santo Tomás. A salary of 400 pesos a year was to be attached to the two civil law professorships. Some years later, Pope Clement XII authorized both institutions to grant degrees in law.[13] The custom book of 1752 does not

give the degree requirements for canon or civil law. It may be that since these courses were taken under regius professorships, it was the audiencia that prescribed the requirements. However, Murillo himself informs us that several public disputations on canonical subjects were held in his time: one on betrothals and marriages, another on ecclesiastical court procedure, a third on wills, and a fourth on contracts.[14] Later on, Murillo expanded his lectures into a treatise, *Cursus iuris canonici hispani et indici*, which was published at Madrid in 1743. It was re-edited at least twice: Madrid, 1763, and Madrid, 1791, both editions in two volumes. He also published a short, popular treatise on how to draw up a will, *Práctica de testamentos*, which went into numerous editions. The one I have examined is the second, Mexico, 1765.

Murillo was, like Klein, a man of many parts. He was not only a canonist and historian, but a cartographer of some distinction. His interest in the subject must have been well known in Manila, for, when a royal order came in 1733 calling for a map of the Philippines which would incorporate the latest available information, it was to him that Governor Valdés Tamón entrusted the project. The completed map was engraved the following year in the college printing press by Nicolás de la Cruz Bagay. Up to the end of the eighteenth century it was the standard map referred to in admiralty proceedings, and later cartographers reproduced it with only minor changes and often without acknowledgment. For this reason copies of it are now quite rare. There is one in the Bioliothèque Nationale, Paris, and another in the Library of Congress in Washington.

It was undoubtedly Murillo's interest in scientific studies which led him to suggest that there was no particular point in having two chairs of civil law in Manila. The Philippines would be better served, he said, if one of them were converted into a professorship of medicine. This would remedy the deplorable situation whereby the only qualified physicians in the colony were to be found in Manila. Even such populous centers as Cavite and Cebu had only herb doctors and quacks. A professorship of mathematics would also be of great utility; that is to say, mathematics as then understood, which included not only mathematics proper but its various practical applications, such as navigation, geography, architecture, and military engineering.

Murillo made this suggestion in his *Historia*, which was published in 1749.[15] The very next year it was taken up, at least in part, by Governor Obando, who founded a chair of mathematics in the college, and that without suppressing the chair of civil law. His principal interest was to provide trained pilots for the galleons. Le Gentil says that there was great enthusiasm for the course while Obando was alive, but that interest in it declined rapidly after his death in 1754. This cannot be quite accurate, for we know from other sources that public disputations in mathematics were

held at the college in 1758, 1759, 1762, and probably other years as well. The rector of San José, writing to a friend in 1757, says that "the chair of mathematics which Señor Obando founded continues to prosper—*está harto boyante* . . . It is occupied by Father Francisco Ortiz Zugastí, who was my grammar master. He is the very man for it—made to order for the bag-wigged gallants who are his students." In the public disputation of 1762, Don José de Sousa y Magallanes defended certain "mathematical theses relating to astronomy for the computation of the planets, and for the calculation, prediction, and observation of eclipses of the moon and earth (the sun does not suffer eclipse)." Father Pascual Fernández, professor of mathematics, presided at the disputation.[16]

Le Gentil's poor opinion of the mathematics taught at the College of Manila may have been partly due to pique. He came in 1767, a savant commissioned by the French government, to observe the transit of Venus and Mercury across the face of the sun. He set up his instruments on the flat tower of the building right across the street from the college. Yet never a visit did he receive from the Jesuits! This made him quite indignant. The very ladies of Manila, he said, showed a more lively curiosity in scientific matters, for they were always pestering him to show them around his observatory. But the Jesuits *did* pay him a visit one day, and it must have been a rather uncomfortable one, though he tries to pass it off lightly. A remark which he had let fall, to the effect that the transit of Venus would be impossible to explain in the Ptolemaic system, had gone the rounds of the city. The two Jesuits who came to see him had heard of it, and they asked him innocently to prove it. This is, of course, no easy thing, for there are many ingenious ways of making the Ptolemaic system fit the facts. So Le Gentil merely told them to go and read their fellow Jesuit, Christopher Clavius, especially his commentary on John of Holywood's treatise on the Sphere. They frankly admitted that they did not have a copy of Clavius; this gave Le Gentil the opportunity to be superior, and, his self-assurance restored, he advised them by all means to send for it, either to Spain or Mexico. As it turned out, they did not have to. They were soon given the opportunity, rather unexpectedly, to consult Clavius in the libraries of his native Italy.[17]

We have, for the sake of convenience, retained the original name of the College of Manila throughout this narrative. It should be noted, however, that it had other names. Some time after the canonization of Saint Ignatius Loyola in 1622, it began to be called the College of San Ignacio. In the second half of the seventeenth century it was also occasionally referred to as a university, in the sense of being an institution empowered to grant university degrees. This appelation became more frequent in the eighteenth century, especially after the addition of the chairs of law and mathematics.

So much for higher studies. Let us now turn to the bottom rung of the

academic ladder and see how the elementary school was faring. According to the custom book of 1752, its morning order was as follows:

At six-thirty the boys go to school. From six-thirty to seven they sharpen their pens. At seven they form two rows and chant the Hail Mary and other prayers. They go to the church where they hear Mass. After Mass they return to school in good order. They begin class by reciting a cadenced prayer on their knees. Thus by eight o'clock those who are learning to read are reading and those who are learning to write are writing their copy, and this shall be until nine o'clock. From nine to ten the written copies are corrected; first, the copies of those who write large, who shall have finished first, then the copies of those who write medium, and after that, the copies of those who write in small letters. While the copies are being corrected they are to chant the catechism beginning with *Todo fiel cristiano* [Every faithful Christian].

Nothing else was scheduled for the morning. In those days Manila lunched at eleven, because this enabled everyone to take a siesta and still have enough daylight left to wind up the affairs of the day. The pens that had to be sharpened were, of course, quill pens; pencils had not yet come into use. Apparently all the boys in the reading and writing class occupied one large classroom, but were divided into several sections. There was a lowest section of those who were just learning to read. Then three writing sections, composed respectively of beginners ("those who write large"), boys who have progressed sufficiently to form medium-sized letters, and the proficient who could write a small, probably cursive hand. There was, as we shall see presently, a fifth section composed of those who were learning sums. The following was the afternoon order.

The boys come to school at two o'clock. Pens are sharpened from two to two-thirty. A two-thirty class begins with a prayer as in the morning. Then those who are learning to write are given lessons in continuous or letter writing; first, those who write small in order that they may have more time to do their copies, then those who write large; and these latter shall be assigned the model that they are ready for. From two-thirty to three-thirty those who are learning to read do their reading assignments; at three-thirty they begin to recite in order and without confusion. Those in writing are to work on their copies until they finish, which shall be until four-thirty. From four o'clock to five, as in the morning, while correction is going on, they chant the table [of prayers] and recite the catechism. At five o'clock they say the holy rosary on their knees for the space of a quarter of an hour. . . . During the morning and afternoon sessions attention shall be paid to those who do sums at the time most convenient.

It seems clear from this that graded models were given to those in the writing sections. The Spanish expression here translated as "model" is *primer renglón*; I take it that the teacher wrote a line of script at the top of each boy's sheet for him to copy, adapting the script to the boy's abilities.

The more proficient boys were given as models several lines of continuous script and eventually a specimen letter. While those in the writing sections were being set their tasks, those in the reading section were preparing the lesson which each one was later to recite to the teacher. Each writing boy, as soon as he finished his copy, presented it to the teacher for correction. While individual correction was going on, those who had finished their tasks chanted in unison the questions and answers of the catechism, which they were supposed to know from memory. All this probably sounded like bedlam to the casual passerby, but it was organized bedlam, in which everyone was kept continuously occupied, without so much as half a minute in which to fashion a spitball. Or so it was fondly hoped. Busiest of all, perhaps, was the teacher, who was advised not to try to do everything himself, but to share the work with his assistant. This assistant, probably a layman, helped him to correct copies and hear lessons; he also supervised the pen-sharpening period; but his main function was to apply the rod of chastisement in due measure to the proper place.

The weekly holiday was probably Thursday, as in the upper classes. On Saturday afternoons there were no regular lessons in reading and writing. Instead, some of the boys committed the catechism to memory while others answered questions on it. Toward the end of the period teacher told a story from the Bible or an anecdote to illustrate devotion to the Blessed Virgin. At four o'clock the boys went to the church to take part in the Saturday devotions to Our Lady, after which class was dismissed.

As may be seen from Table 10, the number of resident students in the College of San José dropped to 26 in the beginning of the century but rose steadily thereafter until it stood at 49 in 1753. The figures under "Jesuits" include the rector of the house, professors of the College of Manila resident at San José, and lay brothers, some of whom resided in the house while others administered the estates of San Pedro Tunasan, Lian, and Calatagan. Besides the scholarships provided by the college endowment (*becas de fundación* or founder's burses), other scholarships were endowed from time to time by citizens interested in the education of youth (*becas de donación*). There were fifteen of the latter in 1740; we know the donors of nine of them. The number of founder's burses varied with the income from the college properties; in 1740 there were nineteen. Students who did not hold scholarships continued to pay a yearly fee which remained pretty constant at between 100 and 125 pesos a year until 1768.[18]

Only fragments of the registers of the college survive. A brief historical account written in the nineteenth century places the total number of students registered at San José at 992. Father Repetti in his larger and more reliable work has identified 221 of them. His list of alumni includes one archbishop, 8 bishops, 40 members of the secular clergy, 11 Augus-

Table 10. Jesuits and Students in the College of San José, 1601–1768

Year	Jesuits	Students
1601	2	12
1603	2	20
1612	2	12
1618	2	17
1621	2	19
1624	4	24
1630	5	41
1643	3	44
1651	5	30
1656	5	20
1659	6	26
1665	3	16
1672	5	30
1675	5	22
1687	6	32
1694	7	32
1701	6	26
1719	8	30
1737	8	40
1740	8	40
1753	8	49
1768	6	41

Sources: Annual Letters and Catalogues in ARSI *Phil.*; Colín-Pastells III, "Appendix"; Expulsion Proceedings, 1768, in Archives of the Philippine Vice Province.

tinians, 11 Recollects, 3 Dominicans, 8 Franciscans, 46 Jesuits, and 93 laymen.[19]

Although San José was founded primarily for the education of "Spaniards of good birth," no difficulty seems to have been made in admitting students of mixed parentage who met the scholastic requirements. As early as 1599 Bishop Benavides noted that "the fathers of the Society of Jesus admit into their classes mulattoes and mestizos." There were mestizo bursaries in 1690, as we learn from Alejo López, and in 1768 four of the scholars were Chinese mestizos. Pure-blooded Filipinos began to be admitted in the early 1660's, but only in the capacity of domestics who were not taught much more than the three R's, Christian doctrine, and deportment.

When did natives, as distinct from either criollos or mestizos, begin to be admitted to studies leading to the priesthood, either as resident students of San José or as day scholars of the College of Manila? It could not have been earlier than 1680, when the secretary of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, Urbano Cerri, in the course of a report on conditions in mission lands, stated of the Philippines that

> . . . notwithstanding the great number of Monks in these Islands, and the progress of the Catholic Faith, there are some faults; particularly the neglect of many conversions, which might be attempted without great Labor; and want of Charity toward the Sick, who are obliged to get themselves carried to Church, to receive the Viaticum, and the Extreme Unction. Besides, no care is taken to make the Natives study; and Holy Orders are never conferred on them, though they have the necessary qualifications to be Ordained.[20]

This is borne out by a letter of Archbishop Pardo to the king written in the same year. It was a strongly worded protest against a cédula issued in 1677 which tried to encourage the formation of a native clergy. Blair and Robertson gives the following summary of it:

> The archbishop stated the little inclination that the Indians have for theological and moral studies, and that there was the additional difficulty of their evil customs, their vices, and their preconceived ideas—which made it necessary to treat them as children, even when they were fifty or sixty years old. He considered even the sons of Spaniards, born in the Islands, unsuitable for priests, since they were reared by Indian or slave women, because of their defective training and education in youth. Finally, on account of the sloth produced by the climate, and of effeminacy and levity of disposition, it was evident that if they were ordained priests and made ministers to the Indians when they were not sufficiently qualified therefor, through the necessity there was for them, they did not again open a book, and with their vicious habits set a very bad example to their parishioners. That which should be done was to send from España those religious who were most zealous for the conversion of souls.[21]

It is clear from this that in Archbishop Pardo's time there were criollos—"sons of Spaniards born in the Islands"—among the clergy, but that many of them were in the archbishop's opinion unworthy of their calling; a fortiori, if natives—"Indians"—were ordained, they would be even more unworthy; hence, they ought not to be. The implication, clearly, is that natives were not yet being ordained. Any remaining doubts are removed by an inquiry from the central government in 1697 as to whether there existed in the Philippines any seminary for the native clergy. On 13 June 1600, Governor Cruzat replied that there was not and never had been any such institution in Manila, adding that he himself saw no necessity for it.[22]

The first king of the Bourbon line, Philip V, took the matter up with the Council of the Indies soon after his accession. A number of bishops were consulted, and in April 1702 Philip decided, against the recommen-

dation of his governor, that "since it has been ordained by the sacred canons and by pontifical bulls that there should be a seminary for young men attached to all cathedral churches, that they may assist at the divine service and at the same time be trained in the sciences," there should be founded in the city of Manila a seminary for eight seminarians.[23]

While this cédula was on its way, the legate sent by the Holy See to settle the dispute concerning the Chinese rites, Archbishop (afterward Cardinal) de Tournon, stopped briefly at Manila. In his entourage was a zealous priest named Gianbattista Sidotti, who conceived the ambitious project of establishing a regional seminary in Manila, where natives from all the countries of the Far East could be trained for the priesthood. He immediately began to collect contributions for a plant which would take care of seventy-two seminarians. A site for the building was chosen—to one side of the postern gate, between the governor's palace and the city wall. It would even seem that construction was actually begun; but before the project could be completed De Tournon continued on his way to China, taking Sidotti with him. It got no further, for Philip V, looking upon it as officious interference by a foreigner in the administration of the royal patronato—interference, moreover, which would bring into the colony all sorts of other foreigners—forthwith commanded whatever Sidotti had succeeded in constructing on the site of the proposed seminary to be torn down. In its stead, a much smaller seminary should be erected, one for eight seminarians, no more, and those recruited only from the Philippines, all as specified in the cédula of 1702. But any enthusiasm for the training of native priests which Sidotti might have generated seems to have evaporated with his departure. The royal orders were quietly pigeonholed; or, to use the ritual formula, "obeyed without being put into execution." The Crown did not insist. In 1720, it inquired, with an air of resignation, whether the foundations of the building intended for a native seminary could be used instead for "the erection of a building for the royal exchequer, the royal treasury, and an armory with lodgings for the infantry."[24]

But if a temporary quietus was thus given to the idea of a seminary under government sponsorship and exclusively for natives, there still remained the possibility of admitting native candidates for the priesthood in the existing Dominican and Jesuit colleges. Was this possibility considered? It was. When the Jesuit provincial congregation of 1724 met at the College of Manila in May of that year, the assembled fathers were presented with an extremely interesting plan which they were asked to endorse as a postulatum to the general.[25] The author of the plan was Diego de Otazo, of whom Lugo had written to Tamburini some years earlier that he was one of those whom he would choose without hesitation as visitor of the province.

Otazo prefaced his proposal with an analysis of the existing situation. Most of the establishments of the province, both in Luzon and the Visayas, were already parishes in the full sense. Consequently, most of the members of the province were engaged in what was, strictly speaking, parish work. Now parish work was the proper work of secular priests for which they were peculiarly fitted. For this reason it had always been, and was, the policy of the Society of Jesus to develop its missions into parishes, and having done so, to transfer them to the secular clergy, in order that Jesuits might devote themselves to other works for which they were properly and peculiarly fitted. The time to do this in the Philippines was at hand.

However, it should be recognized that this transfer of parishes to the secular clergy was a delicate operation. Earlier efforts to do so had failed. Moreover, there seemed to be no clear notion as to precisely what type of work the Philippine Jesuits should take up in place of parish work. The problem, then, was twofold. First, what was the most prudent and convenient method in the existing circumstances of effecting the transfer of the Jesuit parishes to the secular clergy? Second, in what particular field of endeavor could the Philippine Jesuits make the greatest contribution, and how should they reorganize the province so as to cultivate this field most efficiently?

The approach to the first problem would be a simple one had it not been confused and bedeviled by the various controversies on episcopal visitation and royal patronage. The cumulative effect of these controversies was to set up a false dilemma: either all the religious gave up all their parishes all at once, or else they retained them all permanently. But was there no other, no feasible alternative? Certainly there was. One simply had to detach the problem from its unfortunate historical setting to see it. The secular clergy in the Philippines were obviously too few to take over all the parishes all at once from the religious; but they could certainly take over some of them now and the rest later. Moreover, because of language difficulties, they could take over now the parishes nearest Manila, but not yet those further away. Then why not do precisely this? Why not make the transfer of our parishes to the secular clergy a gradual process, paced according to the ability of the secular clergy to take charge of them?

This, then, was Otazo's first proposal. Let the consent of the hierarchy and the Crown be obtained to a carefully planned transfer of the Jesuit parishes to the secular clergy, step by step, in the following order: first, the suburban parishes of Santa Cruz and San Miguel; next, those in the province of Cavite—Silang, Indang, Maragondong; third, the other Tagalog parishes; finally, such of the Visayan towns as were already parishes, beginning with those nearest the city of Cebu.

What of the Jesuits who would thus be released from parish work? Where would they go and what would they do? What, in short, was Otazo's solution to the second of his two problems? In his view, there were three apostolates of the highest importance which needed to be undertaken in the Philippines and for which Jesuits were specially fitted by their training and organization to undertake. One was the conversion of the remaining non-Christian population. Another was the giving of parish missions and the performance of ministries supplementary to the work of the parish clergy. The third—and most important—was education. All three works were already being undertaken to a certain extent, but they could be greatly expanded and intensified if the province were reorganized so as to concentrate its members in ten or eleven strategically situated colleges. From these colleges the Philippine Jesuits could sally forth to found new missions in pagan or Moslem territory, or go on regular parish mission circuits; but above all, in them they could establish the schools which should from this time forward be their principal care.

What Otazo envisioned was a whole new educational system, which would have for its aim not the limited one hitherto pursued in the College of Manila of educating Spaniards, but the training of a native elite: laymen to assume the leadership in their respective communities, and priests to swell the ranks of the secular clergy. Unlike the earlier boarding schools for natives founded by García and Humanes, they would not be merely elementary schools for the training of catechists, but would impart as much of the entire range of studies of the Jesuit *ratio studiorum* as their students could absorb, exactly as it was imparted to Spaniards in the College of Manila. Moreover, these colleges would not be disparate and unrelated units, but would constitute a true system of schools. The instruction given in them would be so organized that primary or intermediate studies made in one would be acceptable as a preparation for higher studies in another.

What students would these colleges have? They would be native Filipinos of the region in which the college was situated, and they would be selected on the basis primarily of ability, but with social position as a secondary consideration. For, other things being equal, a young man from a more cultivated and influential family would make a more effective lay leader or priest. Mestizos and Europeans would also be admitted as students in these schools, but would in nothing be treated differently from the Filipinos and would have to mix freely with them.

Otazo's second proposal, then, was this. Let the existing colleges (Manila, San José, Cavite, Cebu, Arévalo, Zamboanga) be continued. Let the physical plants (church and residence) of four or five of the parishes transferred to the secular clergy be retained and constituted into additional colleges. Possible new colleges would be Santa Cruz (Manila), Santa Cruz

(Marinduque), Catbalogan (Samar), and Carigara (Leyte). Thus, the Philippine province would consist of ten or eleven colleges, each with a community of ten or twelve, with the exception of Manila which would have more.

The provincial congregation discussed this plan at great length. No one seemed to have any objection to the plan as such. The idea of training native Filipinos for the priesthood was accepted without argument. But many of the fathers were pessimistic about so radical a project's being accepted by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. Moreover, how was it to be financed? To give up the parishes was necessarily to give up the stipends attached to them. How, then, would the colleges be supported, since the tuition given in them would have to be free, as prescribed by the constitutions? Otazo's reply to this was that the government should be approached for a subsidy. Almost everyone present must have shaken his head at this. When the plan came to a vote, the fathers decided, by the narrow margin of one vote, not to submit it as a postulatum of the congregation, although Otazo could if he wished submit it as a private postulatum; which he did.

We do not know what reply, if any, the general made to it. In any case, it could not have been an immediate approval, for no change was made in the organization of the province. But Otazo's proposal seems to have achieved at least this much: it opened San José to Filipino candidates for the priesthood. I say "seems," because the most our evidence can tell us is that the first Filipino scholars of San José entered at about this time, either a few years before or a few years after 1724. The first piece of evidence is that by 1750, the Jesuit historian Juan José Delgado could point to two Filipino priests, alumni of San José, as particularly outstanding examples of the rest. They were Eugenio de Santa Cruz, a native of Pampanga, provisor of the diocese of Cebu, and Bartolomé Saguinsin, a native of Antipolo and curate of Quiapo. There were in 1750, therefore, these two and others besides; for Delgado adds that for the sake of brevity he omits mention of "many others, living and dead, who are worthy of having their names mentioned in this history."[26]

A second piece of evidence is a casual remark made by Murillo in his *Geographia historica*, to the effect that "there are in the Philippines, as in other parts of the world, many who are stupid and ignorant; but there are not wanting some who have wit and ability, sufficient for the study of grammar, philosophy, and theology, in which they have made some progress, though not much."[27] Now, while the *Geographia* was published in 1762, Murillo left the Philippines, never to return, in 1749. His remark, then, was in all probability based on his personal experience at the College of Manila before 1749. Note that he says Filipinos had made "some" progress in seminary studies, though "not much." This suggests that we

ought not to take Delgado's "many others, living and dead," as running into the hundreds, or even fifties.

My third piece of evidence is a vehement protest against ordaining Filipino priests written in 1720 by Fray Gaspar de San Agustín. Here is what he says:

> It does not seem good that I should refrain from touching on a matter which is most worthy of consideration, and that is that if God because of our sins and theirs should desire to chastise the flourishing Christian communities of these islands by placing them in the hands of natives ordained to the priesthood—*which seems likely to happen very soon* [italics mine]—if, I say, God does not provide a remedy for this, what abominations will result from it![28]

Thus, although direct evidence is at present lacking, it can be said with some confidence that the first native Filipinos were ordained a few years after 1720, and that among these, or certainly among those ordained immediately after them, were alumni of San José. It might be interesting to know why San Agustín was so much opposed to the ordination of Filipinos. His objection was based chiefly on the Filipino character, which he considered thoroughly unsuitable for the priestly office. Ordination will not change this character; on the contrary,

> . . . their [the Filipinos'] pride will be aggravated with their elevation to so sublime a state; their avarice with the increased opportunity of preying on others; their sloth with their no longer having to work for a living; and their vanity with the adulation that they will necessarily seek, desiring to be served by those whom in another state of life they would have to respect and obey. Thus, the malediction of *Isaias*, 24, will fall upon this nation: "It shall be, as with the people, so with the priest." For the indio who seeks holy orders does so not because he has a call to a more perfect state of life, but because of the great and almost infinite advantages which accrue to him along with the new state of life which he chooses. How much better it is to be a reverend father than to be a yeoman or a sexton! What a difference between paying tribute and being paid a stipend! Between being drafted to saw logs and being waited on hand and foot! Between rowing a galley and riding in one! All of which does not apply to the Spaniard, who by becoming a cleric deprives himself of the opportunity of becoming a mayor, a captain, or a general, together with many other comforts of his native land, where his estate has more to offer than the whole nation of indios. Imagine the airs with which such a one will extend his hand to be kissed! What an incubus upon the people shall his father be, not to mention his mother, his sisters, and his female cousins, when they shall have become great ladies overnight, while their betters are still pounding rice for their supper! For if the indio is insolent and insufferable with little or no excuse, what will he be when elevated to so high a station? . . . What reverence will indios themselves have for such a priest, when they see that he is of their color and race? Especially when they realize that they are the equals or betters, perhaps, of one who managed to get himself ordained, when his proper station in life should have been that of a convict or a slave?[29]

Twenty-five years later, this tirade came to the attention of Delgado, and he decided to write a reply to it as devastating as it was urbane.[30] With reference to the charge that Filipino candidates for the priesthood will have no standing in the community, being congenital slaves or potential jailbirds, he says:

> Those [natives] who are being educated in any of the four colleges in Manila which are devoted to the formation of the clergy are all sons of the better class, looked up to by the natives themselves . . . These boys are being educated by the reverend fathers of Saint Dominic or of the Society; they instruct them in virtue and letters, and any of the bad habits of the indio which may cling to them are corrected and removed by the teaching and conversation of the fathers. Moreover, their lordships the bishops, when they promote any of them to holy orders, do not go about the matter blindfolded, ordaining anyone who is set before them. On the contrary, they gather information with great care and prudence regarding their purity of blood, their character and morals; they examine them and put them to the test before making them pastors of souls; and to say otherwise is injurious to these illustrious prelates to whom we owe so much respect and reverence.

This was not to say, of course, that all Filipino priests without exception lived up to expectations. To demand as much from the priesthood of any nation was to show complete ignorance of human nature.

> It is possible, no doubt, that some have not justified the high regard which has been shown them in entrusting to them the dispensation of the divine mysteries; but it is bad logic to argue that because one or many are bad, therefore all are bad. And it is to be noted that if any cleric or parish priest among them is bad or gives scandal, their prelates, who are holy and zealous, correct and chastise them and even remove them from their posts and deprive them of their ministry. Often, as I myself have seen, they summon them and cause them to say Mass and perform their spiritual duties under their eye, until they are certain of their reformation and amendment. Thus they do not permit that "it shall be, as with the people, so with the priest." Moreover, it is a gratuitous assertion to say that the indio seeks holy orders, not because he has a vocation to a more perfect state of life, but because of the great and almost infinite advantages which accrue to him along with the priesthood—the advantages, that is, of being a parish priest over being a yeoman, or a sexton, or a galley slave, or a jailbird. For it is common knowledge that there are also many in Spain who seek the ecclesiastical state for the sake of a livelihood; and others enter religion for the same reason. Nor may we conclude that therefore such persons do not have a true vocation, for, if the Church does not judge the hidden intention, such judgment being reserved to God whose gaze penetrates even unto the inmost heart of man, much less is it permitted to any private writer to pass judgment on this matter.

Delgado clinches his argument by examining the supposition on which San Agustín's whole thesis is based, namely, that there are certain sections of the human race—the Filipinos among them—which are by nature unfit for the priestly state.

Finally, I shall answer the example brought forward by the reverend author of this hyperbolical letter to prove that it is impossible for the indios to divest themselves of their racial traits, even though they be consecrated bishops, etc. I say, then, that this was precisely the practice of the holy apostles, namely, to ordain priests and bishops from among the natives of those regions where they preached, whether they be Indians or Negroes. And it is a historical fact that when Saint Francis Xavier arrived in India, he found many Comorin clerics, who are Negroes, already preaching the gospel in those newly founded Christian communities. And so likewise there were in Japan many Japanese priests belonging to religious orders, and in China there are [Chinese priests] today, as we read in the printed accounts of the venerable martyrs of Saint Dominic and the Society of Jesus.

We may say, then, that at least by 1750 the Philippine Jesuits, along with their colleagues in higher education, the Dominicans, were fairly launched on a new and fruitful enterprise: the training of native priests for the parish ministry. There was another apostolate peculiar to the Society which was not new, but which received a new impetus during this period. This was the direction of closed retreats for lay people. I have already mentioned that a section of the college residence was reserved for men retreatants. The Annual Letter of 1730 informs us that these retreats were given to groups of twelve at a time, and that the groups succeeded each other almost without a break—*frequentissime*—throughout the year. This is repeated by the Annual Letter of 1737, which adds the further detail that each retreat lasted eight full days, and that the retreatants were most numerous during the months of September to February—that is, after the dispatch of the galleon and before the arrival of the junk fleet. Similar eight-day closed retreats were given to lay women—Spaniards, mestizas, and Filipinas—in the house of the Beatas de la Compañía.[31]

Nor were the ordinary ministries of the college church neglected, at least after Oviedo's visitation. The falling-off of zeal remarked by Velasco and Lugo was no longer in evidence in Murillo's time. The doors of the church were open from dawn to 11 in the morning and from 2 in the afternoon to sundown. During these times several priests were always available to hear confessions, for the professors of the college were not exempted from this task or from that of preaching and giving popular missions. Murillo complains somewhat about this in a charming passage which I cannot resist quoting:

> The professor's chair in the Philippines is not much different from an oarsman's bench in a galley, though somewhat more respectable . . . Its occupant has all the work of his counterpart in other countries, without his encouragements and compensations. Dullness is so connatural to the country that, like a regional complaint, one breathes it into the system, where it rapidly infects all humors. To this indisposition of mind must be joined the manifold ills of the body. One perspires

copiously from the heat, and along with the perspiration the vital spirits are dissipated, leaving the body defenseless against a thousand fluxes, pains, and infections which weaken the stomach, the sight and the brain, and thereby inspire a deep-seated horror of all study as of a mortal foe. The atmosphere of the classroom, which in other places not only lightens the labors of scholarship but encourages one to undertake them, is like the doldrums here, or at best breathes a spiritless languor. And on top of all this, the professor must at the same time be a preacher, a confessor, a prison chaplain, and what have you![32]

Our hearts need not bleed too much for Murillo, for in spite of his manifold ills and fluxes, he did his full stint in classroom and confessional and still found the time to draw an epoch-making map and write a sprightly, if somewhat garrulous history. Indeed, the general impression given by the Philippine Jesuits in the annals and documents of this period is one of expansive and cheerful vigor. The works they had in hand—the colleges, parishes, and missions—were running smoothly. Vistas were opening on vast new fields of missionary enterprise: the Sierra Madre, the Palaus, the still unconverted Moslem south. Inquiring minds like Otazo's were re-examining old objectives and techniques to see how they could be better adapted to the changing patterns of Philippine society. Volunteers from the provinces of Italy and northern Europe—a Tuccio, a Klein, a Kamel—were bringing new skills and fresh approaches to old problems.

Relations with the other religious orders, the hierarchy and the government were never more satisfactory. The long and occasionally bitter rivalry between the College of Santo Tomás and the College of Manila had been transmuted by mutual charity and respect into a friendly emulation. In 1702 Santo Tomás dedicated a public theological disputation to Saint Ignatius Loyola. The rector himself, Fray Juan Ibáñez, presided at the colorful gathering of the assembled faculties, alumni, and students of the two colleges, while Paul Klein, rector of San José, had the honor of presenting the first objections to the defender, Fray Andrés González. In 1706, during the provincial congregation, the College of Manila dedicated a similar disputation to Saint Dominic. The Dominicans placed no obstacles to the College of San José's obtaining a royal charter similar to theirs, and, accordingly, on 3 May 1722, Philip V awarded to the Jesuit institution the title of "royal," in virtue of which the royal arms were placed over its portals with great solemnity on 18 December of the following year.[33] Even the Recollect historian, Fray Juan de la Concepción, whose view of the Society of Jesus and its works was habitually dim, condescended to attend the academic functions of the College of Manila, and had the magnanimity to say that they were in no wise inferior to "those splendid acts of Alcalá, where I made my theological studies; for here also are expounded the most extensive, diffuse, and difficult of cano-

nical questions with the high standards of scholarship demanded by this branch of learning."[34]

When Governor Fernando de Bustamante (1717–1719) managed to get himself so cordially hated that a raging mob rushed his palace and struck him down, it was a Jesuit—Diego de Otazo—who broke through to his side, gave him absolution, and commanded enough respect to prevent his being torn to pieces.[35] The reliance placed on various Jesuits or on the Society as a whole by Governor Valdés y Tamón (1729–1739), Arechederra (1745–1750), and Obando (1750–1754), has already been indicated. The recommendations of Jesuit procurators from the Philippines relative to the general advancement of the colony continued to be favorably received at Madrid. José Calvo, for instance, the procurator of the congregation of 1736, in addition to submitting an extremely penetrating analysis of the situation in Mindanao, offered constructive suggestions for the economic development of the colony which anticipated those of the most enlightened ministers of the Bourbon regime.[36]

In fact, the Madrid officials and the king himself merely had to glance at the statistical reports filed by the procurators every six years to see that the Philippine province amply justified whatever support the government was giving it. In 1737, it had the spiritual administration of 133 towns in the Philippines and the Marianas with a total Christian population of 173,928; in 1743, 134 towns with a population of 177,098; in 1755, 130 towns with a population of 212,153. Particularly worthy of note is the reduction in the number of those registered as slaves: 105 in 1737, 77 in 1755.[37] When the British captured and occupied Manila in 1762, the Jesuits bore their share of the general misfortune, contributing 48,628 pesos to the "ransom" imposed on the colony by the victorious commanders.

With reason, then, might the Jesuits in the Philippines have claimed that they were the king's good servants; that by simply doing God's work, they were advancing the interests of the Crown. Thus, it must have come as something of a shock when on 19 May 1768, troops having surrounded the College of Manila, an officer of grenadiers presented himself at the door and told the fathers that they were henceforth to consider themselves prisoners of the state.

Chapter Twenty-Four

THE KING'S GOOD SERVANTS

It is outside the scope of this narrative to rehearse the complicated series of events that led to the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain and the Spanish dominions. That has been done elsewhere. In his decree of expulsion King Charles III stated that he was getting rid of the Jesuits for "weighty reasons . . . which he was locking away in his royal breast." There was hardly any necessity for this. It was quite evident that the Jesuits, who did not trouble to conceal their devotion to the papacy, had become an intolerable nuisance to the enlightened despot and to the regalist ministers who had a vested interest in enlightened despotism. The Philippine Jesuits, remote though they were from the center of the storm, must have been uneasily aware of the way the wind was blowing, particularly after the arrival in July 1767 of a new archbishop of Manila, Don Basilio Sancho de Santa Justa y Rufina. For Don Basilio had been a member of the *junta de conciencia* or "conscience committee" which assured Charles III that he was morally justified in expelling the Society of Jesus from his realm; he had left Madrid only a few weeks before the decree of expulsion was actually signed; and his attitude must have made it plain to the Jesuits in Manila that they were in serious trouble. Yet, they could hardly have been prepared for so shattering a blow.

The decree of Charles III, dated 27 February 1767, was addressed to the Count of Aranda, his minister of state.

> In accordance with the recommendation of the members of my Royal Council for Extraordinary Affairs . . . and in virtue of the supreme administrative authority vested by the Almighty in my person for the protection of my vassals and the honor of my crown, I have decided to expel from all my dominions of Spain and the Indies, the Philippine Islands and other adjacent territories, the religious of the Society [of Jesus], priests as well as coadjutors or lay brothers who have made their first vows, and such of the novices as desire to share their fate; and to confiscate all the properties of the Society in my dominions. I grant you full and exclusive powers to see to it that this decree be uniformly executed in all my said dominions, and to issue the instructions and orders which have been communicated to you, or which you shall deem necessary to ensure the most effective, prompt and peaceful compliance.[1]

All royal officials were to give instant obedience to Aranda's commands, and all troops, whether regular, volunteer militia, or rural levies, were to

come to their aid wherever necessary, without reluctance or tergiversation, under pain of incurring the royal wrath. The superiors of the Society were summoned to submit unconditionally; if they did, the expulsion would be carried out "with all due decency, consideration, humanity, and co-operation."

To make sure that the decree reached the Philippines as quickly as possible, Aranda sent one copy of it by the regular Spanish route via Mexico, and another by a special courier who took the Dutch route via the Cape of Good Hope, Batavia, and Canton. In his letter of transmittal to the Governor, Don José Raón, dated 1 March, Aranda expressed his reliance on that official's perspicacity and prudence to arrange that the decree was peacefully complied with. A moderate show of force would help to ensure this; but in any case, "if, contrary to expectation, the religious concerned should offer resistance, or an inclination or determination to oppose develop among their partisans, Your Excellency will make use of the decisive force of arms as in cases of open rebellion."[2] Thus, while holding themselves in readiness for all contingencies, the king and his ministers depended chiefly on the disciplined obedience of the Society of Jesus to help them dissolve it without fuss. They were not disappointed.

The dispatches sent by way of Mexico arrived first. The ship bearing them entered Manila Bay at nightfall on 17 May 1768. This was unusually early in the season, and the rumor at once spread that some important communication from the central government had arrived. The following evening Governor Raón summoned one of the oidores of the audiencia, Don Manuel Galbán, and empowered him as special commissioner to put the royal decree into execution.[3]

The next morning, Thursday, 19 May, at nine o'clock, Galbán proceeded to the residence of the Jesuit provincial, which was at that time the College of San Ildefonso in the district of Santa Cruz. He was accompanied by a military escort and a government notary. It is from the careful record kept by the latter official that our account of the proceedings is based.[4]

The rector of the house, Father Bernardo Martín, came down to meet the distinguished visitor. After the customary greetings, Galbán asked that the entire community be assembled, not excepting even the lay brother who acted as cook. Father Martín complied by ringing the bell at the head of the main staircase. Four other members of the community answered the summons. The provincial, Father Juan Silverio Prieto, was absent, having gone to the College of Manila. On the other hand, the rector of that college, Father Bernardo Pazuengos, was in the house temporarily as a guest. Galbán requested Pazuengos to return to his community and inform Father Provincial that he was wanted at San Ildefonso immediately. Pazuengos went off with this message.

While they were waiting for the provincial, the vicar-general of the

archdiocese and several prominent citizens, whom Galbán had asked to be present as witnesses to the proceedings, arrived. Then Prieto came. The community was once again assembled, and Galbán ordered the fateful documents he had brought with him to be read. Whereupon, the record goes on to say,

> I, the notary, read in a loud and clear voice the royal orders and the governor's commission. The Reverend Father Provincial Juan Silverio Prieto answered in the name of all, in terms expressive of obedience and humility, that he was ready to comply with whatever His Majesty ordained and that no subordinate of his would go against it or contradict it in any manner whatever.[5]

This took place in the main *sala* or common room of the house. Galbán ordered the fathers and brothers to stay in it and not to leave it until further orders. He then inquired whether there was anyone else who belonged to the community although habitually residing elsewhere. Prieto replied that there were one priest and one brother in the Hacienda de Calamba, and one priest and one brother in the Hacienda de San Pedro Makati. They were taking care of these estates which were attached to the provincial's residence. Galbán decided that they should remain at their posts for the time being.

Galbán now asked for all the keys of the house and church; those of the living rooms, the store rooms, the library, the archives; and all chests and strongboxes. They were given him. He had the church doors closed and locked. It was now two o'clock in the afternoon. Before leaving, he stationed a guard detail at the front door with orders to allow no one in or out.

Meanwhile, Governor Raón had taken effective steps to secure the Jesuit communities of the College of Manila and the College of San José. At the same time that Commissioner Galbán was knocking at the door of San Ildefonso, two companies of grenadiers fully armed, were marching down the Calle Real from Fort Santiago. They surrounded the Jesuit compound, guards took their stations at all the entrances, and the officers in command demanded and obtained the keys to the church and the two colleges. The fathers were told to await an authorized official who would inform them of the reason for these proceedings; meantime, they were not to communicate with anyone outside the compound. At three o'clock that afternoon the College of Cavite was similarly sealed off and placed under guard.

Copies of the royal decree of expulsion were posted throughout the walled city and suburbs, together with an ordinance of the governor summoning under pain of grave penalties all who held any Jesuit property in trust, or who owed anything to the Jesuits, to present himself to the authorities within three days. Archbishop Sancho also published an edict imposing major excommunication *latae sententiae* on all who failed to comply with the governor's ordinance.[6]

Galbán's notary reported to Raón on the morning's work at San Ildefonso. Raón directed that the Jesuit provincial and his community be transferred to the College of Manila, with the exception of Brother Tomás Sancho, the lay-brother assistant of the province procurator. He was to be "deposited" under house arrest with one of the parishioners of Santa Cruz, in order that Commissioner Galbán might avail himself of his services in inspecting and making an inventory of the funds, papers, and effects in the provincial's residence. The keys of the church were to be handed over to Don Vicente Arroyo, the diocesan priest whom the archbishop had designated to take over the parish.

Father Prieto and his companions were taken across the river to the College of Manila that very night. They had been told to pack the clothing and other personal effects which they needed, but to leave them all behind. The following morning Galbán had all this baggage thoroughly searched, but finding that it contained nothing but "boxes, linen, tobacco, chocolate, and other effects of that nature, breviaries, diurnals, books, and portable altars for their devotional exercises," he had them sent to the College.

There was a primary school for boys attached to the church. Galbán summoned the schoolmaster, Lázaro Antonio Beltrán, and in the presence of many of his pupils commanded him to continue conducting the school "in the same place and in the same manner that he did under the direction of the Jesuits." He also summoned Don José Francisco and Don Gregorio Alonso, petty governors of the natives and the Chinese mestizos of the parish, and ordered them to respect and obey their new parish priest, Father Arroyo.

> Furthermore, he exhorted them to constant attendance at divine worship and the frequent reception of the sacraments, and that they should zealously see to it that all the townspeople perform their Christian duties and send their children to school to learn and be educated in the holy fear of God. He informed them that His Majesty for reasons of his own had ordered the withdrawal of the Jesuits; but that it was the royal will that these [the Jesuits] should continue to be respected, venerated, and well thought of by them, for they owed them this regard as their former pastors and ghostly fathers. And so he warned them not to be lacking in this respect, nor to murmur or indulge in vain and idle gossip among themselves with reference to these events and dispositions of His Majesty, for if they should be reported as doing so they would be publicly chastised for it.

The following day, 21 May, Galbán transferred his attentions to the College of Manila, where he went through the same process of promulgating the decree of expulsion to the assembled community, sealing the offices and archives, and taking possession of all keys.[7] The 22nd was a Sunday; on the 23rd came the turn of the College of San José. The rector, Francisco Javier Ibero, informed Galbán that there were forty-one resident

students registered in the college, thirty-seven of them Spaniards and four Chinese mestizos. Since it was vacation time, however, they were not in residence but were spending the holidays at San Pedro Tunasan, the estate by which the college was supported.

A lay brother, José Rodríguez, had the management of the estate. As in the case of Calamba and San Pedro Makati, Galbán decided that San Pedro Tunasan should continue under its Jesuit administrator for the time being, since the government had no one to take his place. A letter to this effect was sent to Brother Rodríguez. He replied that he would much rather join his fellow Jesuits interned in the College of Manila, but if he was to stay at his post, then he needed money for expenses during the planting season, which was imminent. Galbán at once authorized the release of 1,000 pesos for this purpose. Rodríguez acknowledged receipt in the following terms:

> Dear Father Rector, *Pax Christi*. I received Your Reverence's letter and that of Señor Galbán, as well as the one thousand pesos which His Excellency sends for the work of the estate. I shall enter this sum in the book of receipts and expenditures with the care which Your Reverence recommends.
>
> It looks as though my coming to join Your Reverence is being postponed indefinitely. Please pray God that here and wherever I may be I may conduct myself as a true Jesuit. I suppose Father Provincial will leave orders so that we may go to the College occasionally to visit the Fathers and perform our religious duties.
>
> I am writing to Señor Galbán requesting him to investigate the calumnies about me which certain rascals of this estate are spreading there in the city of Manila.
>
> May God keep Your Reverence many years as I desire. Tunasan, 5 July 1768.[8]

The "calumnies" to which Brother Rodríguez refers were, mainly, that he was defrauding the estate by distributing its property among the natives employed in it, in anticipation, presumably of the government confiscating it. This charge was apparently found to be without merit, as nothing more is said about it in the record.

On 12 June, Galbán permitted the students of San José to come to the college with their parents in order to identify their personal belongings and take them away. Some of them had already been admitted to the College of Santo Tomás, others to the College of San Juan de Letrán, both of these Dominican institutions. Galbán took note of this and of the fact that there were other schools to which the San José scholars could transfer if they wished. One was the archdiocesan seminary which had recently been opened by a member of the archbishop's household, the Piarist Father Martín de San Antonio. Another was a private institution conducted by a certain Don Clemente Bermúdez, which offered courses in moral theology. There were also by this time a number of private grammar schools in the city. Thus Galbán did not think it necessary to keep San

José open. He was later overruled because the government decided that the San José endowment could not be used for any other purpose than that specified in the instrument of foundation. Moreover, Archbishop Sancho succeeded in persuading the authorities to allow him to transfer his seminary to the Jesuit compound. These dispositions will be treated in greater detail in the history of the restored Society of Jesus in the Philippines.

On 5 June, Galbán took Brother Sancho from the house of Captain José Salumbide, where he had been "deposited," and brought him to the office of the province procurator in San Ildefonso. They went through the account books first, twenty-nine folio volumes in all, one for each of the Jesuit residences and missions which obtained supplies, made deposits, or borrowed money from the procure. The examination of these books took them until eight in the evening of the following day, when Galbán ordered Brother Sancho to close all the accounts, writing the date, 6 June 1768, and his signature at the end of all the books.

With the assistance of Brother Sancho Galbán devoted the rest of June and the early part of July to the meticulous cataloguing and evaluation of the furniture and other contents of the church and residence of San Ildefonso. Occasionally he called in artisans, tradesmen, and professional men to act as expert assessors, as when the question arose of determining the money value of the church bells. On 16 July he came to the *bodega* or storeroom where the province procurator kept his supplies. These consisted chiefly of those items which were likely to be required by the various residences and missions. Thus he found several bales of cloth; 23 pounds of paper imported from Europe; two large tins of tobacco in powdered form; two chests which contained "364 brass spitoons and 14 dozen spoons, each with its fork, also of brass."

There were firearms too: "20 ordinary muskets, new," worth seven pesos each, and 31 pairs of Dutch pistols worth five pesos a pair; grim reminders of the Moro raids which forced the Visayan Jesuits to arm themselves and their people. Another reminder of a different sort was a bag of jewels with a note which said: "List of jewels which I, Doña Josepha de Castro, am placing on deposit against whatever may be paid to ransom my son, Luís Marquez, whom the Jolo Moros took captive inside the bay of this city." The list follows: a rosary of pearls, another of the same with four diamonds, a double chain of gold, two bracelets; then a receipt by the Jesuit procurator, Father Juan Francisco Romero, dated 20 July 1767.

More interesting, at least to the historian, were four chests of Chinese workmanship containing papers and manuscript books "in Portuguese, Chinese, Japanese, and other languages which it was impossible to tell of what region they were; and in each chest was found a note in Portuguese which says that they are papers belonging to the Province of Japan." They

were, in fact, the archives of that Jesuit mission and province covering the years 1549 to 1671. Galbán took them away for further examination; and that is the last we hear of them.

Here, if anywhere, the legendary wealth of the Jesuits should have been found. The bodega and the adjoining offices had been sealed and placed under guard on the very first day of the expulsion proceedings; no one could have had the opportunity to take anything out. But if the king's commissioner had expected to find a hoard, he was disappointed. The cash funds in the procure amounted to only 3,728 pesos altogether, and when the contents of the store room had been completely inventoried, they were found to be worth in the neighborhood of 30,000 pesos. On 24 July, Galbán, having no more use for Brother Sancho, sent him to join his companions in the College of Manila.[9]

Since the middle of June all the Jesuits within the jurisdiction of the archdiocese of Manila had been collected and interned in this college. When Raón issued the orders for their arrest he had reason to fear that the Tagalog parishioners of the Jesuits might not be disposed to give up their pastors without a struggle. He therefore took the precaution of having Father Prieto write to his men stressing the supreme importance of preventing all public demonstrations or plans to protest the government's action. The Jesuits co-operated wholeheartedly, and while the parting between them and their people was undoubtedly difficult on both sides, it was effected without disturbance. Filipino and mestizo secular priests took their places in the fifteen parishes of southern Luzon and Marinduque administered by the Society.[10]

It was decided that sixty-four of the fathers and brothers interned in the College of Manila should be sent to Mexico and thence to Spain on the Acapulco galleon of that year, the *San Carlos*. One of the priests in this group has left us an unsigned diary of this voyage.

> On the 29th of July of the same year, 1768, they took us out of the College of Manila and brought us in carriages to the river of Manila [the Pasig], those of us who had been picked to go into exile this year by way of New Spain. We were 64 in all, including Father Provincial. Having embarked at the river in three small boats we left for the port of Cavite, three leagues distant, where the king's ship in which we were to make the voyage to Acapulco rode at anchor. Although we cast off at 5 o'clock that morning, we spent the entire day without receiving a favorable wind from God nor (by I know not what failure in the arrangements) any food or drink from men. Thus we were not able to reach the ship until sundown, after being exposed all day to the burning rays of the sun.[11]

There was no food for them on the ship either; in fact, there was no place on board for them to stay. At this juncture the port commander came to their rescue and brought most of them to his own house, distributing the rest among his friends. The following day they boarded the *San Carlos*,

but the portion of the poop deck to which they had been assigned still had to be cleared of the bales of merchandise piled high upon it. Thus they passed the night of the 30th without sleep; as the anonymous diarist wryly remarks, "we had perforce to keep the vigil of our holy father [St. Ignatius] whether we liked it or not." The following day was, in effect, the feast of the founder of the Society of Jesus; his sons kept it as best they might by attending the only Mass which was allowed on board that day, and which the ship's chaplain celebrated.

On the 1st of August they weighed anchor: but we had barely sailed one mile when they dropped anchor again because part of the provisions for the voyage had not yet been taken aboard. I ought to explain that the king's ship which sails every year from Manila to Acapulco during the season of winds favorable to that navigation goes laden and ordinarily overladen with the goods and merchandise of the Manila traders, citizens of that city, at whose disposal the king places the hold of the ship, as this is the means of providing for and preserving that realm. Now on this particular voyage the cargo was so great and the passengers so numerous that for the 64 of us Jesuits who went there was not more space than what would be absolutely necessary to accomodate 20 persons decently. And even this space, after a few days at sea, had to provide room also for 25 soldiers who came as the ship's guard, and had been left out in the open without any place being assigned to them. These quarters, besides being narrow, were so close to the cattle, swine, and other animals on board that we were obliged to be on the alert day and night, for when we least looked for it the beasts came to share our little cots, especially on rainy nights. At four o'clock in the morning of the 3rd, having taken in the provisions, we hoisted sail, reaching the mouth of the great bay of Manila at sundown.[12]

The *San Carlos* now began to thread its way eastward through the islands to San Bernardino Strait, the gateway to the Pacific. On 9 August she called briefly at the port of San Jacinto on the island of Ticao, in order to take in fresh water and firewood. Here the fathers learned that the Manila-bound galleon, having encountered heavy weather, had stopped at Palapag, on the north coast of Samar Island, to make repairs before proceeding to the capital. This caused them to be apprehensive lest the people on that vessel should spread wild rumors of the kind that were already gaining currency in the remoter districts of Luzon, such as, that the king had ordered all Jesuits to be put to the sword. Once the people of Samar got an idea of this sort into their heads, they would almost certainly take up arms against the government, and there was no telling what might ensue. Thus, says our diarist,

. . . in order to prevent a serious disturbance among that people, who are not as completely submissive to the Spaniards as those closer to Manila, but wilder and more warlike, and also in order to spare the feelings of those unfortunate Jesuit missionaries who ministered to those natives at the cost of untold labor, and who

were as yet unconscious of the blow that had fallen upon us, we decided to send them word secretly by means of an accomplished, loyal, and intelligent native whom we met at San Jacinto. This man brought our letter as he promised to the father rector of the nearest residence, who in turn communicated it to all the missionaries of all those islands of Pintados or Visayas. In the letter Father Provincial gave a true account of what had happened to us, and how 64 of us were already on our way to exile as prisoners, God giving us the grace to submit ourselves wholly to his designs; adding that with the aid of the same grace they also ought to await and receive the same blow, imitating the meekness of our eternal captain and king Jesus, who as a most gentle lamb allowed himself to be taken prisoner, bound, and crucified. He charged them with great earnestness to keep the natives quiet and peaceful, and to prevent that so unprecedented a measure and one they could hardly conceive to be possible should drive them to rebellion and turn them against God and their sovereign. This letter did much to forewarn, encourage, and guide the missionary fathers in those islands, of whom there were more than 60, enabling them to observe a uniform exemplary behavior when the time came for each one to be taken into custody, in spite of the fact that they were scattered throughout that wild region, living among the natives at great distances from one another. It was particularly helpful in that it gave the fathers enough time to prepare the minds of the natives for so great a shock and thus to prevent disorderly tumults and uprisings. Even so, the fathers had need of all the prudence and persuasiveness at their command to do this, for there was hardly a town in which the native chieftains did not press their pastor with great insistence to allow them to resist by force of arms those who came to take him prisoner.[13]

It may be asked how our informant aboard the *San Carlos*, which by 19 August had made the passage through San Bernardino Strait and stood outward bound, could have learned what happened subsequently in the Visayan missions. The explanation is simple; he came back. On 8 September, when in the judgment of the pilots they were only a hundred leagues short of the Marianas, they were struck by a typhoon of such exceptional ferocity that for three continuous days and nights "we seemed to feel with our very hands the dark and sorrowful shades of death." The ship was dismasted in a few hours, and thereafter was at the mercy of wind and wave.

In our quarters, which were on the same deck as the ship's cabin although outside it, there was so much water that the violent rolling of the vessel caused waves which at times swept over us in our bedsteads. Moreover, owing to the sudden jolting as the ship swung from one side to the other, most of the bedsteads splintered, bundles and chests, stoutly bound and lashed together though they were, burst open, and we began to slide from port to starboard (if I may use nautical phraseology) along with all that baggage and filth and the ship's cattle, whose instinct for self-preservation drove them to seek what protection they could. Thus, one of the Fathers suddenly found himself with three pigs in his cot, and being unable to get them out, was forced to get out himself. Another pig joined Father Provincial himself, and was of such generous proportions that if one of the ship's officers who happened to be passing by had not hauled it off the cot by main

force, it would have smothered the Father. Such are the effects which terror at the approach of death causes, even in the very beasts![14]

As the ship began to split, some of the Jesuits who were still on their feet helped the crew to man the pumps. Others went among the 400 passengers, exhorting everyone to prepare for death. But the typhoon claimed only two lives altogether. When it first struck, a seaman was flung from the masthead into the sea, and as it roared away from the battered vessel, at about eight in the morning of the 11th, Father Provincial Prieto died of exposure. Later that day, the rest of the ship's company knew they were saved. "We had four pilots on board," our diarist observes, "one of them an Englishman and the other a Dane who had been raised from his earliest years on salt water and had sailed the stormiest seas of the world. All of them swore they had never in their lives experienced winds of equal fury." This was expert testimony indeed.

It was decided to return to the Philippines. About 50 leagues from their estimated landfall another typhoon overtook them, no less violent than the first, and claimed the life of another Jesuit. This was Father Baltazar Vela, aged 64, who came to the Philippines in 1723 and was parish priest of Cainta at the time of the expulsion.

On 22 October the *San Carlos* slipped anchor before Cavite. The Jesuits were interned once more in the College of Manila. They found Commissioner Galbán disposed to be much stricter with them than he was before their departure. Possibly he had found out about the letter which they had managed to send to the Visayan Jesuits from San Jacinto. At any rate he would not allow the sorry remains of their luggage to be sent up to their rooms until he had carefully searched every bundle. He also removed Father Pazuengos, who became acting provincial at Father Prieto's death, from the college and kept him a close prisoner in a cell in the Dominican convent. He did the same with the procurator of the college, Father Bernardo Bruno, and the procurator of the province, Father Juan Francisco Romero, "depositing" one in the College of Santo Tomás and the other in the College of San Juan de Letrán. He probably wanted to interrogate them separately on the finances of the province and took this precaution to prevent collusion. In March of the following year he allowed Bruno to rejoin his companions, and the other two in May.[15]

As far as we can gather from the extant records,[16] the first Jesuit mission in the Visayas to be closed in accordance with the decree of expulsion was that of Bohol. An infantry lieutenant, Don Juan Llorens, was commissioned to execute the decree. He rounded up the eleven Jesuits in the island and put them aboard a coasting vessel bound for Manila, where they arrived on 3 July 1768. Their places were taken by eight Augustinian Recollects.

A commander of the royal navy, Don Pablo Verdote, took charge of

collecting Jesuits stationed in Leyte and the eastern coast of Samar and conveying them to Manila. There were eighteen of them altogether. Verdote started with Ormoc. The procedure which he followed here, as he himself describes it in his report, may be taken as typical.

> On 4 October I sailed the transport under my command into Ormoc Bay. On the 5th I went ashore at the town of Ormoc. I had with me the Reverend Father Fray Francisco Martínez of the Order of St. Augustine. Upon reaching the residence of the reverend father missionary of the town, I sent for the petty governor, his officials and the principal citizens. When they were all assembled in the house in the presence of the said Jesuit father [Luís Secanell] I read to them the royal decree of the king our lord (whom may God keep) and caused it to be translated in their language. Their unanimous reply was that they obeyed and accepted the royal orders of His Majesty. I then proceeded to make an inventory of the gold and silver vessels and the arms belonging to the church of the said town in the presence of the above-mentioned persons, who have affixed their signature below.[17]

Father Secanell then turned over the mission to Fray Francisco, and having packed his few personal belongings followed Commander Verdote to the waiting transport vessel. There were other Augustinians on board, and as they coasted southward, touching briefly at each mission, the Augustinians went ashore while the transport gradually filled with Jesuits. At about the same time Commander Francisco de la Rosa of the sloop *San Francisco de Asís* was gathering together the Jesuits of northern and western Samar, eleven altogether. There should have been twelve, but in the case of Father Juan Esandi, missionary stationed on the little island of Capul, the long arm of Charles III was not quite long enough. Moro raiders took him captive before Commander de la Rosa could get to him. Shortly afterward it was reliably reported that he had been put to the sword. Franciscans took the place of the Jesuits in these missions.

Later that same month came the turn of the Jesuits of Panay and western Negros. Leiutenant-Governor Francisco Leres of Panay acted for the government. Dominicans were the replacements here. The Jesuits of northern Mindanao were taken into custody the following month, with Don Gaspar Ilagorri, corregidor of the district, proclaiming the decree of expulsion at Misamis on the 5th. Six Augustinian Recollects stepped into the posts vacated by as many Jesuits. The two Jesuits stationed at Zamboanga, Fathers Vicente Alemán and Giuseppe Aressu, were not notified of the expulsion until 15 January of the following year.

Finally, in July 1769, the expulsion papers went out to the Jesuit viceprovince of the Marianas Islands aboard the schooner *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*, Captain José Sorda, and reached their destination on 25 August. They were communicated to the Jesuits by the governor, Don Enrique de

Olavide y Michelena, who arranged for them to return to the Philippines on the schooner. The following November the entire personnel of the Marianas Vice-Province, Father Franz Xaver Stengel, vice-provincial, Father Rafael Canicia, and Brother Plácido Lampurdanés, were taken ashore at Manila, along with all the portable worldly goods which had been confiscated from them, namely, 547 pesos and two and one-half rials in cash, and two boxes of books.

The members of the Philippine Jesuit Province were shipped to Spain in four groups: twenty-one on board the *San Carlos*, which negotiated a successful voyage to Acapulco in 1769; sixty-eight on board the *Santa Rosa*, which sailed for Cádiz by way of the Cape of Good Hope in 1770; twenty-four on board the *Venus*, which sailed by the same route in the same year; and eight on board the *Astrea*, which sailed by the same route the following year. Nineteen were certified by government physicians as too sick to travel; they were interned in various religious houses in Manila. Of these, twelve were dead by 16 July 1772. The seven survivors were: Father Giovanni Condestabile, interned in the Dominican convent of Santo Domingo; Father Francisco Javier Ibero and Brother Mateo Rubín, interned in the Hospital of San Juan de Dios; Fathers Miguel Quesada, Juan Fernández, and Andrés Rodríguez, and Brother José Ambrosio, interned in the convalescent home of San Andrés conducted by the Brothers of St. John of God. We know that Brother Rubín died on 10 January 1775; we have no information about the others. Only this: that after Pope Clement XIV suppressed the Society of Jesus throughout the world in 1773, a royal decree went out from Madrid commanding that the survivors of the Philippine Province in Manila who might still be alive were to put aside the Jesuit habit and dress themselves henceforth in the soutane of the secular clergy. On 20 December 1774 the Manila government reported that the decree had been obeyed.[18]

What happened to the establishments of the Philippine Province? We have already seen how the parishes and missions were taken over by the diocesan clergy in the Tagalog provinces, and by the remaining four religious orders in the Visayas islands and Mindanao. Mention has also been made of the fact that the colonial government acceded to Archbishop Sancho's request that the College of San José be transferred to the Fathers of the Pious Schools to be run as the archdiocesan seminary. In 1771, however, the king rescinded this transfer as being contrary to the character of San José as a pious foundation which must be maintained in accordance with the wishes of the founder. Accordingly, it was reconstituted as a separate educational institution in 1777 with a canon of the Manila cathedral as rector and the king himself as patron. The archdiocesan seminary was given instead the church and buildings of the College of Manila.

Archbishop Sancho also asked for the printing press of the last named institution. The king agreed, "but on this condition, to be strictly observed, namely, that it must never be established, located, or operated on ecclesiastical property, and all its printers and workmen must without any exception whatever be laymen who cannot invoke any privileges under canon law and who will be bound in all things to observe, keep, and obey the laws, ordinances, and regulations of their craft under pain of incurring the penalties therein provided." The implication of this is clear. Rightly or wrongly, Charles III believed that the Jesuits had used their press to criticize the government, protecting their right to do so by invoking ecclesiastical immunity; he was determined that no churchman would ever be able to do the same again. The state must have complete and unlimited control of the media of public communication. The archbishop agreed to this, and on 4 July 1773 the press was formally awarded to him.

The pharmacy of the College, Brother Kamel's pride and joy, was completely inventoried with the assistance of Fray José del Rosario of the College of Santo Tomás, and transferred in 1772 to the Hospital of San Juan de Dios. The bishop of Cebu, following the example of the archbishop of Manila, petitioned the government that the Jesuit church and residence in his city, and the estates attached to them, be given to him for the purpose of opening a diocesan seminary. The request was granted, although the government stipulated that the church be used as a parish church. On 23 October 1782 a representative of the bishop formally took possession of the church, residence and properties.

A *juez comisionado de temporalidades*, or Jesuit Property Custodian, was appointed to administer those estates which the government did not see fit to assign to the ecclesiastical authorities. The holder of this office in the early 1770's, Juan Francisco de Anda, did not find it an easy one. "The haciendas which are still under government management," he reported to the king in 1773, "have so far yielded nothing but trouble and expense." For this reason he was continually on the lookout for an opportunity to lease them to some private entrepreneur until they could be sold outright. He was eventually successful in his quest. That same year, Don Francisco Javier Noroña leased the San Pedro Makati Estate for 1,200 pesos a year; Don Francisco Javier Ramírez the Calamba Estate for 1,400; Don Juan Ramírez de Arellano the estates of Mayhaligi, Piedad, and Meisilo for 2,400; Don Fernando de Araya the estates of Nasugbu, Lian, and Calatagan for 1,900; and Don Félix Sousa the Nagtahan Estate for 375.

Montero y Vidal[19] cites a "curious document" by an author whom he does not name, but whom he affirms to be "not unfriendly to the Jesuits," in which an estimate is given of the total value of the property confiscated by the government from the Philippine Jesuits. It is itemized as follows:

	PESOS
Cash funds, interest on invested capital, and pious foundations	463,882
Proceeds from the sale of estates and buildings	721,553
Proceeds from the sale of the furniture and effects of colleges, residences, and missions	128,735
Printing press awarded to the archdiocesan seminary and valued at	4,035
Pharmacy, awarded to the royal hospital and valued at	2,660
Total	1,320,865

This sounds like a large sum, but the comment of Father Burrus is brief and to the point:

> How they [the Philippine Jesuits] could have managed eight colleges, more than a score of churches, several score of mission stations among the most impoverished natives and distributed free medicines, all on an amount that would scarcely suffice to finance one moderate American college is a miracle of economy, possible only through the generous contribution of their service and a standard of living which not one of their critics would have dared attempt to share.[20]

Thus, 187 years after Sedeño first set foot on Philippine soil, his successors were expelled from it. A king of Spain had opened this door to them; a king of Spain now shut it in their faces. What had they done? They did not know. They knew only this: that the king's command, no matter how unjust, lay within the range of a temporal ruler's authority. If the Most Catholic King saw fit to expel them from his dominions, they were prepared to obey without protest. This, then, is the last clear picture we have of them: the scene in the sala of San Ildefonso where the little community stood together before the king's commissioner to hear the king's decree. And after it had been read, "the Reverend Father Provincial Juan Silverio Prieto answered in the name of all . . . that he was ready to comply with whatever His Majesty ordained and that no subordinate of his would go against it or contradict it in any manner whatever." So might St. Ignatius himself have answered. No more fitting words can be found to close this history of a group of men who, like St. Thomas More, tried their best to be the king's good servants—but God's first; God's above all.

APPENDIXES

SOURCES AND REFERENCES

NOTES

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Appendix A

REGNAL YEARS

The following tables are offered to help the reader place the events of our narrative in their proper chronological framework.

Popes

1572	Gregory XIII	1621	Gregory XV	1691	Innocent XII
1585	Sixtus V	1623	Urban VIII	1700	Clement XI
1590	Urban VII	1644	Innocent X	1721	Innocent XIII
1590	Gregory XIV	1655	Alexander VII	1724	Benedict XIII
1591	Innocent IX	1667	Clement IX	1730	Clement XII
1592	Clement VIII	1670	Clement X	1740	Benedict XIV
1605	Leo IX	1676	Innocent XI	1758	Clement XIII
1605	Paul V	1689	Alexander VIII	1769	Clement XIV

Kings of Spain

1556	Philip II	1665	Marie Anne (regent for Charles II)	1700	Philip V
1598	Philip III			1746	Ferdinand VI
1621	Philip IV	1676	Charles II	1759	Charles III

Generals of the Society of Jesus

1573	Everard Mercurian	1682	Charles de Noyelle
1581	Claudio Acquaviva	1687	Tirso González
1615	Muzio Vitelleschi	1706	Michelangelo Tamburini
1646	Vincenzo Carrafa	1730	Franz Retz
1649	Francesco Piccolomini	1751	Ignazio Visconti
1652	Alessandro Gottifredi	1755	Luigi Centurione
1652	Goswin Nickel	1758	Lorenzo Ricci
1661	Gianpaolo Oliva		

Governors of the Philippines

1580	Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa	1602	Pedro Bravo de Acuña
1583	Diego Ronquillo, *acting*	1606	Audiencia, *interregnum*
1584	Santiago de Vera	1609	Juan de Silva
1590	Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas	1616	Audiencia, *interregnum*
1593	Luís Pérez Dasmariñas, *acting*	1618	Alonso Fajardo de Tenza
1596	Francisco Tello de Guzmán	1624	Audiencia, *interregnum*

1625 Fernando de Silva, *acting*
1626 Juan Niño de Tabora
1632 Audiencia, *interregnum*
1633 Juan Cerezo de Salamanca, *acting*
1635 Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera
1644 Diego Fajardo
1653 Sabiniano Manrique de Lara
1663 Diego Salcedo
1668 Audiencia, *interregnum*
1669 Manuel de León
1677 Audiencia, *interregnum*
1678 Juan de Vargas
1684 Gabriel de Curuzeláegui
1689 Audiencia, *interregnum*
1690 Fausto Cruzat y Góngora
1701 Domingo de Zabálburu
1709 Martín de Ursúa y Arizmendi, Count of Lizárraga
1715 Audiencia, *interregnum*
1717 Fernando de Bustamante Bustillo y Rueda
1719 Archbishop Francisco de la Cuesta, *acting*
1721 Toribio del Cossío, Marquis of Torre Campo
1729 Fernando Valdés y Tamón
1739 Gaspar de la Torre
1745 Bishop Juan de Arechederra, *acting*
1750 Francisco José de Obando, Marquis of Obando
1754 Pedro Manuel de Arandia
1759 Bishop Miguel de Espeleta, *acting*
1761 Archbishop Manuel Rojo, *acting*
1764 Francisco de la Torre, *acting*
1765 José Raón

Archbishops of Manila

(The dates given are those in which the incumbents took possession of the archdiocese, not necessarily those in which they were consecrated.)

1581 Domingo de Salazar, O.P., *bishop*
1594 Vacant see
1598 Ignacio de Santibáñez, O.F.M. (28 May to 14 August)
1598 Vacant see
1603 Miguel de Benavides, O.P.
1605 Vacant see
1610 Diego Vásquez Mercado
1616 Vacant see
1618 Miguel García Serrano, O.S.A.
1629 Vacant see
1635 Hernando Guerrero, O.S.A.
1641 Vacant see
1645 Fernando Montero (died on arrival)
1645 Vacant see
1653 Miguel Millán de Poblete
1667 Vacant see
1672 Juan López, O.P.
1674 Vacant see
1677 Felipe Pardo, O.P.
1689 Vacant see
1697 Diego Camacho y Ávila
1705 Vacant see
1707 Francisco de la Cuesta, Hieronymite
1723 Vacant see
1728 Carlos Bermúdez Castro
1729 Vacant see
1736 Juan Angel Rodríguez, Trinitarian
1742 Vacant see
1747 Pedro Martínez Árizala, O.F.M.
1755 Vacant see
1759 Manuel Antonio Rojo
1764 Vacant see
1767 Basilio Sancho de Santa Justa y Rufina, Piarist

Provincials of the Philippine Province

1580 Antonio Sedeño, *superior of mission*
1590 Antonio Sedeño, *rector*
1595 Antonio Sedeño, *vice-provincial*
1596 Ramón Prat, *vice-provincial*
1599 Diego García, *visitor*
1601 Diego García, *vice-provincial*
1605 Gregorio López, *provincial*
1613 Valerio de Ledesma
1618 Francisco Calderón, *visitor*
1621 Alonso de Humanes
1627 Juan de Bueras
1637 Juan de Salazar
1639 Francisco Colín
1644 Francisco de Roa
1646 Diego de Bobadilla
1648 Francisco de Roa
1650 Ignacio Zapata
1653 Diego Patiño
1654 Miguel Solana
1658 Simón Bautista
1659 Francisco de Roa
1661 Ignacio Zapata
1663 Rafael de Bonafé
1665 Ignacio Zapata
1666 Domingo Ezquerra
1667 Rafael de Bonafé
1668 Miguel Solana
1670 Luís Pimentel
1671 Andrés de Ledesma
1675 Luís Pimentel
1675 Javier Riquelme
1678 Giovanni Pallavicino
1681 Tomás de Andrade
1683 Francisco Salgado
1687 Luís Pimentel
1690 José Sánchez
1693 Magino Solá
1696 Antonino Tuccio
1699 Luís de Morales
1703 José de Velasco
1707 Antonino Tuccio
1708 Paul Klein
1710 Francisco Díaz
1713 Nicolás Alonso
1713 José de Velasco
1716 Francisco Alonso
1719 Marcello Valdivieso
1721 Juan Antonio de Oviedo, *visitor*
1722 José Hernández
1726 Pedro de la Hera
1730 Gilles Wibault
1734 José Astudillo
1738 Juan de Eguía
1739 Fulcher Spilimberg
1744 Pedro de Estrada
1748 José de Samaniego
1749 Leonhard Fink
1750 Juan Moreno
1754 Pietro Tavarnieri
? Juan Moreno (in office 1760–1761)
? Bernardo Pazuengos (in office 1763–1764)
? José de Torres (in office 1767)
? Juan Silverio Prieto (in office 1768)

Appendix B

CATALOGUE OF THE MEMBERS OF THE PROVINCE OF THE PHILIPPINES AT THE TIME OF THE EXPULSION, 1768

This Catalogue is compiled from lists and other data in Arag. E–I–b–6, E–I–d–5 and E–II–b–90. The men are listed according to the residence or house to which they were attached, with the exception of the provincial and his staff (*socii*). These habitually resided in the College of San Ildefonso in the town of Santa Cruz, across the Pasig River from Manila. Each man's office or principal employment is given after his name.

1. Juan Silverio Prieto, provincial.
2. Michel Perearneau, priest socius to the provincial.
3. Tomás Sancho, lay-brother socius to the provincial, assistant procurator of the province.

College of Manila

Priests

4. Bernardo Pazuengos, rector.
5. Francesco Badiola, minister.
6. Alessandro Mayneri, master of novices.
7. Andrés Rodríguez, engaged in the ministry.
8. Bernardo Bruno de la Fuente, procurator of the college.
9. Manuel Aponte Rodríguez, professor of canon law.
10. Manuel Barrio, engaged in the ministry.
11. Franz Buchelt, prefect of the church.
12. Francisco Ortíz Zugastí, engaged in the ministry.
13. Francisco Puche, engaged in the ministry.
14. Guillermo Moral, engaged in the ministry.
15. Ignacio Sata, moderator of the Sodality of Our Lady.
16. Juan Fernández, valetudinarian.
17. Juan Francisco Romero, procurator of the province.
18. Miguel Quesada, valetudinarian.
19. Pascual Fernández, professor of mathematics.
20. Felipe Solís, valetudinarian.
21. Salvador Busquéts, professor of theology.

Scholastics

22. Antonio Memije, student of theology.
23. Manuel García, student of theology.

Lay Brothers

24. Augusto Podda, manager of the Nasugbu Estate.
25. Alonso Almonacid, tailor, in charge of the clothes room.
26. Alonso González, in charge of the pantry and dining room.
27. Juan Dicastillo, manager of the Mariquina Estate.
28. Juan Rabanal, manager of the Nasugbu Estate.
29. Juan Riquet, sacristan.
30. José Ambrosio, valetudinarian.
31. José Azcón, assistant procurator of the college.
32. Giuseppe Martinelli, engaged in house work.
33. Mateo Fortich, pharmacist.
34. Mateo Rubín, infirmarian.
35. Olegario Llorensí, porter.
36. Pedro Aróstegui, engaged in house work.
37. Salvador Correas, manager of the Payatas Estate.

Novice Brother

38. Antonio Palomera.

COLLEGE OF SAN JOSÉ

Priests

39. Francisco Javier Ibero, vice-rector.
40. Giovanni Condestabile, valetudinarian, of the Province of Japan.
41. Juan Miguel Lazorda, grammar master.
42. Miguel Heredia, professor of philosophy.
43. Pedro Zía, professor of theology.

Lay Brothers

44. Francisco Ripoll, in charge of the pantry and dining room.
45. José Rodríguez, manager of the San Pedro Tunasan Estate.
46. Pedro Marín, manager of the Lian Estate.

COLLEGE OF SAN ILDEFONSO

Priests

47. Bernardo Martín, vice-rector, parish priest of Santa Cruz.
48. Anton Raucher, minister.
49. Manuel Arenas, engaged in the ministry.
50. Manuel Catarroja, valetudinarian.
51. Manuel Viegas, of the Vice-Province of China, procurator of the same.
52. Francisco Liébana, engaged in the ministry.
53. José León, engaged in the ministry.
54. Mathäus Stiller, engaged in the ministry.
55. Miguel Bernardo Arana, parish priest of San Miguel.

Lay Brothers

56. Antonio Ortíz, manager of the Calamba Estate.
57. Antonio Torres, manager of the San Pedro Makati Estate.
58. Ramon Burrullán, in charge of the pantry and dining room.

COLLEGE OF CAVITE

Priests

59. Manuel Zuazua, rector, parish priest of San Lucas.
60. Fernando Haro, valetudinarian.
61. Juan Manuel Alonso, parish priest of Cavite el Viejo and Binakayan.
62. Joaquín Ramos, engaged in the ministry.
63. Sebastian Zwerg, of the Province of Japan, engaged in the ministry.
64. Tomás Rón, engaged in the ministry.
65. Francisco Hereter, manager of the Naic Estate.

ANTIPOLO RESIDENCE

Priests

66. Miguel Roldán, rector, parish priest of Mariquina.
67. Antonio Miguel de los Reyes, parish priest of Taytay.
68. Baltazar Vela, parish priest of Cainta.
69. Eugenio Carrión, parish priest of Antipolo.
70. Francisco Ortíz, parish priest of Bosoboso.
71. Juan Izquierdo, parish priest of San Mateo.
72. Joaquín Pueyo, assistant parish priest of Mariquina.

SILANG RESIDENCE

Priests

73. Hernando Ibáñez, rector, parish priest of Silang.
74. Anton Guasch, assistant parish priest of Maragondon.
75. Antonio Urtezábal, parish priest of Maragondon.
76. Ignacio Monroy, parish priest of Indang.

MARINDUQUE MISSION

Priests

77. Francisco Polo, superior, missionary at Boac.
78. Bartolomé Avellán, missionary at Santa Cruz de Napo.
79. Valerio Noguera, missionary.

COLLEGE OF CEBU

Priests

80. Domingo Inchausti, vice-rector.
81. Daniel Josef Geltel, engaged in the ministry.

Priests—contd.

82. José Salvador, parish priest of Mandaue.
83. Lorenz John, engaged in the ministry.
84. Ramón Barnadas, engaged in the ministry.
85. Silvestre Puigvert, parish priest of Inabangan and Talibong on the island of Bohol.

Lay Brother

86. Miguel Marcos, physician and infirmarian.

BOHOL RESIDENCE

Priests

87. Ignacio Descallar, rector, parish priest of Dauis.
88. Andres Borrego, parish priest of Loon.
89. Carlos Barberán, parish priest of Loay.
90. Ignatz Agras, valetudinarian.
91. Johann Baptist Jaulen, valetudinarian.
92. Juan Soriano, parish priest of Malabohoc.
93. José Berenguer, parish priest of Baclayon.
94. José Molo, engaged in the ministry.
95. Marcos Marquínez, parish priest of Tagbilaran.
96. Pedro Pazos, parish priest of Hagna.
97. Salvatore Guirisi, parish priest of Loboc.

COLLEGE OF ILOILO

Priests

98. Alonso Jiménez, rector and chaplain of the Iloilo garrison.
99. Gabriel Oliver, parish priest of Molo.
100. Pedro Berrojo, parish priest of Mandurriao and Guimaras.

MISSION OF NEGROS

Priests

101. Francisco García, superior and missionary at Ilog.
102. Antonio Victoria, missionary at Guilhungan.
103. Domingo Mallo, missionary at Cabangcalan.

CATBALOGAN RESIDENCE

Priests

104. Gianbattista Medici, rector and parish priest of Catbalogan.
105. Ignatz Gosner, parish priest of Paranas.
106. Juan Esandi, parish priest of Capul and Calbayog.
107. Jean Antoine Tournon, parish priest of Calbiga.
108. José Gomez, parish priest of Bangahon.
109. José Valero, engaged in the ministry.
110. Miguel Alústiza, engaged in the ministry.

PALAPAG RESIDENCE

Priests

111. Roque Corbinos, vice-provincial for the Visayas, rector and parish priest of Palapag.
112. Luís López, parish priest of Sulat.
113. Charles O'Dwyer, parish priest of Tubig.
114. Ignatz Frisch, parish priest of Guiuan.
115. José Anda, parish priest of Catubig and Lauan.
116. Joseph Brémont, parish priest of Catarman and Bobon.
117. José Vazquez, parish priest of Borongan.

DAGAMI RESIDENCE

Priests

118. Juan Miguel de la Cuesta, rector and parish priest of Palo.
119. Aloys Knapp, parish priest of Dagami.
120. Juan Tronco, parish priest of Burauen.
121. José Paver, parish priest of Basy.
122. Giuseppe Silvestri, parish priest of Dulag.
123. Pedro Cáseda, parish priest of Balangigan.
124. Pietro Patelani, parish priest of Tanauan.

CARIGARA RESIDENCE

Priests

125. Pedro Nicolás García, rector and parish priest of Carigara.
126. Jerome Ketten, parish priest of Alang-alang.
127. Rafael Rivera, parish priest of Jaro.
128. Richard Callaghan, parish priest of Barugo.

HILONGOS RESIDENCE

Priests

129. Bernabé Limia, rector and parish priest of Hilongos.
130. Luis Secanell, parish priest of Ormoc and Baybay.
131. Hilario Balza, parish priest of Palompong.
132. Joaquín Romeo, parish priest of Sogod, Hinundayan and Cabalian.
133. Pedro Baeza, engaged in the ministry.
134. Tomás Montón, parish priest of Maasin.

COLLEGE OF ZAMBOANGA

Priests

135. Vicente Alemán, rector, chaplain of the Zamboanga garrison and parish priest of Zamboanga.
136. Giuseppe Aressu, engaged in the ministry.

DAPITAN RESIDENCE

Priests

137. Josef Maurer, rector and parish priest of Dapitan.
138. Francisco Capilla, parish priest of Bayog.
139. Francisco Zarzoso, parish priest of Lubungan and Dipolog.
140. Juan Mencerreg, parish priest of Iligan and Initao.
141. Juan Antonio Muñoz, parish priest of Ilaya.
142. Sebastián Sanz, parish priest of Misamis.

VICE-PROVINCE OF MARIANAS

Priests

143. Franz Stengel, vice-provincial, parish priest of Agaña.
144. Franz Reitemberg, rector of the College of Agaña.
145. Rafael Canicia, missionary at Umata, Merizo and Inarahan.

Lay Brother

146. Plácido Lampurdanés, physician.

ON OVERSEAS ASSIGNMENTS

Priests

147. Ignacio Málaga, procurator of the Province, in Rome.
148. Joaquín Mezquida, procurator of the Province, in Madrid.
149. Patricio del Barrio, assistant procurator of the Province, in Rome.

Lay Brothers

150. Ignacio Coma, manager of the Textuco Estate, Mexico.
151. Gioacchino Santacilia, in Mexico.
152. Joseph Demesain, manager of the Del Molino Estate, Mexico.
153. Giuseppe Fontanedda, manager of the San Borja Estate, Mexico.
154. Miguel Ferrer, manager of the San Nicolás Estate, Mexico.

Appendix C

CATALOGUE OF MEMBERS OF THE MISSION, THE VICE-PROVINCE, AND PROVINCE OF THE PHILIPPINES, 1581-1768, MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

The principal sources for the biographical data in this list are the personnel catalogues in ARSI, the histories of Colín (in Pastells' edition), and Murillo Velarde, Sommervogel, and Huonder. I have usually followed ARSI as against later authorities where there is a discrepancy in date. The principal abbreviations employed are: *arr.*—arrived in the Philippines (or the Marianas); *b.*—born; *d.*—died; dioc.—diocese or archdiocese; *dm.*—dismissed from the Society; *e.*—entered the Society; *miss.*—sent as a missionary to; *prof.*—took the final vows of the profession; *ret.*—returned to Spain (or Mexico, as the case may be); *spir. coadj.*—took the vows of a spiritual coadjutor; *temp. coadj.*—took the vows of a temporal coadjutor.

Abarca, Antonio: priest; *b.* Villalba, dioc. Cuenca, Spain, 13 Sep. 1610; *e.* 23 Mar. 1628; *arr.* 26 May 1632; *prof.* 21 Jan. 1649; *d.* at sea near Acapulco 21 Jan. 1660.

Acuña, Pascual de: priest; *b.* Funchal, Madeira, 1573; *e.* prov. Mexico 1596; *arr.* 1603; *d.* Manila 3 Mar. 1643.

Aguirre, Juan de; priest; *b.* Toledo, Spain, 31 Aug. 1586; *e.* 11 Jul. 1607; *d.* Manila 13 Jun. 1632.

Alberto, Raymundo: brother; *b.* Barcelona, Spain, 7 Jan. 1604; *e.* prov. Aragon 4 Jan. 1622; *temp. coadj.* 12 Oct. 1636; *d.* Manila 16 Sep. 1650.

Alcina, Ignacio: priest; *b.* Gandía, Spain, 2 Feb, 1610; *e.* 15 Feb. 1624; *arr.* 26 May 1632; *prof.* 15 Feb. 1643; *d.* 30 Jul. 1674.

Aleni, Giulio: priest; stationed at Palapag 1649.

Almerici, Francesco: priest; *b.* Pesaro, March of Ancona, Italy, 1557; *e.* 29 Sep. 1576; *arr.* 26 May 1584; *prof.* 12 May 1593; *d.* 2 Dec. 1601.

Alonso, Domingo: brother, *b.* Guardia, Galicia, Spain, 1574; *e.* Manila 20 Nov. 1596; *temp coadj.* 4 Oct. 1604; date of death unknown.

Andrade, Tomás de: priest; *b.* Toledo, Spain, 2 Dec, 1619; *e.* 27 Feb. 1636; *arr.* 1643; *prof.* 29 Sep. 1654; *d.* Manila 15 May 1689.

Angel, Francisco: priest; *b.* San Clemente, Spain, 14 Jan. 1603; *e.* 14 Apr. 1618; *arr.* 1626; *prof.* 1 Nov. 1637; *d.* Catbalogan, 24 Feb. 1676.

Angelis, Teofilo de: priest; *b.* Siena, Italy, 15 Jan, 1652; *e.* 6 Nov. 1673; *arr.* (Marianas) 1681; killed by natives, Rota, 24 Jul. 1684.

Anglés, Juan: priest; no information available.

Arcada, Sebastián Ignacio de: priest; no information available.

Aressu, Giovanni Domenico: priest; *b.* Cagliari, Sardinia, 6 Feb. 1606; *e.* 4 Nov. 1622; *arr.* 1643; *spir. coadj.*; killed by natives, Cabalian, 10 Apr. 1645.

Armano, Angelo: priest; *b.* Lucca, Italy, 1572; *e.* prov. Rome 10 June 1593; *arr.* 19 May 1601; *d.* Manila 10 Jan. 1612.

Arroyo, Alonso de: priest; *b.* Málaga, Spain, 22 Apr. 1592; *e.* 27 Oct. 1610; *arr.* 1621; *prof.* 8 Sep. 1629; *miss.* Japan 1643; date of death unknown.

Asín, Joaquín: priest; *b.* Saragossa, Spain, 19 Jul. 1653; *e.* 11 Jul. 1673; *prof.* 15 Aug. 1696.

Auñón, Pedro de: priest; *b.* Pareja, dioc. Cuenca, Spain, 1575; *e.* 1594; *arr.* 21 Jun. 1603; *prof.* 5 Feb. 1612; *d.* Loboc, Bohol, 2 Jul. 1655.

Avina, Lorenzo de: priest; *b.* Seville, Spain, 13 Nov. 1661; *e.* Manila 10 Oct. 1693.

Ballesteros, Juan de: brother; *b.* Albuera, dioc. Badajoz, Spain, 1577; *e.* Manila 26 Apr. 1620; *temp. coadj.* 2 Feb. 1637; *d.* Carigara, Leyte, 6 Aug. 1646.

Barcena, Ventura: priest; *b.* 1634; *e.* prov. Castile 1653; *d.* in captivity, Tawi-Tawi, Sulu, 1663.

Barco, Alonso del: brother; *b.* Plasencia, Spain, 1576; *e.* prov. Toledo 23 Jan. 1594; *arr.* 5 Aug. 1596; *dm.* 1603.

Baroncini, Gregorio: priest; *b.* Lucca, Italy, 1569; *e.* prov. Rome; *arr.* 19 May 1601; *d.* Dulag, Leyte, 8 May 1602.

Barrio, Patricio del: priest; no information available.

Barrios, Juan de: priest; no information available.

Baudin, Etienne: brother; *b.* Marseilles, France, 1673; *e.* Manila 1702; *d.* at sea near Marinduque 18 Oct. 1711.

Bautista, Francis: brother; *b.* Ireland 1581; *e.* Manila 8 Sep. 1612; *temp. coadj.* 12 Oct. 1625; *d.* Manila 28 Oct. 1630.

Bautista, Simón; priest; *b.* Lérida, Spain, 10 Dec. 1599; *e.* prov. Aragon 27 Dec. 1619; *arr.* 1626; *prof.* 26 Apr. 1637; *d.* Cebu 28 Oct. 1661.

Belín, Gregorio: priest; *b.* Madrid, Spain, 15 Mar. 1607; *e.* 7 Oct. 1625; *arr.* 18 Jun. 1626; *dm.* Nov. 1640.

Bertarello, Sebastiano Roderigo: brother; *b.* Belfonte, Dukedom of Mantua, Italy, 1569; *e.* Manila 14 Jul. 1608; *temp. coadj.* 14 Nov. 1621.

Bilanci, Giovanni Domenico: priest; *b.* Licii, Kingdom of Naples, Italy, 1573; *e.* 27 Sep. 1589; *arr.* 1 May 1602; *prof.* 10 Aug. 1611; *d.* captive of the Sulus, Jolo, 1633.

Bobadilla, Diego de: priest; *b.* Madrid, Spain, 19 Sep. 1590; *e.* prov. Castile 1 Jan. 1606; *arr.* 1615; *prof.* 1 Nov. 1623; *d.* Carigara 6 Feb. 1648.

Bobadilla, José de: priest; no information available.

Bonafé, Rafael de: priest; *b.* Palma de Mallorca, Spain, 6 Nov. 1606; *e.* prov. Aragon 16 Jul. 1622; *arr.* 26 May 1632; *prof.* 31 Jul. 1642; *d.* Manila 27 Sep. 1668.

Boranga, Karl von: priest; *b.* Vienna, Austria, 8 Jul. 1640; *e.* prov. Austria 7 Oct. 1656; *arr.* (Marianas) 1681; *prof.* 2 Feb. 1674; killed by natives, Rota, Marianas, 1684.

Borja, Antonio de: priest; *b.* Valencia, Spain, 30 Jan. 1650; *e.* 13 Sep. 1668; left for Philippines 1671; *prof.* 2 Feb. 1687; *d.* Manila 27 Jan. 1711.

Bosque, Juan del: priest; *b.* Oaxaca, Mexico, 1568; *e.* 28 Aug. 1586; *arr.* 10 Jun. 1595; *dm.* Aug. 1600.

Bueras, Juan de: priest; *b.* Pantaleon de Aras, dioc. Burgos, Spain, Apr. 1583; *e.* prov. Toledo 1602; *prof.* 17 Mar. 1620; *arr.* 1622; *visitor* prov. Mexico 1645; *d.* Mexico 19 Feb. 1646.

Bustillos, Lorenzo: priest; *b.* Valle de Carriedo, dioc. Burgos, Spain, 10 Aug. 1642; *e.* 2 Jul. 1664; *arr.* (Marianas) 15 Jun. 1668; *spir. coadj.* 15 Aug. 1681; *d.* Guam, Marianas, 2 Mar. 1716.

Calvo, Bartolomé: brother; *b.* Toledo, Spain, 1574; *e.* Manila 9 Jun. 1594; *d.* in sea-fight with Dutch off Nasugbu, Luzon, 14 Dec. 1600.

Calvo, Jose: priest; *d.* Cuzco 17 Apr. 1707?

Cámara, Andrés de la: priest; *b.* Ghent, Belgium, 7 Mar. 1574; *e.* 24 Jun. 1594; *prof.* 10 Aug. 1611; *d.* Silang 1624.

Campioni, Gianantonio: priest; *b.* Genoa, Italy, 13 Dec. 1592; *e.* 26 Dec. 1608; *arr.* 1622; *prof.* 26 Aug. 1629; *d.* Cebu 1 Jan. 1651.

Campo, Juan del: priest; *b.* Salamanca, Spain, 1563; *e.* prov. Castile 1588; *arr.* 10 Jun. 1595; *d.* Tampakan, Mindanao, 11 Aug. 1596.

Campo, Juan del: priest; *b.* Villaneuva, dioc. Plasencia, Spain, 18 Feb. 1620; *e.* 12 Mar. 1636; *arr.* 1643; killed by natives, Mindanao, 27 Jan. 1650.

Cani, Niccolo: priest; *b.* Iglesias, Sardinia, 25 Mar. 1611; *e.* prov. Sardinia 27 Mar. 1628; *arr.* 1653; *prof.* 8 Sep. 1648; *d.* Manila 4 Jul. 1696.

Cantova, Gianantonio: priest; *b.* Intra, Italy, 1697; left for Philippines 1717; *miss.* Palaus 1722, 1731; killed by natives, Mogmog Island, 9 Jun. 1731.

Capdevila, Jacinto: priest; *b.* Graus, Spain, 16 Aug. 1654; *e.* 15 Nov. 1673; *spir. coadj.* 2 Feb. 1691.

Cardeñoso, Tomás: priest; *b.* Paredes, dioc. Palencia, Spain, 22 Dec. 1635; *e.* 27 Sep. 1664; *arr.* (Marianas) 23 Mar. 1668; *spir. coadj.* 15 Aug. 1681.

Caro, Andrea: priest; *b.* Trapani, Sicily, 1569; *e.* 29 Apr. 1579; *arr.* 1603; *prof.* 2 Jul. 1611.

Carpio, Juan del: priest; *b.* Riofrío, dioc. Ávila, Spain, 1583; *e.* prov. Mexico 19 Mar. 1614; *arr.* 1615; *spir. coadj.* 2 Dec. 1624; killed by Moros, Ormoc, Leyte, 3 Dec. 1634.

Cartagena, Diego de: priest; *b.* Valladolid, Spain, 17 Apr. 1602; *e.* 17 Jan. 1619; *dm.* 31 May 1637.

Casanova, Pedro de: priest; *b.* Vélez del Blanco, dioc. Almería, Spain, 26 Aug. 1641; *e.* prov. Toledo 1658; *arr.* (Marianas) 23 Mar. 1668; came to Manila 1671; *prof.* 2 Feb. 1676; *d.* at sea near Manila 3 Jul. 1694.

Cebreros, Gerónimo: priest; *b.* Mexico 5 May 1631; *e.* 5 Jul. 1649; *arr.* 1653; *spir. coadj.* 2 Feb. 1666; *d.* 15 Aug. 1713.

Certelli, Cristóforo: scholastic; *b.* Siena, Italy, 1577; *e.* 1599; *arr.* 21 Jun. 1603; *d.* Manila Aug. 1606.

Chirino, Pedro: priest; *b.* Osuna, Spain, 1558; *e.* prov. Andalusia 1 Feb. 1580; *arr.* 20 Jun. 1590; *prof.* 28 Aug. 1595; *d.* Manila 16 Sep. 1635.

Chova, Vicente: priest; *b.* Gandía, Spain, 17 May 1624; *e.* 26 Apr. 1641; *prof.* 1 Jul. 1663.

Coemans, Pierre: priest; *b.* Antwerp, Belgium, 30 Jan. 1638; *e.* 19 Sep. 1656; *arr.* (Marianas) 16 Jun. 1674; *prof.* 2 Feb. 1675; killed by natives, Saipan, Jul. 1695.

Colín, Francisco; priest; *b.* Ripoll, dioc. Vich, Spain, 1592; *e.* prov. Aragon 22 Dec. 1606; *arr.* 18 Jun. 1626; *prof.* 7 Aug. 1627; *d.* San Pedro Makati, Luzon, 16 May, 1660.

Combés, Francisco: priest; *b.* Saragossa, Spain, 5 Oct. 1620; *e.* prov. Aragon 25 May 1633; *arr.* 7 Jul. 1643; *prof.* 2 Jul. 1654; *d.* Acapulco 29 Dec. 1665.

Cortes, Adriano de las: priest; *b.* Tauste, dioc. Saragossa, Spain, 1580; *e.* 3 May 1596; *arr.* 22 Jun. 1605; *prof.* 16 May 1613; *d.* Manila 6 May 1629.

Cortil, Joseph: priest; *b.* Belle, dioc. Ypres, Belgium, 5 Feb. 1675; *e.* prov. Flemish Belgium 1 Jan. 1693; *arr.* 1709; killed by natives, Palaus, 1710.

Cotta, Simone: priest; *b.* Genoa, Italy, 15 Dec. 1590; *e.* 2 Jan. 1608; *prof.* 26 Aug. 1629.

Crespo, Ignacio: priest; *b.* Argente, Aragon, Spain, 1681; *e.* prov. Aragon; *arr.* 1709; *d.* at sea near Marinduque 18 Oct. 1711.

Damiani, Vincenzo: priest; *b.* Messina, Sicily, 17 Oct. 1613; *e.* 7 Mar. 1630; *arr.* 1643; killed by natives, Catubig, Samar, 11 Oct, 1649.

Delgado, Juan José: priest; *b.* Cadiz, Spain, 23 Jun. 1697; *e.* 15 May 1714; left for Philippines 1718; *d.* Carigara, Leyte, 24 Mar. 1755.

Díaz, Pedro: brother; *b.* Ávila, Spain, 1574; *e.* 25 Aug. 1592; *d.* Aug. 1605.

Díaz Carlos, Pedro: priest; *b.* Huelva, dioc. Seville, Spain, 9 Oct. 1619; *e.* 26 Jun. 1634; *arr.* 1643; *prof.* 8 Sep. 1654; *d.* Cebu 11 Dec. 1701.

Duberon, Jacques: priest; *b.* Lille, Belgium, 30 Dec. 1674; *e.* prov. French Belgium 1691; *arr.* 1709; *prof.* 18 Oct. 1710; killed by natives, Palaus, 1710.

Dubois, Balthazar: brother; *b.* Tournai, Belgium 15 Mar. 1654; *e.* prov. Flemish Belgium 29 Jun. 1675; *arr.* (Marianas) 1679; killed by natives, Marianas, 23 Jul. 1684.

Ducós, José: priest; no information available.

Encinas, Francisco de: priest; *b.* Ávila, Spain, 18 Jul. 1572; *e.* 24 Jun. 1587; *arr.* 1596; *prof.* 26 Sep. 1610; *d.* Manila 10 Jan. 1633.

Enríquez, Martín: priest; *b.* Navarre, 1565; *arr.* 3 May 1592; *d.* Taytay, Luzon, 5 Feb. 1593.

Esbrí, Onofre: priest; *b.* Tortosa, Spain, 16 Aug. 1611; *e.* 3 Apr. 1627; *arr.* 26 May 1632; killed by Chinese pirates, Sancian Island, June 1647.

Espinar, Pedro de: priest; *b.* Toledo, Spain, 27 Mar. 1630; *e.* prov. Castile 7 Mar. 1645; *arr.* 1653; *prof.* 2 Feb. 1664; *d.* Madrid 31 Aug. 1695.

Esquivel, Diego de: priest; *b.* Manila 11 Nov. 1625; *e.* 27 Nov. 1648; *d.* Manila 6 Jun. 1665.

Estrada, Pedro de: priest; *b.* La Rambla, Córdoba, Spain, 15 Jul. 1680; *e.* 1695; left for Philippines 1707; *d.* Manila 16 Nov. 1748.

Ezquerra, Domingo: priest; *b.* Manila 1601; *e.* 1618; *d.* 29 Apr. 1670.

Ezquerra, Francisco: priest; *b.* Manila 4 Oct. 1644; *e.* 12 Jan. 1661; *miss.* Marianas 11 Jun. 1671; killed by natives, Guam, 1 Feb. 1674.

Fink, Leonhard: priest; *b.* Bregenz, Austria, 2 Apr. 1688; *e.* prov. Upper Germany 3 Oct. 1713; *arr.* 1718; living in 1755.

Flores, Cosme de: priest; *b.* Zacatecas, Mexico, 1569; *e.* 1 Sep. 1587; *arr.* 10 Jun. 1595; *d.* Alangalang, Leyte, 8 Sep. 1597.

Gallardo, Nicolás: brother; *b.* Valladolid, Spain; *arr.* 1581; *temp. coadj.* 29 Dec. 1588; *d.* Mexico City 8 Jun. 1614.

Garay, Gaspar: brother; *b.* Triana, Seville, Spain, 1540; *e.* Manila 6 May 1591; *temp coadj.* 8 Aug. 1599.

García, Diego: priest; *b.* Las Berlanas, dioc. Ávila, Spain, 2 Jul. 1552; *e.* 31 Mar. 1572; *prof.* 22 Jul. 1591; *arr.* 17 Jun. 1599; *d.* Manila 12 Sep. 1604.

García Pacheco, Juan: priest; *b.* León, Spain, 1560; *e.* Manila 24 Dec. 1585; *d.* Mexico City 6 Dec. 1595.

Gavanti, Bartolommeo: priest; *see* text.

Gómez, Gaspar: brother; *b.* Ocaña, Spain, 8 Sep. 1552; *e.* prov. Toledo 10 Aug. 1570; *arr.* 9 Mar. 1584; *temp coadj.* 12 May 1593; *d.* Manila 9 Feb. 1622.

Gómez, Luís: priest; *b.* Toledo, Spain, 1569; *e.* 15 Aug. 1588; *arr.* 23 May 1598; *d.* Manila 1 Mar. 1628.

Gómez, Miguel: priest; *b.* Villaluenga, near Calatayud, dioc. Tarazona, Spain, 1564; *e.* prov. Castile 15 Apr. 1582; *prof.* 26 Jul. 1603; *d.* Manila 18 Dec. 1622.

González, Francisco: priest; *b.* Torrijos, dioc. Tarragona, Spain, 1568; *e.* 11 Apr. 1592; *arr.* 17 Jun. 1599; *d.* Cebu 1 Feb. 1614.

Gutiérrez, Francisco: *b.* Segura de la Sierra, dioc. Cartagena, Spain, Aug. 1583; *e.* Mar. 1601; *arr.* 22 Jun. 1605; *prof.* 1 Sep. 1618.

Gutiérrez, Pedro: priest; *b.* Colima, dioc. Michoacan, Mexico, 24 Apr. 1593; *e.* 14 May 1611; *arr.* 1622; *prof.* 30 Oct. 1633; *d.* Iligan 25 Jul. 1651.

Herrera, Juan de: brother; *b.* Medina Sidonia, dioc. Cadiz, Spain, 9 May, 1570; *e.* prov. Toledo 29 May 1595; *temp. coadj.* 12 Oct. 1625; *d.* Manila 10 May 1632.

Humanes, Alonso de: priest; *b.* Pozuelos, dioc. Toledo, Spain, 1562; *e.* 15 Jun. 1588; *arr.* 10 Jun. 1595; *prof.* 26 Feb. 1600; *d.* Loboc, Bohol, 26 Aug. 1633.

Hurtado, Melchor: priest; *b.* Toledo, Spain, 1571; *e.* 20 Apr. 1591; *arr.* 17 Jun. 1599; *prof.* 15 Oct. 1606; *d.* Oton, Panay, 1607.

Ignacio, Miguel: priest; *b.* Requena, Spain, 1580; *e.* prov. Aragon 18 Jul. 1596; *arr.* 21 Jun. 1603; *prof.* 26 Aug. 1615.

Irigoyen, Juan de: priest; *b.* Pamplona, Spain, 11 Apr. 1646; *e.* 19 Mar. 1662; *arr.* 1667; *prof.* 15 Aug. 1679; *d.* Monaco 13 Oct. 1699.

Jaramillo, Miguel: priest; *b.* Zafra, Spain, 26 Feb. 1648; *e.* 16 Jan. 1665; *miss.* Marianas; prof. 2 Feb. 1695; *rect.* College of Manila 1687; *d.* Ocaña, Spain, 30 Dec. 1707.

Jayme, Esteban: priest; *b.* Ordis, dioc. Gerona, Spain, 26 Dec. 1602; *e.* 25 Feb. 1619; *arr.* 1626; *prof.* 1 Jan. 1638; killed by natives, Isiu, Negros, 17 Feb. 1659.

Jiménez, Cristóbal: priest; *b.* Prexamo, dioc. Palencia, Spain, 1573; *e.* prov. Castile 2 May 1588; *arr.* 1596; *prof.* 3 Oct. 1610; *d.* Alangalang, Leyte, 3 Dec. 1628.
John, Lorenz: priest; *b.* Leschen, Bohemia, 10 Aug. 1691; *e.* prov. Bohemia 21 Oct. 1710; *arr.* 1723; living in 1772.

Kahl, Adam: priest; *b.* Eger, Bohemia, 25 Feb. 1657; *e.* prov. Bohemia 27 Oct. 1673; *arr.* (Marianas) 1688; *d.* Manila 5 Nov. 1702.
Kaller: *see* Kahl, Adam.
Kamel, Georg Josef: brother; *b.* Brunn, Moravia, 21 Apr. 1661; *e.* prov. Bohemia 12 Nov. 1682; *arr.* 1687; *temp. coadj.* 15 Aug. 1696; *d.* Manila 2 May 1706.
Klein, Paul: priest; *b.* Eger, Bohemia, 25 Jan. 1652; *e.* prov. Bohemia 16 Sep. 1669; *arr.* 1678; *prof.* 2 Feb. 1685.

Lado, Francesco: priest; *b.* Alghero, Sardinia, 2 Jun. 1617; *e.* 2 Jun. 1633; *arr.* 1643; *prof.* 19 Apr. 1654.
Landa, Juan de: priest; *b.* Havana, Cuba, 5 Jun. 1617; *e.* 20 Jun. 1643; *arr.* 1643; *d.* at sea near Acapulco 9 Jan. 1674.
Laurencio, Diego: priest; *b.* Jerez de la Frontera, Spain, 1562; *e.* 21 Apr. 1594; *arr.* 19 May 1601; *prof.* 25 Feb. 1607; *d.* Manila 13 May 1645.
Ledesma, Andrés de: priest; *b.* Yeste, dioc. Cartagena, Spain, 15 Jun. 1610; *e.* 6 Dec. 1627; *arr.* 26 May 1632; *prof.* 27 Dec. 1648; *d.* Manila 16 Feb. 1684.
Ledesma, Valerio de: priest; *b.* Alaejos, Spain, 23 Mar. 1556; *e.* 16 Oct. 1572; *arr.* 1596; *prof.* 4 Jan. 1604; *d.* Manila 15 May 1639.
Lombard, Jules: brother; *b.* Monton, Savoy, 1580; *e.* Manila 21 Mar. 1614; *temp. coadj.* 8 Sep. 1627; *d.* Manila 23 Oct. 1643.
López, Alejandro: priest; *b.* Jaca, Spain, Jul. 1604; *e.* Manila 28 Aug. 1631; *prof.* 2 Dec. 1643; killed by Magindanaus, Bwayan, Mindanao, 13 Dec. 1655.
López, Alejo: priest; *b.* Albalate del Arzobispo, Spain, 16 Jul. 1649; *e.* prov. Aragon 30 Sep. 1662; *arr.* 1666; *prof.* 2 Feb. 1679; *d.* at sea near Puerto Rico 18 Sep. 1693.
López, Gregorio: priest; *b.* Alcocer, Spain, Feb. 1561; *e.* 31 Mar. 1579; *prof.* 27 May 1596; *arr.* 19 May 1601; *d.* Manila 21 Jul. 1614.
López, Juan: priest; *b.* Muratalla, dioc. Murcia, Spain, 27 Dec. 1584; *e.* prov. Toledo 9 Oct. 1600; *arr.* 16 Jul. 1606; prof. 18 Jan. 1618; *d.* Manila 3 Sep. 1659.
López de la Parra, Pedro: priest; *b.* Salamanca, Spain, 1547; *e.* 1565; *prof.* 29 May 1591; *arr.* Aug. 1596; *d.* at sea near Catanduanes Mar. 1601.
Lugo, Bartolommeo: priest; no information available.

Maerckl, Franz: priest; *b.* Karlsbad 6 May 1698; *e.* prov. Bohemia 9 Oct. 1717; *arr.* 1729; *d.* Cebu? 5 Dec. 1754.
Málaga, Ignacio: priest; no information available.
Malinsky, Anton Xaver: priest; *b.* Prague, Bohemia, 1 May 1703; *e.* prov. Bohemia 9 Oct. 1718; *arr.* 1729; *d.* 24 Mar. 1746.
Mancker, Andreas: priest; *b.* Herzogenburg, Austria, 25 Nov. 1640; *e.* prov. Austria 31 Oct. 1664; *arr.* 1678; *d.* at sea on the way to China Jun. 1684.

Marie, Denis: brother; *b.* France 1572; *e.* 28 Oct. 1590; *arr.* 10 Jun. 1595; *d.* before 1614.

Martes, Bartolomé: priest; *b.* Luna, Aragon, Spain, 1571; *e.* 29 Sep. 1592; *arr.* Aug. 1596; *dm.* bef. 5 Jul. 1601.

Martí, Ignacio: priest; *b.* Orihuela, Spain, 7 Aug. 1606; *e.* 6 Nov. 1621.

Martín, Francisco: brother; *b.* Valencia de Alcántara (or Vigo), dioc. Soria, Spain, 1558; *e.* prov. Andalusia 1584; *arr.* 20 Jun. 1590; *temp. coadj.* 28 Aug. 1595; *d.* Manila 28 Jun. 1620.

Martinez, Francisco: priest; *b.* Egea de los Caballeros, dioc. Huesca, Spain, 28 Feb. 1605; *e.* 13 May 1622; *prof.* 2 Feb. 1642; *d.* Zamboanga, Mindanao, 11 Sep. 1650.

Martínez, Manuel: priest; *b.* Pedraza, dioc. Segovia, Spain, 1560; *e.* prov. Castile 5 Oct. 1577; *spir. coadj.* 13 Jun. 1593; *arr.* 1596; *d.* Palapag, Samar, 12 Dec. 1626.

Medina, Luís de: priest; *b.* Málaga, Spain, 25 Aug. 1636; *e.* 1656; *arr.* (Marianas) 23 Mar. 1668; killed by natives, Saipan, Marianas, 29 Jan. 1670.

Mendiola, Simón de: brother; *e.* Manila 1583; *d.* Manila 1592.

Mendonça, Francisco da: priest; *b.* Lisbon, Portugal, 24 Aug. 1602; *e.* prov. Mexico 17 Jun. 1621; *spir. coadj.*; killed by Maranaus between Iligan and Dansalan, Mindanao, 7 May 1642.

Messina, Francesco: priest; *b.* Messina, Sicily, 20 Dec. 1614; *e.* prov. Sicily 11 Jun. 1629; *arr.* 1643; *prof.* 6 Jan. 1650; *d.* Santa Cruz (Manila) 12 Dec. 1682.

Miedes, Francisco: priest; *b.* Alcalá, Spain, 2 Mar. 1622; *e.* 1 Mar. 1643; *prof.* 15 Aug. 1669.

Miralles, Cristóbal de: priest; *b.* Seville, Spain, 20 Mar. 1632; *e.* 9 May 1646; left for Philippines 1653; *d.* Manila 9 (or 13) Sep. 1708.

Misas, Juan de las: priest; *b.* Mexico 1593; *e.* Manila 16 May 1609; killed by Camucones at sea near Marinduque 1624.

Monroy, Sebastian de: priest; *b.* Arajal, dioc. Seville, 1649; *e.* 23 Jun. 1672; *arr.* (Marianas) 16 Jun. 1674; killed by natives, Guam, Marianas, 6 Sep. 1676.

Monte, Ignacio de: *see* Sonnenberg.

Montes, Pedro de: priest; *b.* Málaga, Spain, 1560; *e.* 15 Nov. 1577; *prof.* 25 Jul. 1594; *arr.* 22 Jun. 1605; *d.* Mexico *ca.* 1610.

Montiel, Juan de: priest; *b.* Rijoles, Kingdom of Naples, 1630; *arr.* 1654; killed by Magindanaus, Bwayan, Mindanao, 13 Dec. 1655.

Montoya, Tomás de: priest; *b.* Zacatecas, Mexico, 1568; *e.* 13 Jul. 1596; *arr.* 1595; *prof.* 8 Sep. 1604; *d.* Manila 14 Jul. 1627.

Morales, Luís de: priest; *b.* Tordesillas, dioc. Valladolid, Spain, 29 Sep. 1641; *e.* prov. Castile 28 Aug. 1658; *arr.* (Marianas) 23 Mar. 1668; to Manila 1671; *prof.* 2 Feb. 1676; *d.* Manila 14 Jun. 1716.

Moreno, Juan: priest; *b.* Torrecampo, dioc. Córdoba, Spain, 1 Jun. 1691; *e.* 3 Jan. 1709; left for Philippines 1718; still living in 1759.

Mújica, Ignacio de: priest; *b.* Bilbao, dioc. Calahorra, Spain, 8 Mar. 1593; *e.* prov. Toledo 15 Feb. 1608; *arr.* 1625; *prof.* 12 Oct. 1627; *d.* Manila 30 Nov. 1656.

Murillo Velarde, Pedro: priest; *b.* Laujar, dioc. Granada, Spain, 6 Aug. 1696;

e. 23 Oct. 1718; *arr.* 1723; *ret.* Spain 19 Dec. 1759; *d.* Puerto de Santa Maria, Spain, 30 Nov. 1753.

Nieto, Francisco: brother; *b.* Valencia de Alcántara, dioc. Soria, Spain, 1566; *e.* Manila 25 Jul. 1588; *temp. coadj.* 3 Oct. 1610; *d.* Cebu 5 Jan. 1647.
Noceda, Juan de: priest; *b.* Seville, Spain, 24 Feb. 1681; *e.* 24 Apr. 1700; *d.* 1747.

Oliverio, Stefano: brother; *b.* Campo, Genoa, Italy, 1571; *e.* Manila 14 Jul. 1608; *temp. coadj.* 14 Nov. 1621; *d.* before 1614.
Ontiñeda, Juan de: priest; *b.* Fraga, Catalonia, Spain, 1571; *e.* Manila 25 Jan. 1593; *dm.* before Aug. 1604.
Ortega, Gerónimo de: priest; *b.* Tudela del Duero, dioc. Valladolid, Spain, 12 Apr. 1627; *e.* 26 Apr. 1641; *arr.* 1654; *prof.* 22 Apr. 1663; *d.* at sea near Acapulco 15 Nov. 1683.
Otazo, Diego de: priest; *b.* Canizar, dioc. Toledo, Spain, 11 Apr. 1676; *e.* 1 Sep. 1693; *d.* Manila 30 Apr. 1741.
Otazo, Francisco de: priest; *b.* Alcocer, dioc. Cuenca, Spain, 1570; *e.* prov. Toledo 8 May 1588; *arr.* 1596; *prof.* 4 Oct. 1604; *d.* Huete, Spain, 16 Aug. 1622.
Oviedo, Juan Antonio de: priest; *b.* Santa Fé de Bogotá, New Granada (now Colombia), 25 Jun. 1670; *e.* prov. Mexico 7 Jan. 1690; *visitor* prov. Philippines 1722; *d.* Mexico 2 Apr. 1757.

Pacheco: *see* Garcia Pacheco, Juan.
Palacios, Alonso: priest; *b.* Montalbo, dioc. Cuenca, Spain, 15 Oct. 1574; *e.* 11 Oct. 1594; *arr.* 22 Jun. 1605; *d.* Cebu 28 Feb. 1615.
Pallavicino, Gianandrea: priest; *b.* Genoa, Italy, 20 Apr. 1623; *e.* 2 Dec. 1640; *arr.* 1654; *prof.* 2 Feb. 1663; *d.* Manila 24 Apr. 1683.
Palliola, Francesco: priest; *b.* Nola, Italy, 10 May 1612; *e.* prov. Naples 6 Feb. 1637; *arr.* 1643; killed by Subanuns, Ponot, Mindanao, 29 Jan. 1648.
Pareja, Miguel de: priest; *b.* Jaén, Spain, 1625; *e.* prov. Andalusia 10 Dec. 1639; *arr.* 1653; *prof.* 2 Dec. 1662; *d.* Manila 21 Oct. 1691.
Parra: *see* López de la Parra, Pedro.
Parrado, Pedro: priest; *b.* Tenerife, Canary Islands, 29 Apr. 1599; *e.* 28 Dec. 1621; *prof.*; *d.* Naujan, Mindoro, 16 Nov. 1636.
Patiño, Diego: priest; *b.* Talancón, dioc. Cuenca, Spain, 1 Jun. 1593; *e.* 22 Mar. 1613; *arr.* 1622; *prof.* 12 Oct. 1636; *d.* Tenerife, Canary Islands, 26 Jul. 1657.
Pazuengos, Bernardo: priest; *b.* Garnica, dioc. Calahorra, 22 May 1706; *e.* 9 Oct. 1720; left for Philippines 1732; living in 1768.
Pedraza, Luís de: priest; *b.* Vacea, dioc. Jaén, Spain, 1584; *e.* Sep. 1602; *prof.* 1 Nov. 1618; *d.* Zamboanga 22 Oct. 1639.
Pedrosa: *see* Steinhauser, Adolf.
Peñalver, Domingo de: priest; *b.* San Lorenzo de la Parrilla, dioc. Cuenca, Spain, 1579; *e.* Manila 2 Feb. 1605; *prof.*; *d.* Marinduque 17 Jan. 1629.
Pimentel, Luís: priest; *b.* Portillo, dioc. Valladolid, Spain, 30 May 1612;

e. prov. Castile 24 Mar. 1632; *arr.* 1643; *prof.* 1 May 1650; *d.* San Miguel (Manila) 5 Jul. 1689.

Ponce, Miguel: priest; *b.* Peñarroya, dioc. Saragossa, Spain, 2 Nov. 1604; *e.* prov. Mexico 13 Oct. 1631; *arr.* 1632; *spir. coadj.* 12 May 1647; killed by natives, Palapag, Samar, 11 Jun. 1649.

Prado: *see* Prat, Ramón.

Prat, Ramón: priest; *b.* San Cugat, Barcelona, Spain, 1557; *e.* 18 Nov. 1576; *arr.* 26 May 1584; *prof.* 12 May 1593; *d.* Manila 12 Feb. 1605.

Prieto, Juan Silverio: priest; no information available.

Próspero, Juan: brother; *e.* prov. Mexico 22 Dec. 1576; *temp. coadj.* 19 Jan. 1592; *arr.* 3 May 1592; *d.* Manila 25 Feb. 1593.

Receputo, Carlo: priest; *b.* Valenza, Kingdom of Naples, 13 Sep. 1613; *e.* prov. Naples 30 Jul. 1632; *prof.* 1 Nov. 1650; *d.* Dapitan 29 Mar. 1662.

Ribera, Juan de: priest; *b.* Puebla de los Angeles, Mexico, 1565; *e.* 17 Oct. 1581; *arr.* 10 Jun. 1595; *prof.* 28 Aug. 1599; *d.* Manila 5 Jun. 1622.

Riccio, Giancamillo: brother; *b.* Turquiana, Italy, 1563; *e.* 1 Sep. 1592; *temp. coadj.* 14 Dec, 1604; *d.* before 1614.

Riquelme, Javier de: priest; *b.* Murcia, Spain, 25 Aug. 1615; *e.* prov. Toledo 6 May 1634; *arr.* 1643; *prof.* 2 Jul. 1654; *d.* Manila 24 May 1692.

Roa, Francisco de: priest; *b.* Mexico 1592; *e.* Manila 17 May 1609; *prof.* 12 Oct. 1625; *d.* at sea near Zamboanga Jan. 1660.

Rodríguez, Alonso: priest; *b.* Córdova, Spain, 1570; *e.* 3 Mar. 1589; *arr.* 14 Jul. 1596; *d.* Carigara 1610.

Rodríguez, Diego: brother; *b.* Ribadeo, Galicia, Spain, 1559; *e.* prov. Mexico 1584; *arr.* 17 Jun. 1599; *temp. coadj.* 1 May 1592; *d.* Silang, Luzon, 9 Oct. 1631.

Rodríguez, Manuel: brother; *b.* Alcázar de Usal, dioc. Arborea, Sardinia, 1624; *e.* 20 Jun. 1647.

Salazar, Juan de: priest; *b.* Baza, dioc. Granada, Spain, 27 Dec. 1582; *e.* Oct. 1598; *arr.* 22 Jun. 1605; *prof.* 27 Jun. 1615; *d.* San Miguel (Manila) 30 Nov. 1645.

Salgado, Francisco: priest; *b.* Grijoa de Galicia, dioc. Astorga, Spain, 4 Apr. 1629; *e.* prov. Castile 19 Apr. 1648; *arr.* 1662; *prof.* 2 Feb. 1666; *d.* Manila 14 Jul. 1689.

San Basilio, Antonio Maria di: priest; *b.* Catana, Sicily, 1643; *e.* 11 Jan. 1659; killed by natives, Guam, 17 Jan. 1676.

San Román, Fernando de: priest; *b.* Segura de la Sierra, dioc. Burgos, Spain, Feb. 1581; *e.* prov. Castile 5 May 1603; *arr.* 22 Jun. 1605; *d.* 16 Jan. 1615.

Sánchez, Alonso: priest; *b.* Mondéjar, Spain, *e.* prov. Toledo 20 Jun. 1565; *arr.* 1581; *prof.* 15 Aug. 1589; *d.* Alcalá de Henares, 27 May 1593.

Sánchez, Bartolomé: priest; *b.* Villena, dioc. Toledo, Spain, 24 Aug. 1623; *e.* prov. Toledo 6 May 1651; *arr.* 26 May 1652; *spir. coadj.* 2 Feb. 1664; killed by Magindanaus, Pulangi River, Mindanao, 1 Jun. 1672.

Sánchez, Diego: priest; *b.* Puebla de los Angeles, Mexico, 1568; *e.* 1592; *arr.* 10 Jun. 1595; *d.* Manila 30 Apr. 1605.

Sánchez, Gabriel: priest; *b.* Buenaventura, Spain, 1570; *e.* prov. Toledo 6 May 1589; *arr.* 1596; *prof.* 12 Dec. 1604; *d.* 1 Jan. 1617.

Sánchez, Mateo: priest; *b.* Aldea Nueva, dioc. Plasencia, Spain, 1562; *e.* prov. Toledo 18 Oct. 1582; *arr.* 10 Jun. 1595; *prof.* 28 Dec. 1603; *d.* Dagami, Leyte, 9 Feb. 1618.

Sancho, Martín: brother; *b.* Pampanga, Luzon, 1573; *e.* prov. Toledo at Rome 1591; *ret.* Manila 19 May 1601; *d.* Manila 6 Jun. 1601.

Sanlúcar, Juan de: priest; *b.* Seville, Spain, 1567; *e.* 8 Mar. 1586; *arr.* 5 Aug. 1596; *prof.* 19 Nov. 1606; *d.* Palapag, Samar, 27 Apr. 1612.

Sanlúcar, Pedro de: priest; *b.* Manila 31 Jan. 1707; *e.* 13 Jan. 1727; still living, Cavite, 1755.

Santiago, Diego de: priest; *b.* Jerez, dioc. Badajoz, Spain, 1570; *e.* prov. Andalusia 1586; *arr.* 1596; *d.* in sea battle with Dutch off Nasugbu, Luzon, 14 Dec. 1600.

Sanvitores, Diego Luís de: priest; *b.* Burgos, Spain, 12 Nov. 1627; *e.* 25 Jul. 1640; *prof.* 2 Dec. 1660; *arr.* 10 Jul. 1662; *miss.* Marianas 23 Mar. 1668; killed by natives, Guam, 2 Apr. 1672.

Sarsali, Fabrizio: priest; *b.* Naples, Italy, Apr. 1568; *e.* 10 Dec. 1586; *arr.* 19 May 1601; *prof.* 19 Mar. 1607; *d.* Manila 1645.

Scelsi, Lionardo: priest; *b.* Syrinola, Kingdom of Naples, 1567; *e.* 1580; *arr.* Aug. 1596; *dm.* 1598.

Schmitz, Bernhard: priest; *b.* Doesburg, Holland, 18 Nov. 1688; *e.* prov. Lower Rhine 18 May 1708; *arr.* 1721; *d.* Zamboanga 1747.

Schrevel, Lewin: brother; in Marianas 1733; *miss.* Palaus 1733.

Sedeño, Antonio: priest; *b.* San Clemente, dioc. Cuenca, Spain, 1535; *e.* 25 Apr. 1559; *arr.* 1581; *d.* Cebu 1 Sep. 1595.

Segura, Pedro de: priest; *b.* San Martín de Zacatecas, Mexico, Jun. 1572; *e.* 29 Jun. 1589; *arr.* 19 May 1601; *prof.* 18 Aug. 1613; *d.* Manila 3 Apr. 1617.

Serrano, Andrés: priest; *b.* Murcia, Spain, 15 Oct. 1655; *e.* 13 Jun. 1670; *prof.* 2 Feb. 1689; *d.* at sea near Marinduque 18 Oct. 1711.

Simone, Francesco: brother; *b.* Aquila, Italy, 1560; *e.* 8 Sep. 1589; *arr.* 19 May 1601; *temp. coadj.* 4 Oct. 1604; *d.* before 1614.

Solá, Magino: priest; *b.* Manresa, Spain, 19 Dec. 1644; *e.* prov. Aragon 27 Dec. 1660; *prof.* 2 Feb. 1679; *d.* Manila 5 Jul. 1696.

Solana, Miguel: priest; *b.* Viguera, dioc. Calahorra, Spain, 1 Jun. 1594; *e.* prov. Andalusia 1 Jun. 1612; *arr.* 1622; *prof.* 2 Oct. 1629; *d.* 21 Dec. 1669.

Solórzano, Manuel: priest; *b.* Fregenal, Spain, 25 Dec. 1649; *e.* prov. Andalusia 21 Mar. 1666; *arr.* (Marianas) 1676; killed by natives, Guam, 23 Jul. 1684.

Sonnenberg, Walter Ignaz: priest; *b.* Lucerne, Switzerland, 20 Jul. 1612; *e.* prov. Upper Germany 7 Sep. 1628; *arr.* 1643; *prof.* 6 Jan. 1650; *d.* Fukien, China, 20 Jul. 1680.

Spilimberg, Fulcher: priest; *b.* Udine, 17 Dec. 1682; *e.* 8 Oct. 1708; *arr.* 10 Aug. 1718; *d.* Manila 22 May 1750.

Spinelli, Luigi: priest; *b.* Placia, Sicily, 13 Feb. 1613; *e.* 25 Nov. 1628; *prof.* 6 Jan. 1650; *d.* Manila 4 Apr. 1666.

Steinhauser, Adolf: priest; *b.* Laibach, Austria, 29 Nov. 1613; *e.* prov. Austria 17 Nov. 1630; *arr.* 1643; *d.* Dapitan 1648.

Strobach, Augustin: priest; *b.* Iglau, Moravia, 12 Mar. 1646; *e.* prov. Bohemia 15 Oct. 1667; *arr,* (Marianas) 1681; *prof.* 2 Feb. 1681; killed by natives, Tinian, Marianas, Aug. 1684.

Suárez de Toledo, Gaspar: scholastic; *b.* Granada, Spain, 1554; *e.* 27 Sep. 1573; *d.* at sea on the way to the Philippines from Acapulco 8 Apr. 1581.

Suárez, Hernán: priest; *prof.* 2 Jul. 1578; *arr.* 26 May 1584; *d.* Lagyo (Manila) 2 Sep. 1586.

Tapia, Cristóbal de: brother; *b.* Madrid, Spain, 1568; *e.* Manila 4 Apr. 1596; *dm.* 1 Feb. 1603.

Tejada, Francisco: priest; *b.* Soria, Spain, 31 Mar. 1674; *e.* 7 Jul. 1694; left for Philippines 1707; *d.* 15 Jul. 1728.

Tello de Guzman, Pedro: priest; *b.* Guebar, near Seville, Spain, 1584; *e.* Manila 15 Jun. 1602; *dm.* 20 Feb. 1615; readmitted *ca.* 1628; *d.* 30 Apr. 1629.

Theoclitos, Daniel: brother; *b.* Castro, Island of Crete, 1562; *e.* Manila 18 Mar. 1590; *temp. coadj.* 8 Oct. 1597; *d.* 1612.

Tilpe, Johann: priest; *b.* Neisse, Silesia, 10 Oct. 1644; *e.* prov. Bohemia, 14 Oct. 1666; *spir. coadj.* 2 Feb. 1678; *arr.* 1681; *miss.* Marianas 1683; *prof.* 31 Jul. 1700.

Torres, Juan de: priest; *b.* Montilla, Spain, 1564; *e.* 1583; *arr.* 1596; *spir. coadj.* 18 Mar. 1604; *d.* Manila 14 Jan. 1625.

Tuccio, Antonino: priest; *b.* Messina, Sicily, 16 Apr. 1641; *e.* 18 May 1658; *arr.* 1672; *prof.* 15 Aug. 1677.

Valencia, Carlos de: *see* Receputo, Carlo.

Velasco, José de: priest; *b.* Manresa, Spain, 5 Apr. 1647; *e.* 29 Jul. 1663; *prof.* 2 Feb. 1682.

Vera, Francisco de: priest; *b.* Tobarra, dioc. Cartagena, Spain; *e.* prov. Toledo 1582; *arr.* 14 Jul. 1596; *prof.*; *ret.* Mexico 1598.

Vera, Melchor de: priest; *b.* Madrid, Spain, 13 Jan. 1585; *e.* 2 Apr. 1603; *arr.* 1606; *prof.* 28 Aug. 1623; *d.* Cebu 13 Apr. 1646.

Vicente Puche, Francisco: priest; *b.* Tarragona, Spain, 1576; *e.* prov. Aragon 5 Apr. 1589; *prof.* 31 Jul. 1608; *d.* 15 Oct. 1650.

Villanueva, Tomás de: priest; *b.* Puebla de los Angeles, Mexico, 1572; *e.* 24 Jul. 1591; *arr.* 19 May 1601; *spir. coadj.* 9 Nov. 1606.

Walter, Victor: priest; *b.* dioc. Brixen, Germany, 14 Aug. 1689; *e.* prov. Upper Germany 24 Sep. 1708; *arr.* (Marianas) 1724; *miss.* Palaus 1731, 1733; *d.* 12 Dec. 1745.

Wilhelmi, Josef: priest; *b.* Linz-am-Rhein, Germany, 20 Mar. 1710; *e.* prov. Lower Rhine 19 Oct. 1729; *d.* Jolo, Sulu, 1748.

Xavier, Jakob: brother; *b.* Siguarde? 13 Jun. 1665; *e.* Jan. 1688.

Zamora, Pedro Andrés de: priest; *b.* Valencia, Spain, 1616; *e.* prov. Aragon; *arr.* 1626; *dm.* 1629; readmitted; killed by Magindanaus, Bwayan, 28 Dec. 1639.

Zanzini, Josef: priest; *b.* Trieste, Austria, 6 Mar. 1616; *e.* prov. Austria 25 Jan. 1632; *arr.* 1643; *prof.* 22 Oct. 1653; *d.* Manila 19 Aug. 1692.

Zapata, Ignacio: priest; *b.* Lérida, Spain, 1 Feb. 1595; *e.* 27 Apr. 1613; *arr.* 1622; *prof.* 25 Nov. 1633; *d.* Catbalogan, Samar, 3 Jan. 1666.

Zarzuela, Diego de: brother; *b.* Marchena, Spain, 1565; *e.* 27 Sep. 1581; *arr.* 19 May 1601; *temp. coadj.* before 1602; *d.* before 1614.

Zassi, Francisco: priest; no information available.

Zifuentes, Tiburcio de: priest; *b.* Toledo, Spain, 11 Aug. 1633; *e.* 6 Jan. 1652; *prof.* 2 Feb. 1670.

Appendix D

MAJOR PUBLICATIONS OF THE PHILIPPINE JESUIT PROVINCE

1604

Pedro Chirino (1558–1635). *Relación de las islas Filipinas i de lo que en ellas an trabaiado los padres de la Compañia de Jesús.* 196 pp. Rome: Estevan Paulino, 1604.

This seems to be the earliest published work by a member of the Philippine province. The circumstances of its publication have been described in the text. During his mission tour at Tigbauan on the island of Panay, Chirino found the time to write a commentary on the Canticle of Canticles: "Cantici canticorum compendiaria explicatio", which he completed in September 1594. The unpublished manuscript is preserved, according to Sommervogel (II, 1148), in the library of the College of San Gregorio of Mexico City. While still in Rome as procurator of the vice-province, Chirino began his invaluable account of the first twenty-five years of Jesuit activity in the Philippines, the full title of which is: "Primera parte de la historia de la provincia de Philipinas de la Compañia de Jesús". On 12 December 1605, Acquaviva wrote, encouraging him to continue it and to submit the completed manuscript to the Philippine provincial for censorship and possible publication (ARSI *Phil.* 1, 21). Chirino ended his narrative with the year 1606, the year after the establishment of the province. Unfortunately, although the work was finished by 1610, Chirino never saw it in print. The only surviving copy of the manuscript is in the archives of Tarragona. Pastells in his edition of Colín's *Labor evangélica* tells how it was acquired, and publishes lengthy passages from it. I hope to edit the complete text. While teaching in the College of Manila, Chirino composed another commentary on Sacred Scripture, the manuscript of which used to be in the library of San Pedro Makati, but has since disappeared: "Sacrum decachordum, hoc est, historiae sacrae veteris novique Testamenti duplex selectus pentateuchus."

1610

Cristóbal Jiménez (1573–1628). *Doctrina christiana Rob. Bellarmini in linguam bisayam translata.* Manila: Manuel Gómez, 1610.

I have not seen a copy of this work, but Sommervogel (VII, 1351) and many other bibliographers mention it. Jiménez sent a copy of it to Saint Robert as soon as it came off the press, and his letter of transmittal must have delighted the heart of that saintly scholar (2 August 1610, ARSI *Phil.* 14, 47): "I would be justly deemed presumptuous in presenting myself before your most illustrious Lordship [Bellarmine was already a cardinal], even if only by letter . . . were it not that my purpose is humbly to beg your pardon for my presumption (if one may be said to

presume where obedience commands) in translating the Catechism and Introduction to the Mysteries of our Holy Faith, which your most illustrious and reverend Lordship wrote, into the Visayan language, which prevails in many of the islands of which we members of the Society have charge here in the Philippines, for the welfare and profit of this new mission. This is the first book which the Visayans in the whole course of their history have seen written in their own language; and it is hoped that by reading the wholesome and holy doctrine contained therein, both their own catechists, of whom there are already several in their towns, as well as those who are being educated in the boarding schools, will imbibe as from a pure spring the spirit of truth of our holy faith."

Jiménez also published at about the same time an introductory Visayan grammar and a confession manual in the same language. These two works were included in later editions of the catechism; for example, the third: *Doctrina christina y preguntas en lengua bisaya y juntamente una introducción a esta lengua, y confesionario breve,* Manila, 1732.

Although Jiménez's catechism was the first one published by the Philippine Jesuits, it was not the first composed, for Diego García in his memorial of 1602 (ARSI *Cong. prov.* 49, 265) reports to Acquaviva that "a grammar, a confession manual and the catechism in the Visayan language have been written, and a vocabulary is being compiled. We judge it necessary to continue producing works both in this language and in Tagalog; permission is requested from our Father [General] to print them either here or in Japan." Acquaviva granted the request in 1604 (*ibid.* 50, 216v). The vocabulary referred to by García may have been that of Mateo Sánchez (1562–1618), of which a printed edition appeared in 1711; whether there is any earlier edition I do not know.

Was Jiménez's catechism printed in a Jesuit press? Medina (*La Imprenta en Manila,* p. xxxix) thinks so, basing his opinion on the fact that the printer whose name appears on the title page, Manuel Gómez, was not as far as we know employed in either of the two presses then certainly in existence, that of the Dominicans or that of the Franciscans. And, although it is possible that Gómez owned and operated the press himself, Medina considers this extremely unlikely. We cannot however exclude the possibility, especially since the contemporary Jesuit documents we have consulted make no mention of a press at the College of Manila at this time. On the showing of Medina himself, the earliest imprint which can certainly be attributed to this press is dated 1629. Its master printer during the decade 1629–1639 was Tomás Pinpin, who seems to have left the Dominican press to take charge of it. Pinpin's successors, with the dates attributed to them by Medina, are the following:

1634–?	Raymundo Magisa
1643–1669	Simón Pinpin (son of Tomás?)
1674–1678	Santiago Dimatangso
1682–1683	Raymundo de Peñafort
1697–?	Luis Manumbas
1703?–1716	Gaspar Aquino de Belén
1729–?	Sebastián López Sabino
1745–1768	Nicolás de la Cruz Bagay

It will be noted that most if not all of these printers were Filipinos. After the expulsion of the Society from the Philippines the government awarded the press to the diocesan seminary.

1628

Francisco Colín (1592–1600). *Sermón que mandó imprimir el Illmo. y Rmo. S. D. Fray Miguel García Serrano . . . predicado por el P. Francisco Colin . . . en la iglesia catedral . . .29 de Noviembre de 1627 . . .* Manila: Colegio de Santo Tomás, 1628.

Although this sermon on the Blessed Sacrament cannot be classified as a "major" publication, I include it as an early example of a genre which the Manila presses produced in great quantity during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The reader might also consider why, if a Jesuit press was already in existence at this time, this sermon by a Jesuit should be printed in the Dominican press.

1637

Successos felices, que por mar, y tierra ha dado N. S. a las armas españolas; en las islas Filipinas contra el Mindanao; y en las de Terrenate contra los Holandeses, por fin del año de 1636, y principio del de 1637. 14 pp. Manila: Tomás Pinpin, 1637.

The author of this account of Corcuera's Magindanau Campaign, as well as of the following item, which deals with his Jolo campaign, was very probably Juan López (1584–1659).

1638

Continuación de los felices successos, que N. S. a dado a las armas españolas en estas islas Filipinas, por los fines del año de 1637 y principios de el de 1638. 18 pp.

No place and date of publication, but almost certainly Manila, 1638, with the same author and printer as the above.

[Diego de Bobadilla (1590–1648)]. *Relación de las gloriosas victorias que en mar, y tierra an tenido las armas de nuestro invictissimo rey, y monarca Felippe IIII el Grande, en las islas Filipinas, contra los moros mahometanos de la gran isla de Mindanao, y su rey Cachil Corralat, debaxo de la conducta de Don Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera.* 42 pp. Mexico: Imprenta de Pedro de Quiñones, 1638.

Bobadilla, elected procurator of the Philippine province, was at this time in Mexico on his way to Rome. His narrative is based on the reports sent to him by his brethren in the Philippines, especially Juan López. Some of Bobadilla's solutions to moral cases are preserved in the manuscript collection of which I have given an account in the text. He is also, very probably, the author of the highly interesting account of the customs and social organization of the Visayans which Thévenot published in a French translation in his *Relations de divers voyages curieux* (2 v., Paris: Thomas Moette, 1696), Vol. I: "Relation des iles Philippines, faite par un religieux qui y a demeuré 18 ans." I have not come across the Spanish original.

1652

Francisco Colín (1592–1600). *Vida, hechos y doctrina del venerable hermano Alonso Rodríguez.* 4to, 223 fol. Madrid: Domingo García y Morras, 1652.

This life of the Jesuit saint is especially valuable because Colín knew him personally.

1659

Rafael de Bonafé (1606–1668). *Excelencias y oficios de piedad del arcángel San Rafael.* 4to, 285 pp. Madrid, 1659.

1663

Domingo Ezquerra (1601–1670). *Arte de la lengua bisaya de la provincia de Leyte.* 89 fol. Manila: Imprenta de la Compañia de Jesús por Simón Pinpin, 1663.

This work went into a second edition, 88 fol., Manila: Nicolás de la Cruz Bagay, 1747. The author, a criollo born in Manila, is an older brother of Francisco (1644–1674), who was killed by natives as a missionary in the Marianas.

Colín, Francisco (1592–1560). *Labor evangélica.* 820 pp. Madrid: José Fernández Buendía, 1663.

Colín expanded Chirino's unpublished *Historia* with the aid of the documents at his disposal and brought it down to 1616, adding a valuable statistical appendix surveying the work and establishments of the Society in the Philippines in 1656, when he completed the manuscript. This carefully researched and eminently readable work replaced that of Chirino as the "first part" of the official history of the Jesuit Philippine province, of which Murillo Velarde's *Historia* was to be the "second part." A copiously annotated edition by Pablo Pastells appeared in two volumes at the beginning of the present century (Barcelona: Henrich, 1900–1902).

1666

Francisco Colín (1592–1660). *India sacra, hoc est, suppetiae sacrae ex utraque India in Europam, pro interpretatione facili ac genuina quorundam locorum ex veteri Testamento qui adhuc Europaeos morantur interpretes; opus posthumum.* 4to, 507 pp. Madrid: José Fernández de Buendia, 1666.

An interesting attempt to consider what new light is thrown on the Old Testament narrative by the knowledge acquired by Europeans in the New World and the Far East.

1667

Francisco Combés (1620–1665). *Historia de Mindanao, Jolo y sus adyacentes.* 567 fol. Madrid: Herederos de Pablo del Val, 1667.

Magnificently re-edited with introduction and notes by W. E. Retana, Madrid: Viuda de M. Minuesa, 1897. We are still searching for another work of Combés of which we only have the bare notice: *Disertación en defensa de la libertad de los indios*, Manila, 1657. Can this be the same as the "Elogio" which he appended to the controversial *Discurso parenético* of Gómez de Espinosa (Manila, 1657)?

1673

Francisco Ignacio de Alcina (1610–1674). *Casos raros de la confesión e instrucción para bien morir; en IIII libros . . . puestos todos en lengua bisaya.* 447 pp. Manila: En la Compañia de Jesús por Raymundo de Peña Fuerte, 1673.

Alcina is also the author of a *Historia natural del sitio, fertilidad y calidad de las islas e indios de Visayas* (1668), 370 fol., with numerous line drawings, which has remained unpublished. There is a copy in the Biblioteca de Palacio, Madrid.

1697

Cristóbal de Miralles (1632–1708). *Libro y elogio anagramático del nombre misterioso de S. Rosa de S. Maria.* 324 pp. Manila: Imprenta de la Compañia de Jesús por D. Luís Manumbas.

1699

Andrés Serrano (1655–1711). *Los siete príncipes de los ángeles . . . con práctica de su devoción.* Mexico, 1699.

1703

Francisco Ignacio Alcina (1610–1674). *Manual de devoción y exercicios christianos en lengua bisaya para instrucción de los hermanos bisayas congregantes de las congregaciones de la Virgen Maria.* 8vo. Manila, 1703.

According to Medina (*Imprenta*, p. 84) this is a reprint of an earlier edition, of which no copy seems to have survived. It probably came out during the lifetime of the author, hence before 1674.

Gaspar Aquino de Belén, tr. *Manga panalanging pagtatagobilin sa caloloua nang tauong naghihingalo.* Manila, 1703.

This Tagalog translation by the master printer of the College of Manila press of a work by a Spanish Jesuit, Tomás de Villacastín (Saragossa, 1613), does not properly belong to this list at all, but I cannot refrain from mentioning it. The title in English reads: *Prayers of Commendation for the Soul of a Man at the Hour of Death.* The work must have been quite popular, for we have notice of a second printing: Manila: Nicolás de la Cruz Bagay, 1760.

1704

Georg Josef Kamel (1661–1706). "Herbarum aliarumque stirpium in insula Luzone Philippinarum primaria nascentium"; an appendix to Vol. III of John Ray's *Historia plantarum*, 3 v., London: M. Clarke, 1686–1704.

See the account of Brother Kamel's work in the text. Further correspondence by him with the British Academy is published by James Petiver in *Philosophical Transactions*, Volumes 21, 23, 24, 25, 26 (London, 1690–1712). According to Sommervogel (II, 579–580), 260 of the drawings which he sent to accompany the *Herbarum* "icones ab auctore delineatae"—are in the Jesuit library at Louvain.

1711

Mateo Sánchez (1562–1618). *Vocabulario de la lengua bisaya.* 551, 45 fol. Manila: En el Colegio de la Sagrada Compañía de Jesús por D. Gaspar Aquino de Belén, 1711.

A very rare work of which the only copy known to me is in the British Museum. Was there an earlier printed edition? I do not know. It may have circulated in manuscript for nearly a century before 1711.

1712

Antonio de Borja (1650–1711). *Aral na tunay na totoong pagaacay sa tauo nang manga cabanalang gaua nang manga maloualhating santos na sina Barlaan at Josaphat.* xi, 299 pp. Manila: Colegio de esta M. N. y L. C. de Manila por D. Gaspar Aquino de Belén, 1712.

True Doctrine Regarding the Right Conduct of Human Life, Derived from the Holy Deeds of the Saints Barlaam and Josaphat, a translation into Tagalog of a work by Saint John of Damascus.

Paul Klein (1652–1717). *Remedios fáciles para diferentes enfermedades.* (10), 218 pp. Manila: Colegio y Universidad de Santo Tomás de Aquino por Juan Correa, 1712.

1713

Paul Klein (1652–1717). *Ang infiernong nabubucsan sa tauong christiano, at nang houag masoc doon.* (8), 501 pp. Manila: Linimbag sa Convento nang Dilao nang H. Francisco de los Santos, 1713.

1714

Paul Klein (1652–1717). *Historia lauretana.* 200 fol. Manila: Colegio de la Compañía de Jesús, por D. Gaspar Aquino de Belén, 1714.

A translation into Tagalog of a work by Orazio Tursellini, S.J.

Paul Klein (1652–1717). *Pensamientos christianos, sa macatouid manga panimdimin nang tauon christiano sa arao-arao.* 128 fol. Manila: Linimbag sa Collegio nang la Compañía ni Jesús ni D. Gaspar Aquino de Belén, 1714.

Tagalog translation of a work by Dominic Bouhours S.J. A second edition is listed: Manila: Nicolás de la Cruz Bagay, 1748.

1716

Paul Klein (1652–1717). *Beneficios y favores singulares hechos por el glorioso archangel San Rafael al santo patriarcha Tobias y su familia.* 92 fol. Manila: Imprenta de la Compañía de Jesús por D. Gaspar Aquino de Belén, 1716.

This work also went into a second printing: Manila, 1754. It is written in Tagalog.

1734

Pedro de Estrada (1680–1748). *Catón cristiano en lengua bisaya.* Manila, 1734.

I know of this work only from the additions to Medina compiled by the Augustinian bibliographers Pérez and Güemes. It seems to be the first of a three-volume work. The second volume is entitled: *Segunda parte de la explicación del catecismo bisaya ilustrada con ejemplos y moralidades.* Manila, 1735; and the third: *Tercera parte de la explicación del cathecismo bisaya,* Manila, 1737.

1743

Pedro Murillo Velarde (1696–1753). *Cursus iuris canonici hispani et indici.* 2 v. fol. Madrid: Ex typographia Emmanuelis Fernández, 1743.

This monumental treatise went into at least two subsequent editions: Madrid: Angela de Aponte, 1763, and Madrid: Ramón Ruiz, 1791; both editions in two volumes.

1745

Pedro Murillo Velarde (1696–1753). *Práctica de testamentos.* 31 fol. Manila: Imprenta de la Compañía de Jesús por Nicolás de la Cruz Bagay.

The popularity of this handbook on the making of wills is attested by its numerous editions: Mexico, 1765, 1790, 1852; Paris, 1869. These are not all, for the Mexican edition of 1852 was the seventh.

1746

Pedro de Estrada (1680–1748). *Práctica del cathecismo, donde se enseña un méthodo compendioso para componer las costumbres.* Manila, 1746.

1749

Pedro Murillo Velarde (1696–1753). *Historia de la provincia de Philipinas de la Compañía de Jesús; segunda parte, que comprehende los progresos de esta provincia desde el*

año de 1616 hasta el de 1716. 419 fol. Manila: Imprenta de la Compañía de Jesús por D. Nicolás de la Cruz Bagay, 1749.

Some surviving copies of this work have a folding map—a reproduction of that prepared by Murillo for the government in 1734 and engraved by Bagay.

1751

Juan de Loyola (S.J.). *El corazón sagrado de Jesús descubierto a nuestra España, propagado ya en varias provincias del orbe christiano.* Manila, 1751.

This is a reprint of a work published in Spain probably as early as 1736. It is not by a member of the Philippine province, but I include it here as the earliest Philippine publication that I know of devoted to the characteristically Jesuit devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

Francisco Tejada (1674–1728). *Ycaduha nga bahin sa Pedagogo Christiano con sa binisaya Padre Phelipe Doutreman de la Compañía de Jesús ug guihouad usab sa binisaya nga polong* sa P. Francisco Tejada. 8vo, 493 fol.

The second volume of a Visayan translation of the French Jesuit Philippe d'Outreman's *Le pédagogue chrétien* (Mons, 1625). Vol. I is said to have been published in Manila in 1726, but I have seen no detailed reference to it or indication of a surviving copy.

1752

Pedro Murillo Velarde (1696–1753). *Catecismo of instrucción christiana en que se explican los mysterios de nuestra santa fe.* 435 pp. Madrid: Herederos de Francisco del Hierro, 1752.

Pedro Murillo Velarde (1696–1753). *Geographia historica.* 10 v. Madrid: D. G. Ramírez, 1752.

Volume 8 is devoted to the Philippines.

1753

Apparatus selectorum sive pro pueritia latinitate erudienda idonea . . . ad usum studiosae Manilensis juventutis novissime collecta, Manila, 1753.

I have not seen this work, but it appears to be a collection of classical texts for use in the grammar grades of the Jesuit curriculum, edited very probably by a professor in the College of Manila. The following item also seems to be one of the College textbooks:

Breve explicación de tiempos según el méthodo con que se enseña en las escuelas de la Compañía. Manila, 1753.

1754

Juan de Noceda (1681–1747) and Pedro de Sanlúcar (1706–?). *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala.* 619, 34, 190 pp. Manila: Imprenta de la Compañía de Jesús por Nicolás de la Cruz Bagay, 1754.

This highly regarded Tagalog dictionary was based by its authors on the previous researches of Paul Klein and other Jesuit missionaries among the Tagalogs.

1759

Luís de Losada (S.J.). *Cursus philosophici regalis Collegii Salmanticensis Societatis prima . . . secunda . . . tertia pars.* 3 v. Manila, 1759.

A Philippine edition, obviously for use in the College of Manila, of Losada's textbook, which first came out in Salamanca, 1724–1735.

1762

Francisco de Salazar (S.J.). *Meditaciones, cun manga mahal na pagninilay na sadya sa sanctong pag-Eexercicios.* 175 pp. Manila: Imprenta de la Compañía de Jesús por Nicolás de la Cruz Bagay, 1762.

A Tagalog translation by two Augustinians, Fray Pedro de Herrera and Fray Juan Serrano, of a work by a Spanish Jesuit (not a member of the Philippine province). The double "e" in "pag-Eexercicios" is not a misprint, but the Tagalog reduplication.

SOURCES AND REFERENCES

Sources

The Philippine section of the central Jesuit archives in Rome consists of some twenty bound volumes of manuscripts belonging to the period covered by this history. The first volume, entitled *Epistolae generalium*, contains file copies or summaries of letters sent by Acquaviva and Vitelleschi to the Philippines during the years 1602–1625. No others in this series seem to have been preserved. Volumes 2, 2a, 3, and 4 consist of various catalogues sent to Rome between 1602 and 1755. These are of two kinds: personnel catalogues, and periodic lists of the establishments of the province (*catalogi rerum*). The personnel catalogues, besides giving essential biographical data on the members of the province (date and place of birth, entrance into the Society, admission to first and last vows), sometimes indicate the positions they have held or the works to which they have been assigned. The *catalogi rerum* contain brief statements of the financial status of each house or institution. Some of these catalogues were sent to Rome every three years, and hence called catalogi triennales. Volumes 5–8 contain the so-called *litterae annuae* for certain years: 5. *Litt. ann. I*, 1595–1612; 6. *Litt. ann. II*, 1612–1632; 7. *Litt. ann. III*, 1631–1672; 8. *Litt. ann. IV.*, 1640–1749.

In the beginning these annual letters lived up to their name, being dispatched on the yearly galleon which sailed in June for Acapulco. They summarized the activities of each house of the province from June to June on the basis of reports sent in to the central office at Manila. Sometimes they quoted extensively from these reports. They are thus an invaluable source of first-hand information, particularly with regard to the missions. In the second half of the seventeenth century, however, they began to be sent less regularly. While continuing to be called "annual" letters, they would appear on the general's desk at intervals of three and even six years. I gather from Astráin that this neglect of the annual letters was pretty general at the time in the Spanish assistancy. Fortunately, another type of report—the *relación*—less formal and in some ways more interesting, took its place.

By far the most valuable portion of the Philippine documents in the Roman archives of the Society is that contained in Volumes 9–14. These volumes are labeled *Historiae*, by which is meant not so much a history as the materials for a history of the mission, vice-province, and province. Here are original letters and reports of the Philippine Jesuits, a large proportion of them holograph, written with complete frankness to the general or his assistants regarding the activities and problems, the successes and failures of the Society in the Philippines. Although Volume 9 is catalogued as starting with the year 1585, the earliest letter it contains is one from Sedeño dispatched soon after his arrival in Manila in 1582. The last letter of Volume 14 is dated 1755. In fact, the entire Philippine section contains no document much beyond this date. Father Repetti conjectures—and I am inclined to agree with him—that later documents, being still in the current

files of the various offices in the general's headquarters, were impounded at the time of the suppression of the Society and thus either dispersed or lost. Volumes 15–19 consist of manuscript copies of Colín's *Labor evangélica* and a continuation of it by Diego de Oña which remains unpublished. Volume 20 is a collection of obituaries of various members of the province. Volume 21 is an index of 9–20, but a more modern and satisfactory catalogue has been appended to each volume. The care taken by the archivists of the Society in mending and preserving the fragile rice paper on which many of these documents are written cannot be too highly praised. Would that other archives had custodians as devoted!

Other sections of the Roman archives utilized by me are those pertaining to the Spanish and Mexican provinces, the special collection devoted to provincial congregations, and the Gesù collection. The *acta* and related documents sent to Rome by the Philippine provincial congregations are specially valuable in throwing light on the policies adopted by the missionaries, as I believe my note references show. The Gesù collection, as its name suggests, consists of the archival material which used to be kept in the Jesuit residence of the Gesù in Rome. It was confiscated for a time by the Italian government but later returned, and has now been incorporated in the central Jesuit archives.

When the Society was permitted to resume its labors in the Philippines in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the mission was entrusted to the province of Aragon. This province dropped out of existence in the recent reorganization of the Spanish provinces and its archives passed to the new province of Tarragona. The collection contains much important and interesting material not only on the re-established Philippine mission but on the old province of the Philippines as well. It has, for instance, Chirino's manuscript *Historia*, on which the first part of our work leans so heavily. Extensive portions of this history have been published by Pastells in his edition of Colín.

The Archives of the Indies at Seville is of course an inexhaustible treasure house of source material for every aspect of Philippine history. The Philippine section alone consists of over a thousand bulky *legajos* or bundles, and it is impossible to say at present what may lie buried in the vast pile of documents light-heartedly referred to as *Indiferente general*. Needless to say, I have been able to sift only a small handful of this mountain—or more precisely, mountain range—for material pertinent to our subject. However, the indefatigable Father Pastells—who has put all historians of the Philippines forever in his debt—made my task easier by transcribing many of the essential ones both in his edition of Colín referred to and in the "Historia general" which he wrote to accompany Torres y Lanzas' *Catálogo de documentos*. This calendar, by the way, is a model of its kind; it is too bad that it does not go beyond 1664, and is not provided with an index.

The library of the Academy of History at Madrid possesses an extensive collection of Jesuit papers, among which are the *relaciones* mentioned above. These were really newsletters written by the Philippine Jesuits to their brethren in Spain, in which they reported events not only of domestic but of general interest, and involving other countries of the Far East as well as the Philippines. Some of them are at present damaged beyond repair through much handling and sheer old age; but while they were still intact, an assiduous researcher named Ventura del Arco copied a number of them out. These transcripts, along with much other material

pertinent to our subject, are now in the Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library of Chicago. The reader will perceive the extent of my debt to this collection and to its most courteous and co-operative custodian, Dr. Ruth Lapham Butler.

And what of the Philippine vice-province itself? What have its archives to offer? On the old province, pitifully little. Its papers were scattered or destroyed after the expulsion, and our only hope of reconstructing a not inglorious past is to obtain copies of the archival material in the repositories mentioned above with the permission of the present owners. This is a task which the research required in the preparation of the present volume has only barely begun.

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NOTES

Abbreviations

AGI Archivo general de Indias, Seville. Reference is made to section and bundle according to the modern catalogue; thus, AGI *Fil.* 9 refers to bundle 9 of the section "Filipinas." The documents in each bundle are not numbered.

Arag. Archivo de la antigua provincia de Aragón de la Compañía de Jesús, Barcelona. This archive is catalogued according to the system of *estante-cajón-legajo-cuaderno* (stack-shelf-bundle-sheaf), which we follow in our citations; for example, Arag.E–I–a–18. The documents in each sheaf are sometimes, not always, numbered.

Arco Ventura del Arco, comp. *Documentos, datos y relaciones para la historia de Filipinas.* ms., 5 v. Madrid, 1859–1865. Ayer Collection, n. 1300, The Newberry Library, Chicago. See Appendix A. References are to volume and page.

ARSI Archivum romanum Societatis Iesu. References are to section, volume, and folio page, with the letter "v" added to the folio number for reverse pages. The sections referred to most often are *Phil.*—"Philippinarum"—the Philippine section, and *Cong. prov.*—"Congregationes provinciales"— the papers of the provincial congregations.

BAH Biblioteca de la real Academia de la Historia, Madrid. References are almost exclusively to the Jesuit papers: *Jesuitas* and *Jesuitas-Salazar.* Bound manuscripts are referred to by volume and number of document in the volume, for example, BAH *Jesuitas* 112/28; loose manuscripts by stack-shelf-bundle.

Gesù Archivio gesuitico del Gesù, Rome. See Appendix A. References are to bundle numbers.

Chapter One. The First Mission

1. Quoted by James Brodrick, *The Origin of the Jesuits* (London: Longmans, 1940), p. 73. (Reproduced with the kind permission of Longmans, Green & Co., Inc.) The complete text may be consulted in MHSI *Constitutiones* I (Rome, 1934), 16–20.

2. Brodrick, *Origin,* pp. 73–74.

3. Manila, 29 June and 30 July 1573, in Colín-Pastells I, 162, 166. Lavezaris refers to the Jesuits as "theatines." It was a fairly common error at the time to confuse the Society with the order of clerks regular founded by St. Cajetan and Cardinal Carafa (afterward Pope Paul IV), whose members were known by that name.

4. A provincial congregation was an assembly of the local superiors and professed fathers which met with the superior of the province, or provincial, at stated intervals—usually three years—in order to consider the affairs of the province and make suitable recommendations. These recommendations or *postulata* were brought to the General for approval by a procurator elected by the congregation. Procurators of overseas provinces were also commissioned to bring back missionaries recruited from the European provinces.

5. ARSI *Congregationes Provinciales* 42, 293–293v; 93, 256v. Mercurian to Martín Enríquez, viceroy of Mexico, Rome, 31 January 1579, ARSI *Mexici* 1, 24v.

6. Colín-Pastells I, 164, 167.

7. *Ibid.* I, 262, 348. Antonio Sedeño to Claudio Acquaviva (general, 1581–1615), Manila, 12 June 1582, ARSI *Philippinarum* 9, 7.

8. *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la asistencia de España* (7 v., Madrid, 1912–1925), III, 147.

9. Colín-Pastells I, 261, 516. Sánchez to Acquaviva, Manila, 18 June 1583, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 15.

10. Jerónimo Nadal (1507–1580) was commissioned by St. Ignatius to promulgate the constitutions of the order. The quotation is from a memorandum of his to the provincial of Portugal, MHSI *Epist.* Nadal IV, 208–209.

11. Hernán Suárez to Acquaviva, Manila 25 June 1586. ARSI *Phil.* 9, 88v; Astráin, *Historia* III, 147–148.

12. Brodrick, *The Progress of the Jesuits* (New York: Longmans, 1947), pp. 219–222. Colín-Pastells I, 261; II, 17–20.

13. Pedro Chirino, *Primera parte de la historia de la provincia de Philipinas de la Compañía de Jesús* (*ms.*, *c.* 1610), bk. i, ch. 2.

14. Colín-Pastells I, 261–263. Sedeño to Acquaviva, Manila, 12 June 1582, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 7.

15. Juan González de Mendoza, *Historia de las cosas mas notables, ritos y costumbres del gran reyno de la China* (2nd ed., Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1587), pt. II, 18ov. Colín-Pastells III, 741.

16. "Sumario de las respuestas del Padre Alonso Sánchez a una de un Obispo escrita contra el derecho de su Magestad en las Indias" [1592] ARSI *Phil.* 9, 217–222.

17. Chirino, *Historia*, i, 2, 6. Colín-Pastells I, 262–263. Bishop Salazar to Philip II, Manila, 12 June 1582, AGI *Fil.* 74. Sedeño to Acquaviva, Manila, 12 June 1582, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 7v–8. For the arguments in favor of Plaza Militar as the site of the first Jesuit house in the Philippines, see W. C. Repetti, *The Society of Jesus in the Philippines* (ms., 7v., Washington, 1945–1950) I, 24–26. Ronquillo informed the king of the arrival of the Jesuits in the following terms: "Last year, 1581, there came three theatins from New Spain. Two of them are priests, Father Antonio Sedeño and Father Alonso Sánchez, great servants of God and men of learning. They are doing good work and I consider them the kind of people we should have here. More of them should be sent" (16 June 1582, in Colín-Pastells I, 167).

18. Chirino, *Relación de las islas Filipinas i de lo que en ellas an trabajado los padres de la Compañía de Jesús* (Rome: Estevan Paulino, 1604), p. 11. *Litterae annuae* 1597, ARSI *Phil.* 5, 3v.

19. Santiago de Vera to Pedro Moya y Contreras (archbishop of Mexico), Manila, 20 June 1585, in Colín-Pastells I, 410.

20. City corporation of Manila to Philip II, December 1586, in Colín-Pastells II, 676.

21. Salazar to Philip II, Manila, 12 June 1582, AGI *Fil.* 74.

22. Salazar to Philip II, Manila, 24 June 1590, AGI *Fil.* 74. Sedeño to Acquaviva, Manila, 12 June 1582, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 6–6v, 8v–9v. Sánchez to Acquaviva, Manila, 18 June 1583, *ibid.* 9, 17v.

23. See the description of the social organization of the Tagalogs composed for the government by the Franciscan missionary, Fray Juan de Plasencia, Nagcarlang, 24 October 1598. This document has been published a number of times; I use W. E. Retana's transcription in his edition of Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las islas Filipinas* (Madrid: Victoriano Suárez, 1909), pp. 471–473.

24. See the report of the city corporation of Manila previously cited (n. 20).

25. Cited above, n. 22.

26. Sánchez, "Relacion de la calidad y estado de estas islas en general" [1587], in Colín-Pastells I, 368–369.

27. Gaspar de San Agustín, *Conquistas de las islas Philipinas* (Madrid: Ruíz de Murga, 1698), p. 490.

28. Report cited above, n. 22.

Chapter Two. The Synod of Manila

1. The allegations summarized in the preceding paragraphs are contained in the following documents: Fray Diego de Herrera O.S.A. to Philip II, Mexico, 16 January 1570, in Colín-Pastells II, 661–662; Herrera to Martín Enríquez (viceroy of Mexico), Panay, July 1570, *ibid.* II, 662–665; Fray Martín de Rada O.S.A. to Enríquez, Panay, 31 July 1570, *ibid.* II, 665; "Opinion of Fray Martín de Rada on Tribute from the Indians," Manila, 21 June 1574, in *The Philippine Islands*, E. H. Blair and J. A. Robertson, eds. (55 v., Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1903–1909) III, 253–259; Bishop Salazar to Philip II, Manila [1583], in *Archivo del bibliófilo filipino*, W. E. Retana, ed. (5 v., Madrid, 1895–1905) III, no. 1; "Probanza hecha en Manila...sobre el valor de las cosas y bastimentos," Manila, 15 and 22 June 1584, summarized with related documents in Retana's ed. of Morga, *Sucesos*, introd., pp. 13–16; Benito de Mendiola to Philip II, Manila, 1583, AGI *Fil.* 74. Mendiola was *protector de indios*, a kind of public defender appointed by the Crown to look after the interests of the native population. He was succeeded by Bishop Salazar, after whom the job became more or less attached to the episcopal office. A somber summary of some of the complaints against the encomenderos of the Philippines is given in the declarative portion of a *cédula* of Philip II addressed to Bishop Salazar (Lisbon, 27 March 1583, in San Agustín, *Conquistas*, pp. 426–427): "We have been informed that the native inhabitants of that province are being gradually consumed by the ill treatment inflicted upon them by the encomenderos; that their numbers have declined to such an extent that in certain regions the population has been reduced by more than one-third; that the full tribute is being demanded of them when they are only obliged to pay one-third of it; that they are treated worse than slaves, many of them being sold by certain encomenderos to others; that some have died under the lash, and even women perish under the heavy burdens laid on them, while their children are taken away from others for labor in the encomienda estates; that these women sleep in the open fields and there give birth, give suck, and die bitten by poisonous vermin; that many hang themselves or starve themselves to death or take poison; that there are even mothers who kill their infants at birth saying it is to free them from the sufferings to which they themselves are subject; and that the natives have conceived such great hatred of the Christian name, looking upon the Spaniards as deceivers who do not practice what they preach, that whatever they do, they do only by compulsion."

2. "Unsigned Report on Offices Saleable in the Philippines" [1582?], in Blair & Robertson V, 203–204. Colín-Pastells II, 186.

3. Salazar to Philip II, Manila, 20 June 1582, AGI *Fil.* 74.

4. Gabriel de Ribera, "Complaints against [Ronquillo de] Peñalosa," [1583?], in Blair & Robertson V, 208–209. The decision of the Council of the Indies is summarized by Pablo Pastells in his "Historia general de Filipinas" accompanying *Catálogo de los documentos relativos á las islas Filipinas en el Archivo de las Indias de Sevilla*, Pedro Torres y Lanzas, ed. (9 v., Barcelona, 1925–1936), II, ccxlix. On the proposed audiencia, see the pertinent documents in Colín-Pastells II, 669–671.

5. See "Probanza" and Mendiola cited above, n. 1.

6. Guido de Lavezaris and others, "Reply to Rada's Opinion" [Manila, June 1574?], in Blair & Robertson III, 260–271; Diego de Aguilar and others to Philip II, Manila, 18 July 1581, in Colín-Pastells I, 263. The junta or colonial assembly of 1586 informed Philip II that some of the encomiendas were quite small, consisting only of 100 or 200 tributes. The revenue from such encomiendas was insufficient to support the encomendero, much less enable him to provide his subjects with a resident missionary (Colín-Pastells I, 426). Of this junta I shall have more to say presently.

7. General Memorial of the Junta of Manila, 26 June 1586, *ibid.* I, 428, 430; Gómez

Pérez Dasmariñas to Philip II, Manila, 21 June 1591, *ibid.* I, 178; Salazar to Philip II [1583], in Retana, *Archivo* III, 35.

8. Sande to Philip II, Manila, 1576, in Morga-Retana, introd. p. 17.

9. The *asiento* with Ronquillo summarized *ibid.*, pp. 395–396; cf. introd., pp. 17–19. Sedeño to Philip II, Manila, 17 June 1583, in Blair & Robertson XXXIV, 362–363.

10. Manila, 21 December 1581, in Colín-Pastells II, 187.

11. Sedeño to Aquaviva, Manila, 12 June 1582, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 8. General memorial of the Junta of Manila, 26 June 1586, in Colín-Pastells I, 483.

12. Catholic Encyclopedia XIV, 338, *s.v.* Synod.

13. Chirino, *Historia*, i, 6; Hernán Suárez to Acquaviva, Manila, 25 June 1586, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 88; Sánchez, "Respuestas" [1589], *ibid.* 9, 217–217v. What Bishop Salazar said to the synod about Sánchez he repeated in equivalent terms to Pope Sixtus V: "In the six years that I have known him and been intimately associated with him, I have made him cognizant of and sought his advice on all the affairs, cases, and problems that I have encountered in the administration of this see; and since this colony has only recently been founded, they have been many and important and bristling with difficulties. I have always found in him an integrity and zeal for the truth above all human respect, and a learning equal to any problem that presented itself." (Chirino, *Historia*, i, 16.)

14. The present account of the synod's work is based on two extant versions of its proceedings: a manuscript version in ARSI *Phil.* 12, 268–289v, entitled "Junta y congregación hecha en la ciudad de Manila para aviso de los confesores y remedio de algunos casos y abusos de las islas Philipinas," and a printed version consisting of lengthy passages transcribed from a copy originally in the archives of the archdiocese of Manila and published by Valentín Marín y Morales O.P. in his *Ensayo de una síntesis de los trabajos realizados por las corporaciones religiosas españolas de Filipinas* (2 v., Manila: Imprenta de Santo Tomás, 1901) I, 195–333. Both are incomplete but supplement each other. Where they overlap the two versions render substantially the same sense, although with considerable differences of wording. Marín's version seems to contain additions of later date, e.g., the instructions to alcaldes mayores on pp. 258–263. They will be cited hereafter as "Junta" and "Marín." The discussion concerning the timeliness of the synod is in "Junta," *prólogo*, ch. 2, ARSI *Phil.* 12, 269v–272v.

15. Apostolic Letter, 4 Nones June 1537, in which the Pope declares that the Indians of America "and all other peoples who shall in future come to the knowledge of Christians are not to be considered incapable of freedom or ownership, and are not to be deprived thereof even though they do not profess the Christian faith; on the contrary they may freely and lawfully exercise, possess and enjoy said liberty and property and ought not to be reduced to slavery, and if anything to the contrary is done We, in virtue of our apostolic authority . . . declare and decree it to be null and void." (Dávila Padilla, p. 91.)

16. San Agustín, *Conquistas*, p. 413; "Council Regarding Slaves," Tondo, 17 October 1581, in Blair and Robertson XXXIV, 327–330, Salazar to Philip II, 1583, in Retana, *Archivo* III, 33–34.

17. "Junta," bk. i, ch. 1, ARSI *Phil.* 12, 274–278v; Marín I, 196–200.

18. "Junta," i, 2, ARSI *Phil.* 12, 279–281; Marín I, 202–211.

19. Salazar to Philip II, Manila, 20 June 1582, transmitting the notarized deposition of the datus of Tondo and other towns, AGI *Fil.* 74. The datus declared that the alcaldes mayores "take at their own price the rice of the Indians and afterward sell it at a very high rate, doing the same with all other articles of provisions and agricultural products. Furthermore, they oblige the Indians to act as oarsmen whenever they wish. If they return from an expedition which has lasted a month, they are told straightway to prepare for another, being paid nothing whatsoever; nevertheless in every village assessments are levied for the payment of those who go on such service. If at any time they are paid, it is very little, and that

very seldom. Because of the many acts of oppression which they have suffered many Indians have now abandoned Tondo, Capaymisilo, and other villages near this city of Manila. They have gone to live in other provinces, which has occasioned much damage and loss to the chiefs. Out of the three hundred Indians who were there one hundred have gone away, and the said chiefs are obliged to pay the tribute for those who flee and die, and for their slaves and little boys. If they do not pay these they are placed in the stocks and flogged. Others are tied to posts and kept there until they pay. Moreover they dig no gold, for the officials oblige them to pay the fifth. If they do not make a statement of their gold it is seized as forfeited, even when it is old gold; and the gold is not returned to them until after payment of a heavy fine. They do not wish to let the alcaldes-mayor buy rice because they all hoard it. If the natives come to complain of their grievances to the alcaldes-mayor alone they are imprisoned and thrown into the stocks and are charged with prison fees." (tr. Blair and Robertson V, 190–191). These accusations are corroborated by Benito de Mendiola, *protector de indios*, in a report of 1583, AGI *Fil.* 74.

20. Marín I, 210–221, 246–251, 258–259, 311.

21. *Ibid.* I, 274.

22. Manila, 4 June 1598, Philippine National Archives, *Reales Cédulas 1552–1600*, 214v–215.

23. In Colín-Pastells I, 607.

24. See the reports of Bishop Salazar and Benito de Mendiola in 1583, cited above, n. 1, and the General Memorial of the Junta of Manila, 26 June 1586, in Colín-Pastells I, 426–427, 434.

25. Marín I, 272–275, 320–333. See the official schedule of basic commodity prices drawn up by Governor Acuña in consultation with the ecclesiastical authorities, 18–27 September 1604, in Colín-Pastells II, 488–491.

26. Marín I, 224–226.

27. *Ibid.* I, 216–217.

28. "Junta," *prólogo*, ch. 3–5, ARSI *Phil.* 12, 272v–273v.

29. Juan de la Concepción, *Historia general de Philippinas* (14 v., Manila, 1788–1792) II, 45–46. The *Doctrina cristiana*, a copy of which is in the Rosenwald Collection of the Library of Congress in Washington, is the earliest extant book printed in the Philippines.

30. Sedeño to Acquaviva, Manila 12 June 1582, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 8.

31. Marín I, 307–310; Hernan Suárez to Acquaviva, Manila, 8 June 1585, *ibid.* 9, 39; Salazar to Philip II, Manila, 24 June 1590, AGI *Fil.* 74.

Chapter Three. Sánchez in China

1. Pastells, *Catálogo* II, pp. cclxxxvi–cclxxxvii.

2. Rafael Altamira y Crevea, *Historia de España y de la civilización española* (4 v., Barcelona: Juan Gilí, 1900–1930) III, 96–98; Antonio Ballesteros y Beretta, *Historia de España* IV-1 (2nd ed., Barcelona: Salvat, 1950), 366–389.

3. Chirino, *Historia*, i, 7; Sedeño to Acquaviva, Manila, 12 June 1582, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 8.

4. Ronquillo to Philip II, Manila, 16 June 1582, in Colín-Pastells I, 306.

5. Henri Bernard, *Les Iles Philippines du grand archipel de la Chine* (Tientsin: Hautes Études, 1936), pp. 25–39; "Relación breve de la jornada que el P. Alonso Sánchez . . . . hizo por orden y parecer del Sr. Don Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa governador de Philipinas," in Colín-Pastells I, 266, this last being the account of his first journey to Macao written by Sánchez himself, hereafter to be cited as "Relación" I.

6. The preceding paragraphs are based on Sánchez, "Relación" I, *ibid.* I, 269–280.

7. Some of this information is contained in Sánchez's account of his second journey to Macao, "Relación" II, *ibid.* I, 321–322. Alessandro Valignano was born at Chieti in

Abruzzi in 1539; took his doctorate in civil law at the University of Padua at the age of 19; entered the Society of Jesus in 1566. Pompilio Ruggiero was a Neapolitan, the son of the estate manager of the Duke of Gravina. After graduating as doctor *utriusque iuris* at the University of Naples he was employed in the government service until his admission to the Society of Jesus in 1572, when he changed his classical name for the more Christian Michael. He was sent as a missionary to the East in 1577, ordained priest at Lisbon, and reached Goa, in company with Rodolfo Acquaviva, Francesco Pasio, and Matteo Ricci, in 1578. Cf. Henri Bernard, *Aux portes de la Chine* (Tientsin: Hautes Études, 1933), pp. 140–142, 144–145.

8. Sánchez, "Relación" I, in Colín-Pastells I, 281–282.

9. Sánchez, "Relación" I, *ibid.* I, 282–285; Bernard, *Aux portes*, pp. 164–165.

10. Bernard, *Aux portes*, pp. 88, 91; *Iles Philippines*, pp. 35–36; C. R. Boxer, ed., *South China in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1953), pp. xxxiii–xxxv; Francisco Sande to the Count of Coruña (Viceroy of Mexico), Mexico, 25 January 1582, in Pastells, *Catálogo* II, lviii.

11. Sánchez, "Relación" I, in Colín-Pastells I, 285–291.

12. The texts of these letters to Governor Ronquillo from Almeida (15 July 1582), Valignano (14 December 1582) and Da Sá (10 February 1583) are in Colín-Pastells I, 294–298. See, further, the strong representations made by the Portuguese of India to Philip II, *ibid.* I, 421–424.

13. Sánchez, "Relación" I, *ibid.* I, 298–300.

14. Sánchez, "Relación" I, *ibid.* I, 285–286; cf. Salazar to Philip II, Manila, 18 June 1583, *ibid.* I, 306–307. The frigate with 18 on board was that of Fray Gerónimo de Burgos and his companions, that with 26 on board was Sánchez's; the prefect inverted the order of their arrival. I am not sure what "cat's eyes" meant; perhaps it referred to the color; some of the Spaniards may have been blue- or green-eyed.

15. Sánchez, "Relación" I, in Colín-Pastells I, 300–301. On the fire of 1582, see the official reports, *ibid.* I, 170–171.

16. Manila, 18 June 1583, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 16.

17. Macao, 14 December 1582, in Colín-Pastells I, 297–298.

18. Manila, 18 June 1583, AGI *Fil.* 74.

19. Manila, 20 June 1583, in Colín-Pastells I, 311.

20. In the letter referred to above, n. 18.

21. Sánchez, "Relación" II, in Colín-Pastells I, 323; cf. *ibid.* I, 169.

22. Sedeño to Acquaviva, Manila, 22 June 1584, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 36v.

23. Manila, 18 June 1583, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 15–15v.

24. Manila, 8 April 1584, AGI *Fil.* 74. Cf. Ronquillo to Philip II, Manila, 8 April 1584, in Colín-Pastells I, 314.

25. Román to Philip II, Macao, 25 June 1584, *ibid.* II, 520–521. Román, who was privy to the *empresa de China*, did some intelligence work at Macao and on the basis of his observations confidently assured Philip that all that would be needed for the conquest of China were five thousand Spanish troops (or even less), six or seven thousand Japanese (whom the Jesuits could be asked to recruit from their converts), and three or four thousand Visayans, who are "good soldiers if backed up by our troops, or anyway much better than the Chinese." A squadron of six galleons and six galleys would suffice to secure the landing. (Macao, 28 September 1584, New York Public Library, Rich Mss. 96.) The detail about Ruggiero's clock is supplied by Sedeño to Acquaviva, Manila, 22 June 1584, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 36v.

26. Macao, 22 June 1584, Gesù 850a.

27. In a letter to Acquaviva, Manila, 25 June 1586, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 86v–87.

28. Summarized, with portions transcribed, in Colín-Pastells II, 73–74, 689–690.

However, one of the Manila Jesuits, Ramón Prat, informs Acquaviva on 24 June 1587 that, according to reports received from Macao that year, the Jesuit interest in the trade had increased to 40,000 crusadoes, and that the Macao merchants were complaining bitterly that the Jesuits were cutting in on their profits (ARSI *Phil.* 9, 258). The Portuguese crusado and the ducat were roughly equivalent: about four 1940 U.S. dollars.

29. Sánchez, "Relación" II, in Colín-Pastells I, 325–328; Gaspar de Ayala (Fiscal of the Audiencia) to Philip II, Manila, 20 June 1585, *ibid.* I, 328

Chapter Four. Surveying the Field

1. Sedeño to Acquaviva, Manila, 12 June 1582, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 8–9; Sánchez to Acquaviva, Manila, 18 June 1583, *ibid.* 9, 16.

2. Sedeño's letter cited above, *ibid.*, 9, 6–9v; and cf. Colín-Pastells I, 165, 263; II, 274, 674–679; and Sánchez, "Noticia de la más remota y nueva christiandad de las Yndias de el poniente" [1589], ARSI *Phil.* 9, 174v.

3. Letter cited above, *ibid.* 9, 5–6v.

4. VI, iii, 5.

5. Pastells, *Catálogo* IV, ccxxxviii.

6. The above summary of the recommendations of Sedeño and Sánchez are based on their letters to Acquaviva of 18 June 1583 (Sánchez) and 17 June, 15 and 22 September 1583 (Sedeño), ARSI *Phil*, 9, 11, 16v–18, 21–22v, 26–26v. Sedeño seems to have presumed Acquaviva's permission to receive Mendiola into the Society, at least as a postulant, some time before Sánchez left on his second voyage to Macao, for, as we have seen, he was the "brother" who accompanied Sánchez on that voyage, not, as Pastells conjectures (Colín-Pastells I, 329), Gaspar Gómez. If this reconstruction is correct, Mendiola was the first to be received into the Society in the Philippines.

7. AGI *Fil.* 74.

8. Diego Ronquillo to Philip II, Manila, 13 June 1583, in Colín-Pastells II, 247; Sánchez to Acquaviva, Manila, 18 June 1583, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 17–17v; Sedeño to Acquaviva, Manila, 13 November 1583, *ibid.* 9, 30v–31.

9. Acquaviva's instructions to Plaza, 30 March 1582, ARSI *Mex.* 1, 36–36v.

10. Chirino, *Historia*, i, 15; Colín-Pastells I, 329.

11. *Ibid.* I, 348, 350; II, 324–325, 526–527; Suárez to Acquaviva, Manila, 8 June 1585, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 40; Almerici to Acquaviva, Manila, 15 June 1585, *ibid.* 9, 55. But note that in the personnel files of the Society (ARSI *Phil.* 2, *Cat.* 1597–1603) Prat's birthplace is given as Vigas.

12. Letter of Almerici cited in the preceding note, *ibid.* 9, 55–56.

13. Pastells, *Catálogo* II, ccxlix; Morga-Retana, p. 25; Philip II's instructions to the new audiencia (Aranjuez, 5 May 1583) are summarized, with portions translated, in Blair and Robertson V, VI.

14. De Vera to Philip II, 30 June 1584, in Colín-Pastells I, 330; Suárez to Acquaviva, Manila 20 June 1584, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 34.

15. De Vera to Archbishop Moya y Contreras of Mexico, Manila, 20 June 1585, Colín-Pastells I, 409–410.

16. In the letter of 1584 cited above, n. 14, and subsequent letters to Acquaviva, 8 and 17 June 1585, 25 June 1586, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 44v, 59, 88.

17. To Acquaviva, Manila 8, 12, and 13 June 1585, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 39, 43v–44, 46v–47; cf. De Vera to Philip II, Manila 20 June 1585, in Colín-Pastells I, 171–172.

18. Suárez to Acquaviva, Manila, 8 and 12 June 1585, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 39, 43v; City of Manila to Philip II, December 31, 1586, in Colín-Pastells II, 676; Prat to Acquaviva, Manila, 18 June 1584, 15 June 1585, ARSI *Phil.* 14, 1–1v; 9, 48; Chirino, *Relación*, p. 14; De Vera to Philip II, Manila, 26 June 1587, in Colín-Pastells I, 355.

19. Suárez to Acquaviva, Manila, 8 and 12 June 1585, and 25 June 1586, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 39, 43, 88v; Prat to Acquaviva, Manila, 4 October 1585, *ibid.* 14, 8v; Colín-Pastells I, 354. The course had to be discontinued when Prat took over the duties of Suárez after the latter's death in September 1586.

20. Colín-Pastells II, 538–539.

21. Suárez to Acquaviva, Manila, 8 June 1585, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 39; Sánchez to Acquaviva, Manila, 19 June 1585, *ibid.* 9, 67; De Vera to Moya y Contreras, Manila, 20 June 1585; the same to Philip II, Manila, 20 June 1586; Dávalos to Philip II, Manila, 18 June 1585; Colín-Pastells I, 410, 412–414.

22. Suárez to Acquaviva, Manila, 25 June 1586, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 88v–90.

23. Acquaviva to Plaza, Rome, April 1581, in Astráin, *Historia* III, 148.

24. Suárez to Acquaviva, Manila, 17 June and 4 October 1585, 25 June 1586, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 59, 88; 14, 8.

25. Suárez to Acquaviva, Manila, 8 June 1585, *ibid.* 9, 39–40; Prat to Acquaviva, Manila, 15 June 1585, *ibid.* 9, 48.

26. Almerici to Acquaviva, Manila, 15 June 1585; Suárez to Acquaviva, Manila, 17 June 1585 and 25 June 1586; Prat to Acquaviva, Manila, 4 October 1585 and 5 June 1586; ARSI *Phil.* 9, 50, 56v–57v; 9, 59, 88v–89; 14, 8–8v; 9, 77.

27. Suárez to Acquaviva, Manila, 12 June 1585, *ibid.* 9, 44v; Almerici to Acquaviva, Manila, 15 June 1585, *ibid.* 9, 51–51v.

28. Suárez to Acquaviva, Manila, 25 June 1586, *ibid.* 9, 89v–90.

29. Sedeño, 16 June 1585, *ibid.* 14, 6; Sánchez, 19 June 1585, *ibid.* 9, 68; Suárez, 8, 12, and 13 June 1585, 25 and 26 June 1586, *ibid.* 9, 39v–40v, 42–43v, 47, 91, 93v; Prat, 16 June 1585 and 5 June 1586, *ibid.* 9, 48, 77.

30. Suárez to Acquaviva, Manila, 25 June 1586, *ibid.* 9, 91.

31. Gesù 849; Colín-Pastells I, 351.

32. Sedeño to Acquaviva, Manila, 27 June 1586, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 95v.

33. Suárez to Acquaviva, Manila, 25 June 1586, *ibid.* 9, 89–89v, 91–91v.

Chapter Five. The Colonial Agent

1. Colín-Pastells I, 332.

2. As previously pointed out in ch. 2, Retana in his edition of Morga's *Sucesos*, introd. pp. 10–11, gives the following comparative prices of commodities in Manila for 1580 and 1584.

	1580	1584
Rice	1 tostón (4 rials) per 6 fanegas (300 gantas)	1 tostón per fanega
Poultry	4 rials per dozen chickens	2 rials per chicken
Eggs	1 tomín (half rial) per 20 eggs	1 tomín per half dozen eggs
Lard	2 pesos per jar	8 pesos per jar
Pork	6 rials per pig (large)	4 pesos per pig (small)
Palm brandy	1 tostón per 100 gantas	2 tostones per 100 gantas.

The reasons given in the documents cited by Retana (*ibid.* pp. 13–16) for these price increases are: withdrawal of natives from agriculture by impressment of laborers and troops for galleys and expeditions; abandonment of agriculture by natives themselves in order to

participate in the more lucrative China trade; exploitation of the natives by alcaldes mayores; increase of nonagricultural population with high per capita consumption (Spaniards, Chinese); increased mortality among the natives due to epidemics and expeditions; bad harvests due to locusts.

Even in 1583 Sedeño was compelled drastically to revise his earlier report on how cheaply a Jesuit could live in the Philippines. He had previously written that 500 pesos and 500 fanegas of rice a year would suffice to support ten or twelve Jesuits. He now thought that 100 pesos and 100 fanegas would be needed for each man (Sedeño to Acquaviva, Manila 22 September 1583, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 27).

In an effort to keep the cost of living down the government subjected prime commodities to price control. But this only made matters worse, for alcaldes mayores and other officials then forced the natives to sell their products to them at the pegged price rather than the higher price of the open market, even if there was no particular scarcity. Bishop Salazar in his particular memorial to the king (June 1586, Colín-Pastells I, 447) complained about this and petitioned that price controls be not applied except in times of real scarcity, and even at such times that the natives be not forced to sell their products except what is over and above what they needed for one year.

3. Sedeño to Acquaviva, Manila, 27 June 1586, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 95; Audiencia of Manila to Philip II, 13 July 1589, in Colín-Pastells I, 176.

4. General Memorial of the Assembly, Manila, 26 June 1586, *ibid.* I, 415; and I, 332–336 for what was said at the assembly, summarized in this and succeeding paragraphs. The Jesuits present were Sedeño, Sánchez, Suárez, and Prat. No mention is made of Almerici.

5. According to De Vera (in a letter to Archbishop Moya y Contreras, Manila, 20 June 1585, *ibid.* I, 410), the total income of the Philippine government in his time did not reach 35,000 pesos a year; and elsewhere (*ibid.* I, 354) he informs Philip II that the annual deficit was upwards of 50,000 pesos. A summary of the financial status of the Philippines in 1586, drawn up by Ledesma, one of Philip II's secretaries, gives the following figures on income (*ibid.* I, 458): annual revenue from tribute, between 27,000 and 28,000 pesos; customs duties, 10,000; royal *quinto* (the one-fifth share of all newly mined gold taken by the government), 3,000. All this revenue was spent to defray the expenses of the colonial government, the principal items being salaries, ship construction and naval stores. The officers and crew of the galleons of the Manila-Acapulco line, all of which belonged to the Crown, were paid in Mexico; their salaries amounted to 50,000 pesos per voyage. A memorandum of the Council of the Indies attached to this summary stated that as of 1586 the royal treasury had spent more than three million pesos on the discovery, settlement, and upkeep of the Philippines.

6. De Vera to Archbishop Moya y Contreras, Manila, 20 June 1585, *ibid.* I, 410. He wrote in the same sense to Villamanrique, the viceroy of Mexico, as the latter informed Philip II, Mexico, 24 January 1587, *ibid.* I, 363. De Vera as president of the audiencia received 4,000 pesos a year; the oidores Dávalos, Rojas, and Ribera Maldonado who came somewhat later, and the attorney-general Ayala, 2,000 each. The salaries of the minor officials amounted to 8,000 (*ibid.* I, 171).

7. Ayala to Philip II, Manila, 20 June 1585, *ibid.* I, 411.

8. Dávalos to Philip II, Manila, 20 June 1585, *ibid.* I, 409.

9. Manila, 25 June 1586, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 90–90v.

10. Colín-Pastells I, 339–340.

11. *Ibid.* I, 337–338, 347–348.

12. *Ibid.* I, 415.

13. Sánchez, "Respuestas . . . a los puntos de una [carta] que el obispo de las Philipinas escrivió a su Magestad" (Rome, 1592?), ARSI *Phil.* 9, 219v.

14. Colín-Pastells I, 340–343; Suárez to Acquaviva, Manila, 25 June 1586, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 90v–91; President De Vera to Acquaviva, Manila, 24 June 1586, *ibid.* 81–81v.

15. Colín-Pastells I, 343; Sánchez, "Respuestas," ARSI *Phil.* 9, 217v–218. In a letter to Acquaviva, Manila, 23 June 1586, Bishop Salazar explained Sánchez's mission and took the opportunity to express his esteem for the Society and for "the fathers residing in this city who have been my comfort and consolation in all the hardships and difficulties I have encountered" (*ibid.* 9, 79).

16. Colín-Pastells I, 349.

17. "Razones . . . para que no convenía se dilatase su jornada" [Mexico, 1587], ARSI *Phil.* 9, 125–127.

18. As Villamanrique explained to Philip II, Mexico, 6 May 1587, quoted by León Lopétegui, *El padre José de Acosta y las misiones* (Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas, 1942), pp. 464–465.

19. Sánchez, "Respuestas," ARSI *Phil.* 9, 220; Suárez to Acquaviva, Manila, 20 June 1584, *ibid.* 9, 34; Mendoza to Acquaviva, Mexico, 17 January 1585, in Lopétegui, *Acosta*, p. 463.

20. "Parecer sobre la guerra de la China," Mexico, 15 March 1587, published by Pietro Tacchi-Venturi in the appendix to his edition of Matteo Ricci's historical works, *Opere storiche* (2 v., Macerata: Filippo Giorgetti, 1911–1913) II, 450–455.

21. Summarized with quotations in Lopétegui, *Acosta*, pp. 468–470.

22. "Parecer," in Tacchi-Venturi, *Opere storiche* II, 452.

23. *Ibid.* II, 455.

24. "Respuestas," ARSI *Phil.* 9, 220.

25. Colín-Pastells I, 363–368.

26. Both letters dated 11 August 1587, quoted by Lopétegui, *Acosta*, p. 475. Acquaviva disapproved so strongly of Sánchez's two missions to Macao that he instructed the provincial of Mexico, 24 February and 16 June 1586, to recall Sánchez from the Philippines to prevent any further expeditions (Lopétegui, *ibid.* p. 463). These letters must have reached Mendoza when Sánchez was already in Mexico on his third mission, that with which we are now concerned.

27. "Resolución de los capítulos y puntos que la real audiencia y república de las Philipinas embiaron a pedir a su Magestad" [1589], Gesù 1432; Colín-Pastells I, 368–370; Sánchez, "Respuestas," ARSI *Phil.* 9, 219. The text of the various memorials may be consulted in Colín-Pastells I, 415–455.

28. Text *ibid.* I, 368–374.

29. *Ibid.* I, 374–376.

30. Contemporary copy in ARSI *Phil.* 9, 115–123; printed text in Colín-Pastells I, 376–386.

31. Cf. St. Thomas, *Summa theologica* II–II, q. 12, a. 2, and Francisco de Vitoria, *Relectio de indis*, sect. 2. The handiest edition of the latter for the English reader is that of Ernest Nys, Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1917.

32. In all this Sánchez sticks pretty closely to Vitoria, *Relectio de indis*, sect. 3. Acosta, however (Lopétegui, p. 472), points out that if both the government and the people of a pagan nation refuse to admit Christian missionaries or listen to them, it is by no means certain that they can be compelled by force to do so. Only if either the people or the government are willing may pressure be applied to the unwilling party, under the usual conditions: that all other means have failed, that no scandal ensues, and that only as much pressure is applied as will assure freedom to preach and freedom to hear the word of God.

33. Cf. Ballesteros, *Historia de España* IV-1, 394.

34. The text of the Philippine memorials and Philip's decisions are conveniently printed

together in Colín-Pastells I, 415–459. See also Philip's instructions to Dasmariñas, August 1589, *ibid.* III, 741–750.

35. We learn from a report of Ayala to Philip II (15 July 1589, *ibid.* I, 457) that government clerkships were being sold at the following rates: four in Manila at 800 pesos each; one in Pampanga at 1,000 pesos; one in the Visayas at 1,700 pesos; one in Cebu at 600 pesos; one in Bonbon (Batangas) at 300 pesos; and one in Camarines at 600 pesos. Alonso Beltrán, court secretary, sold his office when he went back to Mexico to Alonso Torres, merchant. The price: 4,500 pesos.

36. Chirino, Historia, i. 27; Dasmariñas' appointment is in Colín-Pastells II, 174–175.

37. *Ibid.* I, 463–465.

38. Cf. Astráin, *Historia* III, 357–713.

39. Acquaviva to Sánchez, Rome, 14 June 1588, in Lopétegui, *Acosta*, pp. 478–479; Colín-Pastells I, 469–470.

40. ARSI *Phil.* 14, 4–5. On Sánchez's negotiations in the Roman curia see Colín-Pastells I, 472–501.

41. Text in F. J. Hernáez, ed., *Colección de bulas, breves y otros documentos relativos a la iglesia de America y Filipinas* (2 v., Brussels: Vromant, 1879) I, 108, and cf. Colín-Pastells I, 456, 476.

42. Text *ibid.* I, 482–489.

43. Manila, 24 June 1590, AGI *Fil.* 74; cf. Pastells, *Catálogo* IV, ix–x.

44. *Ibid.* III, xcv–xcix.

45. The following account is based on Colín-Pastells I, 388–407; cf. Sánchez, "Respuestas," ARSI *Phil.* 9, 218v.

46. This is the "Respuestas" to which frequent reference has already been made, of which there is a copy in ARSI *Phil.* 9, 217–222.

47. Colín-Pastells I, 514–516.

Chapter Six. Permanent Establishment

1. Sedeño to Acquaviva, Manila, 22 June 1587, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 253v; "Historia de la vice-provincia de las islas Philipinas" [1600], *ibid.* 9, 1v; Chirino, *Historia*, i, 18.

2. Colín-Pastells I, 350.

3. Sedeño to Acquaviva, Manila, 9 September 1587, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 260–260v.

4. *Historia*, i, 19; *Relación*, pp. 13–14.

5. As described by De Vera in a report to Philip II, Manila, 26 June 1587, in Colín-Pastells I, 174. He financed the construction by a prorated levy on all encomiendas (3,000 pesos) and a tax of one rial on all married and one-half rial on all unmarried natives (6,000 pesos).

6. Annual Letter 1597, ARSI *Phil.* 5, 2.

7. Colín-Pastells 19–20.

8. Audiencia of Manila to Philip II, 1585 ?, *ibid.* I, 181; cf. *ibid.* III, 127.

9. Sedeño to Acquaviva, Manila, 22 June and 9 September 1587, 19 June 1594, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 253, 261, 293v; Chirino, *Historia*, iii, 1; Colín-Pastells II, 22; cf. III, 750–753.

10. Sedeño to Acquaviva, Manila, 9 September 1587, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 260–260v. Pacheco was an alderman of the city. It was his intention not only to build the Jesuit residence but to endow it as a college; but after his wife's death in 1591 he changed his mind, having gone to Mexico and remarried. Doña Faustina was noted for her many charities, one of which was to send food regularly to the hospital from her own kitchen.

She was less than 40 when she died. Over her tomb in the Jesuit church the grateful fathers placed the following inscription:

Fausta opibus Faustina suis, faustissima fama,
Corpore fausta nimis, faustior est animo.

Cf. Chirino, *Historia*, i, 18; Colín-Pastells I, 513. Don Luís de Sahajosa may be remembered as the commander of the galleon which brought Sedeño and his companions to the Philippines.

11. To Philip II, Manila, 26 June 1587, *ibid.* I, 354. An anonymous report of 1586 gives some of the current prices of China goods at Manila: damask, any color, 4 rials per yard; cloth-of-gold, 10 rials per yard; cottons, 1½ rials per yard; biscuit, 7 or 8 rials per 75-lb. jar; lard, 20 rials per 125-lb. jar; etc. (*ibid.* I, 355–356).

12. Quoted by C. H. Haring, *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918), pp. 145–146, from Hakluyt's *Voyages*.

13. Colín-Pastells I, 51; II, 676; Morga-Retana, p. 407; Sedeño to Acquaviva, Manila, 22 June 1587, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 253v–254.

14. The following account is based on the contemporary reports in Colín-Pastells I, 172–174, and W. E. Retana's monograph, *La primera conjuración separatista*, Madrid: Victoriano Suárez, 1908.

15. Thomas Cavendish of Suffolk attacked the *Santa Ana* on 4 November 1587 off the California coast with two ships, the *Desire*, 120 tons, 18 guns, and the *Content*, 60 tons, 10 guns. The 600-ton *Santa Ana* mounted no guns, and Alzola yielded her after a six-hour battle. Cavendish was piloted to the Philippines by the navigator of the *Santa Ana*, Alonso de Valladolid. He also took with him a Filipino member of the galleon's crew, Francisco Mansalay, who managed to escape and was the first to bring the news of the capture to Manila. Cavendish sent his message to the Manila Spaniards by means of a captured Portuguese seaman whom he set down before leaving the Islands. He entered Plymouth in triumph on 9 September 1588, just after the destruction of the Armada. Queen Elizabeth had the *Desire* brought round from Plymouth to be displayed to the court at Greenwich, and is said to have remarked: "We care nothing for the Spaniards. Their ships, loaded with gold and silver from the Indies, come hither after all." Cf. the documents in Colín-Pastells I, 51, 175–176; III, 348–356; William Lytle Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* (New York: Dutton, 1939), pp. 305–313.

16. Manila, 18 July 1583, in Colín-Pastells I, 351.

17. ARSI *Cong. Prov.* 43, 373–373v.

18. *Ibid.* 43, 411v. The second general congregation of the Society (1565) had recommended to the general "ut potius applicaret animum ad roboranda et ad perfectionem adducenda collegia iam admissa quam ad nova admittenda; et si quae admittenda existimaret ex iis quae offeruntur, eiusmodi essent et eis in locis et cum talibus circumstantiis ut ad commune bonum Ecclesiae Dei magnum momentum habitura videantur" (decretum 8, in G. M. Pachtler, *Ratio studiorum et institutiones scholasticae Societatis Iesu* (4 v., Berlin, 1887–1894) I, 74).

19. "De la dispusición de las Philipinas para quanto a estar de asiento en ellas la Compañia" [1589], Gesù 1465.

20. Sedeño to Acquaviva, Manila, 7 June 1592, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 276v; Valerio de Ledesma. "Historia provinciae Philippinarum Societatis Iesu," Manila, 15 July 1620, *ibid.* 11, 115; Colín-Pastells I, 505–506.

21. *Ibid.* I, 177, 508–509, 579; Chirino, *Historia*, i, 29; Sedeño to Acquaviva, Manila, 24 June 1590, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 270.

22. Sedeño to Acquaviva, Manila, 17 June 1588, Prat to Acquaviva, Manila, 21 June 1590, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 264v; Colín-Pastells I, 513. Sedeño saw to it that a bishop's room was

included in the plan of the residence, because Bishop Salazar liked to come and stay with the fathers occasionally. He corresponded by donating a portion of his library; so Chirino, *Historia*, i, 18. The construction of the church was also being financed by Pacheco and his wife. The construction foreman was a Greek named Daniel Theoclitos, a former seaman. He later entered the Society as a lay brother (Ann. Lett. 1612, in Colín-Pastells III, 279–281).

23. ARSI *Cong. Prov.* 45, 444, 467v; Angelo Armano to an unidentified correspondent, Antipolo, 30 June 1602, ARSI *Phil.* 10, 94.

24. Reports of 21 June 1591 and 20 June 1592, in Colín-Pastells I, 178–179, 579.

25. *Ibid.* I, 177–179, 181, 579, 583; Dasmariñas to Philip II, Manila, 31 May 1592, *ibid.* I, 581; Morga-Retana, p. 28.

26. 31 May 1592, in Colín-Pastells I, 579–580; cf. petition of 26 January 1591, *ibid.* I, 585.

27. *Ibid.* I, 181–182.

28. 31 May 1591, in Retana, *Archivo* IV, 41–73.

29. To Dasmariñas, Manila, 12 January 1591, in Colín-Pastells I, 603–604.

30. See the documents relative to this controversy *ibid.* I, 603–615.

31. *Ibid.* I, 598–599; cf. I, 612–613.

32. Chirino, *Historia*, iv. 7; Dasmariñas to Philip II, Manila, 18 October 1591, in Colín-Pastells I, 180.

33. *Ibid.* I, 181; II, 193; San Agustín, *Conquistas*, pp. 458–459. Fray Luís de Maldonado died before he could take possession of his diocese. Its first actual occupant was Fray Francisco Ortega, O.S.A. Cf. Domingo Abella, "San Pedro Bautista—obispo de Nueva Cáceres?," *Archivo ibero-americano* 63 (July–September 1956), 355–375. My friend Dr. Abella informs me that the original title of the see in pontifical documents was not Nueva Cáceres but simply Cáceres.

34. Text *ibid.* I, 587–588, dated 20 January 1592; papers submitted by the other orders, *ibid.* I, 588–591.

35. Hall, *South-East Asia*, pp. 198–203; Marta to Acquaviva, Cebu, 5 December 1593, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 288; Colín-Pastells I, 572.

36. Sedeño to Acquaviva, Manila, 7 June 1592, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 276v; Colín-Pastells I, 572–573. The instructions of Dasmariñas to Gómez are *ibid.* III, 29–30; a summary of Gómez's report in Pastells, Catálogo V, clxxvii-clxxx.

37. Colín-Pastells I, 573–576; Concepción, Historia II, 198–204.

38. Sedeño to Acquaviva, Manila, 7 June 1592, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 276; Colín-Pastells I, 183; II, 56.

39. *Ibid.* I, 185, 600–603; II, 40–47; Marta to Acquaviva, Cebu, 2 December 1592, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 288–288v; Chirino, *Historia*, ii, 23–24; Morga-Retana, pp. 29–30. Juan Ezquerra was one of the first conquistadores of the Islands, and attained the military rank of general. He died in 1615 survived by 14 children and an unspecified number of grandchildren. He gave one son (Domingo, who became provincial) and two grandsons (Francisco and Juan, the former martyred in the Marianas) to the Society. We are given a charming detail of his death: he had the habit of carrying a crucifix around with him everywhere, and when his last hour was come he asked for it, saying, "Give me my boon companion." Cf. Colín-Pastells III, 568–569. According to Dasmariñas the Younger the Misericordia kept up Father De León's special charity of helping those who were ashamed to beg (*pobres vergonzantes*) and added others to it, such as providing dowries for orphan girls or the daughters of impoverished conquistadores, and providing poor families, especially settlers from Mexico, a place to live until they could find employment. This last hostelry was distinct from Santa Potenciana; it eventually developed into an orphanage for girls, the

Colegio de Santa Isabel, cf. Dasmariñas to Philip II, Manila, 15 June 1594 and 9 June 1595, *ibid.* I, 634; II, 109–110.

40. Prat to Acquaviva, Manila, 21 June 1590, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 268; De Vera to Philip II, Manila, 1587, in Colín-Pastells I, 353–354; Audiencia to Philip II, Manila, 25 June 1588, *ibid.* I, 354.

41. Almerici informs Acquaviva of the purchase of Figueroa's ranch, San Juan del Monte (Taytay), 19 June 1593, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 282v. Notarial transcripts of the bills of sale of the properties mentioned in the text, and of Mercado's deed of donation, are in Gesù 1465. The Mayhaligi property was further added to in 1598 by the purchase of adjoining lands in Silangan, Bakor, and Butabuta from Dionisio Kapolo, Felipe Salonga, and Gabriel Tuambakar, *ibid.* Other purchases recorded in the same dossier are: a city lot with a wooden house belonging to the Licentiate Contreras, 18 September 1586; another wooden house belonging to the estate of Diego Díaz, 6 June 1595. Cf. Sedeño to Acquaviva, Manila, 19 June 1594 and 20 June 1595, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 293v–294; 14, 10v.

42. Sedeño to Alarcón, Manila, 19 June 1594, *ibid.* 9, 292.

43. Colín-Pastells II, 6–7.

44. *Ibid.* II, 10–11; Chirino, *Relación*, p. 11.

45. Text in Repetti, *The College of San José* (ms., Manila, 1946), Appendix A.

Chapter Seven. Mission Stations

1. Colín-Pastells I, 509–510; cf. Chirino, *Relación*, p. 35, and Prat to Acquaviva, Manila, 21 June 1590, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 268.

2. Colín-Pastells II, 23–24.

3. *Ibid.* I, 510–511; Chirino, *Relación*, p. 19.

4. Colín-Pastells I, 511–512; "Historia de la vice-provincia" [1600], ARSI *Phil.* 9, 2.

5. Chirino, *Relación*, pp. 19–21. This work is, of course, our primary source for the beginnings of the Taytay mission.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 21–22.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 20–21; Colín-Pastells I, 512, 514.

8. Chirino, *Relación*, pp. 45, 52–56, 75–76. On the songs of the Tagalogs, see the learned note of Epifanio de los Santos in Morga-Retana, pp. 456–464.

9. Acts xvii, 23–28.

10. Chirino, *Relación*, pp. 48–49.

11. Reproduced in facsimile by the Library of Congress, Washington, in 1947, with an erudite introductory essay by Edwin Wolf 2nd.

12. Colín-Pastells II, 110–111.

13. Chirino, *Relación*, pp. 49–50; *Historia*, iii, 14.

14. Colín-Pastells I, 513–514, 561–563; Sedeño to Acquaviva, Manila, 7 June 1592, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 276.

15. Colín-Pastells II, 115; Chirino, *Relación*, pp. 27–28.

16. See Chirino's interesting account of his journey to Panay in Colín-Pastells I, 564–565.

17. *Ibid.* II, 679; Chirino, *Relación*, pp. 7–8, 25.

18. Chirino, *Relación*, pp. 26–27; *Historia*, ii. 20; Colín-Pastells I, 565–566.

19. Chirino, *Relación*, pp. 16, 28; Almerici to Acquaviva, San Juan del Monte (Taytay), 19 June 1593, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 281.

20. Colín-Pastells II, 5–6; Acquaviva to Esteban Páez, provincial of Mexico, Rome, 9 March 1594, ARSI *Cong. Prov.* 45, 475; Sedeño to Acquaviva, Manila, 20 June 1595, ARSI *Phil.* 14, 10; Prat to Acquaviva, Manila, 18 June 1597, *ibid.* 14, 12–12v.

21. According to the tribute roll compiled *con puntualidad* in 1600; cf. Colín-Pastells II,

122. Sedeño had had his eye on Leyte for at least a year previous to this. His information was that it had a total population of 70,000 (to Acquaviva, Manila, 19 June 1594, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 293–293v.)

22. Sedeño to Acquaviva, Manila, 20 June 1595, ARSI *Phil.* 14, 10; Colín-Pastells I, 176.

23. Chirino, *Relación*, pp. 28–29; *Historia*, ii, 25.

24. Chirino, *Relación*, pp. 62–63.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 29–30; Colín-Pastells II, 12–14; Annual Letter 1597, ARSI *Phil.* 5, 5v, 15v; "Historia de la vice-provincia" [1600], *ibid.* 9, 2v.

26. Colín-Pastells II, 12–22.

27. Prat to Acquaviva, Manila, 5 August 1596, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 304v. Prat appointed Juan de Ribera, the moral theology professor, acting rector of the College of Manila and master of novices.

28. Prat, Ordinances of 1597, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 301v.

29. "Escritura de fundación del colegio de la Compañía de Jesús de Manila," 20 October 1595, Gesù 1465. Cf. Ribera to Acquaviva, Manila, 21 June 1597, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 309–309v; Diego García to Acquaviva, Manila, 6 August 1599, *ibid.* 9, 395. The income of the college from all sources in 1600 was 2,800 pesos, according to "Historia de la vice-provincia," *ibid.* 9, 1v.

30. On these antecedents to Figueroa's expedition, see Colín-Pastells I, 140–142; II, 25–28, and documents therein.

31. Text *ibid.* III, 753–754; cf. I, 186–187; II, 28–29, 33.

32. *Ibid.* II, 30–32, cf. Morga-Retana, p. 235; Prat to Acquaviva, Manila, 18 June 1597, ARSI *Phil.* 14, 14v. The documents refer to the place where Sirongan decided to make a stand as Buhayen (Bwayan), but this is hardly likely, as Bwayan was more than 30 miles up the Pulangi, and to reach it Figueroa would have had to deal with Magindanau first. It is much more likely that Magindanau was meant, and that the Spaniards mistook it for Bwayan because Sirongan was lord of Bwayan. Cf. Najeeb M. Saleeby, *The History of Sulu* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1908), p. 173.

33. Colín-Pastells II, 35–38, 162; Morga-Retana, p. 43.

34. *Catalogi triennales*, ARSI *Phil.* 2, 1–2; Colín-Pastells II, 9–10, 38–40; Chirino, *Historia*, iii, 7.

35. Prat to Acquaviva, Manila, 18 June 1597, ARSI *Phil.* 14, 13v–14v; Chirino, *Historia*, iii, 19; Colín-Pastells II, 274.

36. The following account of the Taytay-Antipolo mission is based on Colín-Pastells II, 110–118; Chirino, *Relación*, pp. 56–58; Annual Letters 1597 and 1599, ARSI *Phil.* 5, 3, 46–47; Prat, Ordinances of 1597, *ibid.* 9, 300–300v.

37. To Fabio de Fabiis, Antipolo, 23 June 1597, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 313v.

38. Chirino, *Relación*, p. 79.

39. ARSI *Phil.* 5, 217v; cf. Chirino, *Historia*, iii, 16.

40. Cf. Colín-Pastells II, 128–130, which includes Humanes' report to Prat, written very probably in 1598. See also Annual Letter 1599, ARSI *Phil.* 5, 53, and Chirino, *Historia*, iii, 19.

41. Jiménez to Prat, 1599, in Colín-Pastells II, 134–136; Chirino, *Relación*, pp. 129–130.

42. Encinas to Prat, 1597, in Colín-Pastells II, 124–125; Chirino, *Relación*, pp. 124–125.

43. Rodríguez to Prat, 1598, in Colín-Pastells II, 138; Chirino, *Relación*, p. 127.

44. Colín-Pastells II, 135–137; Chirino, *Relación*, pp. 67, 124.

45. On the beginnings of the Jesuit mission in Samar, see Otazo to Prat, 1598, in

Colín-Pastells II, 141–145; Prat to Acquaviva, Manila, 18 June 1597, ARSI *Phil.* 14, 13v; Annual Letter 1599, *ibid.* 5, 54.

46. The following account of the Bohol mission is based on Torres to Prat, 1597, in Colín-Pastells II, 155–156; Torres to Chirino, 1598?, *ibid.* II, 153–155; Chirino, *Historia*, iii, 24, 29.

47. "Bai abai ko sa nagbanua / Bulung ko sa nagkubayon / Kai magakaliwaliwa ang banua / Magakapuer-ra ang kubayon / Mabualag-ra kining longsor / Mabungkag-ra kining kubayon."

48. Colín-Pastells II, 158–162.

49. My account of Jesuit activities in Cebu is based on Prat, Instructions to De Vera, 1598, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 334v; Chirino to Acquaviva, Cebu, 5 June 1599, *ibid.* 9, 355; Prat to Acquaviva, Manila, 12 July 1599, *ibid.* 14, 20v; Annual Letter 1599, *ibid.* 5, 48; "Historia de la vice-provincia," *ibid.* 9, 2v; Colín-Pastells II, 165–174, 195–197; III, 141. According to Prat, there were 20 students in the grammar school in 1599. Classes were held for one hour in the morning and another hour in the afternoon, which was apparently all the Latin the Cebuanos could take. It should be mentioned that throughout the period we are dealing with a Jesuit "grammar school" was a school in which boys who had learned to read and write were taught Latin grammar and, through the reading and analysis of selected classical texts, given the intellectual formation now imparted in elementary school, high school and the first two years of college.

50. They are in ARSI *Phil.* 9, 297–299v (1596) and 302–303v (1598). The Ordinances of 1596, referred to in preceding notes, were drawn up by Prat for the College of Manila (*ibid.* 299v–302).

51. *Ibid.* 9, 302v.

52. *Ibid.* 9, 303v.

53. *Ibid.* 9, 299.

54. Cf. Prat to Acquaviva, Manila, 8 June 1597, *ibid.* 14, 16v.

55. Ribera to Acquaviva, Manila, 27 and 30 June 1598, *ibid.* 9, 341, 347–347v; Chirino to Acquaviva, Cebu, 5 June 1599, *ibid.* 9, 354–354v; Prat to Acquaviva, Manila, 5 August 1596, *ibid.* 9, 305.

Chapter Eight. Visitation

1. Prat to Acquaviva, Manila, 18 June 1597 and 26 June 1598, ARSI *Phil.* 14, 16v–17 and Colín-Pastells II, 108; Ribera to Acquaviva, Manila, 27 June 1598, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 341; García to Acquaviva, Manila, 6 August 1599, *ibid.* 9, 397. According to Morga, Dasmariñas charged the subsidy on the fund of the fourths; see his report to Philip II, 6 July 1596, in Morga-Retana, pp. 235–241.

2. Tello to Philip III, Manila, 17 June and 12 July 1599, 6 July 1601, in Colín-Pastells II, 248; Acuña to Philip III, Manila, 15 July 1604, *ibid.* II, 251; Gregorio López to Acquaviva, Manila, 3 July 1608, ARSI *Phil.* 10, 257v.

3. Prat to Acquaviva, Manila, 18 June 1597, 26 June 1598, 12 July 1599, ARSI *Phil.* 14, 12v, 21v, Colín-Pastells II, 108; Tello to Philip II, Manila, 28 June 1597, *ibid.* II, 108; Annual Letter 1599, ARSI *Phil.* 5, 45; Prince Philip to Archbishop Santibáñez, San Lorenzo, 8 July 1598, *ibid.* 9, 351.

4. Prat to Acquaviva, Manila, 5 August 1596, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 304v; Annual Letter 1596, *ibid.* 5, 10v–12; Annual Letter 1604, *ibid.* 5, 151v; Chirino, *Historia*, iii, 12.

5. Prat, Ordinances of 1596, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 297–299v; Prat to Acquaviva, Manila, 18 June 1597, *ibid.* 14, 12v; Annual Letters of 1596, 1599, 1602, 1603, *ibid.* 5, 8v–12,

44v–45v, 95–95v, 128v; Chirino, *Historia*, iv. 2; *Relación*, pp. 47, 87; Colín-Pastells II, 107–109 and documents therein.

6. Prat, Ordinances of 1596 and 1597, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 298, 300; García to Acquaviva, Manila, 12 July 1599, *ibid.* 9, 383; Colín-Pastells III, 134.

7. Prat's instructions to De Vera are in ARSI *Phil.* 9, 332–338.

8. Manila, 30 July 1599. See the complete text of this letter in Morga-Retana, pp. 269–271.

9. Audiencia to Philip II, Manila, 14 July 1598, in Colín-Pastells II, 186; Archbishop Santibáñez to Philip II, Manila, 26 June 1598, in Blair and Robertson X, 147, 156; Pastells, *Catálogo* IV, cxl–cxliii. By "almost naked" they apparently meant that Tello came to sessions not in the sober garments of a judge, but "wearing a short cloak and a hat with colored plumes," and sometimes even without a cloak; see their report of 14 July 1958 in Blair and Robertson X, 183–185. Tello himself admits that he found it necessary to punish several captains and aldermen, and on New Year's Day, 1597, "I had the entire city corporation arrested for an act of disobedience to me" (to Philip II, Manila, 29 April 1597, *ibid.* X, 43–44).

10. Prat to Acquaviva, Manila, 28 June 1598, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 342–343; García to Acquaviva, Manila, 4 July 1599, *ibid.* 9, 358v. Parra was a much older man than either Prat or Ribera, and was one of the founders of the Jesuit mission of Mexico, In fact, he was already professing theology at the College of Mexico while Ribera was a mere scholastic. He imagined, in his crotchety way, that he had received less than justice from his local superiors, and asked permission to return to Mexico. Permission was granted in 1600, but the galleon in which he embarked was lost with all hands. Cf. Parra to Acquaviva, Manila, 15 July 1599, *ibid.* 9, 388; García to Acquaviva, Manila, 25 June 1601, *ibid.* 10, 65.

11. Annual Letter 1600, ARSI *Phil.* 5, 62; Colín-Pastells II, 207, 475–478.

12. *Ibid.* II, 477.

13. Ribera to Acquaviva, Manila, 1 July 1599, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 356; García to Acquaviva, Manila, 8 June 1600, *ibid.* 10, 5; Chirino, *Historia*, iv, 2; *Relación*, pp. 109–110. Further damage was done by another earthquake which struck at midnight of the last day of 1600 (García to Acquaviva, Manila, 25 June 1601, ARSI *Phil.* 10, 65v).

14. García to Acquaviva, Manila, 4 July, 10 July and 6 August 1599, *ibid.* 9, 358v, 372–373, 395; Prat to Acquaviva, Manila, 12 July 1599 and 25 June 1600, *ibid.* 10, 20–20v; 14, 21v; Chirino, *Historia*, iii, 2; Colín-Pastells II, 210.

15. García to Acquaviva, Manila, 8 June 1600, ARSI *Phil.* 10, 6v–15v; Chirino, *Historia*, iii, 2.

16. From the report cited in the preceding note, *ibid.* 10, 9v. Brother Diego Alonso trapped and killed a monster of a crocodile in Tinagon; he got a good-sized jar of oil from it which he used to light the lamp before the Blessed Sacrament; cf. Colín-Pastells II, 398.

17. *Ibid.* II, 212–213.

18. ARSI *Phil.* 10, 9v.

19. García's report of 8 June 1600 cited above, *ibid.* 10, 7–8, 10–11; Prat to Acquaviva, Manila, 9 July 1599, *ibid.* 9, 369v–370; "Historia vice-provinciae" [1600], *ibid.* 9, 3v–4; Colín-Pastells II, 211, 302–303. Acquaviva's directives, addressed to Prat, were dated 10 October 1597 and 10 June 1598. In them he stressed once again the fact that mission tours were to be preferred to resident missions as more conformable to the Society's method of operation, and that in any case care should be taken that the resident missions did not become permanent; as soon as a locality was sufficiently Christianized, it should be turned over to the diocesan prelate and new residences established in regions awaiting conversion. The vice-province consultors, whom García asked to comment on this before he left for his tour of inspection, subscribed to the view expressed earlier by Sedeño and Alonso Sánchez that mission tours were impracticable in the Philippines under prevailing conditions, and

advanced the same arguments that they did. They agreed in principle to the policy of not making the resident missions a permanent charge, but represented that "temporary" should not be taken to mean a brief period of two or three years. It would take many years before the people of Samar, Leyte, and Bohol could be considered sufficiently Christianized. Furthermore, since the entire archipelago had already been partitioned by the king among the various religious orders, where would they establish new missions? It was difficult enough as it was for the vice-provincial to inspect the Visayan missions, as he was bound to do every year. Finally, it seemed to them to be asking too much that the missionaries, after spending themselves on their present missions, "should put aside the fruit just when it is ripe enough to eat." Cf. Carcía to Acquaviva, Manila, 10 July 1599, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 375–375v.

20. Prat to Acquaviva, Manila, 5 July 1600, *ibid.* 10, 24–24v, and García's report cited above. Prat had made this proposal earlier to Acquaviva, 18 June 1597, *ibid.* 9, 15v.

21. Mateo Sánchez to Acquaviva, Carigara, 12 April 1603, *ibid.* 10, 106v.

22. 30 June 1598, quoted by Pastells, *Catálogo* IV, clxxvi.

23. ARSI *Phil.* 5, 53v.

24. Colín-Pastells II, 213, and García's report previously cited.

25. *Ibid.* Mandaue was a tiny village of 300 souls, almost all Christians. They went to Sunday Mass in the Jesuit church in Cebu, half the village one Sunday and the other half the next. The fathers gave a mission there three times a year. Ledesma to Acquaviva, Cebu, 27 April 1603, *ibid.* 10, 110.

26. Gabriel Sánchez to García, 31 January 1600, in Colín-Pastells II, 291–292; Chirino, *Relación*, pp. 159–162.

27. García's report cited above. He did not establish a separate residence in Bohol because the people were still too widely dispersed. However, when they were sufficiently settled, he estimated that four priests and four brothers would be needed for the island and the mission of Tanay.

28. See especially that of 7 July 1600, ARSI *Phil.* 10, 24–24v.

29. Colín-Pastells II, 214–215, 323–324. The Antipolo mission at this time consisted of Taytay with its villages of Dalig and Angono, a total of 400 households; Antipolo with its villages of Santa Cruz and Mahaihai, a total of 700 households; and the Aeta village of Santiago with 400 households. Chirino, *Relación*, p. 181.

30. Almerici to Fabiis, Antipolo, 19 June 1601, ARSI *Phil.* 10, 58v–59; García to Acquaviva, Manila, 25 June 1601, *ibid.* 10, 67v–68; Leonardo Scelsi to Prat, 1602, in Colín-Pastells II, 270; Chirino, *Relación*, p. 148.

31. ARSI *Phil.* 5, 98.

32. Scelsi's report to Prat and Annual Letter of 1602, cited above. García informed Acquaviva that the custom had developed among the people of Antipolo of presenting food, wax, and money on the altar after the priest had said Mass for their intention. What was to be done with these offerings? Acquaviva replied (18 November 1602, ARSI *Phil.* I, Iv, 4) that the funeral offerings should be given to the poor or to the choir that sang at the funeral; as for the Mass offering, if the Mass was said in the Jesuit church it should be refused, if in another church it should be accepted for that church.

33. Annual Letter 1603, *ibid.* 5, 141v.

34. Morga's account in Morga-Retana, pp. 103–119; Colín-Pastells II, 217–237, and documents therein; Annual Letter 1601, ARSI *Phil.* 5, 76; Chirino, *Relación*, pp. 145–146.

35. Almerici to Fabiis, Antipolo, 19 June 1601, ARSI *Phil.* 10, 58v; Colin-Pastells II, 324–325.

36. *Ibid.* II, 313–322.

37. García to Acquaviva, Manila, 25 June 1601, ARSI *Phil.* 10, 65v.

Chapter Nine. Organization

1. García to Acquaviva, Manila, 27 June 1601, ARSI *Phil.* 10, 67; cf. *ibid. Cong. Prov.* 49, 264v; Annual Letter 1602, *ibid. Phil.* 5, 95. Gómez writes to a friend that he was summoned from the Bohol missions to take the professorship (Manila, 19 June 1602, in Colín-Pastells II, 250).
2. To Philip III, Cebu, 7 July 1601, in Colín-Pastells II, 248–249.
3. García to Acquaviva, Manila, 8 June 1600, ARSI *Phil.* 10, 5v.
4. 8 June 1598, Morga-Retana, pp. 254–258; English translation in Blair and Robertson x, 86–87.
5. Colín-Pastells II, 248–251.
6. *Ibid.* II, 482.
7. Annual Letter 1602, ARSI *Phil.* 5, 96v; Chirino, *Relación*, pp. 179–180; Colín-Pastells II, 250–252, 486.
8. We have not so far been able to find a copy of García's original statutes. However, a set of regulations dating back to 1620 is preserved in the archives of the Philippine viceprovince; it is rendered into English by Repetti, *San José*, pp. 279–280. Cf. Annual Letter 1605, ARSI *Phil.* 5, 173v.
9. Annual Letter 1604, *ibid.* 5, 152.
10. *Ibid.* 5, 96v–97.
11. Ann. Lett. 1603, *ibid.* 5, 127v; Chirino, *Historia*, v. 13; Colín-Pastells II, 361–362; Morga-Retana, p. 141.
12. See my article, "Jesuit Education in the Philippines to 1768," in *Philippine Studies* IV/2 (1956), 127–155.
13. Pascual de Acuña, Pedro de Auñón, Miguel Ignacio, and Cristoforo Certelio. The last named has the distinction of having introduced the bassoon to the Philippines; Colín-Pastells II, 360.
14. Miguel Gómez to Andrés Caro. Manila, 25 June 1603, in Colín-Pastells II, 250; Annual Letters 1603, 1604, 1605, ARSI *Phil.* 5, 127, 148v–149, 172v–175; Chirino, *Historia*, v, 17.
15. Cf. Colín-Pastells II, 248–250.
16. Manila, 6 July 1603, AGI *Fil.* 74.
17. ARSI *Cong. Prov.* 49, 264–265v; 50, 202–207. Chirino left Manila in early July 1602, as we learn from a letter of his to Acquaviva, written "at sea near Acapulco," 7 December 1602, *ibid. Phil.* 10, 99v. But even before Chirino reached Rome, Acquaviva, better informed, had given his approval to the arts course and permission to seek royal approval to grant degrees in arts and theology according to the Society's privileges, in view of the fact that there was no intention of expanding the college into a full-fledged university. At the same time, he prudently directed the Philippine Jesuits to make it clear to the colonial authorities that the professors of the college could not teach and be missionaries at the same time; hence, they should be exempted from mission work completely. Acquaviva to García, Rome, 18 November 1602, *ibid.* 1, 4.
18. García to Acquaviva, Manila, 25 June 1601, *ibid.* 10, 66v.
19. Chirino, *Historia*, iv, 7; Benavides to Philip III, Manila, 7 July 1603, AGI *Fil.* 74.
20. ARSI *Phil.* 1, 5v; 10, 61, 63.
21. García to Acquaviva, Manila, 25 June 1601, *ibid.* 10, 67v; Chirino to Acquaviva, Manila, 27 June 1601, *ibid.* 10, 71; Annual Letter 1603, *ibid.* 5, 127; Chirino, *Relación*, p. 144; *Historia*, iv. 7.
22. ARSI *Phil.* 10, 213. In 1607 or thereabouts Father Francisco Moriz organized a sodality for Spanish school boys; Chirino, *Historia*, v. 17.
23. Annual Letter 1603, ARSI *Phil.* 5, 128; Chirino, *Relación*, p. 145.
24. Scelsi to Spinelli, Antipolo, 22 May 1602, ARSI *Phil.* 10, 90v; Annual Letter

1602, *ibid.* 5, 98–98v; Chirino, *Relación*, pp. 183–188; *Historia*, iv, 8; Colín-Pastells II, 274–275.

25. This incident of the mandarins is reported in detail to Philip II by Governor Acuña, Archbishop Benavides, and other officials in the dispatches of 1603 and 1604; cf. Colín-Pastells II, 413–419, 424.

26. City of Manila to Philip III, 6 December 1603, *ibid.* II, 423; Acuña to Philip III, 23 December 1603, *ibid.* II, 433.

27. Salazar to Philip II, Manila, 24 June 1590, AGI *Fil.* 74.

28. Santibáñez to Philip II, Manila, 24 June 1598, *ibid.*

29. My account of the uprising of 1603 is based principally on the following sources: (a) the official reports of Governor Acuña and the members of the audiencia to the home government, 1603–1604, given *in extenso* in Colín-Pastells II, 421–428; (b) the detailed account drawn up by Gregorio López, rector of the College of Manila, for Diego García, vice-provincial, April 1604, ARSI *Phil.* 10, 128–140v, and the more summary narrative in the Annual Letter of 1604, *ibid.* 5, 148–169; (c) Archbishop Benavides to Philip III, Manila, 16 December 1603, AGI *Fil.* 74; (d) Morga-Retana, pp. 149–154.

30. Acuña to Philip III, Manila, 15 July 1604, in Colín-Pastells II, 433–434; Bernardino Maldonado to Philip III, 1605, *ibid.* 434.

31. See the text of this reply, translated into Spanish, in Morga-Retana, pp. 157–158.

32. Annual Letter 1604, ARSI *Phil.* 5, 150v.

33. *Ibid.* 5, 173v.

34. Annual Letter 1603, *ibid.* 5, 129v; cf. Annual Letter 1600, *ibid.* 5, 68v–70; García, Ordinances of 1602, *ibid.* 2, 45v.

35. Colín-Pastells II, 466–477, 482, 554–555.

Chapter Ten. The Men

1. Colín-Pastells I, 207; III, 5–9.

2. In communications to Acquaviva, Manila, 21 June 1597, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 309v–310, and 5 July 1601, *ibid.* 10, 81v.

3. *Ibid.* 1, 6.

4. Repetti, *Society* VI, 155–156.

5. Manila, 1 July 1606, ARSI *Phil.* 10, 22v.

6. Manila, 15 July 1599, *ibid.* 9, 387.

7. Chirino, *Historia*, v, 9; for the date of the arrival of Riccio and his group, see Repetti, *Society* V, 4–6.

8. These details have been compiled from numerous references in the triennial catalogues, annual letters, and other reports sent from the Philippines to Rome, and from the records of the House of Trade at Seville. It would be wearisome to specify them here.

9. Colín-Pastells III, 741–743.

10. Astráin, *Historia* V, 47–49, 263–264, 278.

11. See the data compiled by Repetti in his ms. "History of the Society in the Philippines" (IV, VI, VII), which is summarized here.

12. Mexico, 1 February 1643, ARSI *Phil.* 11, 230v–231.

13. Mexico, 20 January 1606, in Colín-Pastells II, 470–473.

14. Quoted by Repetti, *Society* VI, 151.

15. To Diego de Martínez, Manila, 22 August 1626, BAH *Jesuitas* 108, 497–498.

16. Quoted by Schurz, *Manila Galleon*, p. 267.

17. To Vitelleschi, Manila, 6 August 1643, ARSI *Phil.* 11, 235–235v.

18. For a lucid account of the vicissitudes of the *San Antonio* see Repetti, *Society* IV, 207–219. He clarifies the obscure points in López's lengthy report to Acquaviva, Manila, 29 June 1601, ARSI *Phil.* 10, 73–77v.

19. "Relación del viaje de los padres y hermanos que van a Filipinas" [1625] probably written by Aguirre in Mexico, *ibid.* 12, 305–305v.
20. Bobadilla to Vitelleschi, Mexico, 1 February 1643, *ibid.* 11, 228–228v.
21. "Relación," *ibid.* 12, 306–307.
22. Manila, 6 August 1643, *ibid.* 11, 237v–238v.
23. Cartagena to Martínez, Manila, 22 August 1626, BAH *Jesuitas* 108, 497–498.
24. On this whole question see my article, "The Development of the Native Clergy in the Philippines," *Theological Studies* VIII/2 (June 1947), 219–250.
25. Lopétegui, *Acosta*, p. 170.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 383–384.
27. Suárez to Acquaviva, Manila, 26 June 1586, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 93v; García to Acquaviva, Manila, 8 June 1600, *ibid.* 10, 6.
28. Acquaviva to Cabredo, Provincial of Peru, 10 March 1603, in Astráin, *Historia* IV, 536.
29. Sánchez to Acquaviva, Manila, 18 June 1583, ARSI *Phil.* 9, 17v–18; García to Acquaviva, Manila, 8 June 1600 and 7 June 1603, *ibid.* 10, 6, 110v.
30. Acquaviva to López, Rome 12 December 1605 and 1 April 1609, ARSI *Phil.* 1, 21v, 43.
31. To Acquaviva, Manila, 16 July 1615, *ibid.* 11, 70.
32. Manila, 21 July 1615, *ibid.* 11, 79.
33. Decree 52, *Institutum Societatis Iesu* (3v., Florence, 1892–1893) II, 278–279.
34. Murillo, *Historia*, n. 111.
35. Manila, 19 March 1592, ARSI *Phil.* 11, 47.
36. López told Acquaviva about them in a letter dated Manila, 3 July 1608, *ibid.* 14, 46.
37. Ledesma in the Catalogue of 1614, *ibid.* 2, 99v.
38. Colín-Pastells III, 741–743.
39. ARSI *Phil.* 10, 223.
40. The following biographical details are from Colín-Pastells III, 126–127, 783, and a letter of López to Acquaviva, Manila, 3 July 1608, ARSI *Phil.* 14, 35v.
41. *Ibid.* 10, 243–254v.
42. See his report cited above, n. 40.
43. The following account of the San Pedro Makati house and endowment is based on the triennial catalogues and annual letters of the period.
44. Colín-Pastells III, 126.
45. *Historia* V, 50.
46. *Constitutiones*, x, 2.
47. ARSI *Cong. prov.* 50, 202–207.
48. Silang, 14 June 1606, *Gesù* 644.
49. "Consultatio circa modum gubernandi et socios conservandi," undated, but from internal evidence written *circa* 1606; *ibid.* 14, 39–40.
50. Manila, 14 June 1612, *ibid.* 14, 49–49v.
51. Report "de statu spirituali," Manila, 14 July 1615, *ibid.* 11, 62–63v.
52. Francisco Gutiérrez to Acquaviva, Manila, 21 July 1615, *ibid.* 11, 79v.
53. Manila, 10 July 1615, *ibid.* 11, 58v.
54. Astráin, *Historia* V, 319–320.
55. Catalogue of 1614, ARSI *Phil.* 2, 99v.
56. Andrés de la Cámara to Ledesma, Palapag, 30 April 1615, *ibid.* 11, 51–54v.
57. Diego de Encinas, procurator, to Vitelleschi, Rome, 1630, ARSI *Cong. prov.* 63, 187–187v.
58. Samar, 1 May 1601, ARSI *Phil.* 10, 45–45v.

Chapter Eleven. Problems and Policies

1. See Parts VIII and IX of the Constitutions and the pertinent decrees of the general congregations in *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, vol. II.
2. They are to be found in the section *Congregationum provincialium* of the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus.
3. The postulata of García and his consultors are in ARSI *Cong. prov.* 50, 202–207.
4. *Ibid.* 50, 205.
5. *Ibid.* 50, 205–205v.
6. *Ibid.* 49, 264–265v.
7. The replies are to be found *ibid.* 50, 208–223; the statement in ARSI *Phil.* 1, 14–16v.
8. The instructions he gave them in 1605 are *ibid.* 10, 221, 224.
9. My account is based on the papers of the congregation, ARSI *Cong. Prov.* 53, 115–124v.
10. *Ibid.* 53, 125–126, 133v.
11. ARSI *Phil.* 11, 19–22.
12. I do not have the proceedings of this congregation, but the text of this particular proposal has been preserved in the treatise of Francisco Gutiérrez cited below.
13. ARSI *Cong. prov.* 58, 200v.
14. Proceedings of the Congregation of 1627, *ibid.* 61, 134v.
15. They sent along a letter written by Encinas in his Rotterdam prison, 29 January 1629, preserved in ARSI *Phil.* 11, 142–143v.
16. *Ibid.* 11, 134–135v.
17. ARSI *Cong. prov.* 61, 134–148v.
18. Given in 1633, *ibid.* 63, 182.
19. *Ibid.* 61, 143v., 145v–146; 63, 181v–182; 67, 200v, 202v.
20. *Ibid.* 63, 176.
21. *Ibid.* 63, 180.
22. *Ibid.* 50, 202–202v, 214; García to Acquaviva, Manila, 25 June 1601, ARSI *Phil.* 10, 65v–66.
23. Santibáñez to Philip II, Manila, 24 June 1598, AGI *Fil.* 74.
24. ARSI *Cong. prov.* 53, 116; López to Acquaviva, Manila, 1 July 1606, ARSI *Phil.* 10, 223; López to Figueroa (Procurator for the Indies), Manila, 19 July 1611, *ibid.* 11, 11.
25. Ledesma to Acquaviva, Manila, 26 July 1615, *ibid.* 11, 87.
26. The triennial catalogues referred to here and later are to be found in vol. 2 of the section *Philippinarum* of the Roman Archives (ARSI *Phil.* 2).
27. Notarized copy in Gesù 1465; cf. also 849, and my article, "Jesuit Education in the Philippines to 1768," *Philippine Studies* IV/2 (July 1956), 133–134.
28. Such were the findings of Juan de Ozáeta y Oro, Judge of Pardons and Crown Lands, 4 June 1699; cited by Repetti, *San José*, p. 179.
29. ARSI *Cong. prov.* 53, 117v; Acquaviva's reply, 1612, *ibid.* 53, 125.
30. Catalogue of 1643, ARSI *Phil.* 2, 226.
31. Acquaviva to López, Rome, 6 February 1606, *ibid.* 1, 29v–30; López to Acquaviva, Manila, 3 July 1608, *ibid.* 10, 257.

Chapter Twelve. The Great River

1. Francisco Tello to Philip III, Manila, 12 July 1599, Blair and Robertson X, 214, "Concerning the Pacification of the Island of Mindanao in the Year 1600," an anonymous report, *ibid.* XI, 135–139; Colín-Pastells I, 187–199 and documents therein; Morga-Retana, pp. 44–46.

2. In addition to the reference given above, Morga-Retana, pp. 64–65; Hall, *South-East Asia*, p. 229.

3. Diego García to Acquaviva, Manila, 25 June 1601, ARSI *Phil.* 10, 68; Chirino, *Relación*, pp. 156–157; Montero, *Piratería* I, 146–150.

4. Miguel Gómez to Acquaviva, Cebu, 29 April 1601, ARSI *Phil.* 14, 26v.

5. Gallinato to Acuña, Jolo, 22 April 1602, in Colín-Pastells II, 280, and cf. *ibid.* I, 202–203; Morga-Retana, pp. 121–123.

6. The notes taken down at the interrogation of these prisoners are in Blair and Robertson XI, 292–301.

7. Acuña to Philip III, Manila, 26 October 1602, *ibid.* XII, 39; Gallinato to Antonio de Ribera (oidor), Cebu 1602 ?, Colín-Pastells II, 281–282.

8. Acuña to Philip III, Manila, 3 July 1603, *ibid.* II, 372, and cf. *ibid.* I, 203–204; Chirino, *Historia*, v, 17; Morga-Retana, pp. 134–136.

9. Benavides to Philip III, Manila, 24 July 1603, Colín-Pastells II, 370; Acuña to Philip III, Manila, 26 October 1603, *ibid.* II, 371.

10. *Ibid.* II, 344–354; Morga-Retana, pp. 138–139; Hall, *South-East Asia*, pp. 229–233.

11. Chirino, *Relación*, pp. 149–150; *Historia*, iv, 12; v, 33.

12. Colín-Pastells III, 135. Royal approval of this grant was obtained on 18 January 1607; cf. Pastells, *Catálogo* V, cccxxxi, n. 1.

13. Annual Letter 1602, ARSI *Phil.* 5, 108v; Annual Letter 1603, *ibid.* 5, 131v.

14. Annual Letter 1601, *ibid.* 5, 89.

15. Otazo to García, in Annual Letter 1603, *ibid.* 5, 132–132v.

16. Annual Letter 1602, *ibid.* 5, 107v–108v.

17. García, Ordinances of 1602, *ibid.* 2, 45–45v.

18. Colín-Pastells II, 326–328, 383–394; Chirino, *Relación*, pp. 175–177.

19. Carigara, 12 April 1603, ARSI *Phil.* 10, 104–104v.

20. Optimistic reports on Bohol towns by Ledesma in 1600 and 1601, Colín-Pastells II, 286–289, ARSI *Phil.* 14, 23; but see Chirino, *Historia*, v, 34.

21. Letter of Mateo Sánchez referred to above, ARSI *Phil.* 10, 105.

22. Our account of this raid and Hurtado's captivity is based principally on the following sources: Hurtado to López, Cebu, 6 October 1604, ARSI *Phil.* 10, 159–176; Otazo to López, in Annual Letter 1604, *ibid.* 5, 148–169; Colín-Pastells II, 370–379, 387–388, 506–508, and documents therein; Chirino, *Historia*, v, 21.

23. *Voyage*, p. 23, note.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 13–14; cf. Acuña to Philip III, Manila, 3 July 1603, Colín-Pastells II, 374.

25. Hurtado, ARSI *Phil.* 10, 167.

26. Chirino, *Historia*, v. 52.

27. Codex of Datu Matsura in Saleeby, *Studies*, p. 23.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 23–24.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 37–38.

30. *Ibid.*, diagram 1.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 56: "Those who adopted the new religion remained in the rich lowlands of the valley. . . . Those who wavered in accepting the new terms of submission and who were later suffered to stay in the neighboring hills were called Tiruray. Those who refused to submit, fled to more distant places . . . [and] were called Manobos." Manobos (river people) were so called because they took up their abode in the upper reaches of the Agusan River.

32. Combés-Retana, cols. 53–61.

33. Christie, *Subanuns*, pp. 28–31.

34. Hurtado, ARSI *Phil.* 10, 172v.

35. Colín-Pastells II, 389–390, 507.

Chapter Thirteen. Challenge and Response

1. Cebu, 17 November 1603, in Colín-Pastells II, 380–382.
2. Acuña to Philip III, Manila, 15 July 1604, *ibid.* II, 375–376; cf. *ibid.* II, 387–388.
3. *Ibid.* II, 507.
4. *Ibid.* II, 509–518; Hurtado, ARSI *Phil.* 10, 170–174v.
5. Acuña's report cited above, n. 2.
6. Acuña to Philip III, Manila, 1 July 1605 and Cavite, 8 July 1605, in Colín-Pastells II, 512–514, 376; cf. *ibid.* III, 29–31. Acuña took the trouble to inform Acquaviva (9 July 1605) of the use he had made of Brother Gómez. Acquaviva replied drily (25 July 1606) that he hoped Gómez's mission would redound to the greater stability and progress of missionary work in the Philippines; ARSI *Phil.* 1, 22. See Brother Gómez's memorial to Philip III, 30 August 1606, giving an account of his services to the government, in Colín-Pastells I, 208–209.
7. The principal account of Hurtado's mission is that which Hurtado himself sent to Acquaviva, Bwayan, 18 April 1606, ARSI *Phil.* 10, 205–212. See also Chirino, *Historia*, v, 53.
8. Text in Hurtado's report to Acquaviva cited above.
9. Colín-Pastells III, 156–157.
10. Acuña to Gregorio López, Río de Mindanao, 6 March 1606, ARSI *Phil.* 14, 30–31.
11. Colín-Pastells III, 43–88, text and documents.
12. 22 July 1606, *ibid.* III, 78.
13. Our sources for the raid of 1608 fall into two groups. (a) Reports to Acquaviva of the Jesuit missionaries Cristóbal Jiménez (Dagami, 8 March 1608, ARSI *Phil.* 14, 41), Fabrizio Sarsali (Leyte, 20 March 1608, *ibid.* 14, 42), and Giovanni Domenico Bilanci (Alangalang, 24 April 1608, *ibid.* 10, 235–235v). (b) The 1608 reports of the oidores and Acting Governor Vivero in Colín-Pastells III, 167–170; cf. *ibid.* III, 180–181.
14. *Ibid.* I, 213; III, 173–175 (text and Annual Letter of 1609).
15. *Ibid.* III, 336–339.
16. Cf. two letters of Diego Laurencio to Acquaviva, Bohol, 4 April 1606 (ARSI *Phil.* 14, 28–29), and Loboc, 7 April 1608 (*ibid.* 10, 229v).
17. *Ibid.* 1, 39–39v.
18. Gregorio López, "Vita Michaelis Ayatumi," in Colín-Pastells III, 211–213.
19. BAH *Jesuitas* 87/69.
20. Colín-Pastells III, 253–254.
21. Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 33–35.
22. See, for instance, the section on Dulag in the Annual Letter of 1605 (ARSI *Phil.* 5, 188): "Our churches and houses have been rebuilt; refugees have been brought back, some by persuasion, others by the threat of punishment; the towns have been reconstituted, not only by their original residents, but by new ones recruited from those who had formerly refused to settle . . . The hospital, the sodality of Our Lady, and the boarding school have been re-established with the help of alms from the Spanish colonists as well as the king, who gave a generous donation. They are making steady progress."
23. Annual Letter of 1610, BAH *Jesuitas* 87/69; Annual Letter of 1611, Colín-Pastells III, 256–257.
24. Annual Letter of 1605, ARSI *Phil.* 5, 193v–194.
25. Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 396–402. Ballesteros was received into the Society as a lay brother in 1620.
26. Colín-Pastells II, 173; III, 26–27, 162; Chirino, *Historia*, ii, 27.
27. Blair and Robertson XIV, 251–255.
28. Colín-Pastells III, 158–159; Otazo to Acquaviva, Cebu, 22 April 1608, ARSI

Phil. 10, 233–233v; López to Acquaviva, Manila, 3 July 1608, *ibid.* 14, 43; Ledesma, "Historia provinciae" (1620), *ibid.* 11, 116; Annual Letter of 1626, *ibid.* 6, 416.

29. Annual Letter of 1610, BAH *Jesuitas* 87/69.

30. Colín-Pastells III, 130–131, 133–134; González to Acquaviva, Cebu, 29 April 1608, ARSI *Phil.* 10, 237–238; López to Acquaviva, Manila, 3 July 1608, *ibid.* 14, 45v; Ledesma, "Historia provinciae" (1620), *ibid.* 11, 116v–117. The provincial congregation of 1609 also requested that the foundation be approved, ARSI *Cong. prov.* 53, 124v; Acquaviva's reply, *ibid.* 53, 125v.

31. Murillo, *Historia*, n. 107. On 20 September 1635 the audiencia ordered the reconstruction of the Jesuit church and house at Arévalo at government expense; Colín-Pastells III, 131.

32. Vicente to Acquaviva, Butuan, 27 May 1612, ARSI *Phil.* 11, 25; Annual Letters of 1611, 1612, and 1614, quoted by Colin-Pastells III, 329–333.

33. Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 136–137.

34. *History of Sulu*, pp. 155–158.

35. *Ibid.*, pp. 158–164.

36. Forrest, *Voyage*, p. 326.

37. Annual Letter of 1617, in Colín-Pastells III, 631–639; Diego de Bobadilla, "Relación" (1638), p. 11.

38. *Voyage*, pp. 374–375.

39. "Relación" (1617–1618) BAH *Jesuitas* 84/7.

40. "Relación" (1626), *ibid.* 84/11; Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 65–67.

41. Saleeby, *Sulu*, p. 158.

42. Annual Letter of 1624, ARSI *Phil.* 6, 369; "Veríssima relación" (1626), in Retana, *Archivo*, I/1.

43. My account of the raid and of Lugo's punitive expedition is based principally on the Jesuit "Relación" (1627–1628), BAH *Jesuitas* 84/12.

44. Colín-Pastells I, 239; Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 104–106.

45. For the details see "Relación" (1629–1630), BAH *Jesuitas* 118/116; Colín-Pastells I, 239–240; Murillo, *Historia*, n. 120.

46. Quoted in Annual Letter of 1632, ARSI *Phil.* 7, 82/9–82/9v.

47. Colín-Pastells III, 802.

48. *Ibid.* III, 792; Murillo, *Historia*, n. 180.

49. BAH *Jesuitas* 84/20.

50. On the foundation of Zamboanga, see Combés-Retana, cols. 226–229; Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 194–195.

Chapter Fourteen. The Sun of Holland

1. Cf. Hall, *South-East Asia*, pp. 233–235.

2. Manila, 4 July 1608, ARSI *Phil.* 10, 270–270v.

3. Forrest, *Voyage*, p. 308, quoting Valentine.

4. Our account of this battle and the events leading up to it is based on the documents in Colín-Pastells I, 214–215, III, 217–226, 232–242. Cf. Schurz, *Manila Galleon*, p. 346.

5. Angelo Armano to Fabio de Fabiis, Manila, 29 July 1610, ARSI *Phil.* 11, 3.

6. Annual Letter 1610, BAH *Jesuitas* 87/69; Colín-Pastells I, 216–217; III, 262–265.

7. Manila, 9 July 1611, ARSI *Phil.* 11, 8.

8. *Ibid.* 11, 48.

9. Colín-Pastells III, 328–329; Andrea Caro to the Jesuits of the Roman province, Manila, 16 July 1615, ARSI *Phil.* 11, 67.

10. Colín-Pastells III, 313–328, 576–580; Murillo, *Historia*, n. 1.

11. Colín-Pastells III, 581–589, 608, 633–648, 791.
12. Quoted by Schurz, *Manila Galleon*, p. 345.
13. My narrative is based principally on the documents in Colín-Pastells I, 219–220; III, 622–639. Cf. Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 3–4; Schurz, *Manila Galleon*, p. 347–348.
14. Annual Letter 1618–1619, BAH *Jesuitas* 84/8; Colín-Pastells I, 221–222.
15. There is a copy of this memorial in Gesù 848.
16. Quoted by Pastells, *Catálogo* VII/1, lxxxiii.
17. Schurz, *Manila Galleon*, p. 351.
18. Colín-Pastells I, 223; Murillo, *Historia*, n. 27.
19. Colín-Pastells I, 223–224.
20. *Ibid.* I, 230–232; Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 61–62.
21. Colín-Pastells I, 233; Murillo, *Historia*, n. 64.
22. ARSI *Phil.* 11, 32v.
23. Colín-Pastells III, 586.
24. To Philip III, 24 June 1614, *ibid.*
25. Report of Sebastián de Pineda, 1619, in Pastells, *Catálogo* VI, ccclxiv.
26. Quoted by Rizal in his edition of Morga's *Sucesos*, p. 295.
27. Pineda's report cited above, n. 25; García Serrano to Philip IV, Manila, 31 July 1622, AGI *Fil.* 74.
28. Juan Niño de Tabora to Philip IV, Manila, 1 August 1629, in Pastells, *Catálogo* VII/1, clvi–clvii.
29. Manila, 21 August 1617, *ibid.* VI, cdxv–cdxvi.
30. Madrid, 6 March 1608, *ibid.* VII/1, xxv–xxvi.
31. Lisbon, 10 August 1619, *ibid.* VII/1 xxvi.
32. "Relación," 1628–1629, BAH *Jesuitas* 84/13.
33. Manila, 5 June 1622, in Pastells, *Catálogo*, VII/1, lxxxvii–lxxxviii.
34. Colín-Pastells III, 125–126.
35. See Schurz's treatment of this question in his excellent monograph, *The Manila Galleon*.
36. ARSI *Phil.* 6, 439–441.
37. Archbishop García Serrano to Philip IV, Manila, 31 July 1622, AGI *Fil.* 74.
38. Archbishop García Serrano to Philip IV, Manila, 25 July 1621, in Colín-Pastells II, 251.
39. See the various contemporary accounts of this *cause célèbre* in BAH *Jesuitas* 84/10a, 87/48; Pastells, *Catálogo* VII/1, l–lii; Arco I, 501–514.
40. Cf. Morga-Retana, pp. 207–208.
41. AGI *Fil*, 74.

Chapter Fifteen. Fair, with Occasional Showers

1. Colín-Pastells III, 24; Chirino, *Historia*, v. 17; Acquaviva to Gómez, Rome 6 February 1607, ARSI *Phil.* 1, 27v; Acquaviva to López, Rome, 16 September 1608, *ibid.* 37v.
2. Annual Letter 1610, BAH *Jesuitas* 87/69.
3. Annual Letter 1611, in Colín-Pastells II, 253; cf. *ibid.* II, 260, the summary of documents pertaining to the College of Santo Tomás.
4. Manila, 24 June 1612, AGI *Fil.* 74.
5. Manila, 25 June 1616, in Colín-Pastells III, 564.
6. *Ibid.* II, 255, 261; Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 54–55; Delgado, *Historia*, p. 226.
7. Colín-Pastells II, 255; III, 151; Murillo, *Historia*, n. 199.
8. Annual Letter 1626, ARSI *Phil.* 6, 398.
9. *Casos morales resueltos por los PP. Juan de Ribera y Diego de Bobadilla, de la Compañía de*

Jesús, pertenecientes a la provincia de Filipinas, desde 1602 a 1636. ms. in folio; two parts; fols. 1–72 of the first part are missing, the rest are foliated 73–239, with an index; the second part has 245 numbered folios without index. Although only Ribera and Bobadilla are mentioned in the title (which is modern), some of the cases are resolved by other professors, and some by the entire theological faculty.

10. My account of this controversy is based in part on *Casos morales*, ii, 190 ff., and in part on the following documents: "Relación," 1620–1621. BAH *Jesuitas* 84/10a and 84/11; "Junta que el Illmo. Sr. D. Fr. Miguel García Serrano Arzobispo destas islas Philippinas hizo en su palacio arzobispal . . . sobre la absolución que se debía practicar de uno que pidiese confessión en el artículo de la muerte abiendo perdido el sentido antes que llegase el confessor," Manila, 13–18 January 1621 (notarized transcript of the proceedings), ARSI *Phil.* 11, 119–129v.

11. "Catalogus rerum," 1618, ARSI *Phil.* 2, 131v–132; Vitelleschi to Ledesma, Rome, 5 March 1616, *ibid.* 1, 80v–81.

12. See the triennial catalogues for the period referred to in ARSI *Phil.* 2. Vitelleschi's decision was in response to a petition of the provincial congregation of 1621; cf. ARSI *Cong. prov.* 56, 233.

13. These are summarized from the annual letters of 1611 (Colín-Pastells II, 254), 1620, 1624, 1627, 1630 (ARSI *Phil.* 6, 259 ff.).

14. Colín-Pastells II, 494. Fajardo's decision is reproduced in "Relación de las sentencias" (1654), Gesù 849.

15. Annual Letter 1609, ARSI *Phil.* 5, 256; Annual Letter 1610, BAH *Jesuitas* 87/69.

16. Annual Letter 1630, ARSI *Phil.* 6, 579v–580; Annual Letter 1634–1635, *ibid.* 7, 137v.

17. To Fabio de Fabiis, Manila, 6 July 1611, ARSI *Phil.* 7, 11.

18. Annual Letter 1610, BAH *Jesuitas* 87/69; Colín-Pastells III, 242–244.

19. *Ibid.* I, 210–211; III, 24–25; Annual Letter 1607 in Repetti, *Society* VII, 31.

20. Annual Letter 1614, Colín-Pastells III, 397–399; Ledesma to Acquaviva, Manila, 25 July 1615, ARSI *Phil.* 11, 81–81v.

21. Annual Letter 1610, BAH *Jesuitas* 87/69; Annual Letter 1626, ARSI *Phil.* 6, 398; Memorial of Juan López, procurator, Rome 1634, ARSI *Cong. prov.* 63, 171, 173.

22. Colín-Pastells III, 755–756; Memorial of Humanes, procurator, Rome, 20 March 1612, ARSI *Cong. prov.* 53, 137; Memorial of Encinas, procurator, Rome 1630, *ibid.* 61, 150, 201.

23. Annual Letter 1611, in Colín-Pastells III, 268–272. Armano, writing to Acquaviva (Manila, 20 August 1611, ARSI *Phil.* 11, 14), says that eighty different nationalities took part in the festivities, "different from one another in language, color, region and usages, but all Christians"; this would give the general some idea of what a metropolis Manila is.

24. Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 23, 31, 46–51.

25. AGI *Fil.* 74; Colín-Pastells II, 487–488.

26. Quiapo, 25 July 1609, Blair and Robertson XIV, 327–329.

27. ARSI *Phil.* 1, 63.

28. Encinas, procurator, Rome 1630, ARSI *Cong. prov.* 63, 191, 202v; Colín-Pastells II, 487.

29. Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 484–489.

30. Diego de Cartagena to Diego Martínez, Manila, 22 August 1626, BAH *Jesuitas* 108, 489; Annual Letter 1627, ARSI *Phil.* 6, 441v–442; Annual Letter 1630, *ibid.* 6, 582–582v; Colín-Pastells III, 754; Murillo, *Historia*, n. 92. On 3 August 1637 Francisco Colín, rector, reported to Philip IV that the college building had been completed save for the infirmary (Colín-Pastells III, 757–758).

31. Annual Letters of 1610 (BAH *Jesuitas* 87/69), 1616, 1626, 1627, 1632, 1633 (ARSI *Phil.* 6 and 7, *passim*).

32. Annual Letter 1614, *ibid.* 6, 38v–39.

33. Annual Letter 1611, in Colín-Pastells III, 276–277; Annual Letter 1620, ARSI *Phil.* 6, 260; Memorial of Gutiérrez, procurator, Rome 1624, ARSI *Cong. prov.* 58, 200, 202; Statement of royal treasury officials, Manila, 10 February 1699, Arag. E–I–a–16, n. 2.

34. Colín-Pastells II, 258–260.

35. Gesù 849.

36. Ledesma to Acquaviva, Manila, 26 July 1615, ARSI *Phil.* 11, 87; Proceedings of the provincial congregation of 1627, ARSI *Cong. prov.* 61, 135v; Annual Letter 1632, ARSI *Phil.* 7, 81/10–81/10v; Colín-Pastells III, 339–340; Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 63, 162, 353. Lucas de Castro was an alumnus of the College of Manila.

37. Gesù 849. The draft of Vitelleschi's letter of acceptance, Rome, 2 April 1639, is archived with this document.

38. Colín-Pastells III, 781–782.

39. Arag. E–II–a–13, n. 17.

40. Colín-Pastells III, 782–783; Murillo, *Historia*, n. 70. On 16 April 1630, Bishop Arce of Cebu, administrator once again of Manila after Archbishop García Serrano's death, granted a petition of Pedro de Prado, procurator of the College of Manila, for a similar arrangement regarding the cow hands, farmers, and other personnel of the college's cattle ranch near Taytay, which has now been given the name of Jesús de la Peña. That is, that the Jesuits be allowed to attend to their spiritual needs, in order to save them the inconvenience of having to travel to the nearest parish for Sunday Mass and the sacraments. Bishop Arce imparted the faculties requested to whomsoever the rector of the college might appoint, and on 22 April of the same year Governor Tabora gave his consent as vice-patron to the arrangement. This information is contained in a printed pamphlet entitled *Traslado de una consulta fecha a los illustríssimos señores auxiliares. . . . pro D. Fray Phelippe Pardo* (Manila, 1687), pp. 75–76. The purport of this publication we shall see in due course.

41. Annual Letter 1627, ARSI *Phil.* 6, 452; Diego de Cartagena to Rafael de Pereira, Manila, 2 August 1631, BAH *Jesuitas* 111/25.

42. Annual Letter 1620, in Colín-Pastells III, 149–150; cf. Ledesma to Acquaviva, Manila, 1 June 1620, in Pastells, *Catálogo* v, cccxxxiii; Murillo, *Historia*, n. 71.

43. Annual Letter 1622, ARSI *Phil.* 6, 335; Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 44, 57, 71.

44. *Ibid.* nn. 135, 163; Annual Letter 1631, ARSI *Phil.* 7, 61–61v.

45. *Ibid.* 7, 81/15–81/16.

46. Annual Letter 1633, *ibid.* 7, 104–105; Catalogue 1636, *ibid.* 2, 201v.

Chapter Sixteen. The Last Conquistador

1. "Era este caballero al paso que muy entendido, muy rígido y austero, muy tenaz en las determinaciones y casado con sus dictámenes, ocasión en los príncipes de los mayores yerros; pues por no ceder en lo que el amor propio prohijó por aciertos, se dejan llevar a cualquier precipicio."—*Conquistas*, p. 326.

2. In Pastells, *Catálogo* VIII, xviii–xx.

3. Vicente Salazar, *Historia de la provincia de el santíssimo Rosario de Philipinas . . .* tercera parte (Manila, 1742), p. 403; Pastells, Catálogo VIII, xvii–xviii; Díaz, *Conquistas*, pp. 326–327.

4. My account of this and the other controversies which led to Archbishop Guerrero's banishment is based on the documents reproduced by Pastells (*Catálogo* VIII, xxxi ff.), supplemented by Corcuera's "Representación al Rey" (1638; in Arco II, 292 ff.), the

Jesuit newsletter for 1635–1636 (BAH *Jesuitas* 119/16, 132 ff.), Díaz's detailed narrative (*Conquistas*, pp. 325 ff.), in which he utilizes material left him by Fray Gaspar de San Agustín.

5. Pastells, *Catálogo* VIII, xxxv–xxxvi.

6. These details of the actual banishment are derived from the sources cited above, n. 4.

7. Díaz, *Conquistas*, pp. 338–339.

8. Pastells, *Catálogo* IX, xxi.

9. Quoted by Murillo, *Historia*, n. 340.

10. Combés-Retana, cols. 232–234.

11. Juan López to Diego de Bobadilla, Cavite, 23 July 1637, BAH *Jesuitas* 84/25.

12. This is the account given by Diego de Bobadilla in his *Relación de las gloriosas victorias . . . en las islas Filipinas contra los moros* (Mexico: Pedro de Quiñones, 1638), pp. 1–9v.

13. The principal sources for the battle of Punta Flechas and Corcuera's Magindanau campaign are Marcello Mastrilli's report to Juan de Salazar, provincial, composed at Taytay, 2 June 1637, and printed in Bobadilla's *Relación* cited above; and *Successos felices que por mar y tierra ha dado Nuestro Señor a las armas españolas en las islas Filipinas contra el mindanao* (Manila: Tomás Pinpin, 1637), printed anonymously but very probably by Juan López. Cf. also Combés-Retana, cols. 234–262, and Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 204–214.

14. Cf. Bobadilla, *Relación*, pp. 37v–38v.

15. On Corcuera's Jolo campaign, see *Continuación de los felices successos* (n.p., n.d., but obviously Manila, 1638, and very probably also by Juan López). This should be supplemented by Juan López to Diego de Bobadilla, Cavite, 15 September 1637, in Barrantes, *Guerras piráticas*, pp. 300–301; Juan de Barrios to the rector and community of the College of Manila, Jolo, 31 March 1638, BAH *Jesuitas* 84/27; Combés-Retana, cols. 349–369; Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 232–237.

16. Pastells, *Catálogo* VIII, clvii–clxiv.

17. BAH *Jesuitas* 84/28.

18. I summarize the information contained in the following sources: Jesuit newsletter of 1640, BAH *Jesuitas* 101/12 (portions of this document are published in Colín-Pastells III, 128–129 and Pastells, *Catálogo* VIII, ccxliii–ccxlvi); Díaz, *Conquistas* pp. 403–428; "Relación del alzamiento de los chinos," in Arco II, 186–187; Colín, "Commentarius" (1639–1643), ARSI *Phil.* 7, 404v–405; Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 254, 268–270.

19. The following paragraphs summarize Combés-Retana, cols. 269–318, 329–348; Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 242–247; 282–290, Colín, "Commentarius," ARSI *Phil.* 7, 463v–465; Colín-Pastells III, 801.

20. These occurrences in the Sulu islands are chronicled by Combés-Retana, nn. 369–395, 402–424, and Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 237–241, 300–304.

21. For the attempted conquest of Lanao see Combés-Retana, cols. 150–182; Colín-Pastells III, 800; Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 276–281.

22. Colín, "Commentarius," ARSI *Phil.* 7, 400; Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 313–314.

23. Juan López to Fabián López, Cebu, 5 May 1643, BAH *Jesuitas* 120/13, n. 24. Corcuera put all the able-bodied citizens of Manila, the entire garrison, the Chinese community, and about 800 Filipino draft laborers to work repairing the fortifications of the city. He razed the smart Spanish suburb of Bagumbayan to the ground because it had spread too close to the walls and blocked the line of fire of the artillery mounted on them. All this lost him the popularity he had gained by his victories, and counted heavily against him in his *residencia*. However, the religious orders contributed generously to the defense fund. Each provincial underwrote the cost of one or two war vessels. Colín, the Jesuit provincial at the time, sent a circular to each residence and mission station directing that all church bells except one be sent to the Manila foundry to be cast into cannon.

24. Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 330–342.

25. Narrative and supporting documents in Pastells, *Catálogo* VIII, clxxxiii–ccxxxiii; Colín-Pastells II, 261–268; 491–494; III, 763–767; Annual Letter 1643–1645, ARSI *Phil.* 7, 506–514; Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 310–312.

26. Cédula dated Madrid, 16 June 1643, incorporated in "Traslado del pleito que ha seguido el Rdo. P. Fray Martín Real de la Cruz rector de la universidad y academia de Sto. Thomas de Aquino . . . contra el Rdo. P. Francisco Colín rector de la Compañía de Jesús . . ." (1649), Gesù 849.

27. Pastells, *Catálogo* VIII, ccxxx–ccxxxiii.

28. *Ibid.* VIII, xxiv. Note, however, that Corcuera was mistaken in saying that the Society did not admit applicants in the Philippines; they did.

29. Havana, 20 September 1650, *ibid.* IX, cv–cx.

30. Colín-Pastells III, 783; Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 223–224; Pastells, *Catálogo* VIII, cxix. The text of Philip IV's cédula of 8 April 1639 is in Arag. E–I–c–2, n. 68.

31. Díaz, *Conquistas*, p. 342.

Chapter Seventeen. A Succession of Shocks

1. *Conquistas*, pp. 362–364.

2. "Verdadera relación de la grande destruición que . . . a avido en la ciudad de Manila" (Madrid, 1649), in Retana, *Archivo* I, no. 2. Anonymous, but probably by a Jesuit eyewitness.

3. In addition to Díaz and the "Verdadera relación," see Annual Letter 1646–1649, ARSI *Phil.* 7, 630; Colín-Pastells II, 268; Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 346–347.

4. On the naval actions of 1646–1647 see Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 314–317, and Schurz, *Manila Galleon*, pp. 355–356.

5. "Traslado del testimonio de lo determinado en el pleito entre los dos colegios desta ciudad de Manila de Santo Thomas y San Joseph sobre la precedencia en los actos públicos," 14 August 1647, Gesù 849; Annual Letter 1646–1649, ARSI *Phil.* 7, 630v–631v; Colín-Pastells II, 494.

6. Transcribed in "Traslado del pleito que a seguido el Rdo. P. Fray Martín Real de la Cruz rector de la universidad y academia de Sto. Thomas de Aquino desta ciudad de Manila contra el Rdo. P. Francisco Colín rector de la Compañía de Jesús de la dicha ciudad" (1649), Gesù 849. My account of this litigation is based principally on this and the following related documents in the same section of the Gesú Archives: Francisco Bello, procurator of the Philippine province, to Francisco de Montemayor, Spanish assistant, Madrid?, 15 July 1650; Miguel Solana, procurator of the Philippine province, to Philip IV, 1650?; "Auto difinitivo del Consejo real de las Indias," 12 August and 25 November 1652; "Relación de las sentencias que en la real audiencia y chancillería de estas islas Filipinas ha dado y executoriado el real y supremo Consejo de las Indias a favor del colegio de San Joseph y estudios dél de S. Ignacio contra el colegio y estudios de S. Thomas de Manila" (printed; 14 pp.; Manila, 1654).

7. I have condensed the detailed accounts of this rebellion in Annual Letter 1646–1649, ARSI *Phil.* 7, 668–678, and Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 421–429.

8. *Ibid.*, n. 561. Luckily, Messina seems to have stayed behind.

9. "Informe al Rey nuestro Señor, Felipe Quarto, en su real y supremo Consejo de las Indias, del estado eclesiástico y seglar de las islas Filipinas" (printed; 27 numbered leaves; index; Madrid?, 1650), Gesù 848.

10. *Manila Galleon*, p. 49.

11. In Colín-Pastells III, 674–676.

12. *Ibid.* III, 684–685.

13. Letters of 24 July 1611, 8 July 1612, and 2 August 1615, excerpted and summarized by Pastells, *Catálogo* VI, ccxcii–ccxcv, ccclvii.
14. In Colín-Pastells III, 693.
15. Manila, 1 August 1622, *ibid.* III, 697.
16. See, among others, the memorial of Fray Francisco de San José, provincial of the Philippine Recollects, to the audiencia of Manila (1654), *ibid.* III, 711–712.
17. *Ibid.* III, 680.
18. *Ibid.* III, 685–686.
19. *Ibid.* III, 680–681.
20. *Ibid.* III, 686–687.
21. *Ibid.* III, 698.
22. On the chronology of events, see Bolívar to Philip IV, Manila, 1 July 1656, *ibid.* III, 729–731.
23. *Ibid.* III, 701–703.
24. *Ibid.* III, 711.
25. *Ibid.* III, 705–706; complete text in Gesù 1432.
26. Cf. Díaz, *Conquistas*, pp. 527–533.
27. *Ibid.* pp. 533–534.
28. Colín-Pastells III, 716–717.
29. *Ibid.* III, 724; cf. 718.
30. *Ibid.* III, 724.
31. *Ibid.* III, 724–725.
32. *Ibid.* III, 725–726.
33. Manila, 18 June 1656, *ibid.* III, 728–729.
34. *Ibid.* III, 731–740.

Chapter Eighteen. Recoil and Advance

1. Miguel Solana, provincial, to Governor Manrique de Lara, Manila, 30 June 1655, ARSI *Phil.* 11, 291–292v.
2. *Ibid.* 2, 314–317v, 412–415v; 14, 106–109.
3. Murillo, *Historia*, appendix.
4. These details are put together from numerous indications in the section *Congregationum provincialium* and the section *Philippinarum* of ARSI; more specific citation would be tedious and seems unnecessary.
5. ARSI *Cong. prov.* 73, 196av, 208v, 211; 74, 131; and see the royal cédula of 10 December 1664 referred to below.
6. *Arag.* E–I–c–2, n. 52. This transcript of the cédula bears the date "1674," but 1664 was clearly intended.
7. Oliva to the Provincials of Austria, Flanders, French-speaking Belgium, Bohemia, and Upper Germany, Rome, 29 November 1664, in Huonder, *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionäre*, p. 211.
8. Madrid, 12 March 1675, *Arag.* E–I–c–2, n. 52. This transcript bears a certification of receipt by the audiencia of Manila, 22 November 1675, with the usual notation, "se guarde y cumpla."
9. "Epitome rei nummariae quam catholici Hispaniarum reges dicatam habent in viros religiosos e Societate Iesu transportandos in Indiam ibique alendos," ARSI *Phil.* 12, 100–105 (printed).
10. Francisco Solano to an unknown correspondent, Manila, 12 July 1664, *ibid.* 12, 15–17.
11. Boranga to David Loys, Acapulco, 27 March 1681, *Arag.* E–I–a–18.

12. Kaller to Johann Ulke, Mexico, 8 March 1688, *ibid.*
13. ARSI *Cong. prov.* 76, 130–131.
14. Manila, 19 June 1686, ARSI *Phil.* 12, 88.
15. ARSI *Cong. prov.* 76, 132v.
16. Quoted by Murillo, *Historia*, n. 580.
17. Text in Combés-Retana, cols. 430–433.
18. *Ibid.* cols. 433–436; Murillo, *Historia*, n. 368.
19. *Ibid.* nn. 369–370; text of treaty in Combés-Retana, cols. 443–447.
30. Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 370–374; cf. Combés-Retana, cols. 453–460.
21. Murillo, *Historia*, n. 374.
22. *Ibid.* nn. 375, 454.
23. *Ibid.* n. 384.
24. *Ibid.* nn. 436–438.
25. *Ibid.* nn. 373, 376.
26. ARSI *Cong. prov.* 73, 196a; 74, 123. The petition was submitted to the Holy See (*ibid.* 74, 131), but we do not know whether the faculty was granted. In any case, subsequent events made it unnecessary.
27. Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 564–567; Combés-Retana, cols. 537–542, 571–583. Murillo publishes (n. 586) what purports to be a letter from Kudrat to the sultan of Jolo, written immediately after the murder of López and Montiel, in which he says: "I send you word that we have put to death the fathers. They wished to make Christians of us, and so we killed them. It will be good hereafter for us to act in concert for the defence of our faith." I have not been able to verify the authenticity of this letter.
28. *Ibid.* nn. 568, 570–574, 603.
29. *Ibid.* n. 642.
30. *Ibid.* nn. 648–650.
31. *Ibid.* n. 191; Combés-Retana, cols. 33–39.
32. Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 491–492; Annual Letter 1630, ARSI *Phil.* 6, 613v; Colín, "Commentarius," 1639–1643, *ibid.* 7, 447v.
33. Christie, *The Subanuns*, pp. 63–64.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
35. Annual Letter 1631, ARSI *Phil.* 7, 63v–67; Annual Letter 1632, *ibid.* 7, 82/5v.
36. *Subanuns*, p. 74.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
38. Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 386–388.
39. Zanzini to Bernhard Geyer, 16 March 1670, *Arag.* E–I–a–18.
40. My account is based on Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 562, 696, 700, and on Pareja's report to Governor De León, Manila, 25 January 1671, ARSI *Phil.* 12, 56–59.
41. Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 724–731.
42. The following account summarizes Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 676–684, 723, 756, 761–766, 811–823, 850.
43. "Motivos para no dilatar más la reducción y doctrina de las islas de los Ladrones" [1665], with corrections in Sanvítores' handwriting, ARSI *Phil.* 14, 60–63v.

Chapter Nineteen. The Long Haul

1. Pintados, 24 June 1660, ARSI *Phil.* 12, 1–12.
2. Manila, 8 June 1670, *ibid.* 12, 50–55v.
3. "Historia natural del sitio, fertilidad y calidad de las islas e indios de Visayas" (1668), New York Public Library, Rich Mss. 96, 17–17v.
4. Gesù 848.

5. Colín-Pastells III, 792–793; Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 613–614; Annual Letter 1659–1665, ARSI *Phil.* 7, 822–823.

6. Manila, 20 June 1664, *ibid.* 2, 329.

7. My account is based on the following documents: decree of Bishop Juan López, Cebu, 29 April 1670, ARSI *Phil.* 12, 48–49; Vicente Chova, rector of Iloilo, to Gian Paolo Oliva, Manila, 18 May 1671, *ibid.* 12, 60–66; Jerónimo de Ortega, "Defensa por la provincia de la Compañía de Jesús de las islas Filipinas contra una sentencia que el Rmo. e Illmo. S. M. D. Fr. Juan López, obispo de Cebu, fulminó contra el P. Retor del Colegio de Yloilo" (printed, 1671), Gesù 1432; Manuel Villabona, procurator of the Jesuit provinces of the Indies, to the Queen Regent, undated, Arag. E–I–c–2, n. 6; José de Velasco to Mauricio Perera, Iloilo, 1 February 1697, Arag. E–I–a–18, n. 2.

8. Letter to Constantin Schiel, Manila 1682, Arag. E–I–a–18.

9. Taytay, 22 July 1663, ARSI *Phil.* 14, 56–59.

10. Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 651–652.

11. "Breve relación de la mission que los padres de la Compañía de Jesús hicieron en estas islas Filipinas" (1664), ARSI *Phil.* 11, 243–248.

12. "Missiones del colegio de la Compañía de Jesús de Manila desde Julio de 1665 hasta la quaresma de 1666," *ibid.* 12, 24–39v.

13. Annual Letter 1665–1672, *ibid.* 7, 833v–834, 838–838v.

14. "Relación de las missiones hechas en la provincia de Philipinas de la Compañía de Jesús así entre españoles como indios tagalos y bisayas este año de 1677," *ibid.* 12, 70–79.

15. See "Breve relación del estado de las islas Filipinas y reynos adiacentes" (c. 1665), ARSI *Phil.* 12, 295–295v; Annual Letter 1687–1696, *ibid.* 8, 43–43v. 46; Annual Letter 1696–1701, *ibid.* 8, 69; Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 652, 677–668, 928.

16. Corcuera's observations are published in great part by Pastells, *Catálogo* IX, lii–lviii.

17. Colín-Pastells III, 116–123.

18. Manila, 20 May 1683, Gesù 848. Sandín's paper which occasioned this letter is dated 24 March 1681; Gesù 848.

19. Ms. copy in ARSI *Phil.* 11, 293–352v.

20. "Encomio al *Discurso parenético*," printed, Manila, 27 August 1657, *ibid.* 11, 353–357.

21. Nueva Segovia, 13 February 1658, in Marín, *Ensayo* II, 823–827.

22. *Constitutions* VI, ii. 7.

23. "Respuesta a una relación sumaria" (Madrid, 1685), fol. 6v.

Chapter Twenty. Thunder and Lightning

1. Blair and Robertson XXXVI, 202–205.

2. On this rebellion see Manrique de Lara to Philip IV, 20 July 1661, in Pastells, *Catálogo* IX, cxxxii–cxli; "Relación breve de lo sucedido en las yslas Filipinas y otras adiacentes" (October 1660 to June 1662), ARSI *Phil.* 12, 13–14v; "Relación de varios sucesos en estas yslas Filippinas" (1661–1664), *ibid.* 12, 14/1–14/15v; Annual Letter 1665, *ibid.* 7, 763v; Díaz, *Conquistas*, pp. 571–616; Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 605–610.

3. In addition to the "Relación" of 1664 and the Annual Letter of 1665 cited above, see "Sucesos de las islas Philippinas" (1663), BAH *Jesuitas* 201/23; "Breve relación del estado de las islas Filipinas y reynos adiacentes" (ca. 1665), ARSI *Phil.* 12, 294–295v; Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 640–647.

4. My account of the Salcedo affair is based principally on the "Relación de los sucesos del año de 1668 en las islas Philipinas," dated Manila, 14 January 1669, ARSI *Phil.* 12, 42–47v; a *breve compendio* of the same, *ibid.* 12, 40–40v; and Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 693–694.

5. Díaz, *Conquistas*, pp. 705, 712–713; Salazar, *Santísimo Rosario*, pp. 62–63, 66–67; Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 670, 695–697.

6. Ocio, *Reseña biográfica*, pp. 172–173; Salazar, *Santísimo Rosario*, pp. 490–491; Ferrando, *Historia* III, 74–75, 236–237. 396–399.

7. Murillo, *Historia*, n. 771. The bishop of Cebu, Fray Diego de Aguilar, also a Dominican, came as a consecrated bishop to the Philippines in 1680; cf. Concepción, *Historia* VIII, 29. The idea of appointing auxiliary bishops seems to have been suggested by the Dominican procurator at Madrid, Pedro Díaz del Cossío; see his memorial (1674) in Arco III, 1–5. Among his other suggestions was the highly pertinent one that the governor and the audiencia of Manila be deprived of the power of banishing bishops. It was not followed.

My account of the events leading to Archbishop Pardo's banishment is based on the following sources: Juan Sánchez, "Relación sumaria de los sucessos de la ciudad de Manila" (1683), in Retana, *Archivo* I/4; Alonso Sandín, *Respuesta a una relación sumaria*, Madrid, 1685; *Copia de una carta escrita al Padre Fray Alonso Sandín*, n.p., n.d.; Cristóbal de Pedroche, *Breve y compendiosa relación de la estrañez y destierro de el señor arzobispo Don Fray Phelipe Pardo*, Manila, 1683. Sánchez, a Spanish mestizo, was the secretary of the audiencia of Manila. Sandín, who had been stationed in the Philippines in 1671–1676, was the Dominican procurator at Madrid when the Pardo controversy broke out. He transcribes Sánchez's *Relación* paragraph by paragraph, following each with his own version of the facts, supported wherever possible by documents textually reproduced. He also edits the letter written to him by a correspondent in the Philippines whose identity he withholds, but who was almost certainly a fellow Dominican. Fray Cristóbal de Pedroche was the prior of the Dominican residence in the Parian and eyewitness of many of the events he describes. Among the works of later date which I have utilized are the histories of Salazar, Concepción, Ferrando, and Murillo. I have placed considerable reliance on the Dominican historian Salazar, who belonged to the generation immediately succeeding Archbishop Pardo's and had access to documents and oral testimony no longer available. The pages of his *Conquistas* which the Augustinian historian Díaz devotes to the affair is probably our most objective account of it. This is because it was based on the notes left by his predecessor and fellow Augustinian, Fray Gaspar de San Agustín, who comes closest among all our sources to being an uncommitted eyewitness.

To be used with caution is the anonymous *Histoire de la persécution de deux saints évêques par les jésuites* (1691), a Jansenist version of two *causes célèbres* in which the Jesuits were involved: that of Bishop Cárdenas of Paraguay and that of Archbishop Pardo. The author manipulates the Spanish sources available to us to suit his purpose; but he does give the dossier of Pardo's process against the Jesuits, which I have not found anywhere else.

For the events pertinent and subsequent to Archbishop Pardo's recall, I have relied chiefly on the following: *Relación con inserción de autos sobre todo lo que ha passado para restituir a su silla al Illmo. Sr. D. Fr. Phelipe Pardo*, Manila, 1685; *Relación de los progresos y paraderos que han tenido los negocios que en años pasados se refirieron en otra relación impresa*, Manila, 1688; "Relación curiosa" (1685), in Arco III, 523–557; *Cédulas reales despachadas a Manila. 1682–1736*, Newberry Library, Ayer Collection, mss., n. 1440. The two *relaciones* mentioned first were compiled by Domingo Díaz, Archbishop Pardo's secretary. The third is of unknown authorship, but obviously by an eyewitness. An important contemporary source for the later stages of the affair in so far as they affected the Jesuits is Antonio Jaramillo's *Memorial al Ray Nuestro Señor por la provincia de la Compañía de Jesús de las islas Filipinas*, Madrid, 1689.

8. In Sandín, *Respuesta*, p. 27v.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 68v.

10. *Copia de una carta*, p. 11.

11. *Compendiosa relación*, p. 4v.

12. Constitutions VI, iii. 7.
13. *Práctica de testamentos* (Mexico, 1765), p. 34.
14. In Jaramillo, *Memorial*, p. 59.
15. Díaz, *Conquistas*, p. 760.
16. Cf. Pedroche, *Compendiosa relación*, p. 3.
17. *Relación con inserción de autos*, pp. 22v–23v.
18. The principal documents relative to both these cases are reproduced in *Traslado de una consulta fecha a los illustríssimos señores auxiliares por . . . D. Fray Phelippe Pardo*, Manila, 1687. The Jesuit side of the controversy is presented in Jaramillo, *Memorial*, and in a number of contemporary Jesuit writings transcribed by Arco (III, 625–628, 715, 730–731). The decisions of the Manila tribunals were confirmed by the king in 1688 and 1689; cf. *Cédulas reales despachadas a Manila*, pp. 198v–199v, 213–214v. Both Cainta and Jesús de la Peña were restored to the Society as parochial charges in 1696; cf. Murillo, Historia, n. 779.
19. Text in *Traslado*, pp. 45–45v.
20. *Cédulas*, pp. 188–190.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 217v–218v.
22. Annual Letter 1649, ARSI *Phil.* 7, 630; Colín-Pastells III, 788.
23. ARSI *Phil.* 8, 64–65.
24. Annual Letters 1665, 1672, 1701, *ibid.* 7, 793–794v, 837–839; 8, 63–64; Repetti *San José*, p. 194.
25. ARSI *Phil.* 8, 40–40v.
26. ARSI *Cong. prov.* 79, 169.
27. ARSI *Phil.* 8, 64.
28. *Ibid.* 7, 794.
29. *Ibid.* 7, 837–837v.
30. *Ibid.* 8, 52.
31. *Ibid.* 12, 191.
32. *Ibid.* 12, 191–191v.
33. Repetti, *San José*, pp. 330–334.
34. Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 809–810.
35. "Noticia de la religiosa devoción con que los fieles de Manila y sus contornos se dispusieron a ganar los jubileos plenissimos de las missiones" (1655), ARSI *Phil.* 11, 289–290v.
36. Annual Letter 1672, *ibid.* 7, 832.
37. Annual Letter 1701, *ibid.* 8, 54–54v.
38. ARSI *Cong. prov.* 76, 130, 131'
39. ARSI *Phil.* 12, 226–227.
40. Taytay, 22 July 1663, *ibid.* 14, 56–56v.
41. ARSI *Cong. prov.* 76, 136, 138.
42. *Ibid.* 76, 139v.
43. To Schiel, Manila 1682, Arag. E–I–a–18.
44. ARSI *Phil.* 12, 136.
45. ARSI *Cong. prov.* 76, 130–131.
46. *Ibid.* 75, 212.
47. ARSI *Phil.* 12, 191v–192v.

Chapter Twenty-One. Crossroads

1. Marie Anne, regent, to the audiencia of Manila, Madrid, 17 June 1671, and 29 September 1675, Arag. E–I–c–2, nn. 37, 68; Manuel de Villabona, procurator of the

Jesuit provinces of the Indies, to the queen regent, undated, but after 1670, *ibid.*, n. 5; decision of the Council of the Indies, 9 May 1678, ARSI *Phil.* 12, 197v–201; Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 225–228.

2. Jaramillo, *Memorial*, pp. 66–80, and the two communications of the queen regent cited above.

3. Gesù 650.

4. *Ibid.*

5. ARSI *Phil.* 12, 118–118v.

6. "Parecer del P. Alexo López sobre si conviene o no el que la provincia de Philipinas dexe las doctrinas que tiene a su cargo en aquel reino" (1690), *ibid.* 12, 138–150v.

7. "Sobre el ser curas de indios en varias partes de Philipinas los de la Compañía de Jesús," *ibid.* 12, 167–182v.

8. José de Velasco, rector of Cebu; Eugenio Bautista Sornosa, vice-provincial of the Visayas; Mauricio Perera, rector of Arévalo; Cristóbal de Miralles, former rector of various Visayan residences; *ibid.* 12, 183–187v.

9. *Memorial*, pp. 134–150.

10. Gesù 1465. The signatories were, for the Dominicans, Juan de Santo Domingo, provincial; for the Franciscans, Alonso de Zafra, provincial; for the Augustinians, Francisco de Zamora, vicar provincial; for the Jesuits, Silvestre Navarro, vice-provincial; for the Recollects, José de Santa María, provincial; for the Brothers of Saint John of God, Manuel de San Román, provincial.

11. Murillo, *Historia*, n. 779.

12. The materials on Archbishop Camacho's proceedings are only less bulky than those on the Pardo affair. The documentary sources include Camacho's printed manifesto to the heads of the religious orders (Manila, 1697); his two letters to the general of the Jesuits, dated 15 June 1698 and 10 June 1699 (Gesù 850); the record of his transactions in the parish records of San Pedro Tunasan and Balayan (ARSI *Phil.* 12, 233v–242;) the dossier of documents transmitted to the Holy See by Bishop González of Cebu (Gesù 859); the lengthy memorial presented to the Crown by the procurators Mimbela, San Agustín, and Jaramillo (BAH *Jesuitas-Salazar* 14–5–13). Among the narrative sources are those transcribed by Arco (vol. IV) and those in Gesù 650 and 850. Both Díaz (*Conquistas*) and Salazar (*Santísimo Rosario*) have rather full accounts.

13. Preserved in Gesù 850.

14. *Ibid.*

Chapter Twenty-Two. Doors Opening

1. *Historia*, nn. 780–781.

2. Cf. *Discurso parenético*, ARSI *Phil.* 11, 297–299, 310.

3. *Estadismo* I, 73–76.

4. In Del Pan, *Documentos*, pp. 140–141.

5. On the community chests see Marín, *Ensayo* I, 263.

6. *Historia*, n. 389.

7. See the whole passage, II, 447–449.

8. *Estadismo* I, 173–174.

9. By José Astudillo, Antipolo, 26 August 1729, ARSI *Phil.* 12, 260–263.

10. *Ibid.* 8, 80–80v.

11. *Ibid.* 8, 83v.

12. *Ibid.* 8, 84v–85v.

13. Cf. Annual Letters of 1706, 1714, 1737, *ibid.* 8, 111v, 142–142v, 170; Repetti, *Pictorial Records, passim.*

14. ARSI *Phil.* 8, 145.

15. Extracts from four letters of Anton Rauscher, 1743, 1750, Arag. E-I-a-18.

16. Annual Letter 1714, ARSI *Phil.* 8, 143–143v.

17. Annual Letter 1719, *ibid.* 8, 151v.

18. Our account is based on the letters of the Jesuits stationed in Negros—Bernhard Schmitz, Anton Malinsky, and Lorenz John—written to friends and relatives in Europe between 1733 and 1738. French translations of these letters are in Arag. E–I–a–18.

19. Malinsky to a noble lady, Inayauan, 15 March 1735, *ibid.*

20. Sanvítores to Oliva, Taytay, 22 July 1663, ARSI *Phil.* 14, 58–59.

21. "Breve relación del estado de las islas Filipinas y reynos adiacentes" (*ca.* 1665), *ibid.* 12, 295; Marie Anne, queen regent, to Governor Diego Salcedo, Madrid, 30 December 1666, Arag. E–I–c–2, n. 15e.

22. Murillo, *Historia*, n. 650.

23. *Ibid.*, n. 700.

24. ARSI *Phil.* 12, 153–189v.

25. Annual Letter 1725, *ibid.* 8, 157v–158; Murillo, *Historia*, n. 650; Saleeby, *Sulu*, p. 179. Two Jesuits, whose names, unfortunately, have not been preserved, accompanied the expedition. In February 1719 a force of 5,000 Moros tried to retake the fort, but after a three months' siege were compelled to retire.

26. Annual Letter 1706, ARSI *Phil.* 8, 112–112v; Murillo, *Historia*, n. 869.

27. Forrest, *Voyage*, pp. 308–309.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 277–279.

29. Bernhard Schmitz to Josef Geisberg, La Caldera, 10 February 1730, Gesù 720; "Señor. Joseph Calvo de la Compañía de Jesús, procurador general de su provincia de Philipinas, dice . . ." (printed), Gesù 1432.

30. In addition to Calvo's memorial cited above, see Governor Obando's manifesto of 21 December 1751, nn. 3–8, and Saleeby, *Sulu*, pp. 179–180.

31. Saleeby, *ibid.*; Calvo, *Memorial.*

32. Saleeby, *ibid.*; Obando, *Manifesto*, n. 5.

33. Saleeby, *ibid.*

34. Pedro de Estrada, provincial of the Philippines, to Pedro de San Cristóbal, procurator, Manila, 8 July 1748, in Barrantes, *Guerras piráticas*, pp. 321–326. The text of Philip V's letter to Alimuddin is in Concepción, *Historia* XII, 79–83.

35. Spanish translations of these replies in Barrantes, *Guerras piráticas*, pp. 329–335; French translations in Arag. E–I–a–18.

36. Obando, *Manifesto*, nn. 8–10.

37. On Alimuddin's relations with the Zamboanga Jesuits, and the joint campaign against the Camucones, see three letters of Wilhelm to his brother Johann, 30 August 1746, 18 May, and an unsigned report on the Zamboanga mission dated 1748, 28 September 1747, Arag. E–I–a–18.

38. Reproduced by Barrantes, *Guerras piráticas*, pp. 343–347.

39. In addition to the report of 1748 cited above, note 37, see Concepción, *Historia* XII, 127–140.

40. One principal difficulty lies in the lack of available Sulu sources and the partisan nature of most of our Spanish sources. Our account is sifted from the following: Estrada to San Cristóbal, Manila, 8 July 1748, in Barrantes, *Guerras piráticas*, pp. 335–340; Obando's manifesto of 1751, nn. 20 ff.; Concepción, *Historia* XII, 115–171; Saleeby, *Sulu*, pp. 181–184.

41. Obando to Ferdinand VI, Manila, 18 June 1752, in Saleeby, *Sulu*, pp. 307–411; *ibid.*, pp. 185–187; "Compendio de los sucesos que con grande gloria de Dios . . . se consiguieron contra los mahometanos enemigos por el armamento destacado al presidio de Iligan," Manila, 1755; Le Gentil, *Voyage* II, 77.

42. My account is based principally on Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 693, 855–866, and on

transcripts of notes and reports by Juan Antonio Cantova, Josef Kropff, and Josef Bonani in Arag. E–I–a–18. Etienne Baudin's letter to Andrés Serrano, Lianga, 18 January 1711, is in ARSI *Phil.* 14, 100–102v.

43. Clement XI to Philip V, Rome, 30 April 1706, *ibid.* 12, 248–248v.

Chapter Twenty-Three. A Door Is Closed

1. Annual Letter 1706, ARSI *Phil.* 8, 74; Murillo, *Historia*, n. 877; Philip V, Buen Retiro, 23 October 1715.

2. Five of his letters to Tamburini, written in 1718 and 1719, have been preserved: Gesù 720, 1432.

3. 30 October 1705, ARSI *Phil.* 12, 245–247v.

4. To Josef Geisberg, La Caldera, 10 February 1730, Gesù 720.

5. Lazcano, *Oviedo*, p. 435.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 179–202. Oviedo returned to Mexico in June 1724.

7. Cf. Murillo, *Historia*, n. 489.

8. See Father Leo Cullum's article on Brother Kamel in *Philippine Studies* IV/2 (July 1956), pp. 319–339, on which my account is based.

9. Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 892–893.

10. *Manila Galleon*, p. 253. Quoted by permission of Dutton and Co., New York.

11. *Voyage* II, 177.

12. *Costumbres del collegio de nuestro P. Sn. Ignacio de Manila* (1752), ms. in the archives of the old province of Aragón, now Tarragona.

13. Annual Letter 1737, ARSI *Phil.* 8, 168; Murillo, *Historia*, nn. 417–418; Colín-Pastells II, 261.

14. Murillo, *Historia*, n. 55.

15. N. 420.

16. Le Gentil, *Voyage* II, 164, 177–178; Pérez y Güemes, *Adiciones*, 1758, 1759, 1762; Felipe Solís to Manuel José Fuertes, Manila, 7 July 1757, Arag. E–I–a–18, n. 1.

17. *Voyage* II, 96–97.

18. Colín-Pastells II, 492; Repetti, *San José*, ch. 15.

19. Benítez, *San José*, p. 13; Repetti, *San José*, ch. 14.

20. *An Account of the State of the Roman Catholic Religion throughout the World* (London, 1715), pp. 113–114.

21. XLV, 182–183.

22. Pardo de Tavera, *Una memoria de Anda y Salazar* (Manila, 1899), pp. 48–49.

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 49–50; Blair and Robertson XXVIII, 121; XLV, 192 ff.

25. The *acta* of the congregation (22–30 May 1724) are in ARSI *Cong. prov.* 89, 90–96. Otazo's *postulatum* in a short and an extended version, and his letter of transmittal to the general, Manila, 11 June 1724, *ibid.*, 88, 290–292; 89, 97–102v.

26. *Historia*, p. 293.

27. VIII, 37.

28. In Más, *Informe* III, 33.

29. *Ibid.* III, 33–34.

30. *Historia*, pp. 293–295.

31. ARSI *Phil.* 8, 164, 168.

32. *Historia*, n. 392.

33. *Ibid.*, nn. 417, 844; Colín-Pastells II, 496–497.

34. *Historia* V, 102–103.

35. "Relación de los sucesos de Manila del año 1719" (anonymous, not by a Jesuit),

ARSI *Phil.* 12, 256–259v; Gilles Wibault (Jesuit), to Chamboge, Manila, 20 December 1721, *Lettres édifiantes* XXIII, 416–424.

36. Gesù 720.

37. "Catalogi Christianorum" for these dates in ARSI *Phil.* 14, 110–121.

Chapter Twenty-Four. The King's Good Servants

1. MS. Copy in Philippine National Archives, Jesuit Papers.

2. Arag. E–I–d–14.

3. "Destierro de los jesuitas de la provincia de Filipinas el año de 1768," a contemporary account by an anonymous Jesuit; ms. copy in Arag. E–I–d–5.

4. "1768. Autos referentes a la expulsión de los padres de la Compañía de Jesús; Colegio de San Ildefonso," ms. copy, Arag. E–I–d–6.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

6. "Destierro," pp. 5–8.

7. *Ibid.* and "Expediente de las diligencias de intimación del Real decreto de extrañamiento de los religiosos jesuitas y ocupación de sus bienes al rector y comunidad del Real colegio de San Joseph de Manila," ms. copy from original in the archives of the Contaduría, Manila, Arag. E–I–d–8.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 23–24.

9. "Autos . . . San Ildefonso," Arag. E–I–d–6, *passim.*

10. "Destierro," pp. 10–11.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 13–14.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 18–20.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 25–26.

15. Arag. E–I–d–6, pp. 232–233; E–I–d–7, pp. 295–304.

16. These are, principally, the transcripts of the expulsion proceedings preserved in Arag. E–I–d–6, E–I–d–9 and E–I–d–10.

17. Arag. E–I–d–9, p. 33.

18. Cf., in addition to the above, the reports of the special commissioner, Juan Francisco de Anda, in Arag. E–I–d–5 and E–I–d–7. The account in subsequent paragraphs of the disposition of Jesuit property is based on the same records.

19. *Historia general de Filipinas* II, 216–217.

20. E. J. Burrus, "A Diary of Exiled Philippine Jesuits," *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* XX (Rome, 1951), 275. The diary edited by Father Burrus is that of the successful second voyage of the *San Carlos* in 1769. It is also anonymous and probably the same hand that wrote the diary of the first voyage referred to above.

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