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Cracks in the Parchment Curtain

WILLIAM HENRY SCOTT

The terms "iron curtain" and "bamboo curtain" have become popular in the English-language press to signify the state control of information in the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China which makes it difficult or impossible for outsiders to learn the true condition of their citizens' circumstances. Just so we might speak of a "parchment curtain" to signify the official documents of the Spanish colonial regime which prevent the modern Filipino from forming a clear picture of his ancestors' conditions. It is the existence of this parchment curtain that moved Filipino historian Teodoro A. Agoncillo to his well-taken comment that it will never be possible to write a real history of the Filipino people under Spain because the colonial government enjoyed a monopoly on the production of source materials.

Yet there are cracks in that curtain, chinks, so to speak, through which fleeting glimpses of Filipinos and their reactions to Spanish dominion may be seen. These are more often than not unintentional and merely incidental to the purpose of the documents containing them. Original letters and reports, bickering complaints among conquistadores, appeals for support, reward, and promotion, long-winded recommendations that were never implemented, and decrees inspired by local obstruction of government goals — all these contain direct or implied references to Filipino behavior and conditions. These insights do not generally appear in the official histories which are based on the documents. The author of a history book has the task of setting forth the end results of the events surveyed and so does not have time to cite such details as do not illustrate his point. Yet every researcher in Spanish or Philippine archives quickly learns that almost any document contains some little Filipino glimpse for which he was not looking and which did not interest the author of the document.

A few examples will show just how interesting, or even significant, such details may be.

In 1971, I was searching for references to Juan de Salcedo in the Archives of the Indies in Seville. I was writing a book on the history of Spanish contacts with the Igorots of northern Luzon and was hoping to verify a tantalizing hint in Gaspar de San Agustín's 1698 *Conquistas* that Salcedo had discovered the Igorot gold mines. The problem was that the *Conquistas* was published 120 years after Salcedo's death and there were very few contemporary references to him in other sources. Happily, I was able to locate his *hojas de servicios*, or "service record."

These *hojas de servicios* are collections of sworn testimonies to a man's service to the King which would justify some personal reward or pension from the state. In Salcedo's case, the occasion was an appeal for pension on the part of his widowed mother, her claims being not only her son's services but those of his conquistador father, Pedro, in Mexico. The procedure was for a notary public to swear in a number of witnesses and ask each of them a series of set questions about the actual deeds of the person involved. The Salcedo testimonies run to three inches of pages, of which the following is a fair sample: "To the sixth question he said that what he knows about it is that after making the said journey contained in the preceding question, the said Juan de Salcedo begged and supplicated the said Adelantado that he give him license to go to explore this island of Luzon throughout the northern regions, and the said Adelantado pointed out to him the difficulty of not having the ships for him to sail in, and the aforesaid then offered to look for them himself at his own expense; and so he went and this witness saw him set forth from the City of Manila for the islands of Baco, Mindoro and Balayan and those nearby them, and after some time he returned to this city with eight or nine fully manned native boats; and, with license and instructions from the said Adelantado, he went to explore the opposite coast of this island of Luzon, and after many days came back overland through the Lakes of Manila; and after his and his soldiers' return, this witness learned how he had circumnavigated 200 leagues of coast and discovered the provinces of Pangasinan, Ilocos and Cagayan, and that it is a land rich with much gold; and that in the said journey he and his comrades suffered many hardships and risked their lives by making war against the natives because they were many and

armed and fortified with artillery, besides which they tried to give them poison in their food and drink to kill them; so when he returned, he brought information, and gave testimony before a scribe, of the towns and provinces which he had reduced to peace, which were given out as encomiendas by the Governor, who at that time was Guido de Lavezares, because when he arrived the said Adelantado was dead; and in this he gave special service to His Majesty inasmuch as it seems to be a rich land from which much gold has been secured and is expected to increase; and when he came, he brought as tributes he had collected for His Majesty, a great quantity of gold which he turned over to the Royal Treasury; and this he knows of this question, and it is public knowledge and well known, etc.”¹

This testimony, like those of the other witnesses, is disappointing as far as the Igorot gold mines are concerned. But it is very revealing of Filipino reactions to conquest north of Manila, and may well explain the paradox of Juan de Salcedo's reputation in written accounts. On the one hand, he is remembered for his ability to ingratiate himself with surrendering Filipinos — and vice versa — but, on the other, he was the object of strong criticism by Augustinian eye-witness Fray Martín de Rada for the excessive violence and bloodshed of the northern expedition. Perhaps the vigor of the Filipino defense of their homes, coming especially after the willingness of others to capitulate, touched off conquistador fury as it was to do in the Island of Samar during American conquest 325 years later. Especially interesting is the reference to *artillería* which is made by most of the witnesses, and even more so the word *arcabuces* which appears in one of the testimonies: “In the said journey and exploration, he passed through many hardships, wars, hunger, and deprivations, and was observed to have really risked his life both by sea, sailing along the said opposite coast which is rough, and by land among many enemies who took up arms against him and gave attack, generally with arquebuses, poisoned arrows, spears, and other offensive hand arms.”²

By *artillería* we are presumably to understand such weaponry as the well-known Moro *lantakas*, but by *arcabuces* some sort of handguns must be meant, if not actual arquebuses — that is,

1. Archivo General de Indias, Sección Patronato, 75, No. 2, ramo 2. (See Appendix A for text.)

2. Ibid.

large-bore, unrifled muskets ignited by matchlocks. Published accounts establish the presence of such firearms in Muslim-controlled areas of the Philippines — e.g., the 1613 San Buenaventura Tagalog dictionary defines *astingal* as “Arquebus, of the kind they used to use in olden times in their wars and which came from Borneo” — but this appears to be the first reference to them in northern Luzon. Of course, both Chinese and Japanese traders and corsairs, who were armed with such weapons, were frequenting the area in Juan de Salcedo’s day, so there is no reason why Filipinos should not have had firearms there, too. History’s silence about them may simply reflect the fact that they were not important enough to the overall story of conquest and conversion to be worthy of mention.

During the same period of research, I made a copy of the notarized document of 18 April 1571, which formalized Legazpi’s occupation of Manila with the legal niceties of which Hapsburg imperialists were so fond. I was interested in the document because of one of José Rizal’s comments in his annotated edition of Morga’s *Sucesos*: “The term ‘conquest’ cannot be applied to more than a few islands and only in a very broad sense. Cebu, Panay, Luzon, Mindoro, etc., cannot be called conquered. It was accomplished by means of pacts, peace treaties, and reciprocal alliances.”³

Despite due respect for Dr. Rizal, I doubted that treaties dictated by victors to vanquished would, either then or later, be really reciprocal. Moreover, I suspected that they would betray their farcical nature by representing the conquered as not only willing but happy to accept defeat. The 1571 document did not disappoint this expectation.

“IN THE RIVER and town of Manila of the island of Luzon of the Philippines of His Majesty’s Islands of the West, on the eighteenth day of the month of May of 1572 [*sic*], before the very illustrious Señor Miguel López de Legazpi, His Majesty’s Governor and Captain General of the people and fleet of the discovery of the West, in my presence, Fernando Riquel, senior notary, and the Governor’s, and Father Fray Diego de Herrera, Provincial of the Order of San Agustín, being present, and Maestre-de-Campo Martín de Goiti, and Captain Juan de Salcedo, and Captain Luis de

3. Antonio Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1890), p. xxxiii.

la Haya, and Captain Andrés de Ibarra, and other principal persons of the camp, certain Filipinos appeared, who, by means of Benito Díaz Bustos and Juan Mahomat, Christian Filipino interpreter, declared they were called Rajah Ache the Elder, and Rajah Soliman the Younger, lords and chiefs of the town of Manila, and Si Bunaw Lakandula, chief of the town of Tondo; and they stated that, in compliance with what the Governor had told them the day before when they came to offer peace and friendship, all the chiefs had met together and decided among themselves that it would be best for them to make peace and friendship with the Spaniards and be vassals of His Majesty, and that concerning this they should give him the reply that they had met and made the decision among themselves that they all, with one common assent, wished to be vassals of the King of the Castilians, and as such they offered themselves as of now, on their own part and in the name of all the Filipinos of this region, inasmuch as what the three of them should do and agree to, all would agree to;

“And the said Governor said, by means of the said interpreter, that it should be considered carefully because after making and agreeing to the peace, it would have to remain true and perpetual, and that he who should break it would be punished, and in the event they did not wish to be friends they could return without receiving any harm under the safe conduct he had given them; and the said chiefs, having understood the aforesaid through the said interpreters, stated that they had already taken good thought about the business and saw that peace and friendship was best for them and therefore they were offering themselves as vassals of His Majesty;

“And then the said Governor explained to them how he had come to these parts by order of the Royal Majesty of the King of Castile, Don Felipe, our Lord, for their well-being and benefit and to enable them to know the true God Almighty and to save them from the error and blindness in which they and their ancestors had been living, and to teach them His holy law and Catholic faith so that they might be saved and not condemned, for His Majesty’s main intention was just that, being the most Christian prince he is, and for this purpose to send the religious who were present and others who would come after; and that to acquire so great a good, it was necessary to be and remain subjects of His Majesty and obey his royal orders; and the said Governor, acting in his royal

name, would take care to favor them and maintain them in peace and justice;

“And then all the chiefs said with one accord that they were pleased and wished to be vassals of His Majesty and as such promised to keep perpetual peace with the Castilians whom they would obey in what they ordered them in the name of His Majesty, and would be his slaves; and the said Governor said that he, in the name of His Majesty, was receiving them as his vassals and would take care of them and favor them in his royal name, and that if any Spaniard or other person of his company should do them any harm or take anything from them by force and against their wishes, with payment or without, they should notify him of it because he would punish him and indemnify them and maintain them in peace and justice as vassals of His Majesty; to which they signified they were greatly satisfied, and as a sign of true subjection and obedience, they rose from where they were seated, and, kneeling down one by one, they and many other Filipino chiefs and residents with them went and gave their hand to the said Governor in the name of His Majesty;

“And his Lordship told them that if they wished to seal the peace and friendship they had promised with some of the ceremonies they were accustomed to make among themselves, he would do it in order to satisfy them; and the said chiefs said that among them they were accustomed to draw blood and drink the blood, but that they considered the said Governor like a father and, therefore, being confident in his word, they wished to make the peace according to the use of Castile; and the said Governor told them that the practice of Castile was to agree before a notary and witness, and the said chiefs were contented with it;

“And the said Governor ordered me, the said Fernando Riquel, to attest by writ of the aforesaid all that took place; and the said friendship being made, the said Governor took possession of the said land and island in the name of His Majesty, making the acts and ceremonies of true possession according to what is the use and custom, as took place openly and peacefully with the said Filipinos; and, giving them to understand that he was taking the said possession in the name of His Majesty, and the said possession being taken and the peace dated and concluded, the said Governor informed the said Filipinos that they were now ordered to make and complete the fort which they had begun on the promontory in

this river where His Majesty's artillery would be placed and set up, and that within the said fort they should make a house for His Majesty, and a large storehouse for the necessary things, and that likewise outside the fort they had to make a house and church for the religious in the place and location which they would select, and a house for the said Governor, and that these houses and church had to be large, and in the same way they had to make another one hundred and fifty medium-sized houses in which the people of the camp would be sheltered, which work they could have been spared if they had not burned the town as they had, and at the same time he told them that they should consider what arrangements he should make so the soldiers would not take anything whatsoever of their property from them but could maintain themselves without doing them any harm; and they all, with one accord, stated and promised that they would make the buildings and houses declared above, and that when the work of the said houses was finished they would regularly give food to three hundred Spaniards in this town of the sort of provisions and food which they use and have in this land, all of which they promised to comply with through translation by the said interpreters, the aforesaid who were present being witnesses, and as proof of this, his Lordship, the said Governor, ordered it to be attested by writ and signed it in his own hand.

MIGUEL LOPEZ DE LEGAZPI

Done before me,

FERNANDO RIQUEL⁴

Considering the existential situation in Manila in April 1571, the Filipino participation in this alien diplomatic ritual is not surprising, even taking the Spanish description at face value. But what is surprising is that detail about their declining the offer to seal the pact in the Filipino manner. Legazpi was no doubt willing to do what he offered — after all, he had already performed this rite with Si Katunaw in Bohol, and his field commander, Martín de Goiti, had done the same with this very Soliman and his uncle only the year before.⁵ Why did Ache, Soliman and Lakandula not wish

4. Archivo General de Indias, Sección Patronato, leg. 24, No. 24. (See Appendix B for text.)

5. If a story recorded 105 years later is to be believed, they also swore "that the sun should rend them down the middle, the crocodiles eat them, women not give them their

to do it again now? Is it possible that they had no real intention of making or keeping the dictated pact and so were unwilling to seal it in a manner that would have made it binding in their own eyes? At least we know that Soliman did in fact counterattack the Spaniards a few days later. And if the testimony of the Spanish document is to be accepted, we can also say that from the Filipino standpoint, no real peace pact had been concluded.

One of the values of original documents is that they often contain data which their authors included unintentionally or only in passing but which may be of greater historical revelation than what the authors wanted to say. Ovid, for example, in a famous passage in *The Art of Love* inveighing against the avarice of the opposite sex, says, "If you tell them you don't have as much money in the house as they're asking, they say they're willing to take a check."⁶ This passage may not prove anything about the avarice of women, but it certainly indicates that checks were in use in Roman society 2,000 years ago. Similarly when Jesuit Father Francisco Alcina wrote in 1668, "The gold they have now is very little in comparison to what they used to have in olden times, though I recall that once when I was marrying an important Visaya, she was wearing so much gold it made her stoop, and it seemed to me it reached 25 pounds or more, which is a great weight for a 12-year-old girl," he incidentally let us know that upper class seventeenth-century Visayan ladies married at a rather tender age.⁷ If Father Alcina wanted to say something about gold but revealed something about Filipino society, his co-Jesuit Pedro Chirino a half century earlier provides an example of the opposite situation — that is, of speaking about social customs but disclosing something about gold: "It is proverbial among us that none of them who leaves a party completely drunk in the middle of the night fails to find his way home; and if they happen to be buying or selling something, not only do they not become confused in the business but when they have to weigh out the gold or silver for the price (a very common practice among all these tribes, for each one carries

favors nor desire them at all, if they should break their word." — Francisco de Santa Inés, *Crónica de la Provincia de San Gregorio Magno de N.S.P. San Francisco* (Manila, 1892), 2:58.

6. *Artis Amatoriae* 1:427-428.

7. "Historia de las islas e indios de las Bisayas" (MS 1668), part I, book I, chapter 3.

his own scales in his purse), they do it with such delicate touch that neither does their hand tremble nor they err in accuracy.”⁸

I had occasion to make use of this principle of “incidental intelligence” when trying to find out when the word “Igorot” was first known to the Spaniards. The earliest examples I could find were in two documents, both of the year 1593-1594. One of these was the report of a Spanish expedition from Pampanga across the Caraballo Sur mountains into what is now Nueva Vizcaya and down the Cagayan Valley to Aparri, and it includes a hearsay description of the gold-mining “Ygolotes” in the mountains to the west. Since this was a report of new territory being explored, the word may well have been a new one just learned by the author of the report at the time.⁹ But the other document is more revealing, for it is not concerned with describing the Igorots themselves. Rather, it makes reference to them in such a way that their existence and characteristics must have been common knowledge to the readers for whom the document was intended, thus indicating that the term had been in use well before the time of writing. This particular document was signed by a number of Dominican friars in the Convent of Santo Domingo in Manila on 11 August 1593, and reads as follows: “The Province of Pangasinan must have some 5,000 Filipinos, and one of their customs is to catch carabaos with pits and traps. They raise pigs, look for wax, make wine, sell jars or pots, and accompany travelers through the unpopulated areas for payment in silver. They don’t have mines or gold-washings, for which reason they haven’t made a business out of gold. They sell their pigs and carabaos to the Igorots when they happen to come down to buy them from them, and they don’t buy them from all but only those who are friends and do them special favors, and therefore the towns and Filipinos who ordinarily deal with the Igorots are very few, and all the others must go and trade one with another so the animals only reach the Igorots by passing from hand to hand; and as these only gather at certain times of the year, it is common that the pigs die off, so the profit is very small and the gold they acquire from the Igorots is little. The main income of Pangasinan is in the sale of rice and other foodstuffs to the Spaniards and other

8. Pedro Chirino, *Relación de las Islas Filipinas*, 2nd ed. (Manila, 1890), p. 113.

9. Juan Manuel de la Vega, “Expeditions to the Province of Tuy,” in Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson, *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* (Cleveland, 1903-1909), 14:281-326.

travelers, since those who pass through this province are many and they accompany them. All pay them in silver. The merchants and Spanish officials buy the little gold they obtain from the Igorots, ordering their little gold chains here, and therefore all the gold they have is used up in this way, and also the wax.

“From this it follows that the silver of Pangasinan is more than the gold, and the Filipinos prefer to pay their tribute in silver rather than in gold, even though they reckon it at a value of eight pesos a *tael*, or a little more or less, among themselves. The King has ordered that the Filipino should pay a tribute of eight *reales* for the encomendero, and two *reales* for the soldiers of the Province. If the few who have it are made to pay in gold, they will have to set its value low in accordance with what the collector wants, which will amount to more than five *tostones* per tribute in gold for them; and those who gave this advice to the royal officers have worked against the liberty and desire of the Filipinos and the common good of Pangasinan.”¹⁰

One and the same document may have different significance for different readers depending on the interest of their particular research. When Father Chirino wrote the passage cited above, he obviously intended to describe a social custom of the Filipino people — or perhaps even to defend them against charges of depravity on the part of arrogant ethnocentric conquistadores. But the modern Filipino may be more interested in the information it contains about his ancestors' economic condition than their ability to carry their liquor. Dominican Fray Francisco Antolín, on the other hand, writing a book about Igorots in 1789, cited the same passage for a very different purpose: “[Nor is] their being dealers in gold, whose weight and value they know very well and measure by weighing with their own little scales or balances, any real proof of their Chinese origin, since they had the same thing in other places with mines and placers, as an early account by Father Chirino printed in 1607 [*sic*] says of the Filipinos of Bohol.”¹¹

In 1918 Dominican Archivist Julián Malumbres made imaginative use of a 1647 document in his *Historia de Cagayán*, namely, as evidence of “the confidence which the natives of Cagayan had in the Dominican fathers from the beginning; this reached such an

10. Francisco Antolín, “Notices of the Pagan Igorots in 1789 — Part Two,” *Asian Folklore Studies*, 30-2 (1970):32-33. (See Appendix C for text.)

11. *Ibid.*, p. 103.

extent that they not only entrusted their souls to them as their spiritual fathers, but even their material interests, naming them as their advocates with power of attorney in their temporal negotiations.”¹² The document is the following: “I CERTIFY: as the oldest person of those who reside in this city of Nueva Segovia [Lal-lo], by virtue of being the son of one of the first Spaniards who came on the conquest and settling of this said city, that I heard it said many times by my mother, Juana Pérez (whom God keep), and by many other persons of the first conquistadores and settlers of it, that the settlement of the Filipinos of Bagumbayan, which is a suburb of this said city, was made by the Pampangos, Visayans, Camarinos and the Tagalog Filipina who came with the first Spaniards on the conquest of this province and settlement of this city; and that, after the pacification of the land, the General Juan Pablo de Carrión, Lieutenant of the Governor and Captain General, who came on the said conquest and bore authority and power to give out encomiendas and divide up lands, had said to the said Filipinos who came on the conquest with the Spaniards that they should settle in the place which they call Bagumbayan, and as a partial reward for the many travails which they had suffered in the wars of pacification with the natives of the land, he gave and assigned them lands in the nipa groves of the creek of Linao which the Spaniards call Nipa Creek, that they might make nipa wine and make use of the profit for the sustenance of themselves and their wives, because those Filipinos of the land did not know how to make nipa wine, nor did they use it.

“These Filipino conquistadores continued this, and after the death of these first settlers, their sons and grandsons; and for more than 54 years I have known these Filipinos of Bagumbayan, most of them descendants of those referred to, always to make nipa wine and sell it to the Spaniards, Filipinos, and other tribes, from what they gather from the nipa groves, which the Lieutenant Governor gave as apportionment to their fathers and grandfathers, enjoying the profit from what was assigned to each one; and in the 33 years which I have been Notary Public of this Province, and before I was, I have never seen, known, nor heard that any governor who has been in this Province in this time, or *alcaldes ordinarios* when this city had a Council, ever prevented it, or imposed any restraint on

12. Julián Malumbres, *Historia de Cagayán* (Manila, 1918), p. 40.

these Filipinos of Bagumbayan in the making of this nipa wine, or in selling it to whom they wished, because they have no other occupation or resources for making a living and paying their tribute than what they obtain from the wine which they sell from their nipa groves.

“And to register this certification as official and valid, in which legal recognition be given the petition of the Filipinos of the said town of Bagumbayan and of the Reverend Father Fray Lucas García as their minister and vicar and the person who has power of attorney for them for all their cases and negotiations, I give these presents, signed with my name, which are dated in Nueva Segovia on the third day of the month of March of the year of one thousand six hundred and forty-eight.

ALONSO GALINDO”¹³

Father Malumbres may have been right in thinking the Filipino people in the lower Cagayan Valley quickly learned to trust the friars as their spiritual fathers and legal representatives, although not every historian would agree that the last line of this document proves the fact. But he is certainly to be lauded as an historical researcher for having tried to look through a crack in the parchment curtain to catch a glimpse of Filipino behavior, and for having found it in their response to members of his own order. Given his particular interest, it is perhaps not surprising that he failed to note that the Filipinos he was observing were not natives of Cagayan at all, but, rather, descendants of the occupation forces a foreign government landed in Aparri 66 years before. Of course, the fact that the Spaniards were able to recruit a Filipino task force speaking four mutually unintelligible languages only ten years after their arrival in Luzon is the sort of trivia that doesn't get into sober history books — but it is the stuff out of which the fabric of Philippine history was woven. Moreover, it is the stuff the parchment curtain hides from us — the participation of the Filipino people in their own destiny. For it is just possible that if those *indios conquistadores* had not joined Pablo de Carrión in 1581, there might not have been any Dominicans in Cagayan for their descendants to put their trust in in 1647.

13. Ibid., pp. 40-41. (See Appendix D for text.)

APPENDIX A¹⁴

A la sexta pregunta, dijo que lo que de ella sabe es que después de hecha la dicha jornada contenida en la pregunta antes de ésta, el dicho Juan de Salcedo pidió y suplicó al dicho Adelantado le diese licencia para ir a descubrir esta isla de Luzón por la banda del norte, y el dicho Adelantado le puso por inconveniente no haber navíos en que poder navegar, y el susodicho se ofreció de los buscar a su costa, y así fué y le vide [*sic*] salir este testigo de esta ciudad para las islas de Baco, Mindoro y Balayan y sus comarcanas, y a cabo de cierto tiempo volvió a esta ciudad con ocho o nueve navíos equipados de naturales; y con licencia y instrucción del dicho Adelantado, fué a descubrir la dicha contracosta de esta isla de Luzón, y á cabo de muchos días volvió por la tierra adentro por la Laguna de Manila, y después de venido de él y sus soldados, supo este testigo como había bojeado diezcientas leguas do costa y descubierto las provincias de Pangasinán, Ilocos y Cagayán, que es tierra rica de mucho oro; que en la dicha jornada padeció muchos trabajos y riesgo de la vida, él y sus compañeros, por haber tenido con los naturales guerra por ser muchos y armados y fortificados y con artillería, de mas de que en la comida y bebida procuraban darles ponzona para los matar, y así cuando vino trujo razón y testimonios por ante escribano de los pueblos y provincias que había hecho de paz, los cuales se encomendaron por el Governador, que a la sazón era Guido de Lavezares porque cuando llegó era ya fallecido el dicho Adelantado; y en ésto hizo particular servicio a su Magestad por ser como es tierra rica de donde sea sacado mucho oro y se espera mucha cantidad de oro que se metió en la Real Caja, y esto sabe de la pregunta, y es público y notorio, etc.

APPENDIX B

EN EL RIO y pueblo de Manila de la isla de Luzón de las Filipinas del Poniente de su Magestad a diez y ocho días del mes de Mayo de 1572 [*sic*] años, ante el muy ilustre Señor Miguel López de Legazpi, Gobernador y Capitán General por su Magestad de la gente y ar-

14. The original spelling and punctuation of these texts have been modified to conform to modern usage.

mada del descubrimiento del Poniente, por presencia de mi, Fernando Riquel, escribano mayor y de Gobernador, y estando presentes el Padre Fray Diego de Herrera, Provincial de la Orden de San Agustín, y el Maese de Campo, Martín de Goiti, y el Capitán Juan de Salcedo, y el Capitán Luis de la Haya, y el Capitán Andrés de Ibarra, y otras personas principales del campo, parecieron presentes ciertos indios que, mediante Benito Días Bustos y Juan Mahomat, indio cristiano interprete, declararon llamarse Raha Ache el Viejo y Raha Solimano el Mozo, señores y principales del pueblo de Manila, y Sibunao Lacandola, principal del pueblo de Tondo, y dieron como ellos en cumplimiento de lo que el Señor Gobernador les había dicho el día antes, cuando vinieron a ofrecer la paz y amistad, cerca de que se juntasen todos los principales y tratasen entre ellos se les estaría bien hacer paz y amistad con los Españoles y ser vasallos de su Magestad, y sobre ello le diesen la respuesta se habían juntado y tratado lo entre sí, y que todos de común sentimiento querían ser vasallos del Rey de Castilla y por tales se ofrecieron desde ahora por sí y en nombre de todos los indios de esta comarca, porque lo que ellos tres hiciesen y asentasen lo tenían todos por bueno;

Y el dicho Señor Gobernador dijo mediante la dicha lengua que lo mirasen bien porque después de hecha y asentada la paz, había de ser verdadera y perpetua y él que la quebrantase sería castigado, y caso puesto que no quisiesen ser amigos se podrían volver sin recibir daño alguno por la seguridad que se les había dado, y los dichos principales habiendo entendido lo susodicho por las dichas lenguas, dijeron que ya ellos tienen bien pensado el negocio y visto que la paz y amistad los estaba bien y por eso se ofrecían por vasallos de su Magestad;

Y luego el dicho Señor Gobernador les dió a entender como venía a estas partes por mandado de la Real Magestad del Rey de Castilla, Don Felipe nuestro Señor, por bien y provecho suyo y a darles a conocer a Dios verdadero todopoderoso, y sacarles del error y ceguedad en que ellos y sus antepasados habían estado y enseñarles su Santa Ley y Fe Católica para que se salven y no condenen, porque la principal intención de su Magestad era ésta como cristianísimo príncipe que es, y para dicho efecto enviar los religiosos que presentes estaban y otros que venían atrás, y para conseguir tan gran bien era necesario estar y ser sujetos a su Magestad y obedecer sus reales mandatos, y haciéndolo así el dicho Señor Gobernador [en]

su real nombre, tenía cuidado de los favorecer y mantener en paz y en justicia;

Y luego todos los dichos principales a una voz dijeron que ellos holgaban y querían ser vasallos de su Magestad y por tales se ofrecieron de tener paz perpetua con los Castellanos a que obedecerían lo que en nombre de su Magestad se les mandase, y serían sus esclavos, y el dicho Señor Gobernador dijo que él en nombre de su Magestad los recibía por sus vasallos y tenía cuidado de ellos y los favorecería en su real nombre, y que si algún español o otra persona de su compañía les hiciese algún daño o les tomase cosa alguna por fuerza y contra su voluntad con paga o sin ella, le avisasen de ello porque le castigaría y los desagraviaría y los ampararía, manteniéndolos en paz y en justicia como vasallos de su Magestad, de lo cual mostraron tener gran contentamiento, y en señal de verdadera sujeción y obediencia, se levantaron de donde estaban sentados y las rodilla [*sic*] por el suelo, uno a uno de ellos y otros muchos indios principales y vecinos, que con ellos estaban, echaron la mano al dicho Señor Gobernador en nombre de su Magestad;

Y su Señoría les dijo si querían hacer, para firmeza de la paz y amistad que prometieron, algunas de las ceremonias que entre ellos se acostumbran que las haría para darles contento, y los dichos principales dijeron que entre ellos se acostumbraba sangrar y beber la sangre pero que ellos tenían el dicho Gobernador por padre y por eso confiados de su palabra querían que la paz fuese a uso de Castilla, y el dicho Gobernador les dijo que la usanza de Castilla era asentarlos ante escribano y testigo, y los dichos principales fueron contentos de ella;

Y el dicho Señor Gobernador mandó a mi, el dicho Fernando Riquel, asentase por auto lo susodicho, todo como pasó, y hecha la dicha amistad, el dicho Señor Gobernador tomó en nombre de su Magestad la posesión de la dicha tierra y isla, haciendo los autos y ceremonias de verdadera posesión según y como es uso y costumbre, lo cual pasó en haz y paz de los dichos indios, y dándoseles a entender como se tomaba la dicha posesión en nombre de su Magestad, y fecha y asentada la paz y tomada la dicha posesión, el dicho Señor Gobernador les mandó a los dichos indios que luego mandasen hacer y hiciesen acabar un fuerte que tenían comenzado en la punta de este río, donde se plantase y pusiese la artillería de su Magestad, y que dentro del dicho fuerte hiciesen una casa para su Magestad y una camarín grande para cosas necesarias, y que

asimismo fuera del fuerte habían de hacer una casa e iglesia para los religiosos en la parte y lugar que se les señalase, y una casa para el dicho Señor Gobernador, y que estas casas y iglesia habían de ser grandes, y asimismo habían de hacer otras ciento y cinquenta casas medianas en que se albergarse la gente del campo, lo cual se pudiera haberse escusado si ellos no quemaran como quemaron el pueblo, y asimismo les trató y dijo que viesen ellos que orden se debía dar para que los soldados no les tomasen cosas ninguna de sus haciendas y se pudiesen sustentar sin les hacer daño, y ellos todos de una conformidad dijeron y prometieron que harían los edificios y casas arriba declaradas, y que acabada la obra de las dichas casas, darían comida en este pueblo a trescientos españoles ordinariamente de los mantenimientos y comida que ellos usan y tienen en esta tierra, todo lo cual prometieron de cumplir por lengua de los dichos interpretes, siendo testigos los sobredichos que se hallaron presentes, y para que consta a ella su Señoría del dicho Señor Gobernador lo mandó asentar por auto y lo firmé de su mano.

DON MIGUEL LOPEZ DE LEGAZPI

Ante mí,

FERNANDO RIQUEL

APPENDIX C

La Provincia de Pangasinán cuenta hasta cinco mil indios, y su trato es coger carabaos con hoyos y trampas. Crian puercos, buscan cera, hacen vino, venden tinajas o vasijas, y acompañan a los pasajeros en los despoblados por la paga en plata. No tienen minas, ni labaderos de oro, por lo que jamás han usado beneficiarlo. Venden sus puercos y carabaos a los igorotes, cuando les parece bajar a comprarlos, y no los compran a todos sino a aquellos que son sus amigos y les agasajan. Y así los pueblos e indios, que ordinariamente tratan con los igorotes son muy pocos, y todos los demás van vendiendo y contratando unos con otros, para que de mano en mano vayan llegando los animales a los igorotes; y, como estos no acuden sino a ciertos tiempos del año, es lo ordinario morirse los puercos, y así es muy poca la ganancia, y poco el oro que adquieren de los igorotes. La mayor ganancia del Pangasinán está en la venta del arroz y otros comestibles a los españoles y otros pasajeros, que son muchos los que pasan por esta Provincia, y les

acompañan. Todo se les paga en plata. El poco oro que logran de los igorotes se lo compran los mercaderes y justicias españoles, mandando labrar aquí sus cadenillas, y con esto recogen todo el oro que pueden haber, y también la cera.

De donde se sigue que la plata en Pangasinán es más que el oro, y los indios más fácilmente pagan en plata que en oro su tributo, aunque se les tome a como vale entre ellos, que es a ocho pesos el tael, poco más o menos. El Rey tiene mandado que el indio pague de tributo ocho reales para el encomendero, y dos reales más para los soldados que hay en la Provincia. Si se les hace pagar en oro a los pocos que lo tienen, se lo tomaran al precio más infimo según lo quieren los cobradores, y les vendra a salir a cinco tostones por tributo en oro; a los que lo han aconsejado a los oficiales reales, obraron contra la libertad y voluntad de los indios, y el bien común de Pangasinan.

APPENDIX D

CERTIFICO: como persona más antigua de los que residen en esta ciudad de Nueva Segovia por ser hijo de uno de los primeros españoles que vinieron a la conquista y población de esta dicha ciudad, que lo oí decir muchas veces a mi madre Juana Pérez (que Dios haya) y a otras muchas personas de los primeros conquistadores y pobladores de ella que la población de los indios de Bagumbayan, que es arrabal de esta dicha ciudad, se hizo de la india tagala, pampangos, visayas y camarines que vinieron con los primeros españoles a la conquista de esta provincia y población de esta ciudad; y que, después de pacificada la tierra, el General Juan Pablo de Carrión, Teniente de Gobernador y Capitán General que vino a la dicha conquista, que trajo poder a mano para dar encomiendas y repartir tierras, había dicho a los dichos indios que vinieron a la conquista con los españoles que poblasen en el sitio que llaman Bagumbayan, y por gratificarles en algo los muchos trabajos que habían padecido en las guerras de pacificaciones por los naturales de la tierra, les repartió y señaló tierras en los nipales del estero de Linao que llaman los españoles comunmente, estero de la nipa, para que hiciesen vino de nipa y se aprovecharan del usufruto para su sustento de ellos y sus mujeres, porque aquellos indios de la tierra no sabían hacer vino de nipa ni lo usaban.

Estos indios conquistadores fueron continuando esto y por

muerte de estos primeros indios pobladores, sus hijos y nietos; y en más de cincuenta y cuatro años los he conocido siempre a estos indios de Bagumbayan descendientes los más de ellos de los referidos, hacer el vino de nipa y venderlo a los españoles, indios y otras naciones de lo que cogen de los nipales, que a sus padres y abuelos dió de repartimiento el Teniente Gobernador, aprovechándose del usufruto do lo que a cada uno se le señaló, y en treinta y tres años que ha soy Escribano Público de esta Provincia ni antes que lo fuera no he visto, sabido, ni oído que ningún Alcalde Mayor que en este tiempo ha habido en esta Provincia, ni Alcaldes Ordinarios, cuando había Cabildo en esta ciudad, lo haya impedido, ni puesto ninguna contradicción a estos indios de Bagumbayan en el hacer este vino de nipa, ni que ellos vendan a quien quieran, porque no tienen otro officio, ni recurso para buscar su sustento y pagar su tributo, que lo que sacan del vino que venden de sus nipales.

Y para que conste donde convenga y valga esta certificación, en lo que hubiere lugar de derecho, de pedimento de los indios de dicho pueblo de Bagumbayan y del R.P. Fr. Lucas García como su Ministro y Vicario y persona que tiene poder de ellos para todos sus causas y negocios, dí la presente y firmada de mi nombre, que es fecha en la Nueva-Segovia en tres días del mes de Marzo de mil seis cientos y cuarenta y ocho años.

ALONSO GALINDO