

The 1621 Memorial

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MEMORIAL,
AND RELATION
FOR HIS MAJESTY² FROM THE
PROCURADOR GENERAL OF THE
Philippines, concerning what needs to be remedied, and of
the wealth that there is in them, and in the
Maluku Islands.³

SIRE

Hernando de los Ríos Coronel, cleric and priest, Procurator General of the Philippine Islands, Maluku, and all that archipelago declares, that it is thirty-two years and more since I went to the Philippine Islands, where I served a long time in the [clerical] habit and military service, and as a citizen of the City of Manila, with more desire than powers to serve Your Majesty, obtaining [information] from all those of that kingdom in order to give indications from there. For which reason, in the year of 1605, they appointed me and put upon my shoulders the weight of their cares and travails, and I came to this court, and prostrated myself many times before the royal feet of His Majesty, who is in heaven, giving account of them. I returned to that kingdom [the Philippines] in the year of 1610 to give my account, and of what had been assigned to me, with many travails and dangers; and although I could have been excused those things, and considered my convenience and leisure, with the opportunity that I had in your Royal Council of the Indies; I confess that I know not what interior force and natural inclination [f.1 v] has always led me rather to desire more Your Majestys service, as well as the well-being and increase of that Kingdom, rather than my leisure and comfort, which I have never minded nor cared for. And as time changes affairs, and in the light of the many troubles that the enemies from Holland have caused, things have come to a very different pass from what there was then. For this reason the whole of that kingdom and its states determined that I should return once more to discuss with His Majesty, and His Royal Councils, what would most benefit your royal service and well being, and heal that land. And although it seemed necessary to hide in a corner, and I knew it was very difficult to put myself again to major tasks, and such major difficulties, so serious are those negotiations, and the threat of the enemies, with which the seas are filled, there was in me such desire, and inclination that I put everything

²His Majesty was Philip IV, his father Philip III having died on 31 March 1621.

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Y RELACION
PARA SV MAGESTAD, DEL
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else aside.

I offer to Your Majesty this Relation, which, when I arrived at this court about three years ago, I gave to His Majesty,⁴ who is in heaven, so that He might conveniently have relevant news of that Kingdom of his, so distant from his royal eyes. And now I feel it is my duty [f. 2r] to forward the same to Your Majesty, whereby I have taken the opportunity to expand its scope, and to give to Your Majesty a more detailed account, bearing in mind the vision of the glorious principles that Your Majesty has given to his Monarchy, to which, in the name of that kingdom, I give a thousand wishes for the well-being of Your Majesty, and that you may enjoy very many years in the greatest happiness and increase. I have written it with total conscientiousness, and truth in everything, which I have garnered over so many years: and so it is the best that I could possibly do, without entertaining human foibles that arrange mirrors so that they shed no light except on what suits them. I relate what has happened in the Philippines, from its first discoverers, and the disputes that there are about going forward, the most suitable and appropriate means to achieve the best effects, and I hope in God our Lord, that if he will hear his child, and support my judgment, what I have put before your royal eyes, has to be of great importance for your royal service. [f. 2v]

Chapter I. Of the first discoverers of the Philippines, and their situation.

The first person to discover the Philippine Islands was Ferdinand Magellan in the year 1519. His Majesty Emperor Charles V, being in Zaragoza, ordered him to make a voyage to the Maluku Islands, through the strait that bears his name, and he came to arrive at one of the Philippine Islands, called Cebu, where he died in an encounter helping the King of that island against that of another that was very nearby, called Matan, and his pilot Sebastian del Cano went to Maluku and then from there he returned to Seville via the east.

The second was Commander García Jofre de Loaysa, who also by command of the Emperor returned to make the same voyage from La Corua, taking with him the pilot Sebastian del Cano. He passed through the Philippines in the year of 1526 and went to stay in Maluku, and from his journey there was no consequential achievement.

The third was Ruy Lopez de Villalobos, who left New Spain with six ships, with the intention of going to Maluku. He arrived in the Philippines in the year of 1543 and was in several [f. 3r] islands, and in consideration of King Philip the Second, the worthy grandfather of Your Majesty who was then prince, gave them the name of Philippines, which they retain to this day. He did not achieve anything other than to discover an island there about the largest in the world, called New Guinea. He took with him two religious of the order of Saint Augustine; one friar called Andres Urdaneta, and Friar Andres de Aguirre (who

⁴Philip III, who died on 31 March 1621.

both knew cosmography), who returned last time with Captain-General Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, for whom God our Lord took care of this enterprise. The Captain-General set off from the port of La Navidad in New Spain, sent by the Viceroy Don Luís de Velasco the elder, in the year of 1564, with four ships and one patache, taking with him the two aforesaid religious, who kept good records of the voyage, and in the following year of [15]65 came upon one of the first islands called Leyte, and from there he went to Cebu, where there is a good port, and he disembarked with his company. He had many encounters with the natives, and suffered many travails, not only with enemies, but also with his servants, who, being tired of many travails and needs, considered rebelling, [f. 3v] and he, with his great prudence and tolerance, was able to remedy everything, and overcome many difficulties. They discovered there an infant Jesus, which I have seen, in the possession of an Indio, who was looking after it, and since they were short of water they took it and bathed it in the sea, and presently it rained, and today it is kept in a shrine, since the time of Magellan.

These islands (by reason of their site and the place they occupy) are in an altitude [latitude] from the North Pole from 6 degrees up to 20, and longitude counted from the meridian which passes through the Canary Islands, according to the Geography of Ptolemy, in 165 degrees, and from the line of demarcation 187 [degrees], which I have observed many times.⁵

The Captain-General not only suffered many difficulties and travails from his friends and from the Indios, but also the Portuguese who were in Maluku, claiming that those islands fell within the boundary of the crown of Portugal. They went with a fleet to threaten the City of Cebu. They made many demands and protests. Finally they came to blows, by which they gained nothing, and they returned holding their heads in their hands. The Captain-General had news that an Indio friend gave him of the island of Luzon and City of [f. 4r] Manila, whither he set out with as many troops as they could, leaving those in Cebu and the Isles of the Pintados [the Visayas], with the supplies that were necessary for its protection, and with little difficulty became lord there [i.e. of Manila] on 18 May in the year of 1572 on the same site and place that the Indios had their town, retaining the same name.

The island of Luzon, and in particular the city of Manila, lies in latitude 14 degrees 20 minutes North. This island has the shape of a setsquare. The coast of the island runs from outside the bay of Manila to the north for 100 leagues, as far as Cape Bojeador, which is in 19 degrees or so. From there it turns east for some 30 leagues at the same latitude and then the coast turns to the south as far as the altitude or latitude of the city of Manila, and from there it turns to the east, and southeast, as far as the Embocadero [San Bernardino Strait] some 50 leagues, and making the return from the north, to the city of Manila, takes some ninety leagues. This city is situated inside a bay, which has an oval shape, having a circumference of 40 leagues and the city is on a point that the land makes with an abundant river [the Pasig] and the sea of the bay in the form of a

⁵The Canary Islands are in longitude 17°W. The line of demarcation between Spanish and Portuguese domains is at about 45°20' W.

triangle, having two [f. 4v] principal walls of the fortification bordered by water: one by the river, the other by the sea. Nature makes this a very strong position, which cannot be undermined, being encircled by walls of stone, with two forts, and bastions, and traverses [protective walls] at intervals along the wall. The Philippine Islands are many, but the most important and considerable are those of Luzon, Mindoro, Marinduque, Panay, Cebu, Leyte, Ibabao [Samar], Masbate, the Island of Negros, and Bohol. The others are thinly populated, and many are deserted. We must also take note of Mindanao, which is the largest, and with which we are at war, although it used to be under obedience to Your Majesty.

In the year of [15]74, there came to Manila a Chinese corsair called Limahon [Lim-ah-hong or Lin Ah Feng], with sixty ships, without being observed by the Spaniards (who were few). He brought six thousand warriors two leagues from Manila, and came marching along the beach without being noticed until he entered the city, which at that time had no defence but a little wooden fort, where the eighty or so soldiers were assembled, and they defended themselves there for 3 days, during which Felipe de Salcedo, the nephew of the Captain-General, arrived with 150 soldiers, to help our men, the Chinese being [f. 5r] made to embark, with some dead, on St Andrews day [30 November 1574], whose feast was celebrated and he was taken as patron because of the great benefit that God had given them, for it was like a miracle, that so few could prevail against so many: a clear indication that our Lord wanted to preserve that city, so that it would become a seedbed for his holy name.

The Captain-General died in the year of 1574. He was a prudent man, and so good a Christian, that taking up his body to transfer his bones from San Agustín to another new church, after more than twenty years, they found it incorrupt; he was very charitable, much admired by the Indios, and governed with great justice, and impartiality.

Guido de Lavezaris, who was a royal official, succeeded him as Governor by the royal cedula to govern, which he had after his [Legazpis] death. He trusted the Islands to his soldiers, and divided them into encomiendas and the pacification was completed. He died in the year of 1575, and Doctor Francisco de Sande, Oidor of the Royal Audiencia in Mexico, came to govern. In this time a number of Chinese began to come with trading ships which, although they had traded with them in the time of the Indigenous people, before the Spaniards [f. 5v] had arrived, it was very slight, and for insignificant items, but was already increasing: Doctor Sande was much enriched by the use he made, by the control that he had, as the Spaniards then had little experience of merchants, they perceived themselves rather to be soldiers. He made a journey to the Island of Borneo, and in one city where the king was living, he found few defences, [and] he sacked it without much justification, the king fled, and he returned to Manila.

At this time Don Gonzalo Ronquillo de Pealosa who was then Alguacil Mayor of Mexico came to govern, and having gone to the court, where he offered to take six hundred soldiers at his own expense, and married people to populate the land, and he did so, taking many noble people with him, by whom he much improved Manila: they grew in number, they went round about having to come

via Panama: his governorship did not last long, since he died, having governed three years, from 1580 to 1583. He was a placid man, although because he had brought two children with him, and other family, and tolerated their living with great liberty, and those of the city wrote many complaints to His Majesty, and His Majesty seeing the great trouble [f. 6r] which there was in preaching the Gospel, the bad example that they gave, and the danger that it had caused without ceasing, he was removed from the governorship, and the Royal Audiencia ordered to govern, and its President, Santiago de Vera, was named as Governor and Captain General. In the period before the Audiencia took over, Diego Ronquillo, his brother, governed in the name of Don Gonzalo, who had a Royal cedula, to allow him to succeed in the governorship on his death. Don Gonzalo made a journey to Ternate, where he sent a fleet, although he returned without having done anything: in that time he was always continuing to complete the pacification, and to secure the Islands, because they had no enemies outside who might give them concern, and the Indigenes enjoyed their lands in peace, and they were very quickly being converted, without any opposition.

On the death of Don Gonzalo de Ronquillo an event happened in the city that is worthy of note, and that was that an Indio going to light a torch, dropped the torch on some palls that there were on the catafalque, and not paying attention to putting it out, they burnt little by little, without being noticed. The friars, after having completed their divine office, [f. 6v] and the funeral rites, went to eat, leaving the church closed. Little by little the fire spread, and grew, until the alarm was raised. All the buildings in the city were then of wood, although they were very fine, and covered in place of a roof with palm leaf, which they call Nipa. A strong southeast wind having arisen, the monastery burnt with such speed that there was no chance to rescue anything. It was an astonishing fact that the strong wind carried the burning Nipa from one area to another, and the fire took hold on the houses in such a way that at the end of two hours, I have heard confirmed by eyewitnesses, that it left the whole city so destroyed that many did not know nor could they find where their house had been. The air was so aflame, one man told me, that carrying a poor chest to save it from the fire it began to burn in many places, without having been touched by the fire, which he had seen, which he had not found catching it anywhere, and so it was burnt irremediably.

Another strange thing happened in this disaster, which was to a fort which was made of wood, that was a long way from most of the buildings, which was the storage place for arms. There came a burning Nipa [f. 7r] from San Agustín which was more than 400 paces away, and set it on fire. The fort had been abandoned, and the firearms that were there, shooting at the city, hit the buildings: the people, all bewildered, on the one hand driven by the fire, and on the other by the artillery, jumped into the river, where some drowned: but further of note, at the time there were a hundred barrels of gunpowder inside the fort, and the people were terrified by the destruction that it would wreak: it was a remarkable thing, that it took fire, and contrary to its nature it went downwards, and made a very large crater, which later filled with water, and

became a lake.⁶ This was on 27 February, in the year of 1583 and I have not exaggerated anything above.

In the time of the Royal Audiencia, by order of Santiago de Vera, another expedition was made to Maluku without effect. He made a fort in the city [of Manila], which he called Nuestra Señora de Guía, although it had little craftsmanship or architecture, which remains to this day, and serves as a foundry.

In the year of [15]87 an English corsair called Tomas Vimble [Sir Thomas Cavendish],⁷ having passed through the Straits of Magellan, came with two ships to the coast of New Spain, and encountered a galleon called the Santa Ana, which went from the Philippines [f. 7v] to Cape San Lucas, which is on the coast of the Gulf of California in latitude 22 degrees North,⁸ and he robbed her taking much gold, and other riches; he put the people ashore on the coast, except for one cleric, the others he set free.

At that time the city had sent as Procurator General to this court, a Father of the Society of Jesus, called Alonso Sanchez, an eminent man, who had taken in, with great depth, all the matters, not only about the Philippines, but also about all the surrounding kingdoms, in most of which there was territory. He was very well received by His Majesty, and recognizing his ability, he was granted as much as he asked for those islands: and at the same time His Holiness in Rome did the same. Amongst other things that he requested, was to dismiss the Royal Audiencia, because of the burden it was for a land so new, with the agreement of the same Oidores: he wrote some worthy tracts concerning the justification that the kings of Spain have, and the title to the Philippines, which are worthy of time not burying them, although they are in the Archive of the Council of the Indies, and it appears that in many matters that he said in them he was a prophet. He proposed to His Majesty the qualities [f. 8r] and talents that are appropriate for the Governor of those islands to possess, and God found them in Gómez [Pérez Dasmarias], Knight of the Order of Santiago, the Galician, who had left the Corregimiento of Malaga, and was in this court; and later it was proposed to His Majesty, and he selected him and sent him to govern them: a choice by the Holy Spirit that succeeded in him being the most meritorious in government.

Chapter II. How the Royal Audiencia was suppressed with the coming of Gómez Pérez

Gómez Pérez arrived in the Philippines in the year of [15]90. He arrived with four hundred soldiers, a brilliant man, and with his arrival he persuaded the

⁶Cf. Salazar to the King 27 June 1588, in BR VII, 66-68: 'The powder and military supplies were burnt and the artillery destroyed.'

⁷Sir Thomas Cavendish (1560–1592), the English sailor who circumnavigated the world. He came from the village of Trimley St Martin, near Ipswich, and his name is rendered in many different ways; Rizal (Morga 1961), n. (2), p. 23, lists Escandesch, Cande, Eschadesch, Embleg, to which should be added Escandar. See also De Morga (Morga 1971), Chapter 4.

⁸At the southernmost tip of Baja California.

President, and the Oidores, except for Licenciado Pedro de Roxas, whom he left as Lieutenant Governor, to try and to resolve [legal] cases. Gómez Pérez came with keen desire to recover Maluku, and although he was very busy in preparing a good fleet, the government was not forgotten which His Majesty had charged him, and to increase the Republic, so he devoted himself to the one, as if the other had not been in his charge, so that he alone enhanced that city more than all [f. 8v] his predecessors, and successors ever after: he surrounded it with a wall, and fortified it, of which it can truly be said, that by its permanence, that when the Chinese rose up, because it encircled they could not put all of us to the knife; since there not being more than a thousand Spaniards at that time in the city, there rose up more than twenty thousand Chinese against us. Gómez Pérez sent an embassy to the King of Japan about something else, which the King of Japan, called Taycosama,⁹ had sent by a Japanese called Faranda [Faranda Quiemon]. Afterwards it was learnt that he had intended to rise with the city, with another 300 Japanese, such is his arrogance, and barbarian pride. He received an embassy from the King of Cambodia, the first news he had of this kingdom, in which he [the king of Cambodia] sought a good turn against the King of Siam, who was advancing against him, offering to be a vassal of Your Majesty.¹⁰ He had a strong desire to go to help him, and believed that if he did, there would have been much rejoicing, and Your Majesty with justice would have been lord of that kingdom and of Siam, which is very rich. Only in this it appears to me that Gómez Pérez erred in sending to the ambassador with hopes about what might happen, and abandoned carrying them out in order to execute his intention of winning Ternate, whither he set out in October of the year [f. 9r] of [15]93. He raised the most formidable and brilliant fleet that had ever been done in the Indies for he raised more than three thousand men; the most brilliant thousand Spaniards, and a hundred vessels both large and small. His death followed in this way. When he left Manila all the army was already in Cebu (which is on the way) and all that was necessary, and he engaged a galley manned by Chinese, good rowers, which they had given him, and he paid those from the Parian (the Parian is like the alcaycería where the Chinese had all kinds of shops and offices), and those he had unshackled, and retaining their weapons, more as soldiers than oarsmen, very much trusting them. We embarked some forty citizens in his company at our cost, in five small ships, to go with the galley. It happened, that as the winds were contrary to go to Cebu, the galley was much held back, and to round a point¹¹ which they call the Shallows of Tuley, twenty leagues from Manila, took several days; for which reason those of us who were going in his company, in order to ensure that everything necessary was got ready in Cebu, asked him permission for us to go ahead. He gave it with pleasure, and having left him two days, the Chinese coming on their own,

⁹Taico Sama otherwise known as the Emperor Hideyoshi.

¹⁰Here, and in other places below, Ríos writes 'V[uestra] Magestad' but the reference is really to the Spanish king, rather than the incumbent. This suggests that Ríos did not alter this appellation when he revised the Memorial.

¹¹Punta del Azufre, or Sulphur Point, which is on the south coast of Luzon, opposite Maricaban Island (see (Morga 1961), p. 30.

arranged to kill him while people drowsed, and they roused the galley, and they knew to wish him good morning, while at one and the same time, with a soldier on duty, and the majority sleeping in sweet dreams, without making a noise, they killed them, except something like twenty, who were wounded, were thrown into the water, and as they were close to land they escaped. Gómez Pérez was sleeping in the poop cabin, under cover, and when he heard a noise, believing that the galley was dragging on the land, as had happened on other nights, went to go out, and at the moment he put his head through the hatch, four Chinese, who had been deputed for the task, cleft him in two. With his death his endeavours, which had led to many benefits, came to an end.

Chapter III. Of the government of Don Luís Pérez de las Mariñas, Knight of the Order of Santiago.

At the time that they killed Gómez Pérez, his son Don Luís Pérez de las Marias, Knight of the Order of Alcantara, was in the city of Cebu, 150 leagues from Manila, with all the army, waiting for his father who, because of his death [f.10r] and not having made a will, no-one had any idea who was named Governor in his stead. The cabildo of the city elected as his substitute, Licenciado Pedro de Roxas, who sent word to Don Luís that he should come to the City of Manila with all his men, after the death of his father. He felt that he should not leave off pursuing the journey that his father had begun, and obeying the new Governor, he returned to the city of Manila. An Augustinian friar called Fray Diego Muoz, the Commissary of the Holy Office, had a sealed cask, which Gómez Pérez had entrusted to him in confidence. So when he arrived in the city, and opened it [the cask], they found his will there, and in the cedula of His Majesty Philip the Second about nominating in his absence, or the death of the governor. And the nominee was his son, which, when it was announced later, all the city received with great satisfaction, for thereby it would be possible to tell at length what they owed his father, such was the love they had to the son of his heroic virtues.

Later Don Luís de las Marias, Knight of Alcantara, with the approval of all, took the governorship, and sent an embassy to Great China with his cousin Don Fernando de Castro, Knight of the Order of Santiago, complaining [f. 10v] about the Chinese who had killed his father. But it did not achieve anything, since they were not able to get there, since they did not dare to go to his land, but they stayed in the kingdom of Cochin China, and there they took the galleys, and artillery, and afterwards each one set out on his own way. Don Luís de las Marias got news that year that a large number of ships, and of men, were coming from China to take over the land, which was very clever, but very cowardly, since they knew very well that nothing would be hidden, since with the departure of Gómez Pérez the city had been left with little defence, and together with more than 10,000 Chinese [in the Parian], who were always disloyal, and are those who served that republic, in all the mechanical jobs, without whom it would be impossible to maintain themselves, and so they decided to send 60 ships

with 20,000 Chinese, under merchant flags, and 9 men-of-war with them, [with the flags] of the government. Each part had its own insignia so that it would be recognized, and to make the most of the pretence for the occasion, which seemed to them sure of success, because the army is their only security, they did not make similar demands, actions appropriate to cowards, which they are. Here is offered a reply to a tacit objection, which is [f. 11r] well observed, and that is, if the Chinese sold all their merchandise there, and got so much profit, and the poor people came there to obtain something to eat for being in the Philippines, as if its Indios would intend to kill the Spaniards, in particular, why have none of us ever received harm from them? To which I reply, that it is the people in matters of state, who extort more from the world in order for their own conservation, and as they know that the Spanish are very bellicose, and that those who suggested it were always fearful, and much preferred to see us far away from their kingdom, than the advantage which we give the fearful of our neighbourhood, and of one prophecy which they have for such, for which they have been invaded, and subjected by one people, which by the signs are us, the Spanish nation. Also the common people are so covetous, that whatever interest blinds them, as if occasion has never been offered from which they have not benefitted, beyond which they had news that those Islands have rich mines of gold which they knew better to exploit than the Spaniards, and as with the same plan they stole the Island of Aynao [Hainan], one of the most fertile, and rich of this archipelago next to Great China, and in this way they intended to steal that of Manila. [f. 11v]

Don Luís Pérez de las Marias did not neglect to get ready for this danger, seeming to him more intuition than understanding, since with the enemy dissimulating, being sure that the danger would follow if was announced, which would lose the commerce which sustained that land; and so he remedied the dissimulation another way, taking good advice, so that he gave me an order at my request, by which with a few soldiers, as the ships were entering the bay, they should not be allowed to go up into the river, and they would have to return to their land. It was not difficult to put this into execution, so that as I have said, they became divided, and they entered two by two, or three by three, in the way that they were accustomed to in other years in more dissimulation. When this took place they could get together no more than 20 ships of known merchants. The Governor received the Mandarins, and their embassy, giving them credence that they came to discuss that we would not receive Japanese, who are their mortal enemies, in our ports. Farewelling them with good face, he sent them to their land. The following year one of those Mandarins returned, disguised to spy, and as I was visiting the ships, I noticed him, and arrested him. They are so astute that he knew how to excuse himself, so the Governor, and Doctor Antonio de Morga, who was his Lieutenant of Justice, thought that it was better to let him return to his country.

Chapter III. Of the journey that Capitán Juan Suarez Gallinato made to the kingdom of Cambodia, and what happened there.

When the King of Siam entered the kingdom of Cambodia with his army, and subjected it, the King of Cambodia withdrew to Laos to escape the danger in which he found himself, and so the one from Siam became lord of the kingdom, and leaving for its garrison some of his soldiers, he returned to his land, which is near there. He sent many captives by sea, and amongst those he took were three Spaniards, one called Blas Ruiz Castellano, and two Portuguese called Diego Veloso, and Pantaleon Carnero. These three rose up on the ship one night, and killed its captain, and more than 200 Siamese soldiers, assisting in the transport of the other captives, who until they recognized the victory on the part of [f. 12v] the Spaniards had not dared. With this victory they returned to Manila, and gave an account of the case to the Governor Don Luis Pérez of everything that had happened. It seemed to him a good opportunity to help the King of Cambodia to recover his kingdom in the absence of the [king] of Siam, and so he next sent Captain Juan Suarez Gallinato, with three ships assigned to him by the leaders, with Blas Ruiz, and Diego Veloso as captains, and on the voyage under squally winds they split up, and that of Gallinato came to port in the Strait of Singapore, and from there arrived at Malacca, which is nearby, and recovered from the past danger, turning for Cambodia. Meanwhile the two ships had arrived in Cambodia, though not together, because that of Diego Veloso was lost on the coast. That of Blas Ruiz went up the Mekong River, which is one of the greatest in the world, because it has a breadth of half a league and more in parts, and a hundred fathoms depth. They sailed 80 leagues as far as the city of Chordomuco [Phnom Penh]. At that time a relative of the natural king was reigning, called Nacaparan Prabantul¹² who having assembled a sizeable army, had made himself sovereign, and provided the garrison of Siam in that kingdom, to whom Blas Ruiz who acted in the office of head of the Spaniards, sent Captain [f.13r] Pablo Garrucho to give him an account of his arrival. For this he received no satisfaction: he was 20 leagues away from there in the city of Sorstir,¹³ where the King held his court.

In the city of Chordomuco [Phnom Penh] there were some 3000 Chinese held in a separate barrio who, seeing Spaniards, took it badly that they had arrived there, and seeming superior by their unequal number, took some ugly steps seeking an opportunity to get them out of the kingdom; and they did many things to Blas Ruiz. They obliged him to take up arms, and to come to blows with them: the result of which was that more than 500 were killed, and they took the five ships, and went to complain to the King. With what they knew to tell him, he was very angry, and almost at the same time Blas Ruiz arrived with 40 Spaniards leaving another forty on guard, but the King did not want them to come into his presence until they returned the ships to the Chinese, and

¹²Pra Rama, see de (Morga 1971), p. 83.

¹³Srei Santhor, called Sistor in de (Morga 1971), p. 84.

meanwhile he kept delaying them between demands and replies. The following night he discussed confining them and killing them, and, if he could catch the living ones, fry them in oil, which is a punishment they use for great offences. Blas Ruiz took advice from three Christians and confirming what they ought to do, they arranged that at nightfall they recovered their boats in which they [f.13v] had come, and all the things which were on the river, which was a lot, an obvious sign of what they had advised, with which they resolved to escape or die from such obvious danger, being troubled by weak spirits, and depressed. But the Spaniards coming to what was the ultimate remedy to commit to, and not waiting to be attacked by such vile people, who had much advantage over those attacked, went to the house of the king, and they lit a fire killing him, and one of his sons, from whom Blas Ruiz took a golden bracelet, and setting fire to a munitions store, they got themselves in order to retreat to their ships. But before they were able to load them, a large number of archers with elephants came upon them to avenge themselves. But they showed such valour when they were retreating, and fighting, losing but three men, one Japanese, and another Indio, their servants, and one Spaniard, although many were wounded crossing the river, the greater risk was the depth which came up to their chests, and they made the crossing to the other side; at the end being night they crossed, and arrived at their ships.

At this time Gallinato arrived from Malacca and having learnt of events, fearing that all the [f. 14r] kingdom would rise up, assembled the troops there, against the advice of Blas Ruiz, and the others which certain chiefs who offered them help in secret, to bring their natural lord of the Laos where he was, but he would not be party to this resistance from the reasons with which they tried to persuade him. So that he should not lose such a good opportunity to leave off what he had done, he left there in the ships that they had taken from the Chinese, and went to Cochinchina, where Blas Ruiz and Diego Veloso disembarked, crossing those kingdoms for more than 200 leagues where a Spaniard had never been seen, until they arrived at Laos, where, giving the King of Cambodia an account of what had happened, he was returned to his kingdom with seven thousand men which the [King] of the Laos gave to help him. I have related this event, because of the many fibs they tell here of Captain Gallinato, that although he was a good soldier, he had no other dealings in the Kingdom of Cambodia, of which the witnesses are Friar Diego Duarte [Aduarte] the Dominican, who now resides in Alcalá de Henares, Procurator of his order in the Philippine Islands, and one of those who was involved in the death of the King of Cambodia, and was not one of less importance, and Captain Don Miguel de Xaque [Jaque] de los Ríos, [f. 14v] who is in this court, and both came via the East, making a circuit of the globe, and he is on the way to return to the Philippines having done it a second time, he is going to do it the third.

At the same time the wife of Adelanto Alvaro de Amendaa, who left Peru to discover the Solomon Islands, which lie next to New Guinea, with three ships, and on the way lost the almiranta, and the Adelantado died without effecting the discovery. Afterwards Juan Fernández de Quirós pursued it, at great cost to Your Majesty, without achieving any result, because this discovery must not

be made from Peru, but from the Philippines, which can be done with barques, at very little expense, because it is very close, and convenient, without so much expense. This happened in the year of [15]95 during the governorship of Luis Pérez de las Marias until Don Francisco Tello de Guzman, Knight of the Order of Santiago, arrived to govern. [f. 15r]

Chapter V. How Don Francisco Tello came to govern, and what happened.

When His Majesty had news of the death of Gómez Pérez Dasmarias, it seemed to him that his son was of too young an age for the governorship, since he was not yet 25. He sent Don Francisco Tello de Guzman, Treasurer of the Casa de Contratación, and Knight of the Order of Santiago. He began to govern with mildness, although one thing he did before he arrived in the city, appears to have presaged the evils that would happen later. One galleon [the San Felipe] left for New Spain, from Manila, with more wealth than ever had left, and at the entrance to the Islands he encountered it when he came. He ordered it to be held in a port until he had arrived in Manila, and advised His Majesty of the state of the land. At that time it was lost when it had to make its voyage because of typhoons [vendavales], and the weather had passed with which it had to get to the high latitudes, since it left late, when the Governor sent his dispatch, because of which it encountered such bad weather that it came to be lost in Japan, and King Naicosama took their goods, and was the cause [f. 15v] of the martyrdom of six Franciscan religious, and left Manila destitute.¹⁴ So great was the danger in letting the season pass in such cases, and in the sailings, principally when an hour cannot be lost.

Don Francisco began his governorship, and with him commanding, and an abundance of things to distract him, and neglecting to dispatch the galleons on time, and he ought to have been taught a lesson from the danger which had been caused in the loss of the galleon San Felipe, which was mentioned above, made no correction, so that other galleons were lost later for the same reason, one called the Santa Margarita, which was lost in the Ladrones [Marianas] Islands, and another called the San Gerónimo, was lost on Catanduanes Island near the entrance to these Islands, and another that left Cebu called Jess María, which never appeared again:¹⁵ and what was worst of all, this neglect was so entrenched,¹⁶ that it would not have been remedied here since, with the same inconveniences, except for taking advantage of two royal cédulas, which His Majesty Don Felipe the Third had done me the favour in the year of [1]608, for

¹⁴BR say, in their summary of this part, ‘twenty six religious’. In fact there was a total of 26 martyrs: six western Franciscans, the other twenty being Japanese.

¹⁵In his notes in his edition of de (Morga 1961), p. 177 Rizal says it was not lost as de los Ríos claims and gives a forward reference to de Morga referring to the ship again, *op. cit.*, pp. 193 and 196. It is listed under 1602 in García et al. 2001 as an *Arribada*.

¹⁶Reading ‘entablado’ for ‘eutablado’.

which cause this kingdom has come into much need.¹⁷

In the time of Don Francisco Tello, a Dutchman [Oliver van Noort] came with two ships, to rob, and [f. 16r] he sent against it another two, which he armed, with General Doctor Antonio de Morga and, as Almirante, Captain Juan de Alcega. The Almiranta fought with that of the enemy, and overcame it; and our capitana [fought] with his, and after a while, and a bloody fight, our [capitana] was sent to the bottom, drowning the most illustrious men of the city, and the enemy was so badly checked, that he could scarcely save himself. He arrived in Borneo to repairs with very few men, and all badly wounded. In the time of his governorship, Don Luis de las Marias left for Cambodia with a fleet at his own expense, because the Governor had received an embassy from King Langarac, who had already been restored to his kingdom, because of Blas Ruiz, and Diego Veloso, who had left Cochinchina, when Gallinato passed by there on the return from Cambodia, and they went to Laos, and they advised him of what they had done in his kingdom, and how they had killed his enemy, upon which he left to govern it, taking with him these two captains, and eight thousand men whom the King of Laos gave him. What the embassy wanted essentially was to seek soldiers, and religious, to convert his kingdom for which cause Don Luis had decided to spend [f. 16v] his wealth in such a holy enterprise in which I was on the capitana.

We left Manila with three ships, 150 Spaniards, with many adversities, and our Lord was served, for his secret reasons, so that twenty leagues from Manila he gave us such a terrible storm, that it disabled and unbalanced the ships; and without masts, the capitana opened up, and taking in water, we arrived at the coast of Great China, where we were lost and setting out to swim somewhere near the city of Macao, finding a better welcome from the infidels than from the Portuguese in Macao who later, when they learnt of our misfortune, issued an edict that no-one should help us on pain of losing their goods, and three years in the galleys. We underwent many travails, and persecutions because of this, and it hindered our journey of great expectations. Many things happened to us that are worthy of note, which I shall omit for brevity, only to say one thing that it is important for Your Majesty to know.

Our capitana having arrived near the coast of Great China, in the entrance to a river, which they call the Salt, we found ourselves in the mouth of a bay, very ill equipped, and General Don Luis de las Marias, ordered me to leap ashore [f. 17r] with 8 soldiers to seek a pilot knowledgeable in those islands, which are many, to take us to the city of Macao, which was 30 leagues from there, and to bring some provisions for the men: and because there were many ships manned by Chinese in that river from the fleets that guard the coast, it was not possible to return that night, because the wind had turned contrary and because it blew so strongly, it forced them to raise their anchors, and they spent all the night waiting for death, until at the return of dawn, in order not to go to the bottom, they went to beach on the land, and there were so many reefs, and rocks around them, so that no-one escaped, and to return back, it was not

¹⁷See AGI, Philippines,340,L.3,F.40R-41R.

possible to go astern, and the inlet being narrow, they began to call to God, and to invoke his favour with such faith, that our Lord made an obvious miracle, which everyone confirmed, and he got them from the sea without their knowing how and being set there, they went near a sandy area where they made the crossing, and they set off swimming together to a Chinese town, called Dayson, which welcomed them since they were gentiles, and lent those who were cold clothes to keep them warm, and they made a fire, and they gave them something to eat from their poor means, with such charity, as if they would have been very good Christians: but what [f. 17v] is more to be admired, and to be noted to see that they had to serve Our Lord much in that regard, by means of Spaniards, to tell later of a strange case that happened. Returning in the morning to where my capitana had been left, and not finding it, I went along the coast to find it, and arrived at a city called Conhay, where I found a Mandarin General of that coast, and having given me permission to speak to him, I was allowed in the land on condition that none of our men should bear arms, because they were so frightened, and faint-hearted. After the exchange of courtesies, he gave me permission that I alone might wear a sword and to receive me he had with him more than a thousand soldiers. He sent to me to say that I had to be on my knees, and I sent to him to say that if he wished I would speak standing up, or I would return. He accepted that, and giving an account of our happenings, he told me, that if I had been from Japan, there was an order to kill all those from Japan, who had reached there, but us who were his friends, he would send to the city of Canton, with two ships as escort, which is 40 leagues over land. It is a city of 200 thousand inhabitants, and what I said happened, which was that not knowing where my capitana was, I found one person among the Chinese who [f.18r] [said] a galleon had been lost in Dayson, and that the people there were such that they had put aside the stones to make a way, so that they would not stumble, and the trees were bent down, a fact that filled me with wonder, more so when I learned from our men that they had never seen anything similar before; we can gather that God inspired in those Gentiles some of the welcome they extended to our people. This effect was also seen in the Aytao, who is like a President, whom the Portuguese of the city of Macao had given many petitions, and complaints against us, that we were thieves, and we stole kingdoms, bringing into consideration New Spain, Peru and the Philippines, and he told them these reasons: I have gathered from your evil ways of acting, that only jealousy moves you against these people, because I have seen, that having been so discredited, they had not made a case from yours, nor had said a word. I regard them as good, and you as the opposite, and already you lack nothing except what you gather from the kingdom, so that you seek to make quarrels, and prevent others from trade, see that I order you to bring no more petitions against them lest I punish you. [f.18v]

The city of Macao was founded on the coast of this kingdom of China, the Portuguese populating it through dealing with India, so that each year two ships went loading at the city of Canton, and making port there they stayed, little by little making some straw huts, and it was growing all the time. Now it is a place of some thousand inhabited houses, from a thousand nations, which meet there:

there would be some 500 Portuguese inhabitants; who are those who hold the government, and command, there Your Majesty provides a Capitán mayor every single year, and one as Lieutenant for matters of justice, whom they call Ovidor. Your Majesty has no property there: because the laws, and other profits, belong to the King of China, and although they are not subject to his justice as far as private matters are concerned, they are still oppressed, and liberty is so curtailed that it is not possible to go half a league outside [the city] without risk, except with the permission of the justice of the port whom they call Mandarins. They all live from trade, and what more they import is from what they trade with Japan, sending each year a galleon full of raw silk, and other trifles. This traffic belongs to the Capitanes mayores, since no-one can [f.19r] hold a licence to take a ship to Japan, and so they put all their investment in it, paying so many per cent, with which they at least get profits each year which with luck may be 50 thousand ducats. It is of such importance for the service of God, and of Your Majesty, not for the republic, that I dared to say, and from this the opinion would be, if they were asked, those who had been in it, that it would be better depopulated, and the inhabitants gathered into other cities, where they are not full, and for the dealings with India, it would be advantageous, because they do not consider conversion, nor other things other than to provide themselves with a good life, since the land is very cheap, and abundant in everything. They treat so badly, not only the Castilians, but also the Portuguese, who arrived there, as they do not go guided by their custom, which is a pity to say, but being Castilian, the hatred they have for us is incredible, so much so that although one could give many examples, only to say what happened to us with them, they were not content with the petitions that they made against us previously mentioned, but that when Don Luis Pérez de las Marias, had left to return to Manila, and I in my almiranta with the men that we had [f.19v] left, Don Luis Pérez returned with the bad weather, and as they saw him return, and alone, they set off against him in some rowboats, which they call balones, which mostly carry an artillery piece in the prow, and finding him in an inlet the ship being on dry land the tide being low, they requested him to surrender, but he not wanting to, they fought with him for six hours and with their shooting they made the ship into a sieve until the tide rose, and the ship set off floating between them, with some dead, and all or most wounded. There were 24 balones, but they did not get the best of it. These matters, and very many bitternesses they justify with a royal cedula which they had more than 30 years ago, in which Your Majesty¹⁸ commanded Castilians not to go to that port to trade, and it is very important that Your Majesty command them not to use that, because of the evil which is caused to everyone, not only to those who go there to trade, which was the reason it was obtained, but also to those who arrive there, and who became lost. [f. 20r]

¹⁸In fact Philip II, the grandfather of the present king, Philip IV.

Chapter VI. On the death of Don Francisco Tello, and the governorship of Pedro de Acuña.

Don Pedro de Acua, Knight of the Order of San Juan, who at the time was governing Cartagena in the Indies, succeeded Don Francisco Tello de Guzman. Don Pedro was a law-abiding gentleman, and not envious, he lived modestly. He was affable, and straightforward with everyone, yet notable unfortunate things happened in his time. The Indios of Mindanao laid waste the Islands, carrying off many captives and many riches, burning churches, and despoiling images, with great harm to our reputation.

In the same way more than twenty thousand Chinese rose up in the city of Manila, and because they [the Spaniards] did not believe the Archbishop, nor advice from many others, [things] could not be remedied in time, which would have been easy, and although we prevailed against them (with obvious miracles) the kingdom [f. 20v] was left laid waste. It seemed the Governor could only fear those people so vile spirited and weak, and in order to constrain them, they caused him much concern. He neglected things, not as the great soldier that he was, and mainly for this reason great misfortunes happened, because he neither constrained the enemy, although it was weak, and I claim that the worst evils happened in the Indies because of this. On that occasion 150 men died of the best of the city, and among them Don Luís Pérez de las Marias, who lived at the other side of the river, where by order of the Governor he left to search for Chinese, and finding himself engaged unexpectedly, together with a little fort which they had made in two days. They attacked in the middle of the night, when they saw the Spaniards, and they attacked them, and at the first charge they closed with them, gathering them in the middle: and since for each Spaniard there were more than a hundred Chinese, they killed them all. Only Captain Francisco de Rebolledo escaped, who having been very badly wounded in the head, they had left him for dead, like the majority, and having returned back, he came to the city where he gave the news of the event. [f. 21r]

Don Luis de las Marias did not want to believe those who persuaded him to return that day to shelter from the heat, which had become intense, and they were fasting, and very tired, seeming to him that the Chinese were vile people, as he had experienced in China, and more determined not to give them space where they could join up, and not considering that they were Chinese who came to Manila, from the province of Chincheo, that those from the province of Canton with whom he had dealt, are skinnier, and less hairy: and so the same happened to him as to Don Pedro de Acua, although it cost him dearer.

By command of Your Majesty he made the journey to Maluku, and had such great success, that before disembarking the artillery, and scarcely having arrived, he had won. Because going to reconnoitre the fort, a squad of Terrenates set off into the countryside, encountering those who came to reconnoitre, and at first sight they changed their minds: they turned back fleeing, and our men, behind them, entered all together, and they enjoyed the victory, without losing more than nineteen soldiers. The King fled to the island of Gilolo.

I have begun to discuss matters in Maluku [f. 21v], and for this my intention is to tell Your Majesty the truth with all accuracy, as it happened, without addition or omission, so that you may know the present situation. Don Pedro, having achieved a distinguished victory, and so desirable and productive in every way, and having done Your Majesty a great service, he enjoyed the opportunity which he had in his hands. It would have been better if he had gone to the isle of Ambueno, to recover the fortress that the Portuguese had lost a little earlier, which, although the Dutch had not fortified it, as now they have, and returned that island to the subjection of Your Majesty: and at least had left galleys in Maluku, to guard those islands, and stop the enemy fortifying itself in them, which was the necessary means to keep what had been won. He must not have noticed, although it was not known then that they were Dutch. He set off back to Manila, and took the King of Ternate and his son prisoners, who came on his word to put himself in his hands; and when he thought to find a remedy, he lost the liberty he had. He took him with him, and his son, and some chiefs with them, believing that Maluku would be more secure for this, by changing his approach, and it became a major [f.22r] inconvenience, since his subjects having seen the ill treatment wrought on their King, they hated us so much, that they took a liking to our enemies: and since he left no galleys to stop the enemy fortifying itself, the Dutch came, and without opposition they fortified the posts which seemed their intent, building them with the natives: and so they gave them the harvest of cloves, which was just what they wanted, and they enjoyed the fruit of the labour of Don Pedro Acua.

I have been offered the opportunity, where I cannot fail to indicate to Your Majesty one matter touching on this King of Ternate, which requires correction. It is true that while Don Pedro lived, he treated him with respect, later in the time of Don Juan de Silva, I saw him in a room which when it rained all the water filled the place to the top, and he was dying of hunger, so much so that when I went in to see him, and the cruelty with which he was being treated, he begged me on his knees to ask the Governor to move him from there so he was not soaking wet, and to rescue him from dying of hunger: and some days if he would not ask for charity, he would not eat. I have said this for the reputation of Your Majesty among those nations, for it would seem that you command your ministers [f. 22v] to inflict such ill treatment to those whom a few years ago feared him, and all the kings of those islands around shook. Don Pedro de Acua died when he had begun to open his eyes, and to govern with the great acceptance of all. They say that it was through poison, although I am not persuaded of that.

The news having reached the Marquis de Salina, who at the time was Viceroy of New Spain, he sent Don Rodrigo de Vivero, to the Philippines to govern them, until His Majesty sent a Governor, and he governed for one year, in which nothing of consideration happened. With the arrival of Don Juan de Silva, he embarked in the galleon San Francisco, which was lost in Japan because she left late. Although most of those who went in her escaped, with her was lost the property and riches of the Philippine Islands, which left them very poor, and not many wealthy being there. The principal cause has been the commercial

galleons which have been lost, simply because they were not dispatched on time.
[f. 23r]

Chapter VII. Of the government of Don Juan de Silva, and what happened with the Dutchman.

On the death of Don Pedro de Acuña, in the year of 606, Your Majesty sent Don Juan de Silva to govern. Having arrived in that kingdom, the opportunity was offered for him to put to work his desires, a Dutchman arrived there with four ships, and a patache, and anchored at the mouth of Manila Bay, he stayed there six moths, capturing and robbing many who came to the city. Don Juan de Silva had no ships ready to go out to meet him from that port, but with the stay of the enemy, he was able to work to get ready four which he had there, and to complete another which was being made in a shipyard, hurrying them up, taking from the houses of the inhabitants the iron grids for nailing that he lacked: which they gave with great pleasure, and all the other necessary things which he needed. And at the same time in another place he founded five heavy artillery pieces, with which, and with those that he had in the forts, and he armed five sea-going ships, and three galleys, and with the most valiant of the soldiers, and the residents, amongst [f. 23v] all there were more than a thousand men of Spaniards alone. He found the enemy very careless, their ships full of riches, from many rich men they had robbed, from the Chinese who came to Manila laden for trade that came each year. He found only three ships, and attacked them, and boarding one, it blew up from a fire by mischance. The other two yielded though the victory was not gained cheaply, since many men were killed. This victory had been foretold two months before, which must have been the day of St Mark [25 March 1610], as it happened, which he recounted one night had been told to him. But who would have said that this victory was the beginning of his downfall, and of so many travails to be told.

With this victory Don Juan de Silva was left very rich, because the booty in the fifth that Your Majesty granted him was worth, more than two hundred thousand ducats, which I learnt from his own mouth. Beyond this it raised thoughts of great enterprises, without weighing the possibilities of that kingdom with his intentions. He discussed getting a fleet to go to Terranate, which he put in execution: and although all the city made much opposition, especially the Royal Audiencia, and the Royal officials, who [f. 24r] with experience judged it not appropriate, he went against all, and left Manila with it leaving the natives flattened with extravagance, and the treasury of Your Majesty in debt to a huge sum, and the city without artillery. He went to Maluku, and not only did he get no good result, he even returned with little reputation that he got from this journey, everyone having foretold it. He wanted to correct that disaster, and determined, without any one's counsel, to build seven galleons, which, with three that he had, would make ten in all, and likewise six galleys, an enterprise disproportionate to the possibilities of his forces, from which innumerable harms

arose, which as usual follow from not fitting the means to the ends, and not matching ones desires against ones forces. When he fought at the Playa Honda with the Dutchman, at the time of boarding it he knew the advantage that the large galleons over the others, and so he resolved to make them so large that they would be superior to whatever the enemy would bring: for which reason he made them of a thousand, and one thousand five hundred, and close to two thousand tonnes. He discussed putting his desire into execution, and at the same time to write to the Viceroy of India, to send him another ten galleons, and six [f. 24v] galleys, so that having joined the forces of both governments, they would achieve with them at the one time get the Dutchman out of the archipelago, and remove the forts and trading posts. That thought was very sensible, and the means most efficacious of all, if he had been able to put it into effect as he imagined it: and I believe that to facilitate this, he wrote to Your Majesty, with which this court was filled with hopes, and to put it into execution it had such a foundation as will be seen here. The forces of India are so few that although they told him that the Viceroy could not send six ships, and those poorly armed, and that being left without those to guard his coasts, which are being infested every day, beyond what they had experienced from the little affection that the Portuguese have for the Castilians, so that they do not trust them: still, by sending money to make galleons, and at least half a million would be needed for the men, the Viceroy would send this fleet. Don Juan de Silva found himself with no money, because of the journey to Maluku that he made, had left the Royal treasury heavily indebted, with all of that, to carry forward his intention, he sent the Maestro de Campo, Christobal de Azguet, with the pledges that the Royal officials had made, and the sureties, pledging the Royal treasury of Your Majesty, to take it there from the merchandise, paying interest, a matter which was ridiculous for those who knew India. He gave him [the Maestro] sixteen thousand pesos, which he sought from the inhabitants of Manila in gold, to bring some necessary Items. The Maestro de Campo left in a ship, accompanied by 40 Spaniards as his authority, and to this day nothing has appeared, so it is certain that they all drowned, since there has been no more news. On the other hand he wrote to the Viceroy of New Spain, about how he was building a fleet, seeking money, men and munitions: and he sent the galleons, which had arrived on time, so late that although the Viceroy might use all his powers, he would not be able to fulfil the agreement that he desired. He began to put the said galleons on the stocks, and since they were so large, he could scarcely find in the mountains the wood that was needed, and so he was forced to search for it with great difficulty, and he penetrated further into the interior, where having found it, in order to drag it out and bring it to the shipyard, it was necessary to depopulate the neighbouring pueblos of Indios, and to get it with immense labour, dangers and cost to them. The [f. 25v] masts of one galleon cost the Indios, as the religious of St. Francis confirm, and as I heard declared by the Alcalde Mayor of the province where they were cut, which is Laguna de Bay, that to drag them seven leagues over very rough mountains, took six thousand Indios three months, and the pueblos paid them, forty reals per month to every one, without giving them anything to eat, so that the wretched Indio had to look

for food. I shall not tell of the ill and inhuman treatment, of the agents, and the many [Indios] who died on the mountain. Had those galleons been of moderate size, and twice as many, they would not have cost half as much. Neither shall I tell Your Majesty of the Indios who were hanged, those who deserted their wives and children, and fled exhausted to the mountains, and those who were sold as slaves, to pay the taxes imposed on them; the scandal to the Gospel, and the so irreparable harm caused by that construction; and with how much inhumanity they passed sentence on the poor Indios, and executed them, not only what was necessary, but also the changes to him, that the lawless greed of agents took from him. Finally the travails were immense, the wrongs, and injuries that they inflicted upon them, without him having a remedy: and so they had [f.26r] such a disastrous end, since in a storm, all of them were lost, and those who were in them drowned 40 leagues from the city, taking them to make amends: divine permission, which is so offended by harm done to the poor, and now they are owed ore than a million [pesos], without hope of recovering it, from where it can be collected, how much satisfaction and Christianity those subjects had to be which had to govern the Philippines, so that no-one who goes there can commit harm by their hand. Further to those mentioned hurts, the ones below of which I now speak were no less.

When he discussed those constructions, three years before he could launch this fleet, he ordered all the men of the islands to be gathered together, and to abandon the forts, and important posts, especially one fort which there was in the city of Cebu, and he took the artillery, and brought it to Manila, a fact that caused the Mindanaos to lay waste those islands when they knew of it, without there being anyone to stop them. At the same time he commanded, under severe penalties, that no-one should leave the city without his permission. On the one hand, he kept the people there desperate, since they were unable to go out to seek food. On the other, he gave them nothing, which was the cause of many people fleeing through those neighbouring kingdoms: and at that time when there was more need of sailors, because of maltreatment, and being deprived [f. 26v] of half their rations, more than two hundred fled. He imposed many taxes on the Indios, with great distress over the supplies that were lost, because it was not needed so early, which put the land in great need, and worse than if the enemy had ravaged it.

On the other hand he sent to Japan for metals to found artillery, and saltpetre for gunpowder, which they brought him as he had send to ask: and in two years he founded 150 pieces of heavy artillery, yet he had no instructor who understood it, and so it turned out so badly founded, that none passed the tests. I saw 27 out of 36 pieces explode at the first shot as the gunner there, who is in this court, called Pedro Castaño will tell. Consequently they did not dare to test them with the Royal test. There was a fine founder there, called Diego de Prado, who had founded much artillery in Lisbon, he did not wish to accept him, before he left to go to Spain via India, when he should have sought him with great diligence now he is here as Friar Basilio. He did not succeed in getting an effective piece although they tried in various ways, he continued trying, until some Japanese made some furnaces in their way, and

some bellows that made a great amount of wind, and these produced [f. 27r] better artillery, although some still exploded, because they did not succeed in alloying the copper according to its quality.

Don Juan de Silva persisted with his claim, and coming to the end of two years, when the Maestre de Campo Azcueta had not arrived, and one had to believe that he had drowned, he sent a father rector from the Society of Jesus, called Juan de Ribera, to Goa and Capitán Don Diego de Miranda, a Portuguese, to ask the Viceroy in his name for the said galleons, which they did. And although with much difficulty and opposition from the city of Goa, he gave them four galleons, and four galliots, with very small and badly disciplined men, what happened in India regarding this matter is a shame, and Your Majesty needs to reform much there, because of the danger that runs of losing it, through the poor discipline of the soldiers, as they themselves admit: and they have noted this in many memorials. They left for Manila, and with contrary winds arrived late in Maluku, and the Strait. The general did not dare to pass through, although the rector of the Company [of Jesus] urged and persuaded them to do so: and it arrived at such a state that the general told him he should go below deck, since the [f. 27v] soldiers wanted to kill him because they said he would get them drowned. With this they left, and set sail to Maluku, advising Don Juan de Silva, that they would await his order there.

Juan de Silva got the news about the galleons, and determined to send a patache to Macao, and as head of it, the pilot Juan Gallegos, to buy some munitions, and he left from there for Maluku, giving orders that the four galleons should wait for him in the Strait, since he had decided to pass through there, and that would all go together to attack the trading post of Java, which is the main one of the enemies, without a fortress, and then from there to Ambueno, and to Banda, and to Maluku. A great idea, if he would have done that with weather when he could sail. Juan Gallegos went to Macao, and from there to the Strait of Singapore, where he found six galleons from Holland, and one patache. They took him, from whom they learnt of the coming of Don Juan de Silva, with such a large force. They did not dare to wait for him, and so left there: and a little later after Don Juan de Silva had arrived, two Goan galleons came from China with the goods and merchandise from India, so by that means it served our Lord to save them.

Before the enemy happened to take the patache of Juan [f. 28r] Gallegos, he had agreed with the King of Hachen, which is on the island of Sumatra near there, to come together to Maluku, with more than four hundred ships, and in them were more than four thousand men. This king fought with those galleons, where his being there was of great importance. He set fire to one, and returned without accomplishing any other exploit, although he carried much heavy artillery. The Dutch arrived (after he had gone), and what they did was to burn the remaining three galleons in the river of Maluku, and they went to the Strait, as mentioned above, where they took Juan Gallegos. The Portuguese gained little reputation, or to put it better, lost much in not defending themselves, but as it is not my intention to set myself in another jurisdiction, I do not discuss this.

Don Juan de Silva left Manila with ten galleons, bigger than have been seen in Europe, and four galleys, on 28 February of 1616 making his way through the Strait, believing to find there the four galleons from Goa, according to the order he had sent. He learnt what had happened in the strait, and although he could have gone to Bantan in Great Java, to avenge his injury, since he could believe he would find the enemy there, and at least destroy that trading post, and take [f. 28v] satisfaction in what they had done, he did not want to, but he left the galleons anchored in the strait, and went to Maluku with the galleys, where they received him under a pall with great solemnity, and they feted him with many feasts, calling him their saviour, because their ships had escaped. Don Juan was greatly afflicted, and did not know what decision to take, whether he should careen the ships, and wait till the following year for the Viceroy of Goa, or if he should set sail for Manila. In this affliction death took him on 19 April of the said year.

He left orders that the fleet should return to Manila, and that they should take his embalmed body. With this our fleet returned, and in such bad shape as if it had been at sea for a year, since that place where it had been anchored the air was so bad, and the waters so noxious, that the soldiers began to get sick, and to die swollen up, and yellow, so that there were days when they cast 40 or 50 dead into the sea. And they all swore that if they had stayed there 15 days more, there would not be left enough to manage the sails, nor to bring back the galleons, which returned without anchors, because the few they carried were lost in the currents, which are very strong: and if they had not found in Maluku nineteen which they had bought, they would have perished. [f. 29r]

Chapter VIII. Of the opposition that Don Juan de Silva had from all the city, and the opportunity that was lost through not taking the advice they gave him.

Strange are the judgments of the Most High, and nothing happens without a cause that His infinite providence does not register. The Portuguese took as certain the coming of Don Juan de Silva to the Strait with his fleet, and attributed to him (as was evident), the saving of their possessions; but who looks at the opportunity that he lost, and how much more important it would have been not to have left Manila, and to have been there when the enemy, which passed through the Straits of Magellan, arrived, will see how little was certain.

Don Juan de Silva had already prepared his fleet, and his yards were already squared, when a discussion arose as to whether it was advisable for him to go in search of the enemy, for which reason he had assembled it. A general meeting of ecclesiastical and secular cabildos, the bishop, and the religious orders, was called, together with the Royal Audiencia and he made a speech, and he pulled

out a royal cedula that he had received a little earlier, in which it was ordered that he was to make the expedition. He intentionally read out what was more suitable to his purpose, and Doctor Vega, Your Oidor, said that the secretary should read so that it was read publicly, as they wanted to know what it contained. He read it, and in it Your Majesty ordered that the Viceroy of India be advised, so that both should join together with their forces, and go in search of the enemy with their fleets, and that the Viceroy should be the superior if he came in person. From this, they took the opportunity to oppose him, and said that he was not complying with what Your Majesty had ordered, putting to him that he did not have sailors, because at least fifty sailors were needed for ten galleys, he did not have twelve effective ones, because they had fled, as was said above.

Item, That he was carrying only two iron anchors for each galleon, disproportionate to their size; and two others of wood, which are called Cenepites; and that he was going through seas with strong currents and shoals; and he had to anchor every day, and with evident risk and the known danger of losing his fleet.

Item, That he was not carrying suitable rigging nor sails. At the same time they proposed to him that he was leaving the city depopulated of the men who would guard it in any eventuality. [f. 30r]

Item, That he had dismantled the forts and the artillery walls, without leaving an effective piece, contrary to the ordinances of Your Majesty, and contrary to all good government.

Item, That it was easy for the enemy, knowing the route that he was taking, to come upon the city, which was surrounded by more than fifteen thousand Chinese, and many Japanese, and all of whom were angered by the many vexations and injuries that they had received; especially the natives, of whom it could be feared that they would rise up at any news of an enemy: and what would most make them rise up would be to see the city without defence of men or artillery.

Item, That he was taking a very foolish route, because the season and monsoon (as it is called) for seeking the enemy was already past, and he was going with a known risk of suffering shipwreck, or of accomplishing nothing.

Item, That what was advisable was to inform the Viceroy of his expedition, on leaving, as Your Majesty had ordered, and in the interim to provide himself with everything he lacked, and he could leave the following year, as was advisable, and as Your Majesty ordered. Finally, they put to him many other difficulties, but none persuaded him to postpone his intention. Doctor Vega gave him a memorial which is printed, [f.30v] in which he declares all the above and many other reasons; and the Fiscal issued many injunctions, and protests against him: and they became so hostile, that he tried to arrest the Fiscal, who absented himself, together with many people of note, and the city was very much in danger of being lost, and divided into factions and different opinions; although it is true that all desired his [de Silvas] absence. After so many difficulties, and after having defied them all, Silva left the city with his fleet, leaving it abandoned, as said above. On embarking, many men of those that he had

provided from the inhabitants of the city, and single men, were missing, and they had fled.

Scarcely had he set off from Manila, when news came that a Dutchman with five ships was coming, and within 8 days he arrived and anchored at the mouth of Manila Bay. Our Lord willed that they did not learn of the state in which the city was, which would have placed us in utter confusion and danger. The Dutch remained there fifteen days, after which, learning that Don Juan had left for their forts and trading posts, they set off for them. It was the judgment of all that it was the greatest misfortune that the news had not arrived a little earlier, so that our fleet could have gone to meet it; [f. 31r] for not a single ship would have escaped; and when had he followed them to Maluku, he would have destroyed their forces without difficulty, as Don Gerónimo de Silva, his cousin, wrote to him, and I have the letter: and I learnt afterwards from himself that he had made a treaty with all of them to surrender their forts to him if Don Juan arrived. God did not order it, because of our sins, or His secret judgments. So great an opportunity, which could have ended the war, was lost, since all the natives were resolved to become our friends, for they always cry "Long live the conqueror!" Sections 1, 9, and 15 of Don Gerónimo's letter are of the following tenor.

Letter of Don Gerónimo de Silva, Governor of Maluku.

I am replying to the duplicate of Your Lordship, which I received by the hand of Capitán Juan Gutierrez Paramo, and Sargent Major Don Pedro Tellez, dated 15 of March at the Strait of Singapore, in which Your Lordship gives me advice of the resolution that you made in Manila, to make your voyage to Maluku, expecting to find there the Viceroy of India, or at least the squadron of galleons from that state [f. 31v] a matter as generally desired by all as it was made difficult for me: since I have never been persuaded that the Viceroy of India would decide to send a larger fleet this year, of the four galleons, and, supposing this, I would have been glad that Your Lordship had not left in search of the Viceroy this year, since, as I understand the cedula of His Majesty, the preparations were for the coming year, by which time matters would have been suitably arranged, and, both powers having united, His Majesty's will would have been put into effect, with no possibility of fear of risk. But if the resolution taken by Your Lordship to go out with your fleet, because of the great expenses incurred, had then been taken to come to employ that fleet, it would have arrived here at so good a season and opportunity, that all these islands would have surrendered to you: and I will assure with my thinking that His Majesty would possess them without Your Lordship needing to fire a single shot, since the matter of this truth was very well laid out: I alone was unfortunate in that Your Lordship did not come directly here when you left Manila, since on my own I cannot put this in writing, the king of Tidore could bear witness; as he will be on the day that Our Lord brings Your Lordship to these islands. [f. 32r]

Your Lordship orders me at this time to dispatch to you what galleys there are here in whose fulfilment Don Pedro Tellez is returning in the galley that brought him, since the galley of Capitán Juan de Guassa was such that it could not be repaired at all, although I summoned the royal officials, and persons who

understood it, to look at it, to which they replied that it absolutely had nothing of use on it except the nails, and so, with their advice, it was beached. Here I have only the galliot left, and that is as without iron or rigging, as the galleys that have been here have always been, it is the feet and hands of these islands, and what serves as a caracoa;¹⁹ since, glory be to God, I lack Mestizos and native Christians. The reason that moves me to this Don Pedro Tellez will tell Your Lordship, whom I wanted to witness this disgrace, and what the service of His Majesty suffers.

Your Lordship advise me of the decision you have made, about coming to these parts, and as to whether the Viceroy of India is coming now, with the squadron that Your Lordship has now built. What I want to say is how important the arrival of Your Lordship here is, although it be with no more than your galleons, [f. 32v] that on that alone depends the restoration of these two islands, which will be sustained by the hope that Your Lordship will come in the time that I said, and the Spaniards who inhabit them, If you do not come, the islands and we Spaniards who inhabit them will perish without doubt, since although the King of Tidore is our friend, and on his island he does not have the security which up to now, for which reason it suits me to keep on it the major part of the infantry of this camp, divided between Fort Santiago, the fort of Prince Tomanira, and Socanora, from which Your Lordship will infer that I not only have need of protecting myself from the Dutch, but also from the natives, and our intimates, because things are very much changed, from what Your Lordship is informed. Tidore, 29 of July 1616. Don Gerónimo de Silva.

Chapter IX. Of the coming of the Dutch to Manila, in search of Don Juan de Silva.

From the Dutch commander²⁰ who passed through the Strait of Magellan, and came to infest the coasts of Peru and New Spain (who was the one who arrived at Manila Bay), just after the departure of Don Juan de Silva, [f. 33r] it was learnt in Maluku that Don Juan had set his course for Malacca, and thence to Maluku.²¹ Later at the time that all their ships had gathered, and many had been repaired, they armed the ten best, taking the best artillery and men of their forts for that, having decided to wait for him [de Silva]. But when they saw that he delayed so long, and that he could not come to Maluku now, because of bad weather, thinking that he would have returned, they came to test him at Manila, and arriving on the Isle of Mindanao, he learnt of his death from the Indios, and they made a compact with them, that each on its part would go to lay waste the islands, as far as the city of Manila. The Mindanao set out with a fleet that they had prepared, of seventy caracoas, which are like galliots, and with them they reached the province of Camarines, where they were told that

¹⁹For an illustration of a caracoa see (Costa, SJ 1961), Illustration V, p. 275.

²⁰Jorge Spielberg, see (Blumentritt 1882), p. 27. He arrived at Manila in 1615.

²¹In fact de Silva knew that Spielberg was on his way, but, since he had not heard anything for two years he assumed his fleet had perished on the coast of Peru, *ibid.*, p.27).

one ship and two pataches were being built for Your Majesty, and they killed and captured about thirty Spaniards, and many Indios, setting fire to the works, and carrying off whatever they could find. That disaster happened, and it was very great, because of neglecting to send there fifty escort soldiers, to guard the shipyard. Because of differences that they had, the chiefs of those caracoas divided themselves into two troops. [f. 33v] One party set sail for Manila in search of the Dutch. The other went to the island of Panay. And getting word, Capitán Don Diego de Quiñones, who was there as commander and captain of the Visayas, sent Capitán Lazaro de Torres with seven caracoas in search of them, who defeated them, and captured four caracoas, the rest fleeing to the open sea, and since those ships are small, all were drowned; for no news has arrived since that they have reached their country.

That island of Mindanao is the furthest of the Philippine Islands, the distance from Cebu is about twenty leagues: and in that part that faces Cebu there is peace, and the Indios pay tribute, and there are many Christians. The entire island used to render homage to Your Majesty. It runs from east and west, somewhat inclined to the northeast and southwest. It is more than three hundred leagues in circumference. The part that is in the south, is in six degrees of latitude north. It has many gold mines, although they are little worked, as those assert who have seen them, many cinnamon trees and many civets.

Capitán Estevan Rodriguez de Figueroa went to pacify it in the year of 1596 at his own expense, with the title of Governor and Captain General of it from Your Majesty, but he was so unfortunate, that the first time he set foot on land, he was killed by an Indio lying in ambush. Capitán Juan de la Xara, who was Maestre de Campo, followed him on the journey, and he, like his master, died, the whole enterprise was quickly destroyed by accidents that overtook them, consequently, not only were the natives left unpacified, but more angered, and desirous of avenging themselves. For that reason, they began to build ships and to go among those islands in the time of Don Francisco Tello, and to inflict damage, taking many Indios prisoner and their riches, since they had much gold, through the fault of the captains and alcaldes mayores who were governing those islands, without being punished. And although punishment is one of the two arms of justice that preserves states: there has been so much lack of it in Manila, that notable harm has occurred for this reason.

They became excited by these captures, and through the exercise of war they became more skilful and daring, so that their daring has reached a point, through the carelessness and neglect of the governors, that all those islands have been laid waste and ruined, and they could very well have been restrained, but since it is not possible to [f. 34v] say here the reasons why this has been left undone, because the case demands that many things be passed by, when Your Majesty cares to know, I will tell them. Those Indios are so vile and cowardly that they have never fought hand to hand with Spaniards, very few of them have dared to resist a great multitude, and with all that they have inflicted notable injuries. The worst is that these last few years they have committed greater ones, so that there is no Christian Indio or friend who is safe in his house, nor in the land. These, Although Indios, they are giving arguments that must have

very much shamed Your Majesty's governors; since, although they take such care not only to collect their tributes, but also to make so many impositions every day, and to cause a thousand troubles, yet they do not defend them from their enemies. And so they say, "Set us free, and let us have arms, so we shall be able to defend ourselves, as we did before the Spaniards came": and it is certain that if the religious, especially the Company [of Jesus], who instruct nearly all those islands, had not distracted them with hopes, and fair arguments, they would all have risen up, as some have done. I have given account of this to Your Majesty, so that you may order [f.35r] your governors to remedy this, which is so incumbent upon the royal conscience of Your Majesty, and how poorly they inform Your Majesty, since when they are actually destroying and burning your churches, the governor wrote that they were all at peace, and calm, and it is very easy to conquer this island, making them slaves, as I have said in specific memorials.

Chapter X. Of what happened with the coming of the Dutch to the Philippine Islands, and the city of Manila.

The enemy learnt from the Mindanao Indios, as already said, of the death of Don Juan de Silva,²² whom they had intended to go and seek, and he went to the island of Panay, to a port called Yloylo, with the design of building a fort there, in order to gain possession of those islands, and to take the many provisions that were collected there, for the aid of Terrenate, which is whence the forts of Maluku are chiefly maintained, and at the same time to make themselves masters of it: since two years before in the time of Don Juan de Silva, another Dutchman had arrived there, at a Spanish pueblo called Arevalo, and burnt it, and taking its provisions, made much dried beef from [f.35v] stock farms that were near there, and then returned, without there being anyone having dared to fire an arquebus shot, although there was a captain there with two hundred soldiers, and then he made a pact with the natives of the country, by which they were to obey him.

The news came three or four days before the enemy arrived, to the ears of Capitán Don Diego de Quiñones, who was there with up to seventy soldiers, and he resolved to die there, or to upset the plans of the enemy: and as quickly as he could, he made redoubt, or small fort of brushwood, stakes, and wickerwork, which he filled with earth, and having distributed his men he awaited his arrival. The Dutchman arrived with his 10 galleons and went to anchor a musket-shot from the small fort, and they began to bombard it with their artillery, and those who showed themselves with musket balls, and seeing that they were defending themselves, and that there was not sufficient multitude of balls to dislodge them, and having already bombarded the defences, they landed seven bands of infantry ashore, and made two assaults on the fort with the batteries that were

²²He died on 19 April, 1616.

available; and getting the worst of it, they had to retire. Don Diego, although shot through the thigh by a musket-ball, was encouraged, and had sent Captain Lazaro de Torres outside with forty [f. 36r] soldiers to make an ambush, and he pressed the enemy so heavily, that he had to embark quickly, leaving on the field, and taking away, many dead, and badly wounded, it having cost us twenty or a few more. With this, the enemy weighed anchor and left the port in great ignominy and sorrow. This feat of arms was of great importance, as can be understood from the condition in which the country was, and the natives of that island, and from others nearby. I cannot keep silent on one thing, which happened through the fault of him who was governing, since my intention is to acquaint Your Majesty with the state of that kingdom. It had been agreed in Manila, that a fort should be built in that port of Iloilo, and that six pieces of artillery and one engineer should be sent to Don Diego. But there was the utmost remissness, and neglect in sending these pieces, it being evident that if the enemy came, he would have to make himself master of the [port]: and although there was a one month when they could have sent him, they reached him eight days after the opportunity had passed, yet, if Don Diego had had them, he could have sent half the enemy's fleet to the bottom. The remissness and neglect of him who governs does so much harm. [f.36v]

It seemed to the enemy that they had little to gain from Don Diego, and so they left there, and went to anchor in the mouth of Manila Bay. They reached an island that is in the middle of the entrance, called Marivelez,²³ where there is always a sentinel to advise of the ships that come to the city, and so we already had news of his arrival. He anchored their ships taking up both entrances, so that no ship could enter or leave without them seeing. They captured a few small ships of provisions, and on some days they entered the bay with two or three ships, to reconnoitre the port of Cavite, with the idea of a wider view, and then returned. They had some information from the Japanese, who, as arrogant and barbarous people, despised our fleet, and thy informed them that there was nothing to fear, since we were unable to prepare our fleet because of the lack of many things, so they could rest secure, and so they proceeded as if they had no [fear].

At that time Licenciado Andres de Alcaraz was then senior Oidor, and filled the office of Capitán General. In several councils of war, it was discussed whether it would be appropriate to prepare the fleet in the port, in order to drive the enemy away.²⁴ Most were of the opinion that the fleet should go out, founding [f. 37r] that on the ignominy, and taunts that the enemy made, and the reputation that we would lose among so many nations who were watching us, the need for provisions that they were making, and their design to wait the ships of the Chinese, and order to enrich themselves from the merchandise they were bringing to Manila, which would come in April, and besides the general danger of depriving the republic of the necessities the Chinese were bringing, many

²³The island is now called Corregidor and Mariveles is on the north side of the entrance to Manila Bay.

²⁴Cf. BR XVII, pp. 251 ff., Portuguese and Spanish expedition against the Dutch, 1615. Juan de Rivera and Valerio de Ledesma, S.J.; [Manila, 1616?].

of the inhabitants were interested in the said ships. And although this last could be obviated by sending a warning to China, the Capitán General refused to do so, although he should have, because of the harm it could do to Your Majesty's service, the common good, and the great harm that would result to the [Chinese],²⁵ because an opportunity was given to the enemy to enrich themselves exceedingly, with the spoils, at the expense of the Republic, since then they would lose so much because of their friends, since they would be ruined. The cause of this error was that, in the earlier year when the other Dutchman came with five ships, believing he might stay there until he pillaged the Chinese, since he bore instructions, advice was sent to China, so that they should not come, and so they did not come, and as the enemy went away, the inhabitants felt they had notably erred, and ruined the city, and emptied the Crown of a great sum which was the duties on the merchandise that the Chinese had brought, for which reason he [Alcaraz] failed to do that, although it was so desirable, whence so great injuries have followed. When he who is governing heeds the possible murmuring, and because of that fails to take the measures that are appropriate, and to which he is obliged, such troubles generally follow.

Returning to the case, almost all the city urged the preparation of the fleet, and although it came to such a pass that injunctions and protests were served on him by means of the entire ecclesiastical estate. A thousand difficulties were represented to Licentiate Alcaraz. One, that there were many repairs to make to the fleet, which had come in quite bad shape; that it even lacked much of its sails and rigging, and what was left was rotten, and as no ship had come that year from New Spain, the Royal Treasury was very much indebted, and had no money for preparing the fleet, that for the same reason the citizens could not possibly lend what was needed, that the majority of the artillery was suspect, and it was necessary to refund it; and, above all, [f. 38r] that if it did not succeed well the entire kingdom would be at risk.

Affairs being in this perplexity and confusion, the ships that had gone out laden with the goods of the kingdom returned to port, since having left late, they could not make the voyage. This is a matter that is never remedied, so by its neglect the people are so heavily punished. They had some artillery, more than one hundred and fifty sailors, and many passengers, which was very important, and it was great luck that the enemy did not know it, for it would have been an easy matter to capture them, since one of those ships had discharged its cargo about twenty leagues from the enemy, transferring its goods to the city by land. The other went to a port far from there, on an island called Cibuian.²⁶

At this same time, the Mindanao who had remained with the other squadron of caracoas, came to the coast of Manila, to a pueblo called Balayan,²⁷ landed, the inhabitants fled, they set fire to the pueblo, and to more than one thousand quintals of Your Majesty's rigging,²⁸ through the fault and neglect of him who

²⁵The text is presumably in error reading 'enemigos'.

²⁶Now called Sibuyan Island. It is to the east of Romblon, 12°23' N, 122°35' E.

²⁷In Batangas, 13°56' N, 120°44' E.

²⁸100,000lb or 45,500 kg, i.e. 45.5 tonnes. This seems an overestimate.

was governing, by the fault and neglect of he who was governing, so that although the master-of camp, Don Juan Ronquillo, had advised them, because of the news that had come that the Mindanao had burnt the shipyard, and were pillaging, [f. 38v] that fifty soldiers be sent to Balayan for its defence, and the Alcalde Mayor had sent to request it, they did not do so, postponing from day to day, and so the enemy was able to lay it waste. But since the people had been warned, when they saw the Mindanao coming, they went to a place of safety being prepared for them. Our Lord willed that, although they set fire to the rigging, little of it burnt, since God kept it for the preparation of the fleet, which would have been impossible without it.

At the news of the Mindanaos, they sent two galleys under one commander, to prevent them joining with the Dutch, and to try to scatter them, so that although they had thirty-five caracoas, that could have been done without any danger, because the ships are such that they could be sent to the bottom with just an oar: he went out to look for them, and going into the night, because of the nearness the Dutch, he was not perceived, and found the Mindanao in the best situation that could be desired. They [the Mindanao] had the intent and desire to win honour, since with all their fleet they were in a river called Baco on the island of Mindoro,²⁹ and the galleys were positioned at the mouth of the river, it was impossible for even a single caracoa to get out. That way when the enemy learnt that the galleys were there, [f. 39r] they were disturbed, so that their prize escaped, and begged the captives to intercede for them, being determined on seeing the galleys, to desert their caracoas, and to go inland into the mountain, where no-one would have escaped. But they lacked the courage to undertake the most glorious enterprise, and one of importance for all the kingdom, that offered itself on that occasion; and, turning about, he went to another island, claiming that there was a heavy wind, and that he did not dare enter until it ceased, in order not to run the risk of losing a galley, although this withdrawal was not without advantage, since he came across one of the ships that had sailed for New Spain from Manila, which was coming back to port, and if he had not warned it, would have fallen into the hands of the Dutch, not knowing that they were in the mouth of the bay, with this although the wind ceased at midnight, he did not return until the afternoon of next day, and they told him, as soon as the enemy learnt that he had gone, with great glee they had taken flight for their country, and with so great fear, that they did not wait for one another.

It would appear that Our Lord was doing everything he could to encourage them to get the fleet ready: because at the same time news arrived that the two ships that they had despatched [f.39v] that year from New Spain, with the goods of the city, and the aid sent by the viceroy, both in money and men for Maluku, had been forced to put in at Japan in July because of the vendavals;³⁰ and that the almiranta had been lost, although the goods and men had escaped: and having awaited favourable weather there, the commander, called Don Fran-

²⁹13°21' N, 121°7' E.

³⁰The vendavals are gale force winds.

cisco de la Serna, had come, and arriving on the coast of Pangasinan, twenty leagues from where the Dutchman was, and having news of this, he went into a port there, and with the help of the Alcalde Mayor of that province, they discharged the ship, and took away the artillery, and fortified themselves with two hundred soldiers it carried, so that if the Dutch got word, they could defend themselves, and as quickly as they could, they carried the silver and everything else to the city. The enemy got the news, but at a time when everything was safe except the ship, which our men had to set on fire, so that the enemy could not take it.

God was encouraging them in this way, and ordaining what was to be done; they appointed Master-of-camp Don Juan Ronquillo as commander, who immediately went to the port to put [f.40r] into effect the getting ready of six galleons, since the others could not be made ready. Trustworthy persons were despatched to send what was necessary from the islands. On the other hand, tests of the artillery were begun, and what burst was refounded, which it all proved satisficing post, so that no piece turned out badly. All were encouraged, he who had means, to give what was needed, to go out to fight the enemy. The enemy, seeing that the season for the coming of the Chinese merchants had arrived, left the mouth of the bay, and went twenty leagues away to a port called Playa Honda³¹, where all the Chinese ships come to reconnoitre the land, and where the other Dutchman who surrendered to Juan de Silva was pillaging in the year of 1610. Thereupon, the entrance of the bay being unoccupied, they sent for the almiranta, which had put in and had been unladen. They brought it to the port, laden with the provisions that had been collected there with the intention that if the enemy gave the chance, as it did, to bring them in the said ship. In the end everything turned out as desired. The ship carried thirty pieces of artillery, with which they could get it ready, since it did not have to be repaired. The yards were squared on seven galleons, so that in the one that carried the least artillery there were thirty heavy bronze pieces. Then captains and commanders were appointed for the galleons, and giving each one of the commanders the job of leading and carrying the soldiers and inhabitants who attached themselves to him; whereupon each labored to solicit and attract not only his friends, but also others. The commanders were the following:³² of the galleon San Juan Bautista, Admiral Pedro de Heredia; of the galleon San Miguel, Admiral Rodrigo de Vilastigui; of San Felipe, Captain Sebastian de Madrid; of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, Capitán Juan Bautista de Molina; of San Lorenzo, Captain Azevedo; and the galleon San Marcos, which was named the almiranta, since it had been on the expedition with Don Juan de Silva that he made to Malacca, was given to Don Juan de la Vega, son of Doctor Vega, Oidor of the Royal Audiencia. There were many disputes among the commanders over nominating the Almirante for many of them claimed it, especially Don Diego ones, who had been brought from Oton [Panay] for that purpose, although he had not recovered from his musket-wound. Also Hernando Muñoz

³¹Botolan, Zambales, 15°16' N, 120°0' E.

³²See (Costa, SJ 1961), p. 337 for a list of the ships in this fleet and their manning.

de Aramburo, who had come as Almirante of the caravels, and Francisco de la Serna, who had gone as commander of the ships, and at the time of the restoration [f. 41r] of the country was a very great soldier, who with twenty gentlemen, at his own expense served in that expedition. Also for certain reasons, which I cannot now say, those captains remained at odds. An error that was felt later, when there was no remedy. It is certain that no one would have escaped who would carry news of the enemy. Nevertheless, so that it might not appear that they were refusing the opportunity, they offered their persons: and Aramburo went as associate of the commander, being skilful in war, and to Don Diego was given a galley and the title of *Quatralvo*.³³ Don Alonso Enriquez took another galley, with the title of commander. And another Don Pedro de Almazan. The galleon El Salvador was the capitana, the best and largest galleon ever seen on the sea. It carried fifty heavy artillery pieces, many of them of twenty-five and thirty pound calibre: most of them of eighteen. The fleet left port on the eighth of April, [1617] in pursuit of the enemy. That afternoon, which was Saturday, it anchored at the mouth of the bay in order to ascertain where the enemy was, since they had already heard that the enemy had plundered many Chinese, and had filled their ships with great riches. It was learnt from a spy, who was the one who sent advices of what the enemy was doing, that six leagues from there [f. 41v] there were two ships, and the rest were at Playa Honda. That report was false, and was the reason why the most fortunate victory that could be desired, without bloodshed, and without any one escaping, was not obtained, as will be seen in this Relation. With this news the commander began to trim his sails, in order to reach the two ships by dawn, and finding nothing, he passed on to Playa Honda, where he arrived later than he could have done, more than two hours after the sun had risen. If the spy had not deceived them, they would have come upon the four of the enemy's ships at dawn, so that the commander with most of his men could have slept on shore, entertaining guests with the booty that had fallen into his hands. But when they spotted our fleet through a lookout, they were able to embark and to join the other two, which were coming with two more very rich prize ships of the Chinese. They spread their sails and went away together, and the fleets did no more that day than to watch each another, and our fleet always kept close, without losing sight of the enemy. In the morning of the next day, Friday, our fleet came up scattered, either because of not being able to follow the capitana, or through the fault of the pilots. What is the most certain thing is that faults are not investigated in the islands, nor are they punished, and because there was no almiranta to collect the ships. The capitana, the San Miguel, and the San Juan Bautista were very near the enemy, while the others were more than three leagues to leeward. The enemy wanted to enjoy the opportunity, and determined to grapple our capitana with all their fleet, which they had collected with great care, for it seemed to them that if she surrendered, the war would be ended believing that ship alone carried forces, and that the others could only be carrying the pretence of it. The enemy worked to get to windward, and our capitana, which was an excellent sailing

³³Commander of four galleys.

ship, did the same; but on tacking, the latter threw a rope to the galley of Don Alonso Enriquez and towed it a short distance, which allowed the enemy time to get to windward, so that they came down upon our fleet to attack it in the following order. The capitana in front and then the others, the bow of one against the stern of the one in front, and although they could have raked the San Juan Bautista, which was astern of the capitana, or have borne down upon the San Miguel, which lay to leeward, they only wanted to defeat the capitana, and since our ships could not get to windward, they passed it very closely, each ship raking it. But our capitana was not asleep, and kept responding in such a way that, although they came so close together, she made such haste that she gave each one a full broadside volley from that side, which was twenty-five pieces with which they were such that they did not dare to return the fire, so they gained nothing. That night: the enemy held a council of war, according to the testimony of some prisoners. Everyone thought to flee, as they had been surprised by the capitana; but their commander assured them that there was nothing to fear, that only the capitana had forces, and he dared to defeat it. Don Juan Ronquillo collected his fleet that night, and sent an order by the galley of Don Diego de Quiñones for each one should grapple with the one that fell to its lot, and for the San Lorenzo to act as a reserve in order to help the most needy. And the next morning 15 April, Saturday at dawn, our fleet bore down upon the enemy, and succeeded in getting to windward. Don Diego de Quiñones went with his galley to tell the commander, that he was waiting to attack the enemy. The commander gave the same order, and also to leave the enemy's capitana for him, and invoking our Lady of the most pure Conception, whom they had taken as patroness of that undertaking on their departure, they attacked the enemy. The Dutchman was confident, when they were aware of the dash of the Spaniards, that our men would board his ships when they grappled, for which they were prepared with so many [f. 43] stratagems, that all who boarded would perish, but Don Juan Ronquillo, having prepared for that, issued an order that no-one should board until the galleon with which he was fighting had surrendered. It was done so, and our capitana grappled with its adversary, and although almost all the crew were killed, she refused to surrender. Finally it to the point that she began to roll violently, a sign that she was going to the bottom, and our capitana drawing away from her, she sank. The commander, and several who were left, got into their small boat and escaped. They say that the ship contained many riches that had been pillaged on the coast of India, and the best that they had taken from the Chinese. That galleon was called the Sol Nuevo de Olanda, which set so miserably for them that day. Captain Juan Bautista de Molina was the first to grapple with another galleon, and the galley of Don Diego went to help him. She had already surrendered, and the Dutch had been made prisoners, when another galleon, on fire, bore down upon two galleons with which Rodrigo de Guillastegui had fought, and setting fire to one of them, which came down ablaze on the one defeated by Captain Molina, so that he was forced to ungrapple. Those two bore down on that of the Dutch almirante, with whom Pedro de Heredia [f. 43v] had grappled, and whom he had already defeated and most of whose crew he had killed, and when he saw

the two burning galleons, he threw off the grapples, and separated, with which he had the chance to escape, but in so bad a state that next day she went to the bottom, according to the report of some Indios, and Chinese who saw it. Capitán Sebastian de Madrid, going to grapple with another galleon, was killed by a musket-ball, and when ready to grapple, Don Juan de la Vega, with the galleon San Marcos, came between. Those on the San Felipe thought that he would grapple, but he made for the open sea, and when they saw him, they went after him. Capitán Azevedo grappled the other galleon, and after fighting very gallantly, the grapples were thrown off, whereupon both Dutch galleons took the opportunity to escape. That battle was the most bloody that ever was seen, since all had come with determined to die rather than surrender, as they did. San Felipe, San Juan Bautista, and San Marcos went in pursuit of the three galleons of the enemy: but since flight has so many advantages to the one escaping, the enemy threw overboard all their cargo into that sea, and their sails being wet, the sea became narrow for them, despite being so wide, and when dark night came, they changed their route, and our ships lost [f. 44r] sight of them, and with this the San Juan Bautista, the San Felipe, and the San Marcos changed their course, and returned from there two days later, for the evil event that tainted this victory.

The commander determined to sail to Manila, because they had no drinking-water, and the galleon San Miguel was leaking badly, and they were unable to overcome it with the pumps, and that of Pedro de Heredia arrived at the mouth of the bay in very bad condition. Next day two other galleons belonging to the enemy, which had not been there, came to the place of the battle. They brought a captive Japanese ship, laden with flour. Not knowing what had happened, they saw the San Marcos coming. One of them went to reconnoitre, and when she saw that it was ours went to advise its companion. They both bore down upon our ship, which set sail for the shore: and for reasons known to its commander, and I think because of despicable advisors, the ship ran aground and caught fire, so near the enemy that the latter flung at them a thousand insults. The largest galleon there was in the fleet, apart from the capitana, was lost, with thirty-six pieces of heavy artillery, most of which have been taken off. The commander was seized, and Capitán Pedro de Ermura and Salvador Venegas de Oñate his companions. [f.44v] The most notable thing is that this galleon was lost on the very day of St Mark, by whose intercession Don Juan de Silva had obtained the last victory.

Don Juan Ronquillo heard what had happened to Don Juan de la Vega, and set out in search of the enemy, but he was unable to reach them, for a Dutch boy aboard the San Marcos escaped by swimming and went to the enemy, to whom he related what had happened, with which she set sail for Japan, laden with spoils.

It seems that there was some doubt as to whether the enemy had ten galleons, since six fought, and the two above mentioned, what became of them? I answer that by saying that one fled on the day of battle, without wanting to fight, for which reason its captain was hanged in Maluku. The commander dismissed the other ship, after the engagement with Don Diego de Quiñones had happened,

with the wounded and some sick, and principally because the galleon was taking much water.

In the galleon *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*, Captain Molina carried a sacred image of Our Lady in a wooden tabernacle, and an 18 pound ball entered through a porthole, and hit the tabernacle of the image, and knocked it into a thousand splinters: [f. 45r] which, with the ball, I saw with my own eyes, yet the image was on its base, which was at the base of the tabernacle, without a hair of it being touched, which is a very obvious miracle.

In the galleon *San Juan Bautista* Pedro de Heredia was carrying another image of our Lady, painted on a board beside a crucifix. Another ball of twelve pounds entered and hit it on the breast, without doing it other harm than that the gold with which the drapery had been done, stuck to the ball, and fell there at her feet, while the board was unbroken which I certify since I saw it.³⁴

In the capitana ship an artilleryman went below deck to fire a piece with which he had fired several shots, and lighting it three times, when on similar occasions without that the powder took, but it would not go off. The artilleryman was surprised and approaching to see what was the matter found the piece open, so that if it had taken fire, it would have caused a very great disaster, and even could have burnt the ship: from which it can be clearly seen that the Our Lady, the Virgin, our Lady, was not slothful on that occasion. Neither was the city of Manila at all, because they carried Our Lady of Guidance,³⁵ On 9 August 1578, the King declared Our Lady of Guidance as the sworn patroness of Manila who is outside the walls, in solemn [f. 45v] procession to the cathedral, whose dedication is to the Immaculate Conception, and all the people confessed and received communion: and exposing the Most Holy Sacrament, all accompanied it during all those days, making many devotions to God and to His Blessed Mother, which were also answered. May He be blessed for ever. Amen. [f. 46r]

1 Part II

Second part, in which is treated the importance that the Philippines have, and the means of conserving them.

Chapter I. On how important it is to Your Majesty to conserve that Kingdom.

For many reasons, which those who have not heard the full news about the Philippines do not know³⁶ how important to Your Majesty is the conservation

³⁴A slightly longer, but very similar, account of these events is to be found on 155r–164r in the Jesuit annual letter reporting events of 1616 in Vatican Philipp. 6, f. 162r–v, which forms part of an unsigned report of the whole battle, *Relacion de los sucessos de Guerra que a avido en las Islas Philipinas desde el setiembre pasado 1616 hasta este Abril de 1617*, addressed to the Jesuit Father General.

³⁵Our Lady of Guidance is patroness of seafarers and travellers.

³⁶BR translate *ignoran* as ‘ignore’.

and increase of those islands, I shall put them here as clearly as possible.

The first is the increase and extension of the holy Gospel, and the glory and honour of God, which is so incumbent upon Your Majesty. First, because Your Majesty has inherited from your blessed father, and glorious ancestors, this pious and holy zeal for extolling and extending the holy Catholic faith, by reason of which Your Majesty enjoys the wealth of the Indies. On the other hand, because it is so suitable to the greatness of Your Majesty's [f, 46v] monarchy, and your reputation, since to leave what has been begun would be a great scandal before the world, and the occasion of great criticisms from all its nations, especially from the heretics, who would say that it was not the glory of God that moved Your Majesty, nor the conservation of the Indies, but [your] interest, since where you had none, you left Christianity to perish.

The second, which affects your royal conscience, if you should not conserve them while possible.

The third is for reason of state, since it would amount to giving your enemies arms, and forces against Your Majesty, and encouraging others to the same, those who are envious of the greatness of Your Majesty, and it could well be inferred that since they are attempting this with so much expense and efforts, they have understood its importance to them, the possibility of which can be easily understood,; they could not persevere so long with only their own forces, if they were not secretly incited by the secret enemies of Your Majesty, and those envious and fearful of your greatness, knowing clearly that, if they could possess that archipelago without opposition it would be worth more to them than eight millions in savings, as I will demonstrate to whoever may be curious to know it, through the profit which they can make through [f.47r] spices, drugs, and the trade with Great China, Japan, and the surrounding countries.

The fourth is, because the whole of Portuguese India would immediately be infallibly lost, and, if it is not, it is because we harass the enemy from the Philippines so much that they need all their forces in order not to lose what they have.

The fifth, is the knowledge (as is evident) of the immense wealth that there is in the Philippines, as I shall explain later in this treatise, which up to now has not been recognized.

The sixth, would be to lose the most convenient and important post that Your Majesty has in all his kingdoms, both for the extension of the holy Gospel in so many kingdoms of idolaters, capable of receiving it, since these are in the region of the Philippines, and at the same time the hope of enjoying the immense riches that they possess through trade and commerce, not to mention the risk in which the West Indies would be left via the south.³⁷ [f. 47v]

³⁷I.e. round South America. This last clause has been added to what is in the 74 folio version, and the following long chapter of six folios is entirely new.

*Chapter II. In which are answered those who feel that the Philippines should be left, or exchanged with the Crown of Portugal for Brazil.*³⁸

The lack of knowledge of the Philippines and of what can consequently be done with them, has been the reason many ministers of Your Majesty, and other prominent persons, have a poor opinion of them, and so it has seemed to them more expedient to be rid of them, and to others that they should be exchanged with the crown of Portugal for Brazil.³⁹ All the reasons they give for this, reduce to five. The first is that they cost Your Majesty from his royal patrimony, without bringing benefit. The second, is that in order to avoid the means necessary to maintain them, silver from New Spain should not pass to Great China, cutting off commerce with the latter. The third, is because of the troops who are consumed. And the fourth, is that since Your Majesty is so stretched, it is appropriate to attend first to the relief most necessary, which is matters here, and since you cannot attend to all, it is unavoidable to leave that [country]. Finally, what belongs to Your Majesty is so scattered, it cannot be conserved without gathering together the most essential, since [f. 48r]⁴⁰ power united is stronger, or having already been convinced to maintain the Philippines, the commerce should be changed from New Spain to these kingdoms, and ships should be sent from the city of Seville to the Philippines, as is done from Portugal to East India, and that for this trade the ships should go laden with merchandise from here, and in exchange for that should bring back their riches from Great China and those regions.⁴¹

Responding to the first, it costs Your Majesty much to conserve that country, it is true, but they do not consider that those expenditures which are made, are not for the purpose of conserving the Philippines, at least since Don Pedro de Acuña, your Governor, won the islands of Maluku, where cloves are obtained, for since then the expense has been to sustain the war against the Dutch, who have been fortifying and making themselves masters there, and because it was not understood here in the beginning, and later, how important it would be to spend what was necessary to drive them out once and for all, and to secure those regions. This has been the cause of spending so much on reinforcements, which have not served, and still do not serve to conserve them: forces that Your Majesty keeps in the islands of Terrenate, and Tidore, and the friendship of the king of Tidore, [f.48v] and this is the cause of the expenses that Your Majesty has in the Philippines, the Dutch taking away almost all the benefits, although it is certainly true that if Your Majesty had had zealous ministers there in your

³⁸This is a whole new chapter not in the 74 folio memorial.

³⁹Cf. de Morga's letter on this issue in de Morga 1909, pp. 348–359, and p. 128 of the book. Boxer 1946, p. 158, suggests that it was de los Ríos who proposed this exchange, but my reading is that de los Ríos is arguing against both the abandonment of the philippines, and also the proposed exchange for Brazil.

⁴⁰This folio is misnumbered as 28.

⁴¹De los Ríos does not even break the sentence here but I believe, with BR, that a new paragraph here makes things clearer.

service, you could have gained enough to sustain those forces without taking from your Royal Treasury, and the same could be done when you wished. The means for this are not in place, and accordingly I postpone them. When Your Majesty should wish to know them, I will inform you of them. From this it may be inferred that the Philippines are not the cause of these expenses, and those that previously were incurred there, as will be explained later about the same, exceeded the support with which Your Majesty sustained them. The kings, Your Majesty's father and grandfather, did this for two reasons. One, considering the glory of God and the spread of His holy Gospel, since they enjoyed the title of patrons of the Church, upon whom it would seem this obligation rests. And second, because of the favourable situation of that post for obtaining from it more wealth than from all the rest of the Indies, and if this has not hitherto been enjoyed, the country is not to blame, but those who have governed it, for reasons that cannot be said here. [f. 49r]

To the second, that they say much silver passes to the Philippines and fails to come to Spain. What happens is, that to obviate this problem, Your Majesty has ordered that the citizens of the Philippine Islands, in order to support themselves, be permitted, in return for the merchandise which they send to New Spain, to have sent back to them 500,000 pesos of 8 reals. And they say that in this transmission a much greater quantity passes, and as it is an easy thing to increase the zeros in an account, by this they have made more than double, and three times double, basing their figures on what an Oidor of the Philippines wrote to this court, claiming services so that he might get rewards, that in going from New Spain as commander, and the *capitana* in which he sailed was lost, he had placed the commercial silver worth 3 million[peso]s in a safe place. The truth is that he exaggerated to enhance the value of his service, more than half. Because this matter could not be concealed from us who were there, and so much silver has never passed as in that year, and if this service was entitled to as much as it was, it deserved a great punishment, and not the reward that he was seeking here. It is true that since then as much again passes with the permission Your Majesty grants. The causes of this excess are two. One, the necessity of the citizens, who with so [f. 49v] small a quantity, cannot support themselves, nor make profit from trade, since, if there is no more than five hundred [thousand pesos sent], they need [all] what is sent them simply to eat, and so, although at much cost to themselves, they seek ways of making profits from their property, and permission for this being so limited, they having this inconvenience, which I have said, since what will enrich them has first to be obtained, since the riches of their vassals are of so great importance to kings, and need so much lessens their ability, and if this reason holds in all the kingdoms of Your Majesty, so much more in one so distant, where when it is necessary to lend to the Royal Treasury on unavoidable occasions, as last year to Don Alonso Fajardo de Tenza,⁴² to whom they lent 200,000 ducats, to lead a fleet against

⁴²This appears to refer to Fajardo's loan-raising mentioned in his letter of 10 August 1619 (see BR XVIII, p. 275). However, since the present chapter was written in 1621, and is not found in the 1619 74 folio predecessor, 'last year' should mean 1620, but it seems he is referring to the loans in 1619.

the Dutchman, and their slaves to man four galleys, and they have done the thing on other occasions, and risking their persons in war, and dying in it, as many of the best men of that city died, their misfortune being in this, that they were so far distant from the royal eyes of your Majesty, wherefore their services are not noticed.

The other is the greediness of the merchants from Mexico, whose is the greater part of this silver that [f. 50r] passes to the Philippines, which, if this could be remedied, the inconvenience of so much passing of silver as they say would be removed. The remedy for this is not to send judges and guards there who will not let it pass, who, as we have experienced before, go to enrich their salaries for from what Your Majesty gives them, and the profits they get from that, by which name the ill-gained wealth is christened in all those parts, and the silver that goes there, is of no less value to the Royal Trasury than what comes here, since the investment of it pays no fewer duties, but more, and at least it passes into the hands of our friends, and is not like that that comes to Spain, the major part of which is enjoyed by the enemies of Your Majesty, and the fleets go more heavily laden with their property than with that of your vassals.

The merchants of Seville complain that the trade with China has been destroyed by the Indies. They do not understand the cause of its ruin, the Marquis de Montesclaros, who governed New Spain, and Peru, and understood this matter, and many others, very well, wrote a letter to Your Majesty from the Indies, which is in your Royal Council, where he says with clear and evident arguments: 'But what strikes me more, is, that as the most common and [f. 50v] most universal means of exploiting the mines is mercury, this loss is caused by giving it so dearly to the miners, because first, being the poorest, they cannot buy it, and therefore they leave much metal unexploited, and on the other hand, because those who are able to buy it cannot work poor mines, since they would lose by them, and as the greater part of those there are in the Indies are of this kind, twice the silver is left unmined, and if Your Majesty would order the quicksilver to be given at cost, plus expenses, it would be incomparably more profitable than today; and the Indies would be better off, more merchandise would be bought, and the duties would increase, and the merchants would not miss the silver that goes to the Philippines, as they did not feel it in other times, although there came much more merchandise from there than now, and if only there were such an abundance of mercury in the Indies, and so cheap, that not only the miners, but also other Spaniards and Indios, could buy it, so that there would then be so much silver, that their complaints would cease.'

And if the trade passed to Spain, those that say that the merchandise from here to that land [the Philippines], in exchange for the goods there, do not know that in those parts there is no one [f. 51r] to buy [Spanish] goods, except the Spaniards, who would have more than enough with four casks of wine, and other titbits, and that, if this were so, the Portuguese and Dutch would carry off [the merchandise], for nothing escapes them, and these all take silver, and the rest they take is of little importance, so that it would soon be essential, in order to maintain the trade, to carry silver from Spain, and risk it once more,

and it is less trouble to carry it from the Indies [by the other route], apart from the incomparably greater risk from the sea, and from enemies, and New Spain would be ruined.

To the third, in which they say that many troops are used up, I say that it is true that each year sometimes two hundred men [go], and other years less, and others none, and of these more die from loose living, than from war, and they do not count those who return and go through India, and other parts, and if for this inconvenience those [islands] were to be abandoned, the same reason holds in Flanders and Italy, which consume more men in one campaign than the Philippines in 20 years.

To the fourth, that because Your Majesty is so hard pressed, he needs must attend to matters here, etc. In no way is it appropriate for Your Majesty to abandon that country, because of the dependence of all the Indies upon it, [f. 51v] because if the Dutch possessed that archipelago, which is what they are trying to do, they would extract from it resources to destroy the Indies, not only by the power that they have, but also with the opportunity of keeping the port open in those regions where Your Majesty could not defend himself, without spending a lot more than the profits of the Indies, for which reason it is necessary to conserve that [country], as well as all the rest, since, for the same reason, it costs Your Majesty in conserving Havana, Puerto Rico, Santo Domingo, and Jamaica, Florida, and Tierrafirma [the whole continent of South America], without any benefit, simply because of the damage that the enemies could do in the Indies, and not only for this reason are the Philippines important to Your Majesty, but for another of no less importance that these countries do not have, which is the great benefit that can be extracted from them.

To the fifth, I say that although generally the common saying is true, that united forces are stronger, yet there are occasions in which such a union, not only consists in gathering them, but also in conserving the parts of which the whole is composed, although these are distant from one another, like those which Your Majesty holds in his monarchy, and at first, when the Philippines were [f. 52r] discovered, this could have been done without detriment when that country was new and strange,⁴³ unknown to the nations of Europe, uncivilized and unkempt. No-one wanted it until Philip the Second of blessed memory brought it to notice, and although it would have been abandoned, there was no-one who craved it, but now that the great riches buried in it are well-known, all are covetous of it, and trying to take it from Your Majesty, so that they can carry on the war with it, [a matter] that the exceedingly prudent grandfather of Your Majesty considered well, for he regarded not only the service which he was doing to Our Lord God, by spreading his Catholic Faith and bringing so many souls to knowledge of Him, but also that, at the rate at which it was growing, it would increase for his posterity. He told the greater nobility, who were persuading him to abandon it that, if the silver of the Indies was not enough, he would send what was needed from Spain,⁴⁴ since if Your Majesty possesses the Indies, with

⁴³Interpreting *nī na estrangera*, with BR, as ‘new and strange’.

⁴⁴Cf. the reported comment of his son, King Philip III, in response to Fr de Moraga on

so honourable a warrant as that of the Catholic Church, in order to convert souls, and there has been and is being taken such riches from the Indies, where your reputation and Royal conscience are so much pledged, what reason can be so pressing that you should not attempt the maintenance [f. 52v] of that country with great care and effort, where the obligation of Your Majesty is so pressing, and what excuse would you have before the Divine Majesty, for not aiding it in time if, for this reason, so many millions of souls should regress from the Faith, and the great multitude who, it is hoped, will come to the knowledge of the true God, in whose hand, as David says: *Domini est terra, & plenitudo eius, Orbis terrarum, & omnes qui habitant in eo.*⁴⁵ Who but He gives kingdoms and monarchies? For how could He be under greater obligation, if there is any way in which to oblige Him from whom nothing is due, than to procure His greater honour and glory in the salvation of souls, which cost him so much, since He certainly paid for these services, both here and in heaven, bountifully: the holy Scripture is full of examples. What blessings did He shower upon Obededom for receiving the Ark of the Covenant:⁴⁶ and what favours has the most fortunate house of Austria⁴⁷ received from His hand, which was prefigured in that manna that was sent from him. God is very generous, and knows well how to conduct the affairs of him who charges himself with His, and on the other hand those who put temporal good before His service, what outcomes can they hope in this? I could well cite many examples, [f. 53r] which I omit, so that I may not exceed the limits of a memorial.

And although the example that some give of the king of Great China, who abandoned many kingdoms of which he was lord, in order to conserve his own, it is not proposed to Your Majesty so to conserve yours, for Great China is very extended and has as many [people] as eight Spains, and its king has one hundred and fifty million[peso]s of revenue—more rather than less—completely enclosed by nature and artifice, and what he abandoned, moreover, he was not compelled to do, nor with any risk of putting himself in a position to make enemies, and where these reasons hold, those who advised this are right.

Chapter III. How the city of Manila sustains the burden of all this structure.

I have already said how the city of Manila is like the centre of a circle, whose circumference is all the aforesaid kingdoms. It remains to give an understanding

p. 152 of the book.

⁴⁵The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof, the world, and all they that dwell therein (Psalm 24, v. 1).

⁴⁶II Samuel, 6, v. 10 and I Chronicles 13, v. 14 have virtually the same text: 'So David would not remove the ark of the Lord unto him into the city of David: but David carried it aside into the house of Obededom the Gittite. And the ark of God continued in the house of Obededom the Gittite three months: and the Lord blessed Obededom, and all his household.'

⁴⁷BR XI, note [45] states regarding the Library of Congress copy they were using: In the margin is written, in an ancient hand: 'For the singular veneration which the archduke of Borgoña showed to the most holy sacrament of the eucharist.'

of how it sustains all this structure, and all its burden.

First, it maintains the war on Maluku and feeds it with troops, supplies, and munitions [f. 53v] every day, which Portuguese India could not do. I argue in this way, so that it may not appear as affection only for my own country, and not for fairness. It must be considered, that one cannot go to Maluku from India more than once each year, because of the weather. This is well-known to all those who sail on those seas, and from Manila the voyage can be made almost throughout the year, from which it follows that it could not be reinforced so conveniently [if the Philippines were abandoned], especially in cases of great need.

Item. They [in India] are less able to send and receive news of the difficulties in which they find themselves, in order to seek aid, for they are far away, and there is no favourable weather to set out except during a certain monsoon of the year, and still less to come from there.

Item. Because of the lack of resources in India, for it is well-known that that country is quite exhausted, and news is coming every day to Manila from Maluku, since information comes, and aid is sent, in a fortnight or less, and because of the abundance [in Manila] of provisions and other necessary things that Your Majesty provides them.

Item. Because, besides the troop garrisons that Your Majesty has in Maluku, you have warships that discomfort the enemies, and it is necessary for the benefit that they obtain, that they should not buy⁴⁸ [f. 54r]⁴⁹ it cheaply, having to maintain many forts and armed ships for the safety of trade, because of the Spaniards from the Philippines, without whom being there, they would have no enemy able to cause them concern, nor occasion for expense.

Item. Because the trade from Manila with Great China is the reason the Chinese cannot trade freely with the Dutch, otherwise they would be forced to drain so much merchandise from their land, and to satisfy the greed the Dutch have.

Item. The check and caution that is imposed on the enemy to stop them ranging further for fear of encountering our [forces], and so they do not sail on those seas, except with great caution.

Item. The city of Manila is a meeting- and trading-place for many nations, who protect each other, which proves how important it is to maintain it, for the greatness and reputation of Your Majesty with all those nations, and with all the world, since they see with how few vassals you subject [it], and make so many nations tremble, with the help of God who protects them, surrounded by the many enemies that you have, even inside the gates, and with all this [f. 54v] they live in as much security (but not negligence) as if there were no [enemies].

⁴⁸BR XIX, note [46] says: Thus in the text (comprar); but the context would suggest that this was a slip for “sell.” However, the British Library copy has *les es necesario para el provecho que sacan no lo compran barato*, which I interpret as meaning that the enemy has to pay dearly for what it gains.

⁴⁹The number of this folio is misprinted as 45,

Chapter IIII. Explains the misapprehension under which all commonly are, that the money for assistance, and other matters, that Your Majesty sends to the Philippines, is spend to sustain them, and how they have the possibility to sustain themselves, were it not for Maluku.

Since Your Majesty sent an order, and command to Don Pedro de Acuña, that he should go with a force of troops to recover Maluku, which the Portuguese had lost, all the assistance of money, troops, and munitions that have since been raised here, is spent in maintaining the forts of Maluku, and the great quantity that Don Juan de Silva spent was on the expeditions which he made. And not only has this been spent, but Manila and all the islands are today ruined for this reason, besides the imposition on Your Royal Treasury, so that if it had to pay what is due to the Indios, excluding what it owes the citizens, that would be more than two million[peso]s. If it had not these calls upon its revenues, [f. 55r] there would be enough to maintain it without costing Your Majesty more than the gains that he obtains from them, as may be seen by what follows, which was obtained from the Royal books of the Real Contaduria, with all fidelity.⁵⁰

⁵⁰Compare Chaunu 1960, pp. 43–46 and Alonso Alvarez 2003 at p. 72. Chaunu lists the tributes for 1601-1605 at 16,565.20, 1606-1610 at 11,644.80, 1611-1615 at 16,477.00 but only 3,858.00 for 1616-1620.

| | |
|--|--------------------|
| There are taxes to the royal crown, amounting to 36,516 tributes and a half, ⁵¹ of which 28,483 and a half of eight reales are collected. The rest, amounting to 5,033 of ten reales, which is the province of Ilocos, amounts to ⁵² | 39,807.ps.2 |
| There are in all the islands 130,939 tributaries in <i>encomiendas</i> , ⁵³ and those under the crown pay Your Majesty two reales of income. | 32,734. |
| The tenths of gold are worth | 2,000. |
| Tenths on herds of cattle | 2,500. |
| <i>Almojarifazgo</i> ⁵⁴ duties on the Chinese, at six per cent on the merchandise. | 80,000. |
| Licences that don Iuan de Silva imposed [f. 55v] on each Chinese who remains in the country, at eight pesos. | 80,000. |
| Duties on citizens' clothing that they bring from Mexico in the galleons. | 2,500. |
| <i>Almojarifazgo</i> duties on merchandise of citizens of Manila on ships that come to Mexico, at 3 per cent. | 12,000. |
| Other small items, 4,000 pesos | 4,000. |
| Which altogether adds up and makes | <u>255,541.ps.</u> |

In this way Your Majesty has, from year to year, a little more or less than two hundred and fifty thousand *reales* at eight [pesos], and in this, there are included neither the freight charges on the ships that go to New Spain, which are more than another 30,000 pesos, nor the twelve per cent paid there on the merchandise that is sent, because this goes into the Royal Treasury of Mexico. And the expenses that Your Majesty has in those islands, are not so great that, if it were not necessary as a means of sustaining the war in Maluku [f. 56r] with the Dutch, there would be a surplus rather than a deficit, and you could well maintain four galleons, and six galleys, for its protection, and defence.

Chapter V. How Your Majesty possesses in the Philippines enormous wealth, with the little effort it demands to realize it.

What most discourages many ministers of Your Majesty, and even prevents others who manage your royal service in order not to give credence to great things, has been the incredulity that they have regarding the greatness that there is in the Indies, starting from the first discoverers, as is well known. For not only are we to believe that the Holy Spirit gave them that impulse to persevere in their intentions, even if that were not (which ought not to be believed) the glory of God, and the saving of souls. Our Lord, who sought by those means to achieve

⁵⁴This should be 33,516, which then agrees with the figure on f. 79r.

⁵⁴The sum quoted is very puzzling. A calculation gives 34,774 pesos 6 *reales*.

⁵⁴This should be 130,936 to make the peso amount correct, but de los Ros on f. 79r, earlier said 130,938.

⁵⁴*Almojarifazgo* was customs duty paid on goods sent out of the country.

His work, gave them so much perseverance, and strength, breaking through the middle of so many difficulties, so much opposition and so many hard rebuffs that, indeed, if one looked at and read the history of the Indies, it would seem that men would not be able to suffer so much without God encouraging them, for whose cause they persisted in their [f. 56v] intentions, so much increasing the grandeur of the kings of Spain. And although since then some have tried to imitate them, more desirous of wealth and honour than moved by God, and have had ill success, they ought not to be condemned for that, and all reprov'd, without first examining their intentions, and aims, and the substance of the affairs they are conducting.

I have said this briefly, for in what I want to say, I think there will be many of this type, just as it is imprudent to believe everyone, it would be the opposite vice to give credit to no one.

In the Philippine Islands, in so far as I have been able to guarantee, and I consider it certain, Your Majesty has, without going to conquer others kingdoms, the greatest wealth that has been seen in the Indies. I base this on these arguments, for in all those islands it is well known, and established.

After the Spaniards founded the city of Manila, and pacified that island, they learnt that, in some mountain ranges that lie some forty leagues [220 km] from the city in the province of Pangasinan, there were many gold mines, according to the information that the Indios told them, but that they were inhabited by warlike and barbarous Indios, who never permitted [f. 57r] those of the plains to go up there, and this was known, because they came down at certain times of year to buy a quantity of cattle, and brought a great deal of gold.

On this information, although somewhat unclear, Guido de Labezaris,⁵⁵ who governed then, sent some soldiers to go up the mountain, who, being unprovided with what was necessary for the trip, and with less troops than were needed, encountered much resistance from the natives, and as the country is rough, and their food soon ran out, they went back, many of them ill, and although they brought some information, it was not sufficient to encourage the Governor nor to cause him to return to pursue it, whereupon, little by little, this knowledge was dying out among the Spaniards, notwithstanding that the religious who administered the neighbouring provinces, knew much, and certain Indios told them of it. And so, considering the host of vexations, injuries, and harm, and the losses that happen to the Indios in all the West Indies through labour in the mines, the Order of St Dominic in particular who administer the province of Pangasinan, where those from the mountain report, have tried with all their might to confuse with this information, because of this fear that they have.

Many years ago I learnt something of this, but I sided with the others who gave it little credit, based on little knowledge, but as time is a great revealer of secrets, while I was discussing with some religious the difficulties of the future, which the Kings of Spain (successors of Your Majesty) must meet in maintaining that country, if there were no wealth in [the country] itself, and interest that would oblige them to it, I came to get much information about the great wealth

⁵⁵Labezaris, Lavezaris or Labaçaes governed 1572–1575. See BR XIV, p. 281.

that is there, and particularly, he who is now archbishop⁵⁶ told me that a Dominican religious, the vicar of a town called Vinalatonga,⁵⁷ who was called Fray Jasinto Palao,⁵⁸ who has now come from there to this kingdom [Spain], had shown him some rocks that an Indio had brought from a mine, which looked quite extraordinarily rich, and never before seen, but he enjoined secrecy, because he himself had been so instructed. I, who desired the conservation of that country, took the opportunity to become friends with that religious, to be better informed. Under pretence of curiosity, I asked him to tell me what he knew of those mines. To which the religious, who was [f. 58r] already en route to return, told me that it was true what he had told me, and further, he said: ‘No one knows as much as I, because some Indios came there from the mountains, and I looked after them. They told me that there was much gold up there, and that of what they took from the mines half the ore was gold.’ And he said that one of them, seeing pieces of eight, who was already somewhat versed in our language, said to him: ‘We have much of this metal there, Father, much in the mines, but the Indio wants nothing but gold.’

I conferred with the bishop of Nueva Segovia, as that province falls under his jurisdiction, who was Don Fray Diego de Soria, a Dominican, and with another religious provincial of the same order, called Fray Bernardo de Santa Catalina, in regard to this matter, and I gave them so many arguments to incline them to my opinion that they came to my view, and what most convinced them, was persuading them that the same reason did not hold there as in New Spain and Peru, for ill-treating the Indios, since there are so many Chinese, who are raising their hands to God to find something to work at—as many as may be necessary—as was well known to them. With this they told me so much of the information that they knew for certain from various Indios, not only from the Christians, [f. 58v] some of whom had gone up peacefully to trade, but also from those from above, who came down to the province, the bishop certifying that there was the greatest wealth in the world, and that they had brought him from one hill a little red earth, of which the whole hill is composed, which was as much as they could put upon a silver platter, and they washed it in front of him, getting seven *tales* of gold, which is forty-four Castellanos.⁵⁹ And he asserted that in every part of the hill, all the earth was of that richness. With all this information, I went to Don Juan de Silva, and told him what had happened, and how I had placated the friars. He agreed that we should go and find it, and said that he would go in person on finishing his expedition, and death overtook

⁵⁶The Augustinian Fray Miguel García Serrano, see San Agustín, OSA 1998, p. 1014. He was bishop of Nueva Segovia from 1617–1618 and then archbishop of Manila 1618–1629.

⁵⁷Now called San Carlos, Pangasinan.

⁵⁸Jacinto Palao, see Ocio, OP, Neira, OP, and Arnáiz, OP 2000, vol. 1, p.103, went to the Philippines with the ninth Dominican mission. He was assigned to the house in Mangaldan from 1608–1610 and then to that of Binalatongan from 1610–1612. He returned to Mangaldan sometime in 1612–1614, but Ocio, OP, Neira, OP, and Arnáiz, OP 2000 does not have information on when he returned to Spain, nor his dates.

⁵⁹BR XIX, note [50]: An ancient Spanish coin, which in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella was worth 14 reales 14 maravedis of silver; but its value varied in subsequent reigns. See also Saez 1805, pp. 408–426.

him, as has been said, and so the matter has remained in this state. And even if there were not in these mountains the wealth of which we are told, it seems that the obligation to pacify these Indios persists, and that the Holy Gospel ought to be preached to them. One, because Your Majesty has undertaken so just and holy an enterprise. And on the other hand, because they are in the same island [as us]. It is a shame that, being in the neighbourhood of Manila, they do not enjoy the blessing that the others do. Besides this, because these as well as their neighbours will not let others trade in their [f. 59r] lands, by the law of nations, therefore, [the Spaniards] have a right of action.

The ease, and little cost, of the matter, is such that if the Governor would send one person, suitable for it, with two hundred soldiers from the garrison of Manila, and find a thousand Indios from the two provinces to help them, and transport the supplies, they would subdue them without difficulty, if he who does it is prudent, and has the desire to succeed in the enterprise. This is not the place to discuss the other measures and particulars in detail, but if Your Majesty would be served by doing this, I offer to advise all that needs preparing, and to resolve any doubts that may arise. And I profess before the Divine Majesty, that I am not moved by covetousness, nor do I wish that Your Majesty should grant me any favour for this, nor do I claim such in this way, but only the glory of God, the service of Your Majesty, and the welfare of that land.

Chapter VI. Of the persons who are needed to govern the Philippines.

One, and the principal, of the matters that are most needed for the conservation and growth of that kingdom, on which it [f. 59v] depends, like an effect on its cause, is that the governors should be such men as are suitable for that post, and have the requisites and qualities sought by that government, as there have been so few up to now who have gone there, and in whom those are found. It has slowed down the growth of that country much more than can be understood here.

For thirty years I have served in the Philippines, and I have not seen a governor as was needed there, except Gómez Pérez de las Marinas, who more improved, and bettered that land, in only three years when he governed, than all those together before or since. The reason for this has been, that those who have succeeded since then, either had not had been in government, or did not have the gift of God, which is so eminently required for this task, and there, although a soldier is needed who understands matters of war, and knows how to order, and direct as is appropriate, and if he is mild, he learns much more there through the counsel of those of wide experience, and through what experience can teach him, than through anything he can learn from here. And this is the reason, why matters there are very different from those here, as if we were speaking of other species, not only of people, and of their opinions,

but also of their [f. 60r] modes of life, and their dispositions. From this it has resulted that those who have wanted to work by the rules from here, have committed irremediable errors. But the principal thing that is appropriate there is that he should be a good public person, for the basis and foundation is to govern well, and act for the increase of the land, and to put all one's care towards its welfare, according good treatment to the citizens, showing kindness to foreigners, engaging and being affectionate to all, taking very great care to dispatch the ships from New Spain on time, and well prepared. Encouraging everyone to go to trade with the neighbouring kingdoms, to build ships, and to extend their own interests, and bring wealth from those lands. They should be not only governors, but also fathers, and protectors of the Indios, which [land], I assure you in all truth, if it had been so treated, would have been the best and richest land in the world, and Your Majesty would have had much benefit, and so all the misfortunes, and losses of property that have occurred there (which have been very great), have happened by reason of, and through the fault of, those who have governed, without any one so far having been punished, or his appointment taken away. And if Gomez Perez was successful, it was because he had already had experience in governing, and had been *corregidor* many times, where he was obliged to deal with [f. 60v] not only government matters, but also those of war, and above all, he was a very good Christian, and desirous of doing right, which is the basis, and whereon is founded all that is good, and so with his death, that country lost the flavour [*el ser* that he had given it, but his memory will endure for many years in that city, with his renown as the father of the country. He built a very strong wall around the city of Manila, and fortified it,⁶⁰ cast artillery, and performed many other works with no ado, nor cost to Your Majesty, and he took to Maluku the most illustrious fleet assembled in the Indies, without having raised the millions [of pesos] from Mexico that Your Majesty has ordered to be carried to other [governor]s, all with his good grace and diligence. Hence it can be inferred how very important it is to send a governor there with the qualities listed, since beyond so many advantages, and riches that he can achieve, and the evils he can prevent, he will be able to save Your Majesty many ducats which, if they could have been dispensed with these years, could have been saved. Your Majesty would be able to achieve much production, and wealth from them, and since Your Majesty trusts in him [the Governor of the Philippines] more than in all the other governors of the Indies, it is appropriate that you should search more carefully for such a man, than for any of the others, since not only does Your Majesty trust him with [f. 61r] a kingdom, but also with your reputation, and good name, since among so many, and diverse nations Your Majesty is known only through his governors, and further I dare to say, that thus they also know God. Since to [the Governor] is principally entrusted the honour, and the conversion of so many souls, for we have seen so clearly, how beneficial is his good example, and, on the other hand, he will abolish evil and scandal, not only there, but also that spreading

⁶⁰This wall was restored in the twentieth century to a very great extent after the decay of past centuries and the Allied bombing in the Second World War.

in Great China, and other nations, and such [nations] believe that our King is such, as they see bearing witness of whom he represents. And what is more to be deplored, is that, within the last years, there has been blasphemy against God, and Your Majesty among those infidels, for this reason. So great is the importance that Your Majesty send a person such as I have described here, and those who do not have these qualities will destroy rather than build.

Chapter VII. Of the measures that should be chosen for the growth, and conservation of that kingdom.

The first thing offered in this discourse, is discussion of matters of war with the Dutch, which is the basis and foundation for all the rest, for the enemy [f. 61v] is so set on its effort, and using so many means to get control of that archipelago, driving out the Spaniards from there.

Three ways and means present themselves for consideration, besides which I find no other, having considered it well.

The first, if it be possible for Your Majesty, is to consider sending an armed fleet. If, when Don Alonso Fajardo went as your Governor, he had taken the one that he had got ready, things would have come together, so that he could have driven out the enemy from their posts, together with the [fleet] that was in the Philippines, which was weakened in men, and artillery that it lost in Manila,⁶¹ and for this reason the natives of the Maluku Islands, fearful of the power of Your Majesty would enter our service.

This fleet, which I say Your Majesty would have dispatched, would have been a warning to the Governor of the Philippines, so that he should assemble there as great a force as he could, and provisions with which to resupply the fleet that went there from here, sending him the money for it from Peru or from New Spain.

But besides this, because of the pressure there is on Your Majesty, and the need to attend to other pressing matters, it is indeed true, [f. 62r] that considering how important it is to Your Majesty not to let the enemy become lord over that archipelago, since he would infallibly become that [i.e. lord] of the whole of India, and become more powerful than can be conceived here, another means offers itself, less costly in the meantime, and even though it will not result in dislodging them, at least it will occupy them so fully, and do so much damage, that the benefit they will get, they will buy very dearly.

This is, that Your Majesty should command the Governor of the Philippines to build eight galleys, and keep them in Terrenate, (I will explain what their cost would be, shortly) which would be of such great efficacy, as can be evidently be seen here by whoever considers these reasons, and the letter that Don Geronimo de Silva writes to his cousin, and another from Master-of-camp Lucas de Vergara

⁶¹See the report on the battle of Playa Honda in Part I, Chapter VII, of this memorial, beginning on p. 20, above.

to the Dean of Manila, and to me, of which I have the originals, I place at the end of this relation.⁶²

First, the enemy has no ports in those islands where it can shelter, and ordinarily his fleet goes about, one way and another, along the coasts. [f. 62v]

Second, every day in the year, or most of them, there are six or eight hours of dead calm, at which time galleys never meet a galleon on such an occasion, without taking it or sending it to the bottom, since what great effects they have produced has been seen by experience with a galley, and a galliot that the Spaniards have there.

Third, because of this proposal for the deployment of galleys,⁶³ the enemy will not dare to divide their forces among the trading posts to carry on their business, and having to sail together, they will have more expense than they can bear.

Fourth, the supplies will be taken away from their forts, because they have nothing with which to support themselves, unless they bring it from other islands. This would be very easy to do, and the enemy would have no means of remedying it. And the natives who are on their side, would have such terror that they would be obliged to come over to ours and if they were to do that, then with this, and by means of the skill of whoever governs there, and the negotiations that he would have with them, it is quite certain that it would leave the enemy lost, and not able to maintain himself one year in his forces, because the natives are the ones who aid, and sustain them, and give the cloves for his farm-profit. [f. 63r]

Fifth, that in all the trading posts where they do not have strongholds, especially in Bantan, which is in Greater Java, whither they carry all the spices to ship to Holland, it would be an easy matter to mount an invasion with the galleys that would take everything away, and burn them, and they have no port there for large ships, but only a bay where ships that anchor there are kept far from land in the mud, aground, so that they cannot take advantage of them when they want, and so the galleys could easily burn those they find there.

And if Don Juan de Silva had taken this measure, the enemy would already be finished, and Your Majesty would not have spent so much money, and drained the Philippine Islands so much.

Sixth, that the forces that Your Majesty has in Maluku would be maintained by these galleys with much less cost than at present it costs them, because, as there are no supplies in those islands, it is necessary to send them from the Philippines, which entails three difficulties. First, it makes them more expensive in that country, and they oppress its natives. Second, it costs Your Majesty a great deal, with the ships and [f. 63v] men that are needed to man them. And third, that the enemy takes much of the aid that they send. All of which would stop by keeping galleys there. For which it should be known, that the island of Makassar [Ujung Pandang] is very large, rich, and abundant, and lies two days' journey from Maluku, whose king desires our friendship, and has even sent to

⁶²This is actually at the end of this second part of the memorial, see p. 58. In the earlier 74 folio version it would indeed have been at the end.

⁶³*este medio de las galeras.*

the Governor of Ternate to ask for religious, as he says in the letter that is at the end of this relation.⁶⁴ And last year he wrote a letter to the Governor of the Philippines, offering to give all the supplies that he might need for the forces in Maluku, and that, if he did not have the money to pay for them, he would trust them until he had the money. Things are very cheap there, less than half that in the Philippines, and the said galleys could easily transport them, without the risk that they now have of being taken by the enemy, rather, on the contrary, those that the enemy carry from there, could be taken with ease, and they would perish from hunger. And with a modest amount of care taken with this king, he would, since he is so well disposed to Spaniards, be so devoted to Your Majesty, that he would not let the enemy enter his ports, further his friendship with them is already greatly strained, [f.64r] and there is a great disposition among all of them to receive the Gospel.

Seventh, as those islands have no posts where cloves may be laded, they [the Dutch] put their ships far from the artillery of their forces, which they cannot approach, and it will be easy to take them, or not let them load anything, and with the calms that there are, even if there were many ships, they could not aid one another, and whatever damage the galleys inflicted on them, which would at least be to unrig them, so that they could not sail, since there is nothing there with which to make a mast, nor a rudder.

Eighth, as they have many posts where they have only twenty-five or thirty men, with a squadron commander, and the forts have no ditches, nor drinking-water, they could be deprived of these any day with ease, and galleons would be of no use in such engagements, since they cannot vie with galleys, which can get under cover wherever they wish. And likewise it must be understood, that their forts having such risks of being taken, they need so many men, and so much to maintain them, that there is so little advantage to be gained by abandoning it, and this would really be to wage a handsome war, and cutting their throats with a wooden sword. And I assure [f. 64v] Your Majesty that this idea is not only mine, but also that of all experienced men from Maluku.

In this court there is Juan Gomez de Cardenas,⁶⁵ who had long talks in Japan with a Dutch factor, who never thought that this man was a vassal of Your Majesty. He made known to him the said reasons, and that they had nothing to fear nothing until Your Majesty should send there six or more galleys.

It now remains to tell the ease and little cost with which Your Majesty could maintain these galleys, and man them, and if this is explained for one, it holds in regard to all.

The hull of a galley in the Philippines with twenty-four benches, put together and fitted for sailing, costs four thousand ducats.

The gang to man it must be obtained in this manner. The Governor of the Philippines should send to Mindanao three hundred soldiers, with [the aid of] whom, besides setting free more than ten thousand captive Christians, vassals of Your Majesty in the Philippines, they would be able to capture men with which

⁶⁴In fact it is not included in this printed memorial.

⁶⁵This person is not named in the 74 folio earlier version though the incident is described there.

to crew the galleys. And if this means were not enough, by sending a frigate or two to Malacca for cloves on Your Majesty's account, would bring back negroes at two hundred [f. 65r] reales, more or less, with which to man them, who are very satisfactory, as experience has shown. And in order to maintain the gang, and replace those who would die, men could be captured daily from our enemies, on a thousand occasions, without fail.

The support of the pressed men is at very low cost, because they live on rice, fish, and a little jerked beef, which, besides, is often taken from the enemy there, and is very low in price when it has to be bought, than it is in the island of Macassar.

The third and last measure is, if these two fail, such that I dare not write it, for that is not expedient, but I will give account of it to Your Majesty when he may be pleased to know it. I shall not prolong this discourse further, nor say more of the root of the reasons, so as not to be too long, but when Your Majesty should be pleased to put into execution what has been proposedd, I shall resolve the doubts that may present themselves.

Second, the person who is to govern, should have the said requisites, for he is of the essence, and it is he who has to execute whatever Your Majesty commands, and orders, and whatever he may be, so will be all the rest, and so that this may not appear an exaggeration, I wish to prove it by evidence. [f. 65v]

There are dependent upon the Governor, not only the secular Spanish residents of those islands, but also the ecclesiastics., war, peace, the Royal Audiencia, the Archbishop, the Bishops, and all the other soldiers and residents, for it is he who must reward and honour them with offices of peace and war. He must assign the [space for]cargoes of the ships, and the benefits and amenities.

The Royal Audiencia, because he appoints their relatives and workers to offices and privileges, have to keep him content.

The Archbishop and Bishops, if they do not conform to his will, may have their temporal support taken away, for if he cannot do it with good cause, he can easily do it in other ways, and a thousand things that happen need be dealt with by the governor, and in the thousand matters that arise for him to manage in his government, he knows how to impose so many burdens and annoyances, that they see how dearly they pay for opposing him, or clashing with his wish.

The Cabildo of the Church is the same, and worse, because he makes appointments as patron, on behalf of Your Majesty, and orders the stipends to be paid, and so it is necessary to adhere to his wish. The Cabildo of the city dare not do anything against his will, because those who go against him, or say anything in the Cabildo that is contrary [f. 66r] to his wishes, costs them dear, and, besides, he knows whatever occurs there. They dare not write to Your Majesty, without taking to him the letters for him to see, and sometimes having seen them, he has had them torn up, and [had] them write others.

The religious in the schools, and those in the convents, are consequently all dependent upon him.

The Royal officials do no more than he wishes, and only seeing the former ones, whom he dismisseded, for not performing, and held prisoner for three

years, until Your Majesty learnt of it, [and] ordered their offices to be returned to them, and perchance the many hardships and afflictions that he inflicted on them, and made them suffer, cost two of them their lives, and lost for Your Majesty, in the Factor,⁶⁶ one of the best [servants] you had in the Philippines. And as I said, what I promised to prove is well established, that since the complaints were so long in arriving, and the redress in returning, he who awaited them was already dead.⁶⁷

Third, it is essential that he should not be inordinately greedy, and that Your Majesty should give him such expectations, that if he acts well, he will gain more there than in what the governorship is worth to him. He should be of mature age,⁶⁸ and great experience in managing [f. 66v] public affairs [*governar Republicas*], like those some knights possess who are in magistratures on the coasts of Spain, and govern in peace and war, since they never lack exercise for those [abilities] on the coasts, because if they were only required to be trained in war, before they were capable of government, the country would be in ruins as, for our sins, we have seen these years. They should not come burdened with debts, which are corrupting in a thousand ways, notwithstanding that there are cédulas from Your Majesty that prohibit them from giving offices of profit to members of their households rather than to worthy persons of the kingdom. These cédulas are the least complied with, nor is there any one who dares to intimate this, and if anyone should dare to bell the cat (as the adage says), who would make him comply with them? By no means the Royal Audiencia. One time, seeking the implementation of a royal cédula of Your Majesty there, an Oidor friend of mine, said: ‘You should not do this, for, not only will you accomplish nothing, you will get into trouble with him.’

Accordingly, it is very important to forbid these offices to persons who are under obligations, who bear insatiable greed and presumption, and, to fill those vacua, what there is in the Indies [f. 67r] is little. And the worst is, that they pervert him, and lead him astray with their counsels. If I were to recount here in detail all the difficulties that they cause, it would take twice as long. Finally, they leave everyone there weeping, and these people come smiling, and even negotiating for the honours of others, with crass insolence. And the worst is, that it seems to the Governor, that only his own people deserve whatever there is, and the rest are incompetent, and to give credence to their impudence, one has dared to write to Your Majesty, that there was no subject in all your kingdom who could be trusted with anything, and the mistakes of these people are never punished, nor is there any one who dares to demand an enquiry against them, even when they have done a thousand injuries. Finally he must be such a one as the Emperor Theodosius spoke of to St Ambrose, when he sent him to govern Milan: ‘Go; and see that I send you to act, not as governor, but as

⁶⁶Business agent.

⁶⁷The delay in sending a report to Spain and receiving a response was nearly two years as a minimum because there was only one voyage in each direction each year.

⁶⁸Perhaps this is a reference to the youth of Luis Pérez Dasmariñas who was not allowed to succeed to the governorship because he was considered too young at age 25, see Part 1, Chapter V of this memorial on p. 13.

bishop.' Such must be the Governors of the Philippines, if Your Majesty would have them succeed.

And therefore I have no fault to find with Don Alonso Fajardo, whom Your Majesty has now sent to govern, rather, I believe that he will conduct himself there as befits the service of Your Majesty, and the welfare of the kingdom, for I recognized such desires in him, in the little that I discussed with him in [f. 67v] Mexico, where I met him, for which I give many thanks to God, seeing him so desirous of serving you, and may He give him grace to succeed.

As for the subjects who are put in that Audiencia, they should be in a degree like the governors, since Your Majesty places as much confidence in them, although I think it would be more to the purpose to disband it, for the reasons that most people in that country give, on which I shall give Your Majesty a memorial.⁶⁹

The affairs of that kingdom are all so out of kilter, and move without any order, that people ask for a Visitor to reform and correct them, and to put everything in its place, redressing injuries and punishing misdeeds. The country is in extreme need of this. But so as not to be like the frogs, who asked Jupiter for a king, and were given one that ate them, it will be best for Your Majesty to appoint some one from there, who, through his great experience, and knowledge, cannot be deceived, and knows what must be remedied with the prudence and tact that a country so new requires, and on the other hand, because of the risk that there is in sending someone from here who does not understand the affairs and conditions that must be remedied, and does not know how to proceed, it [f. 68r]⁷⁰ would be less inadvisable to send no-one, because of the danger that exists of his ruining the city.

Item. That the Governor should not consent to Japanese living in that country, as they are a great trouble, and risk to the country, and the city is continually at risk from them.⁷¹

Item. That the Chinese should be very carefully restricted, so that there are no more than Your Majesty has ordered, for they are allowed in there without any reflecton, and we know by experience what this costs us.

Item. That Your Majesty should command the Governor finally to reduce the Island of Mindanao to obedience to Your Majesty, since those islands are so infested that they hinder the carrying of aid to Maluku, and since they are in league with the Dutch, you have a perfect right to make war upon them, and subject them to slavery. All this is easy for the Governor, if Your Majesty commands it, and is so necessary for the security of the vassals of Your Majesty, as I intend to explain to Your Majesty at greater length in a separate memorial.⁷²

Item. There is an island some twenty leagues from Maluku, called Macassar [Sulawesi], whose circumference measures about two hundred and fifty leagues,

⁶⁹He does not appear to have given the king such a memorial.

⁷⁰This folio is misnumbered as 67.

⁷¹This last clause has been added to what is in the 74 folio version.

⁷²The royal cedula of 1620, AGI, Filipinas, 340,L.3,F.266R-267R, in which the king orders the Governor to ask the Audiencia to look into making slaves of the rebels in Mindanao seems to support this.

very rich and abundant, and from it those [f. 67v] in Maluku could be supplied with ease and at little cost. It is necessary for Your Majesty to order the Governor to negotiate with the king there, for friendship and commerce, since the latter has already sent, and written that he desires it, and that he will give all the supplies that may be requested, and, if there is no money, will give credit for them until it is procured, and he has sent to ask for religious to preach the Faith.⁷³ They are a capable and good people, and are disposed to receive the Gospel. And since this district lies closest to that the fathers of the Society [of Jesus] hold, it would be of much importance to send some religious assigned to that island, and if Your Majesty would care to request this from their General, which is of much importance for temporal matters, as well as the great service it could render to God, and since the Dutch could not get supplies from there, that would take away from them much of the provisions with which they maintain themselves. Two Fathers of the Society have already been there, who have written that they have been very well received, and it is highly expedient to encourage them.

Item. That Your Majesty should order the Governor to attend with much diligence to the dispatching of the galleons that come to New Spain, since upon this so much of the growth of that kingdom depends, and since he is so good a sailor, [f.69r] and prides himself on that, he should regulate that appropriately, since at present the enactment of it proceeds in great disorder, and even atrocity, as I shall explain to Your Majesty in a separate memorial.⁷⁴

Item. That Your Majesty should command that the garrisons of that kingdom be made open, because experience has shown that more men would go, and those in Maluku should be exchanged with those in the Philippines every three years, since otherwise so many refuse to go to Maluku, and the strongholds there are in such ill-repute, that those who are taken there feel as if they were being sent to the galleys, and being exchanged, as was said, they will go willingly. Besides, they would all become experts, and the soldiers from Maluku are worth more than those who have not been there, because of their constant exercise in war and labour.

Item. That Your Majesty should command that the city of Manila be made an open garrison, like San Juan de Ulúa, and Havana, since in this way they will go to the Philippines willingly. Since Don Juan de Silva has done the opposite for years past, this land has become depopulated, and they have fled to various parts, some one, some another, no one daring to go there for this reason. [f. 69v]

Item. Concerning the treatment of the Indios, and what it is well to tell Your Majesty in this regard, as well in what concerns your royal conscience as the good of the country, needs a separate memorial.⁷⁵

⁷³Cf. item six above on p. 51.

⁷⁴The King made an order about the dispatch of ships in 1620: AGI, Filipinas, 340,L.3,F.252R-252V. Although there are a number of orders from the king on this matter replying to requests from de los Ríos, I have not found any separate memorial from de los Ríos.

⁷⁵The burden of this request seems to have been implemented by the order in AGI,

Item. As to the manner of governing them, and the payment of their tributes, as has been seen by experience, the religious have done much damage by preventing them paying tributes in the fruits that they harvest, because they do not have the ingenuity or capacity to leave many things free, as will be seen in the account I shall give to Your Majesty about this, having been taught by experience.⁷⁶

Item. The last point and most necessary one is that Your Majesty should consider that that country is very new, and that Your Majesty desires its growth, and because it was not so much in need of the protection and favour of Your Majesty at the beginning as it is now, when, because of ill-treatment, many misfortunes, and the fear of enemies, so few wish to go there, Your Majesty should protect it so that they may be encouraged to go there. With the command of Your Majesty to his ministers, they would give a comfortable passage to those who wish to go, since in the beginning the King our lord, the father of Your Majesty [i.e., Philip III], who so greatly favoured, [f. 70r] and loved that land, not only gave a passage, but also what was necessary to equip those who wished to go there, and even exempted them from duties and imposts. This is much more necessary now, and at least, they should be given some exemptions, and should not be carried with such hardship as now, which I can affirm as an eyewitness, since when we arrived at the port of Acapulco, having been on the voyage five months, and a great many people had died, and God had brought us through such immense travails and dangers, where we were to get relief they treated us even worse than the Dutch, since they gave them food there to refresh them, and sent them away satisfied, and with us they did what they should have done with the Dutch. And since what happened at the port of Acapulco, deserves a remedy, which I am bound to give an account of to Your Majesty, and for many other matters concerning your Royal service, is not for here, I shall say it in other memorials.⁷⁷

Item. That the encomiendas that the favour of Your Majesty was accustomed to grant were usually for three generations, and a short time ago here Your Majesty ordered by a Royal cedula, that they should be meant to be for two, which is a notable setback for the conservation of that republic, [f. 70v] and especially as Your Majesty has granted the favour to New Spain of giving them for four generations, and as the Philippines have been, and continue to be up to now, like its the colony, and almost governed by its Royal Audiencia, it is a notable drawback that they should enjoy no more than two generations.⁷⁸

First, because many are discouraged from serving Your Majesty, and even from remaining in that land, when they learn that their sons and grandsons

Filipinas, 340,L.3,F.271R-272R. The original request of de los Ríos would appear to be AGI,FILIPINAS,27,N.112 of 20 June 1620.

⁷⁶De los Ríos had raised this matter on his first visit and the king had ordered the Governor and the Audiencia to look into the matter, see AGI, FILIPINAS,340,L.3,F.26V-27R. However, I have found no further memorial from de los Ríos.

⁷⁷The king issued an order for the better treatment of passengers following the representations of de los Ríos, see AGI, Filipinas, 340,L.3,F.256R-256V.

⁷⁸Governor Fajardo wrote on 10 August, 1618 at the request of the city of Manila asking for them to be three generations, see BR XVIII, p. 132.

must be reduced to extreme poverty, the said encomienda expiring with the first son or his wife, as happens now.

Second, because four generations are shorter in the Philippines than two in New Spain. The reason for this is the many occasions for war and sailing, in which men are easily killed and drowned, leaving their successors in hospital,⁷⁹ as now we see many such, which makes one's heart break with pity.

And replying to the tacit objection that might be put to me, that it is better to have the encomiendas vacated quickly, so that they may be awarded to others, who will go there to serve with that hope, I say that what is important is to make a compromise, which is that Your Majesty should concede the said encomiendas, not for four generations, as in New Spain, nor for two [f. 71r] as now, but for three generations, as it used to be, which is a very necessary way of remedy for some, and to encourage others to the service of Your Majesty.

***Letter from Master-of-camp Lucas de Vergara,
written to Don Francisco Gomez de Arellano,
Dean of Manila, which is the last that came
from Maluku in the past year.***

By the ship *San Antonio*, which I dispatched to that city on the thirtieth⁸⁰ of May last [1616], I informed Your Majesty, with other matters of mine, of my health, and the safe arrival at these forces, with the three ships in which I brought relief, and of how well I was received by everyone, and the rest that had happened to me up to that time. What I have to say to Your Majesty since then, is that from the persons who have come to me from the forces of the enemy, native as well as Dutch, and from other enquiries that I have made, I have learnt, that of the ten Dutch ships that were at the harbour-mouth of Mariveles⁸¹ only four have returned to these islands. The first, which came with the wounded from [f. 71v] Oton [Panay]. Another, which, when our fleet went out to seek the enemy, was going out to sea, gathering Sanglely ships, and when she saw ours, without going back to her [fleet], cast loose a very rich junk that she was towing astern, and took flight. The captain of this ship, they tell me, died for having fled. Two other ships arrived at the fort of Malayo,⁸² on the eighth of June. These had got into a fight with our fleet, and therefore they arrived shattered by cannon-balls, and with many wounded. These brought the news, that only six of their ships had fought with eight of ours, and three galleys, and that their *capitana*, and another two ships were lost. One had gone to the bottom, and the other two were burnt, and that their commander had escaped in a ship that they saw being followed by two of our galleons, and a galley, and that they did not know the outcome, since neither this one, nor two

⁷⁹I.e., the hospital as a poorhouse.

⁸⁰*treynta*, translated in BR as 'thirteenth'.

⁸¹See n. 23 above.

⁸²A port very close to Ternate.

others that are missing from the ten, have appeared here yet, and that of six hundred men whom they took from the forces that they have in these islands to put in the ten boats when they went to Manila, only a hundred returned alive. These two damaged ships are being fixed up, and in all they have five at present in these islands, and with few [f.72r] men, so that if a part of our fleet had come following the victory, they might have caught them all. The Dutch, and the Ternatans are very sad and afflicted by this loss, since they had hopes of returning rich, and victorious. Some silks and other goods were carried in the ships that escaped, and they sold them to us very dear, although not so dear as they had cost them. What they are now considering and so to console the Ternatans and their other native friends, is that they are going to collect a very large fleet, which they have in Ambueno, and in the Sunda, and with the whole to attack the forts of Your Majesty before our fleet arrives from Castile, and from [the Philippines], of which You already know, and on the other hand, they are fortifying their strongholds as much as they can, and the posts that they hold, since they see that the natives here are very lukewarm in their friendship, and they fear that on seeing our fleet is more powerful than theirs, they will drop their friendship, and try to procure ours, and the king of Tidore and I consider it certain, from what we have heard from the same, and particularly from those of the Island of Maquien,⁸³ which alone is richer in cloves, and natives, than all [f. 72v] the others, and that they captured and killed their Sangaje, who had already gone to discuss this, in the fort at Malayo, which left the natives of that island very angered.

By a caracoa that I sent to Ambueno, to get word of what was happening there, I learnt that the Dutch have seven ships in that island, and that they sent one ship laden with cloves to Holland, and that those natives are, for the most part, at war with the Dutch, and so too are all the islands of Banda, where there are two or three English ships fortifying themselves, with the permission and help of the natives, and that the Dutch and English have fought over this, and that the Dutch are holding prisoner forty English, all of which is good for us. Word is around that in the Sunda there are twenty Dutch ships, but I do not know what truth there is in this. I am getting ready and fortifying, as well as I can, the strongholds [*plazas*] that Your Majesty has in these islands, so that they may be ready for any event, although there is a great lack of men for what is necessary, because this year more went to Manila than came, and some are sick, and there are many places to guard, and in particular [f. 73r] there are three on the island Batachina,⁸⁴ which, as they are in an unhealthy country, exhausts the troops more through deaths and illnesses. They are reasonably supplied with food at present, owing to the care that I take to seek out what the country yields, and so, with the rice that I brought, and a little that was here, I have managed to get along. I shall have enough provisions for the whole of October, and if what I await comes from the island of Mateo,⁸⁵ I shall have enough for November, by which time I hope to get help from those islands,

⁸³One of the islands of Maluku.

⁸⁴Also known as Halmaheira or Halmahera.

⁸⁵I have not identified this island.

since I am very confident that the lords there will help me as always, and the lord captain-general, being a man of so much experience from the needs that occurred in his time, will help in this with the speed and care that are necessary for its conservation, since he is, and continues to be, with that aim. In whatever may happen regarding this, I beg Your Majesty to further it as far as you can, since I shall take it as a great favour, besides being a service for God, and for Your Majesty, for whom Your Majesty is so zealous, and I beseech you to be pleased to advise me of what may occur there, and I shall always do the same for here.

By the last despatch I sent Your Majesty three birds of paradise, and the bearer of this, [f. 73v] who is Sergeant Romero, is bringing you two more. I would have wished that they were better, but I assure Your Majesty that they were not to be found, because the boats that usually bring them have not arrived.

While I was writing this, a Dutch trumpeter arrived from the forces of the enemy, and gave the same report as another who came two days ago, and whom I send by this ship so that he may report about everything, which, according to the news, and the state of affairs, is vitally important that our fleet should come here by the month of December. And if only [those ships] that Your Majesty now has in those islands came, it would be superior to the enemy's, since with this they could be kept from taking to Holland this year the great quantity of cloves that they will harvest, which is the greatest loss that can be inflicted upon them at present, since with these profits they are waging war on Your Majesty in these parts with such great fleets. This is the opinion of those who have most at heart the service of Your Majesty in these parts. I am writing, above all, to the lords there. May Your Majesty do me the favour that he always does in such cases.

And although I do not know what new things there may be there, I leave it all to the good opinion and reasoning of Your Majesty and that of Señor Canon Garcetas, since I know (since you are my dear lords), that he will give the most fitting counsel. May Our Lord protect Your Majesty for as many years as possible. I kiss your hands. Tidore, 5 July 1617. The very humble servant of Your Majesty, Lucas de Vergara Gaviria. [f. 74v]

2 Part III

Third Part, wherein is given information of other matters concerning the Philippines, the Islands of Maluku, and the rest of the Archipelago, of their riches, and of the strongholds and trading posts that the Dutch hold, and of the wealth that is at present secured from them.⁸⁶

⁸⁶This part is entirely new, he 74 folio version ending with the letter of Vergara.

Chapter I. Of the prelates, and their districts, that there are in the islands, and of certain interesting matters.

The island called Luzon, which is the most important, has two bishops, and an archbishop. The archbishopric has jurisdiction in the vicinity of the city of Manila, the capital of that country. To the east it reaches as far as the town called Calilaja,⁸⁷ forty leagues [220 km] from the city on the same island. It has four offices of Alcalde-mayor, which is the same thing as a *corregimiento*, namely those of Laguna de Bay, Laguna de Bonvon,⁸⁸ [f. 75r] another of Valayan,⁸⁹ and that of Calilaja, where there are many Indio towns administered by religious of the Order of Saint Augustine, and still more of the Discalced Franciscans. To the west is the jurisdiction of the province of Pampanga, which is fertile and well-populated, and that of Bulacan, and the Zambales. These are not Christians, and cannot be reduced to conversion,⁹⁰ and some negroes go about like wild beasts through the mountain fastnesses. They are given to cutting the heads off other Indios, and no woman will marry a Zambal unless he has cut off a head, and in this way, in order to be married, he will cut one off, even if it has to be that of his own father, which they cut when they find him in the fields. If these had been given into slavery they would have already been reduced, and although I have advised it many times in the Council, nothing has ever resulted, things being such, that they will never be pacified except by this means. The reason for this is that, if they were given into slavery, the Indios of Pampanga, with their great greed to have slaves for their crops, would have subdued them. They do a great deal of damage, so much, that no Indio dares go out alone to work his crops, because they kill him just to cut off his head. They eat roots and fruit from [f. 75v] the mountains, and have no houses, nor possessions, [and] go about naked. To the east this jurisdiction goes across all the island, and to the west is the sea. There are some islands joined to this jurisdiction, such as those of Lioban [and] Mindoro. In these are some trees resembling cinnamon [Spanish: *canela*], which I have shown to our physicians, and they say that it is *Cinamomo*.⁹¹ And the island of Marinduque, where there are copper mines, and many other islands, of little importance and sparsely populated.

To the north of this jurisdiction, the bishopric of Nueva Segovia starts from

⁸⁷Situated at 13° 50' N, 121° 58' E, now called Unisan, Quezon. See also the Philippines rutter on this web site.

⁸⁸Bombon Island, 10°54' N, 121°4' E.

⁸⁹Balayan, Batangas.

⁹⁰The practice of the Spaniards was to move the Indios within the sound of the church bell. This process was called 'reduction'.

⁹¹BR XIX, note [51] says: In Spain the name *cinamomo* is popularly given to the *Melia acedarak*; but now in Manila that name is applied to a species of *Lausonia [or Lawsonia]*, *L. inermis*. This latter grows in Arabia and Egypt, and is cultivated in Europe; it is there called *alchena* or *alhena*, and its root is employed as a cosmetic by the Turks, and a paste of its leaves, known as *henna*, is used by them to dye the teeth or hair. See Blanco's *Flora* (ed. 1845 [Blanco 1845], pp. 206, 241.

the Province of Pangasinan, where Zambales ends, and the that of Ilocos [is], where lie the mountains of the Igorots,⁹² and there are very rich mines, as I have indicated.⁹³ They are all Christians. The Dominican religious administer Pangasinan, and the Augustinians Ilocos. In the furthest north is the province of Nueva Segovia, which is administered by Dominican friars. These three provinces are very fertile and well populated, and to the north of this province [Ilocos] there are some islands called Babuyan, where the Indios raise pigs of remarkable size. Throughout the whole island [of Luzon] there are many wild pigs. They are not fierce, like those here [in Spain], and so they [f. 76r] kill them easily. There is a great number of large and fierce wild buffaloes.⁹⁴ They are killed with muskets, and on one occasion there was a ferocious buffalo they were unable to bring down with twelve musket shots, and if the man who is shooting misses, and does not quickly get under cover, he is killed. The Indios catch them as we do partridges here with a *buitrón*,⁹⁵ and it is a remarkable thing, so I shall now explain it. They make a very strong corral with palisades, and on either side of the gate they move out, carrying with them leaves from palms of a certain kind, so that they touch one another, and they keep spreading out the line until it is , more or less a quarter of a league [over a kilometre] long, and when they find a herd, since the animals go in large groups, they frighten and follow them, and, driving them along there, they go shouting, and as they go they are running and striking with the said leaves. The buffaloes will not pass to the end if they are upset, and so little by little they enter the narrowest part until they are compelled to enter through the gate of the corral, and they close it, and there the Indios, by their devices, catch the animals one by one, and tie them, and put each one in a small corral of strong stakes, so narrow that they cannot turn around, so that they have no room to struggle, and they keep them without food for a fortnight, until they are so feeble and weak that they cannot stand. [f. 76v] Then an Indio comes with a wisp of hay, and although angry, they need to eat, and within twenty days they are so tame with the person who gives them food, that they let themselves be scratched, and iron rings are put in their noses, and they are led wherever you want with a rope, like a beast of burden. And I have seen one of these buffalo with a negro who had fed him seated on his head, and he played with the negro as if he were a dog, but he was a lion for those he did not know. This jurisdiction is fifty leagues [220 km] long on the sea side. The interior of the island, which is the said mountains, is still to be pacified. The bishopric of Las Camarinas is the most eastern on this island. It extends more than sixty leagues [330 km], including some adjacent islands, such as Burias, Ticao, Capul, and Catanduanes.⁹⁶ In this bishopric there are many nutmeg trees, that no-one harvests. In this province there is a

⁹²De los Ríos writes 'Idolotes'.

⁹³See above, p. 47.

⁹⁴These are carabao, *Bubalus bubalis carabanesis*, i.e. water buffalo, not the American kind.

⁹⁵A partridge-net. The word is also used for a fish-trap, and fish-traps of this nature: a funnel leading to the cage, may be seen in profusion in Manila Bay as one flies into the airport there. De los Ríos spells the word *butron*.

⁹⁶De los Ríos had seen all these places. For their locations and notes by de los Ríos, see the Philippine rutter on this web site.

spring from which flows scalding water, and if anything is placed in it it turns to stone.⁹⁷

The bishopric of Cebu is the one with the largest jurisdiction, which includes all the islands to the east, such as Leyte, and Babao, Maripipe, Tinagon, Panaon, and the island of Negros, and that of Oton [Panay], and to the west are Cebuyan and Romblon, and to the south that of Mindanao, which is almost as large as [f. 77r] that of Luzon,⁹⁸ where there is much cinnamon [*canela*], and rich gold mines, and considerable civet, and such a quantity of [civet-]cats, that they do no more than catch them with snares, and take the civet out and set them free again, and thus profit by them without giving them food.⁹⁹ There are many other islands, and from there to those of Maluku it must be about eighty leagues [440 km]. In all these islands much wax and honey is collected, which is harvested in the hills, and which the Indios do not cultivate. The bees are dark and small, and do not live in the hollows of trees, nor of rocks, but build their nests among the branches, and they give them a dark waxing, and it is so strong that not a drop of water enters in heavy rain, and so much is gathered there that not only are we all supplied cheaply, but there is sent to New Spain, Japan, and China, more than two thousand quintals each year.¹⁰⁰ There is much deer, not so slender as are ours, and there are no other animals. There are many mountain hens, much smaller than the ordinary ones, but more tasty, and their breasts are like partridges'. There are in the hills certain shoots called *Bejucos* [rattan], which they use for what we use willows here, and they are much better, some of them being as thick as one's thumb, and more, and six or eight brazas [10 to 14 m] long. When they are thirsty, the Indios cut off a braza, and a quartillo of fluid runs out [f. 77v] of it, good and healthy. There are certain canes [bamboos], some of which are as thick as a thigh, and others smaller, and five or six brazas [9 or 10 m] long, out of which the poor Indios make their houses, without other material: walls, floors, roofs, and roofs, and staircases.

There are certain palms that bear a fruit called coconuts, which are normally brought here from Guinea. These are so useful for human life, that from them, or better to say, from the coconuts, they obtain the most common oil in that country, and it is as excellent for wounds, even though they be deep, as that of *aparicio*. They obtain wine that is the usual one there, strong vinegar, which is good for cooking, and milk like that from almonds for cooking rice, that curdles like milk. When it is soft the fruit tastes like green hazel-nuts, and better, and there is a serum for many ills and infirmities, which is called whey, because it looks much like that of milk, there called tuba. They get honey from this tree, oakum with which to caulk ships, which lasts in water, when that from here

⁹⁷BR XIX, note [52] says: 'Probably referring to the springs at Jigabo, province of Albay, the waters of which carry in solution a gelatinous silica, which is quickly incrustated on any object placed therein. See Report of U.S. Philippine Commission, 1900, iii, p. 222.' Such springs occur around the world, as for example in Knaresborough in the north of England.

⁹⁸For these islands again see the Philippines rutter on this web site.

⁹⁹The civet extracted is the strong musky perfume obtained from the secretions of the animal's scent glands.

¹⁰⁰A quintal is 100lbs or 45 kg.

would rot, and likewise they make rigging, which they call *cayro*,¹⁰¹ excellent cord for [lighting] arquebuses, which, without any other attention, never goes out. They [the plants] are like wild artichokes when young. There are some leaves after the shape and fashion of ivy, which is a certain kind of pimiento that [f. 78r] they call *Buyo*,¹⁰² whose use is common throughout the whole archipelago, [which] is so excellent a specific against tooth abscesses that I do not remember ever having heard it said that any native suffered from them, nor do they need to have them pulled. It invigorates the stomach, and gives a pleasant odour to the mouth.

There is a bird which they call Tabon,¹⁰³ a little larger than a partridge. It buries its eggs, as big as goose eggs, half an *estado*¹⁰⁴ deep in the sand of the beach at the sea, and it lays eighty to a hundred. They are all yolk, without any white, which is an indication of their great heat, and so they hatch without the mother incubating them, and the birds scratch their way out from the sand, and the bird having got out, is as big as a quail, and flies and searches for food like other birds do after they are grown. I have seen this with my own eyes, and there must be other eyewitnesses in this court, so marvellous is the nature of these birds. I leave out many other interesting things so as not to tire Your Majesty.

There are many good and tasty wild fruits there. The ordinary food of those Islands is rice, and so too over all Asia and the neighbouring islands, and I dare say that more people are sustained in the world by rice, than by wheat. There is [f. 78v] a great deal of sugar, which usually costs four *reals* per *arroba* [11.5 kg], or less, and the Chinese bring so much rock sugar, which they call *cande*, that it ordinarily costs eight *reals* an *arroba*, or less.

In that part of the island of Mindanao that faces the south, as I said above, the Indios are rebellious, and it is they who have done, and still do, great damage to the others. They have taken up the faith of Mohammed, and are friends of the Dutch. Because they have not been given into slavery, they are not pacified, and this is one of the most important matters there is there, deserving the imposition of a remedy.

¹⁰¹Made from the husks of the coconuts.

¹⁰²*Chavica betel*. Ocampo relates about a time around 1980: [An old lady in Bulacan] started to mix *apog* (lime), *maskada* (chewing tobacco), and *bunga* (betel nut) then with a funny looking pair of scissors with the equally funny sounding name of *kalukati*, she started to cut the *ikmo* leaf where she wrapped the prepared mixture, forming a small triangle called the *hitso*. ... I was to find out later that *buyo* is actually the leaf used to wrap the whole thing, but now it is used to refer to the *hitso*. (Ocampo 2000, pp. 59–60.) See also Kneeland 1883, pp. 81–82.

¹⁰³Tabon Scrubfowl *Megapodius cumingii*, see e.g. Sinclair et al. 2002, p. 151 and Frith 1956.

¹⁰⁴An *estado* is the measure of a man, about 1.7 m or 5 ft 7 in.

Chapter II. Of the ministers and religious instruction that there are in the Islands, and those who have been converted to our Holy Catholic Faith, and those who pay tribute.

The island of Luzon, in the archbishopric and the two bishoprics, has fifty-nine encomiendas, and in that of Nueva Segovia, which is the most northerly, twenty-six, and in that of Camarines, which is the most easterly of the islands, there are thirty, which altogether makes 115. In the bishopric of Cebu there are 71, which makes 186 tributaries of Indios. Of encomiendas [f. 79r] of Indios there are 130,938 tributaries.¹⁰⁵ In all, which includes husband and wife, and so at least four persons, [including] children and slaves (as they have no others to serve them except slaves), there are 523,752 Christians in these encomiendas. There are assigned to the Royal Crown 33,516 tributaries, the rest are assigned and given to deserving soldiers. This is exclusive of the people who do not pay tribute, that is, the chiefs.¹⁰⁶ In all these 186 encomiendas, there are as many monasteries or churches. Some have two monasteries as they are too large to be administered by two religious, and ordinarily, to each one are assigned 500 tributes, and there are other encomiendas that have one monastery between two of them. Averaging these, it seems to me there are about 372 priests, besides the laymen, and in the city there are about eighty or ninety in four monasteries—one of St Dominic, another of St Francis, another of St Augustine, another of the Recollect Augustinians—and the cathedral. These places of worship are as good buildings as those of Spain, and the whole city is built of cut-stone houses—almost all square, with entrance halls, and modern patios—and the streets are straight and well laid out, so that there are none in Spain as large, [f.79v] nor with such buildings nor such fine appearance. The city has some five hundred houses, but, as these are all, or nearly all, houses that would cost 20,000 or more ducats in this court, they occupy as much space as would a city of two thousand inhabitants here, since the wall, as measured by me, is 2,250 geometrical pasos in circumference, at five tercias for each paso, which makes three quarters of a league.¹⁰⁷ Of all these islands there are none unconverted except the Zambales, as was said above, and those in the mountains, where the mines are, and a few towns behind the same mountains, which they call the province of Ituri, so

¹⁰⁵In the table below de los Ros says 130,939, but the arithmetic in the next line confirms 130,938 since 523,752 is 130,938 times 4.

¹⁰⁶The practice was that the heads of the barangays did not themselves pay tribute, only the people in the barangay.

¹⁰⁷BR XIX, has a note [53] that says: The “geometrical pace” is, in English measure, roughly estimated at five feet; in Spanish measure, according to Los Ríos’s reckoning—the *tercia* (or “third”), being one-third of a *vara*, is equivalent to 11.128 English inches—the geometrical pace would be 55.64 English inches. The length of the wall, accordingly, would be a little less than two English miles. The OED has the same estimate for a *vara*. Present day measurement shows in fact the circumvallation is 4.5 km long, so the estimate by de los Ros of three quarters of a league is reasonably accurate at about 4.13 km, since one league is about 5.5 km. This makes the *paso* of de los Ríos 1.38 m, a *vara* 83 cm and a *tercia* 28 cm.

called because it was discovered by Don Luis Pérez de las Marinas, in the time of his father, who sent him there, and for lack of religious, the Gospel has not been preached to them. They are a peaceable people, and make no opposition, and in Nueva Segovia, which is in the charge of the Order of St Dominic, there are some to be converted, as they are warlike and restless Indios. Peace has not been settled with them, on the contrary, they have rebelled several times, but it has always been because of injuries the Spaniards have inflicted on them. [f.80r]

Chapter III. Of the islands of Maluku, and the others adjacent to them, and of the spice, and other items that are contained in them.

The Maluku Islands, commonly so called where, of the spices, cloves are obtained, and so named from this drug, are five. They begin at that of Bachan, which is on the equinoctial line itself,¹⁰⁸ and extend north and south, the furthest north is that of Ternate, which is six or seven leagues [33 or 38 km] in circumference. All of it is one very high hill, and on the summit there is a volcano, that emits fire. In the medial region of this hill they raise the clove-trees, which are like laurel, the leaves being a little narrower and longer. This island has five fortresses, the principal is called Talangame, and another San Pedro. The Dutch have three: that of Malayo, which is the principal, another called Tacome, and another Toloco, which is of little importance.

The island of Tidore is distant about two leagues [11 km] from this, and, although much smaller, has about the same aspect. Your Majesty has a fort, and the king of Tidore has another. The Dutch have two others, which they call Great and Little Mariaco. Further south on the island of Motiel, the Dutch have a fort. [f. 80v]

In that of Maquien there is a fort. Directly beyond is another much smaller island called Cayoa, and that of Bachan, with some others of little importance, nearby, and to the east of all these islands is one called Batachina, or Gilolo, two or three leagues distant from these, [and] very large, where Your Majesty has two forts. This island extends so far that it makes a strait with that of New Guinea in the eastern part, according to the relation of Fray Diego de Prado, of the Order of St Basil, who, while he was a layman, coasted along this island on the southern side, of which nothing was known until then, and this is the largest island in the world, and was discovered from the northern side. It extends from the equinoctial line. No-one has so far seen what is in the interior, although it seems that it is well populated with people, some black, others the ordinary colour of Indios, and there are indications of much wealth, and further to the east the islands of Solomon are nearby. The blacks are sold among the Indios as in Guinea, and they have periodic fairs. The Indios buy these people to cultivate their lands.

¹⁰⁸Tropic of Capricorn.

Beyond these Maluku Islands there are some southward, of little importance until that of Ambueno, which is seventy leagues [nearly 400 km] distant from them [f. 81r] where Dutch have a fort, that they took from the Portuguese, and a port where many cloves are gathered, which, transplanted from the Malukus, have only grown in this island and in no other. Eighteen leagues [100 km] further east lies the island of Banda, where nutmeg is gathered, and the Dutch have another fortress there.

To the west some twenty leagues [110 km] from the Maluku Islands is an island called Macassar [Ujung Pandang], it is more than two hundred and fifty leagues [1400 km] around, and is very fertile and rich, and populated, and the best people in those islands, whose king is a friend, is very much at peace, and happy to trade with the Spaniards. He used to receive the Dutch and let them provide provisions for all their forts from his land but now does not admit them. He has sent to request religious to preach the Gospel, and two of the Society [of Jesus] and two Dominicans have been sent to him. The friendship of this king is very important for the preservation of Maluku.

Next further to the west is the island of Borneo, and it is 400 leagues [2200 km] in circumference. On the side that faces the south, the Dutch maintain trade, whence they obtain the finest diamonds.

In Greater Java, which is the island that forms a narrow [f. 81v] strait with that of Sumatra they have a trading post without a fort, to which they bring the cloves, and nutmeg, and the pepper that they buy there, which is a large quantity. They trade there, and a few years ago the Javans drove them out, and afterwards the English have become their allies, keeping them subject, and are building a fortress.

They have other trading posts in the kingdom of Patan, at one of which they get a lot of pepper. Patan lies more to the north of the strait of Singapore, that others call that of Malacca, and further north is that of Siam, which is very rich, and with many kinds of merchandise, and rubies. They have another trading post in that of Cambodia and another trading post in Cochinchina. They are not allowed to enter China, but rather, because of the amount they have robbed, they are held to be enemies of the country. In the islands of Japan they have another trading post from which they procure supplies and munitions, and this is of much importance to them. Although there is a very large total of them, the other islands of this archipelago will not be mentioned, in order to avoid taking too long. [f.82r]

Chapter IIII. Wherein is considered the wealth of the spice trade of these Maluku Islands and the others.

From year to year these Maluku Islands give four thousand four hundred *bares* of heads of cloves, which they call 'selected', according to the relation that was made and the information given by Don Juan de Silva, knight of the Order of

Santiago, when he governed the Philippine Islands. Others say eight thousand, and others, six. The first is the most accurate, and agrees with another note made by Captain Gregorio de Vidaña, a citizen of Manila, who was very learned in documents, and who spent many years there, and sought to research out of interest.

4400 bares of cloves, each bare containing 640 libras, amounts to 2,816,000 libras, which at one ducat, the price at which they are sold [in Europe], will bring as many ducats. All this can be bought for a hundred thousand ducats.¹⁰⁹ It is not bought with cash, but with cloth purchased in India and in China, and what over there costs ten, is sold in the Malukus at fifty. The Dutch make this profit at present, who buy on the coast of Coromandel, –and from the Chinese –in Cochinchina, and Java, whence they take the merchandise which they trade for cloves [f. 82v] in Maluku. The nutmeg, said Don Juan de Silva, is worth 500,000 ducats transported to these parts.

The cloves gathered in the Island of Ambueno, is a lot, although I have no exact account of the quantity.

The pepper that they get from Greater Java, is a lot, although I do not know the exact quantity.

They also have a trading post and friendship with the king of Ache, on the island of Sumatra, where there is much merchandise, and he is our enemy, it was he who attacked Malacca in the year of [16]16, and burnt a galleon of the four that were awaiting Don Juan de Silva, and soon afterwards seven Dutch galleons arrived to aid him, and they burnt the remaining three. Malacca is a most important place, and it is very necessary that Your Majesty should preserve it, since it is the gateway to all the kingdoms and districts of that archipelago of San Lazaro,¹¹⁰ where there is so much wealth.

Chapter V. Of the costs Your Majesty incurs to maintain the fortresses [plaças] of Tidore and Ternate in the Maluku Islands.

I said in the second part of this relation that the aid in money and men that are brought [f. 82r] from New Spain to the Philippines were not to preserve them, but in the event of war with the Dutch. Now I shall set down here a memorandum of the costs of those forces, without the many other requisites.

Relation of the salaries and expenses that Your Majesty has to pay in the Maluku Islands

¹⁰⁹BR XIX, note [55] says, in part: Crawford says (Dict. *Indian Islands*, p. 503): “In England, before the discovery of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope, a pound of cloves cost 30 s., or 168 l. per cwt.”

¹¹⁰The name originally given by Magellan to what are now the Philippine Islands.

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|---|----------------------------|
| An Alcalde, and Commander of the troops, with two thousand ducats of salary per year, which at eleven <i>reals</i> to the ducat, makes 2757 <i>pesos</i> , 2 Ⓢ [<i>tomins</i>], and 9 granos | 2,757.p[s].2 Ⓢ .9 |
| Seven captains of Spanish infantry, with 990 <i>pesos</i> of salary per year, amounting to | 6,930.ps. 10. |
| Seven Alferезes of these companies, with 412 <i>pesos</i> , 4 Ⓢ of salary each per year. | 2,887.ps. 10. |
| Seven sergeants at 206 <i>pesos</i> 2 Ⓢ , each per year, amounting to | 1,443.ps.6 Ⓢ |
| Fourteen drummers, at 171 <i>pesos</i> each per year, amounting to | 2,394.ps. 10. |
| Seven fifers, at 165 <i>pesos</i> per year, amounting to | 1,155.ps. 10. |
| Seven shield-bearers, at 103 <i>pesos</i> each, amounting to | 0,721.ps. 10. |
| Seven standard-bearers at 115 <i>pesos</i> per year each, amounting to | 0,815.ps. 10. |
| Two adjutant sergent-majors, with 412 <i>pesos</i> , 4 <i>tomins</i> , each per year, amounting to | 0,825.ps. 10. |
| A campaign captain with 330 <i>pesos</i> of salary a year. | 0,330.ps. 10. |
| A captain of artillery with a salary of 480 <i>pesos</i> a year. | 0,480.ps. 10. |
| A constable for land and sea with 300 <i>pesos</i> per year. | 0,300.ps. 10. |
| Twenty artillerymen for land and sea, at 200 <i>pesos</i> each per year, amounting to | 4,000.ps. 10. |
| There are continually 600 soldiers sometimes more, and seldom less: these usually earn 115 <i>pesos</i> a year, amounting to 69,000 <i>pesos</i> | 69,000.ps. 10. |
| In this number there are 140 musketeers, who at thirty six <i>pesos</i> each per year beside their ordinary salary, amounting to 5040 <i>pesos</i> | 5,040.ps. 10. |
| Thirty ducats of eleven <i>reals</i> each as extra pay to each company each month amounting to 2520 ducats, which makes 3465 <i>pesos</i> | 3,465.ps. 10. |

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|--|------------|-----|
| Twenty-eight squadron leaders, with three <i>pesos</i> of extra pay each per month, amounting in a year to 1008 <i>pesos</i> | 1,008.ps. | 10. |
| One accountant of the Royal exchequer, with a salary of 800 <i>pesos</i> per year, and 50 <i>fanégas</i> ^a of cleaned rice. | | |
| ^a A <i>fanéga</i> is 1.58 bushels. | 0,800.ps. | 10. |
| One superintendent of supplies and munitions, with 500 <i>pesos</i> of salary and rations. | 0,500.ps. | 10. |
| One secretary of mines and registries, who serves on a salary of a major official of the Contaduria, with 400 <i>pesos</i> , and one minor official with 150, which amount to | 0,550.ps. | 10. |
| [f. 84v] | | |
| Two secretaries, one for war and one for the magazines, with 200 <i>pesos</i> each per year of salary, and rations for the magazines secretary. | 0,400.ps. | 10. |
| One engineer and one surgeon, with 600 <i>pesos</i> each year, amounting to 1200 <i>pesos</i> | 1,200.ps. | 10. |
| Two Pampangan Capitanes with 120 <i>pesos</i> , two Alferезes with 96 <i>pesos</i> , two sergeants, at 72 <i>pesos</i> ; four drummers, two fifers, two shield-bearers, two standard-bearers, at 48 <i>pesos</i> each one, and 200 soldiers, at 48 <i>pesos</i> of salary per year, amounting to 10717 <i>pesos</i> | 10,717.ps. | 10. |
| A Spanish smith, with a salary of 300 <i>pesos</i> per year, and one Indio with 48 <i>pesos</i> , and another, with 42 <i>pesos</i> ; ten others, with 30 <i>pesos</i> ; one keeper of arquebuses with 42 <i>pesos</i> and all his rations, which will be mentioned in their place, amounting in money to 732 <i>pesos</i> | 0,732.ps. | 10. |
| Two Spanish carpenters, and 20 Indios, the Spaniards at 300 <i>pesos</i> each per year, [f. 85r] and the 20 Indios at 48 <i>pesos</i> , and their rations, the money amounting to 1560 <i>pesos</i> | 1,560.ps. | 10. |
| One Spanish stonecutter with 300 <i>pesos</i> ; and twelve Indios at 24 <i>pesos</i> , amounting yearly to 588 <i>pesos</i> | 0,588.ps. | 10. |
| Two caulkers, and one cooper, Spaniards, at 300 <i>pesos</i> each per year, amounting to 900 <i>pesos</i> | 0,900.ps. | 10. |

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|--|------------|-------|
| A hundred Indio pioneers, at 48 <i>pesos</i> each per year, and their rations, amounting to 4800 <i>pesos</i> | 4,800.ps. | 10. |
| An Alguazil of the Royal property, with 150 <i>pesos</i> per year | 0,150.ps. | 10. |
| Ten religious from the Society of Jesus, and the Order of St Francis, and the vicar at 100 <i>pesos</i> and thirty fanégas of rice each, the money amounting to 1000 <i>pesos</i> | 1,000.ps. | 10. |
| Commander, captains, pilot, masters, corporals, and other officials of the two galleys, [f. 85v] without rations, have each year in salaries 5643 <i>pesos</i> , 4 <i>tomins</i> . | 5,643.ps. | 4 10. |
| Four substitutes, ¹¹¹ who are about the person of the Governor of those islands, at 30 ducats of eleven <i>reals</i> per month each, amounting each year to | 1,980.ps. | 10. |
| Each year, presents to present to the king, his son, and his chiefs, worth 2000 <i>pesos</i> | 2,000.ps. | 10. |
| The hospitals costs each year in medicines, food, clothes, and service more than 10,000 <i>pesos</i> | 10,000.ps. | 10. |
| Consumables: powder, balls, iron, steel, pikes and boats for minor service, costing for their manufacture or construction more than 10,000 <i>pesos</i> | 10,000.ps. | 10. |
| The ships that bring reinforcements, the galleys that assist, and the salaries of the captains, pilots, masters, officers, and sailors, [f.86r] the careening, and other smaller expenses for their construction and voyages, amount each year to more than 40,000 <i>pesos</i> | 40,000.ps. | 10. |
| A purveyor, who is helping in the province of Pintados [Visayas], who earns each year 700 <i>pesos</i> of salary, and there other commissioners, a storekeeper, and a secretary, which in all will amount. to 1300 <i>pesos</i> a year | 1,300.ps. | 10. |
| The rice, wine, meat, fish, vegetables, and other food, that the persons who are supplied with rations, consume, such as the sailors, artillerymen, carpenters, smiths, pioneers, commanders, and galley rowers, the religious, and others,will amount in Ternate to more than twenty thousand <i>pesos</i> per year | 20,000.ps. | 10. |

Beside what has been mentioned, attention must be given to what has been spent on the fleets that have been assembled since the year one thousand six hundred and six, when Don Pedro de Acuña recovered it—both in ships and in founding [artillery]—soldiers’ salaries, and what has been lost at different times, which has been much every year, and little or nothing has been yielded from the Malukus, for in nine years they have not brought in 20,000 *pesos*, and this has been through negligence. Since if there had been a faithful administrator posted there, and accounts had been kept, and if they had been orderly and regular, as the enemy do, Your Majesty could have secured [sufficient] profit to maintain [those forces] without it costing your Royal Treasury as it now does, and the same argument applies from here on. For this reason it is very important to your Royal service either that some remedy be applied to this, or that some means be considered to save Your Majesty so much expense, which it does not appear to me appropriate to place in this relation, and to secure those islands from the Dutch enemy. Your Majesty will suffer no expense, and will be able to further the working of the above-mentioned mines, [f.87r] that are near Manila, with which, with God being served, it will be possible to hope for so much wealth that it will be enough to clear Your Majesty from debt, and this cannot be done in any other way, since with the ordinary practice, which there has been till now, there can be no more hope than that for a sick man declared past recovery, for whom the physicians have no remedies, and whom they declare to be at the end of his life.

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¹¹¹BR XIX, note [56]: Spanish, *entrettenidos*; persons who were performing certain duties, in hope of obtaining permanent positions, or waiting for vacancies to occur in certain posts.

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