

Notices of the Pagan Igorots in 1789 - Part Two

By

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Translator's Note

Fray Francisco Antolín was a Dominican missionary in Dupax and Aritao, Nueva Vizcaya, in the Philippines, between the years 1769 and 1789, who was greatly interested in the pagan tribes generally called "Igorots" in the nearby mountains of the Cordillera Central of northern Luzon. His unpublished 1789 manuscript, *Noticias de los infieles igorotes en lo interior de la Isla de Manila* was an attempt to bring together all information then available about these peoples, from published books and pamphlets, archival sources, and personal diaries, correspondence, interviews and inquiries. An English translation of Part One was published in this journal, Vol. 29, pp. 177-253, as "Notices of the pagan Igorots in 1789," together with a translator's introduction and a note on the translation. Part Two is presented herewith.

Part Two is basically a collection of source materials arranged in chronological order, to which Father Antolín added comments and discussion where he thought it necessary, and an appendix of citations and discourses (*ilustraciones*) on controversial interpretations. With the exception of some of the Royal Orders (*cédulas reales*), these documents are presented in extract or paraphrase rather than as verbatim quotations for the purpose of saving space, removing material of no direct interest, or of suppressing what Father Antolín, as a child of the 18th-century Enlightenment, evidently considered excessive sanctity. Occasionally it is impossible to tell where the quotation ends and Father Antolín's own comments begin without recourse to the original, which recourse has been made throughout the present translation except in the case of works on the history of mining in Latin America which were not locally available. In a few instances the translator has chosen to reproduce the complete original text rather than Father Antolín's version,

most notably in the case of Manuel Carrillo's *A brief account of the missions of the four tribes called Igorots, Tinguians, Apayaos and Adans*.

As in Part One, the Spanish term *indio* has been translated "Filipino" where appropriate.

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**Notices of the Pagan Igorots in the Interior of the Island
of Manila, of Their Gold and Copper Mines,
and Their Commerce, and the Various
Expenditures, Endeavours and Expenses
Made for Their Discovery and Pacification**

Fray Francisco Antolín, O.P.

Part Two

In this second part the same method will be followed as in the first except for the chapter divisions which will hardly be necessary since the items are independent of one another and disconnected, although very useful for the clear understanding and attainment of the goal of this paper. It will be enough to cite the years in which they occurred and the places they have been taken from. The notices and extracts will continue to be abbreviated, for this work is getting longer and more laborious than I had intended at the beginning.

The year 1571

The Spaniards founded Manila in 1571, and set out to explore and pacify the provinces of this island that same year and the next. Father Gaspar's history¹ says on page 273:

Since the new Governor-General had established the foundations of his government, he now decided to send Field Marshal Martín de Goiti to organize the areas discovered by Juan de Salcedo, Governor Legaspi's nephew. He reached the provinces of Pangasinan and Ilocos which he found submissive because of what Salcedo had accomplished on his trip, so that he easily made them all subjects and took such a quantity of gold from them that on their return to Manila those who saw it testified it weighed more than twelve thousand *taes*,¹ including both what they took as tribute for His Majesty and what he and his companions bartered them-

1. Gaspar de San Agustín, O.S.A., *Conquistas de las islas Philipinas*, Madrid 1698.

¹ See the *Index of Citations* beginning on p. 130. These are Father Antolín's own annotations, and they will hereafter be indicated by Roman numerals, the translator's by Arabic numerals.

selves, inasmuch as the two provinces were very rich through the trade they had with the mountaineer Filipinos called Zambals and Igorots who possess the richest mines that there are in the whole island and from which they get the gold with the special skill which Divine Providence has granted them for their survival; although in our times [1698] the quantity doesn't reach a twentieth part of what they used to obtain in the old days.

I myself do not find any reason to think these pagans secured more gold in olden times than now, or that they had more skill or art then, but rather that, just as the other Filipinos support themselves with cotton, sugar and deer-hunting according to the capacities of their lands, so the Igorots do by exploiting the gold which occurs in their lands. See Discourses 5 and 6 [of the Appendix].

1574

At the end of this year the famous pirate Limahon came with many sampans and armed Chinese to take Manila which he was unable to do due to the resistance of the Spaniards. He had to retreat and seek refuge in Pangasinan, and they also drove him from there. The histories of Father Colín,² Father Gaspar, and the Franciscans,³ refer to this whole affair with considerable detail, and none of them says that any of these Chinese took refuge farther inland in the mountains of the Igorots, but rather that those who survived at liberty took to sea in their sampans, besides some 52 captives and prisoners in the fort in Pangasinan, who returned to China from Manila with the Chinese merchants. See Father Gaspar, page 304.

An early account by Father Chirino printed in Rome in 1604⁴ also recounts this event, and says that after the few Spaniards of Manila had vanquished the enemy Limahon, who had brought more than a thousand warriors with him, they made him retreat to Pangasinan, and even from there he was forced to flee from us with light boats which they carried to the sea on their shoulders, leaving the heavier ones in the river and some spoils in their forts and camps, which our forces took.

Thus there is no basis in the early histories for the idea that the Igorots are descended from these Chinese of the pirate Limahon.

The Spaniards, who must have had some Augustinian chaplains

2. Francisco Colín, S.J. *Labor evangelica, ministerios de los obreros de la Campaña de Jesús*, Madrid 1663.

3. Juan Francisco de San Antonio, *Crónicas de la Apostólica Provincia de S. Gregorio de Religiosos descalzados de N.S.P.S. Francisco en las Islas Philipinas, China, Japon, etc.*, 3 vols., 1733-1744.

4. Pedro Chirino, S.J., *Relación de las Islas Filipinas*, Rome 1604.

with them, destroyed these Chinese arms in Lingayen, and took this occasion to examine the coast as far as Mangaldan, and—says Aduarte⁵ on page 77—they wanted to establish their jurisdiction and ministry there inasmuch as the Filipinos of Mangaldan offered their land. And on page 71 he tells about the clergy, the Augustinians, and *encomenderos*.

1586

The Augustinian fathers who travelled back and forth in their earliest ministries in Ilocos, managed to found churches and towns in the most dangerous passages from the very beginning so they might reduce the Filipinos there to a civilized Christian life. The history of Father Gaspar makes mention on page 438 of the churches of Baoang, Bacnotan, Balauang, Tagudin, and Bangar in this year. These towns in the district of Ilocos are where many Igorots gather because of being near there, and thus, as far as these pagans are concerned, they can be considered missions and places of refuge for those who might wish to submit and become Christians.

1587

The aforesaid history also makes mention on page 446 of Narvacan, Santiago, Santa Maria, S. Esteban, S. Nicolas de Pura, and its outstation chapel of Sta. Catalina de Namacpacan. This latter is the first town of Ilocos on leaving Pangasinan. It is 54 leagues from Manila by land, though it is a dangerous road because of a deserted region of a day's travel, with much sand and gravel, which they now call the Beach of Murcia, where the Filipinos of the mountains frequently come down, and if there isn't a good-sized escort, take the heads of whomever they can, as happened in the year 1651 with Father Definidor Fray Pedro de Valenzuela, Visitor of Ilocos, whom they lamentably killed. They also killed General Don Felipe de Ugalde—says Father Gaspar—, a courageous Vizcayan nobleman, through his overconfidence in his own valor, taking him unawares without his being able to avail himself of his arms. The place and year of this gentleman's death will be mentioned below. A work by an Augustinian father speaks of these deaths and damages inflicted by the Igorots in the district of Ilocos, and adds the following:

They also killed Father Agustin Niño, Prior of Buratao, or San Juan, a town of the district of Ilocos, as Father Herrera mentions in his *Alfabeto*.

5. Diego Aduarte, O.P., *Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario de Filipinas, Japon y China de la Sagrada Orden de Predicadores*, Manila 1640.

In this century they killed various Spaniards in the Beach of Murcia, and many Ilocano Filipinos. They also stole the supply packs of an Augustinian provincial, and killed a religious of San Juan de Dios near the town of San Esteban who was going around soliciting alms. For these reasons our Father Trillio in his provincial visitation gave the order to form a garrison in the said region for defense against the Igorots who come down from the mountains to take heads.^{II}

1593

On page 7 Aduarte recounts the Pangasinanes' regular dealings and journeys to the mountains of the Igorots in their exchange of gold.

An original old document in the Archives of Santo Domingo tells something of the early situation in the Province of Pangasinan, how it was intended in the beginning that the Pangasinanes pay their tribute in gold or in silver coins. The Augustinians were in Lingayen and other towns of the coast up to the year 1613 when they turned them over to the Dominicans^{III} who had been working in the interior of Pangasinan since the year 1587, and had founded churches in Binalatongan and Calasiao. Six years later the Dominicans of Pangasinan made the following report:

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 travellers 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 travellers, 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 collectors want, 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.

The Provincial, Fray Alonso Jiménez, and other Dominicans signed this document in Santo Domingo in Manila on the 11th of August of 1593.

1596

A Royal Decree about the gold mines was dispatched under date of August 4, 1596, but I have not been able to find it other than the citation in the *Index of Royal Orders* which I have at hand.

1598

Father Gaspar's history makes mention on page 491 of the towns of Ago and Aringay. Their natives barter a certain amount of gold and wax from the Filipinos of the mountains. At this same time, Father Aduarte (page 226) places the foundation of the town of San Jacinto, along a clear river near the Mangaldan River, frequented by people coming from different towns and some from the mountains, who are all pagan. These towns, which face the Igorots, have always been good sites for communication with, and conversion of, these pagans, and like way-stations for passing deeper into the interior.

When I inquired of the Filipinos from these two towns, and of the Igorots I have here, about the towns and [the number of] their houses, they told me the following:

Towns	houses	Towns	houses
Camandag	20	Cavayan	31
Cavavan	30	Yhabbual	20
Anduntug	10	Yecace	35
Ypudul	10	Yog	10
Yllicav	20	Agaban	23
Andaliñgan	30	Ataban	25
Ybatang	11	Puntucan	38
Ungull	12	Yduiit	21
Pammitan	20	Bañgavan	12
Atifulu	33	Balangan	27
Ypalav	8	Mampulig	20
Babbadd	20	Fupplacc	17
Dinapugan	22	Pinduñgan	40
Amillacc	23	Ambabag	45

Illanay	49	Ybunay	30
Sañngava	75	Muñgñayang	20
Yvitip	40	Mampollia	50
Faluntun	20	Mantabbiong	60
Gitiviu	29	Ybuntung	20
Guminsat	20	Quiañgan	250
		Senañga	200

Note: according to the best of their knowledge, since it has been many years since they saw them.⁶

1601

In this year, says Father Gaspar on page 502, the Governor-General undertook to restrain the Igorots, inhabitants of the hills, from the injuries they were inflicting on the natives and Spaniards. He assigned this enterprise to Lieutenant Mateo de Aranda, who started off with 50 Spaniards, taking Definidor Fray Esteban Marín with him so that, as an expert in the language of the Igorots, he might manage to pacify them. This Augustinian father went in ahead of them alone to discuss surrender and a treaty with them, and they killed him treacherously, and also his servant.⁷ But, ignorant of this event, the Spaniards entered through the mountains and fell into an ambush of more than 3,000 pagans, in which many of our men perished and the rest found themselves obliged to retreat. Earlier, in the year 1592—says Father Gaspar on page 461—, Governor Dasmariñas sent his son, Don Luis, to pacify the Zambals, [and he] and 300 picked soldiers behaved with bravery worthy of memory. These Zambals were very similar in their barbarity to the Igorots, and even the Pangasinanes, and in the early accounts they were in the custom of calling these three races by the one name of Zambals. Even nowadays the Ilocanos designate the Christian Pangasinanes by the name of Zambals. In the year 1607 a

6. Although it has not been possible to identify any of these names in the environs of the present municipalities of Agoo and Aringay, ten of them still exist in the neighborhood of Kiangan, Ifugao, and "Senanga" is the present town of Mayaoyao in the same province.

7. Esteban Marín, pioneer Augustinian missionary in Batac and Laoag, Ilocos Norte, and Bantay, Ilocos Sur, founded the towns of Masinloc and Bolinao in Zambales, and supposedly composed an *Arte y catesquismo* of the Igorot language. Agustín María de Castro, Augustinian hagiographer and author of the 1780 *Osario venerable*, told Father Antolín in a letter dated June 14, 1789, that Father Marín had been the first apostle to the Igorots (from Tagudin, La Union, in 1584) and that he was killed in the mountains of Pampanga near Pantabangan not by Igorots but by Italones (i.e., Ilongots).

royal decree was dispatched to the Governor to exempt these pagans from tribute for ten years who were converted for the first time to our Faith by preaching alone. And in the year 1609 another was sent, asking information about the injuries the Zambals and Igorots were causing, and if it would be advisable to make expeditions with the Pampangueños to take slaves. I have only seen the citations of these in the index of the Government *List of Royal Orders*.

In a manuscript book of consultations of the Jesuits, which they turned over to the College of Santo Tomas [upon their expulsion from the Philippines in 1768], the following items are to be read:

In respect to the Zambals, not only can the King our Lord be considered absolute master for their conquest, but has actually, as of now, been their lord, and as such ordered Governor Dasmariñas in chapter 5 of the Instructions given in the year 1592 as follows:

"The punishment which was given the Zambal Filipinos was well taken since their excesses, their depredations and treacheries merited it; but in reference to making them slaves, this is deemed not suitable by virtue of being contrary to what has been decreed."

After this decree, the crimes of the Zambals, and the deaths and robberies on the roads were so great that the Royal Audiencia consulted all the religious orders and resolved, with their complete agreement, that they should be permitted to take captives in expeditions against the pagans of the hills and mountains called Tingues⁸ or Tinguianes, and also Zambals. In this council it was said that they were a public menace to life and property, and that they prevented the necessary passage through Pangasinan and Ilocos; it was said that they killed any Christians they caught, carrying off their fingers or ears or other parts of the body, the chief taking the skull to drink wine in; and it was decided as follows:

Edict of the Royal Audiencia on Dec. 23, 1906

This Royal Audiencia, having seen the petition by His Majesty's Fiscal and Protector of the Natives of these islands, that license and commission be given the Christian towns to invade the hills of the Zambals, Aetas⁹ and Tingues for the many injuries they inflict, particularly upon their neighbors of Pampanga and the lands of Silag, or Lingayen, in Pangasinan, and that they might take and capture those whom they could, and imprison or kill them according to the circumstances;

8. *Tingue*, a Malay word for mountain or hill, was applied in early Spanish accounts both to the unconquered foothills and to their inhabitants.

9. Negrito pygmies.

Considering what is requested and alleged in this argument, and the information of the religious and other responsible persons in ecclesiastic councils, and the great importance of this matter to the service of God and the King, and the peace, well-being and safety of the natives of these islands;

Therefore, it is ordered and has been ordered that the natives of Pampanga and the other towns which suffer injuries from the Zambals and Aetas may proceed in pursuit of them with men and arms of whatever caliber they may wish, and that those they capture alive can serve them as slaves for the time which may be the will of the King our Lord. By this Edict, it is so provided and ordained.

Before me, Pedro de Herrera,
Notary Public.

1605

In this year, says Father Aduarte on page 310, the Dominicans of Pangasinan, not being content with working in the lowlands, took charge of the town of Manaoag which is located between mountains and separated from their other stations, inasmuch as it had been given up by the Augustinians who had been in it since 1600, five years before. As this town of Manaoag is near and directly bordering the mountains of the Igorots, which extend to the missions of Cagayan, they must have taken it with a view to getting closer to their brethren who were already in Cagayan, and as a starting point for penetrating the immediate mountains from there. As a matter of fact, this town of Manaoag has always been the gateway and starting point for the various expeditions and explorations of the missions of Cagayan and for the subjugation of the Igorots and Alaguetes, who are vagabond Filipinos because of its advantageous situation. Fray Juan de San Jacinto and Father Gutierrez, Dominicans, and the first missionaries of Manaoag, discovered the placers of the rivers Agno and Ambayavan during journeys and their own missionary travels, and proceeded to the territories of Ytuy, or Isinay, discovering the watershed there beyond which the waters flow into the Cagayan, as is described in Aduarte's history in various places.^{IV}

1608

Royal Order to the Archbishop¹⁰ in August, 1608, pertaining to making slaves of the Moros, Zambals, and other pagans who live in the mountains.

10. Miguel de Benavides, O.P., founder of the University of Santo Tomas.

This Order has two parts. In the first are mentioned the great injuries, robberies, killings and seizing of captives, the burning of houses and churches, caused by those of Mindanao, Jolo and Borneo. In the second part similar mention is made of other nations of pagans within this island who are called Zambals and Negritos

and others who live in the barren mountains, and are outlaws, and who, in addition to other cruelties, cut the heads off those they encounter to sip their brains, and to do this they occupy and block the most necessary passes and highways of the Island, and the best land, and in this way prevent the Christians from making their fields.

Concerning this, the Procurator of those Islands, Don Hernando de los Ríos, has appealed on behalf of the Christian Filipinos, who desire and request that they be given license to possess arms to defend their persons as well as their children, wives and property, and that all the said injuries could be extirpated simply by suspending the Royal Order which has been given about not being able to make slaves, which permission being granted, the native vassals would be supported and encouraged to go against them and make them captives to serve in their houses and fields.

It has been decided to charge you to inform me of all that is taking place in this connection with all clarity so that I may decide what should be done.

I, the King.
Valladolid, August 30, 1608.

Another Royal Order to the Archbishop on August 8, 1609,
about the mountaineers of Ilocos and Pampanga.

From the letter of Auditor Rodrigo Dias y Guiral of June 30, 1606, I have learned that in the hills of Pampanga and Ilocos there are some Filipinos called Zambals, and that they live in the fields without fixed places of abode, and are so given to killing that it is their regular habit, falling on the natives in their farms and seizing them unawares; and many times the vassal Filipinos have petitioned that they be given authority to kill and imprison those they can for slaves; and that no resolution has been taken on this matter by virtue of my having ordered that slaves shall not be made of those of that Archipelago and islands; and that it would be most expedient to do it at least for some time, for if they had to serve those who capture them, these would be moved to make expeditions and take them prisoner, and the great injuries be extirpated which these Zambal Filipinos regularly commit not only against the natives of Pampanga, but also in the hills of Ilocos and other areas, every day disturbing and killing those who are at peace; and because I want to know with all clarity the particulars of what is going on, you will inform me of everything so that what is most expedient may be decided.

Segovia, 8 August 1609
I, the King.

(The King's resolution may be seen in the *Laws of the Indies*, Book 6, title 2, law 12, of "The liberty of the *Indios*."¹¹)

1609

In this year Governor Don Juan de Silva gave the Dominicans license to administer and found churches in the territories of Ituy, near the Igorots. This license, dated October 26, 1609, is in the Archives of Santo Domingo. Also, the *Compendio* of the Franciscans¹² states, on page 133, that they were there at that time, but, having found that land not to their liking, gave it all up. See what Aduarte says on page 329.

1610

The second part of the *History of Santo Domingo*,¹³ page 39, says that when Father Baltasar Fort, Provincial, was making a visitation to Cagayan, he didn't want to take the detachment of armed men that was customary crossing Ilocos. In a dangerous deserted place near Narvacan, he was attacked by the Tinguianes who live like beasts in the nearby mountains and regularly come down and infest the roads and cut off heads treacherously. The Filipinos who were carrying the goods, or luggage, heard their warcries and, dropping the cargo, ran off. The secretary accompanying the Provincial also fled, leaving him behind all alone. The pagans gave their first attention to the deserted baggage, and took their time going through it, and, finding among other objects of value a chalice which the Bishop of Cagayan was sending to Spain, they divided and redivided everything that was gold among themselves. Meanwhile, the Provincial took advantage of the situation to save himself, as the rest of his companions had done, and reached Narvacan.

1618

This year a royal order was dispatched to the Governor of Manila, dated December 19, 1618, which is here taken from the Government *List of Royal Orders*, No. 4, beginning on page 6.

11. This law from the *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reinos de las Indias* pertains to the Moros (i.e., Muslims) of Mindanao, and reiterates the traditional policy that subjects of Spain may not be enslaved, though Moorish invaders or teachers from other islands may be.

12. Domingo Martínez O.F.M., *Compendio histórico de la apostólica Provincia de San Gregorio de Philipinas de Religiosos menores descalzos de N.P. San Francisco*, Madrid 1756.

13. The continuation of Aduarte's *Historia de la Provincia de la Santo Rosario* by Baltazar de Santa Cruz, 1693.

To the Governor of Manila, Alonso Fajardo:

It seems opportune to advise you of the receipt of yours about the state of things there, and of what would now appear to be the only means for preserving those parts.

It has been learned from very reliable persons, religious and others, who have come from those islands and brought letters as proof, that in that land there are many very well-known mines of gold, and others, which, were they sought out, would be of much use and wealth and, if exploited, be of such profit as would be sufficient not only for the expenses there but to help with those here; and that the reason they have not been exploited has been a want of care and concern over the benefits and increase of the Royal Treasury; and you are therefore now charged most particularly to take steps to expedite this matter, with the devotion and sincerity that such urgent necessity requires, and obtain from it the last and greatest advantage which it could give since, as the peaceful fruits of the land will always be certain and it would be a great pity to lose that which this could remedy [that is, the maintenance of those islands] which are so remote, you will to this end make a survey of all the mines of which there is knowledge, or will be knowledge, offering prizes and other benefits, honors and franchises as shall appear suitable to you, that they be discovered and exploited as appropriate, making such vigorous efforts that are called for in such matters; and so that you can better give orders, it appears expedient to me to send you the two papers enclosed, signed by Juan Ruiz Contreras, my secretary, that you may see them and consider them with the attention and good council which is fit for determining the particular methods to obtain the object already decided upon; and, because the most important thing you must bear in mind is that the Filipinos must not be belabored, neither subject to any danger, servitude or discomforts, you will by all means avoid such difficulties, and with prudent circumspection proceed in kindness to gain the good will of the Igorot Filipinos so as to obtain satisfactory information about the location and wealth of these mines.

It is also a matter of great importance that the religious missionaries meet with you, to which effect letters are being written to the Provincials of the Orders of Santo Domingo and San Agustin, which are being sent to you with their copies so they may receive them from your hand; you will speak to them forthwith, availing yourself of any means as may appear useful to you to persuade them that they will be performing a great service to Our Lord and that with this so holy work they will alleviate the present state of affairs, and dealing with this public cause in such manner as to make clear to them that this is the most principal aim of your government, that for it and for no other were you sent out; and for greater satisfaction and more certain results, I order you so soon as you receive these letters to make a book in which these letters and the rest of the papers will be placed at the beginning, availing yourself of the Royal Notary Public or your own secretary, as you choose, and then going on to insert the orders you may give and the resolutions you may make in chronological order for purposes of record, and the time which is spent or lost in their execution, so that by this procedure you will keep track of

things better and I may know accurately all that transpires in everything. It will also be appropriate that all the papers, letters, and things which may pertain to this matter be placed in separate folders and summarized in this book briefly with references to the originals; and because you are well aware of the importance of good council, you will make use of the person you may consider can give council best, and if it seems to you advisable to form a committee, you will do it with those most suitable; hereby, therefore, you are cautioned not only of the importance of this matter but of the best advice available here so that in your prudence you select the most useful and procure the benefits and profits which can be expected from this affair.

Madrid, December 19, 1618
I, the King.

Another Royal Order, to the Archbishop of Manila, of the same date and about the same subject¹⁴

The most reverend Archbishop of Manila:

With your experience in the Islands, you well know the importance of their preservation not only for the cause of the Christian religion, which is the principal reason, but also for the condition of the Royal Estate which is well known to you, and the great amount I have spent from my Royal Patrimony in them, since it has already reached more than seven million, and that nothing whatsoever has been received from there; all of which has been the more onerous for being in times when the common enemy, the heretics, and other powers, have sought to diminish my Royal Estate, and although silver and money was wanting or scarce for these expenses here, those expenses out there were nonetheless met; but what has been done and expended in the past, will not be possible in the future because of urgent needs here.

This I refer to you so that you will understand the just cause for what I now set before you: that is, that with the goal that what is there should be preserved and the Dutch enemy and others be driven from those Islands, and because it is expedient above all else that there be the necessary treasure or money for it, it is deemed the only and principal remedy must be to exploit those mines of the Igorots and others, as Don Alonso Fajardo, my governor, will tell you in more detail, with whom you shall keep in close contact in everything, and especially in this I consider so important; and I desire it to be pushed ahead with the good judgment and care which would be most appropriate.

Madrid, December 19, 1618
I, the King.

14. Identical copies of this Royal Order were sent to the Dominican and Augustinian provincials and the Bishop of Nueva Segovia on the same date (Seville: Archivo General de Indias, Filipinas 100).

1619

After the above Order was received in Manila, various meetings and consultations were held to implement it. Fortunately, one has been found in a book of consultations of Father Domingo Gonzales, O.P., Rector of the College of Santo Tomás, preserved in the Archives of Santo Domingo, and it is as follows, somewhat condensed:

Whether it is possible to make a just war against
the Igorots

The question is asked because of the robberies and injuries which the Igorots have caused, killing 25 Christians in Mangaldan in 20 years; and, taking vengeance on the people of Agoo by killing 16 Filipinos, with no other provocation than that they had killed an Igorot slave. In the town of San Jacinto they killed a Christian chieftain, luring him outside the town by trickery, and two years ago they killed three Filipinos of the same town. When the fancy strikes them, they come down to kill with so little cause they sometimes don't even know whom they're attacking but simply whom-ever they happen to meet. Between Mangaldan and Agoo they have committed many murders and robberies, and oblige travellers to take escorts due to the danger. They also come to the Christian towns to ask for salt, plates and even carabaos, and if they don't give them to them, threaten to kill them in the fields and trails.

[The question is asked] also because they have the almost unused gold mines there which could serve for the many necessities of this Christendom, which she cannot support herself and which it now appears the King cannot succor from Spain. And it would seem God created those mines of the Igorots to succor this whole land and not just for the evil use which these barbarians make of them, buying carabaos, pigs and drinks to celebrate their feasts and debauches. These mines could be very useful for all the people of these islands should they come to such straits as they will if Nueva España should not help us with the usual aid. Also, because if war is not made against them, no means is discerned for their conversion and the salvation of their souls.

It is replied: It is something well known to those who have knowledge of the conquest of these lands that they had no single lord or king, but that each territory or little town had its chieftain who, without recognizing any superior authority, governed his subjects. From which it is to be inferred that, some of these lands not having been gained in a just war, it is possible to make war against their residents, and, that the Igorots, not having been conquered until now, are still lords of their own lands and mines. Paul III decreed in his Brief that even those Filipinos who are not yet pacified and subject to the Spaniards, are capable of eternal life, and are truly lords of their properties. In which it appears that he declared that when his predecessor, Alexander VI, gave the dominion of the Indies then discovered or to be discovered to the Catholic Monarchs, it was only to give them a sort of imperial power, such as the Emperor

had over various principalities, without depriving their lords there of anything. This concession to the Kings of Spain was only made because it was necessary for the extension of the Faith and the governance of Christendom.

Without doubt the Igorots are still lords of their lands and mines at the present time, and absolute owners, inasmuch as they have not been made vassals of our King, and so there is good reason to enquire now whether for the injuries they have done us, and do, they deserve to be punished by war. And our Catholic Monarchs are so far from holding this inquiry superfluous, as the cedulae show which have been appended to this document, and other royal ordinances, that his Majesty strictly orders that for such wars secular and ecclesiastical councils be consulted to see if there are just motives.

In view of this, we are of the opinion that, because the injuries of these barbarians are constant, rigorous satisfaction can be required of them for the grievances committed and positive pledges of not committing them again in the future, and if they do not, war can then be undertaken against them. But we would conform ourselves to St. Augustine, and the law: "The will desires to keep the peace but necessity compels us to war," and it would seem to us more in conformity with the benignity with which his Majesty orders that these pacifications be done, first to offer these Igorots a general pardon of all that has passed with the express condition that they quiet down and become peaceful, and give the King the obedience and recognition which have been given him in other provinces, and live in their villages in law and reason as the rest of the Filipinos do. And, if they so concede and so behave, all that is sought from them will have been obtained, which is to be able to teach the Faith and the law so that their souls may be saved, and that those mines of theirs be of more use and profit; for, though they be left in possession of their mines and give obedience to the King, they should contribute the fifth part; and, if they do not know how to develop them, they should follow the instructions of his Majesty or any others that be given them later, and the Spaniards seek other mines around there and even buy those already discovered from them, from which will follow the procurement of the gold of which this land has such need for its maintenance.

But, if they do not wish to listen or give these promises, as it is to be understood may happen because of their little intelligence, and reply that they do not wish to submit or give satisfaction for the harm they do and have done, they immediately expose themselves to the justification of making war against them in conformity with St. Augustine, St. Thomas, and the common law: "Just wars are to avenge the injuries which one city, or people, has made against another and refuses to give satisfaction for what they have injured and robbed,"¹⁵ and this is in conformity with the war which the Israelites justly waged against the Ammorites because they refused their innocent passage through their lands which should be open for the good of human society.

15. See note 17 on page 46.

These Igorots have already fallen into this crime and persist in it, not permitting the Christians to move about in freedom for, if not through force, these people will never leave off the bestial life which they have had up until now, concerning themselves solely with eating and debauching, and committing murders right in plain view. Those who know them say that the whole hope for this people in regard to their own good consists in their being conquered, and that only in this manner can many grave sins be avoided which the Christian Filipinos sometimes commit with the confidence of fleeing to the Igorots, and therefore it will be possible also to conquer various apostates who have run off to those mountains. All of which, aside from the main reasons placed at the beginning, much support the conclusion that this war, so just, useful and necessary for all, be undertaken with all determination. *Salvo meliori judicio*.¹⁶

Opinions about the mines of the Igorots and Zambals

Among the books from the Jesuit library which were turned over to the University of Santo Tomas, one manuscript of consultations and opinions is found, among which there are two about the mines of the Igorots and Zambals. These Zambals are now rather civilized and diminished in number, but formerly they extended through Paniqui and Puntalon in Pangasinan, to Porac in Pampanga, Magalang, Tarlac, Gapan, Cabanatuan, Lupao and Tayug. (See Father Gaspar, page 473.) Up to the present time they still roam around together with some of the Negritos and Aetas and other tribes of Zambal Filipino nomads between Pangasinan and Pampanga in the lands and rivers that carry very good gold, such as that of Gapan, and the Agno River between Asingan and Tayug. The town of Gapan is a settlement of Zambal Filipinos. One of the said opinions of the Jesuits is about this gold ore.

All the above they assume themselves on various historical reports. The second Bishop of Cagayan, Don Fray Diego de Soria, was among the first Dominican founders and missionaries of Pangasinan. He governed his diocese and made visitations from 1604 to 1613, in which year he died. It caused him much sorrow that in his episcopal see there were so many barbarous pagans in the mountains who prevented communication by land with Cagayan, especially the Igorots and Zambals, and caused deaths in the passes from Magaldan to Agoo, in Bauang, Bacnotan and Namacpacan in the district of Ilocos.

To put an end to such dangers and to convert such pagans, it seemed to him the means was that the Spaniards should occupy and work the gold mines, and settle them, and to take this up with the residents and the Council of the City of Manila, he came here carry-

16. "Saving a better judgment."

ing samples of the gold to show to everybody, and to stimulate them by word and writing of the temporal advantage of the gold, so as to introduce the Holy Evangel by this means to his whole see, and domesticate those barbarians. These reports by the Bishop, and the advantages of exploiting the gold, came to the notice of the King through Padre Juan de Leyba, O.P., who went to Madrid as Procurator in 1616. He brought the news of the discovery of these mines, and the samples from them together with the letters from the aldermen of Manila written to the King about the profit which would result if his Majesty should give license and support so that the Igorots be discovered and pacified.

With these reports and news, the King dispatched an order to the Governor of Manila, Don Alonso Fajardo, which is dated December 19, 1618, which has been transcribed above, in which he ordered that all effort be made to carry out the pacification of the Igorots and the development of their mines. After this order of the King reached Manila, various meetings were held and the opinions were taken from the persons qualified to give them. The opinion of the Dominicans has already been presented, which was very similar to *what the Jesuits submitted, which is as follow:*

Opinion signed by eight fathers of the Society of Jesus about the
pacification of the Igorots and their mines

The Igorots living in the mountain ranges of this Island of Luzon are highwaymen, murderers, and men who make little use of their native intellect, and despite the many efforts by ministers of the Gospel and by war to reduce them to peace and ordinary human relationships and save them from these and many other characteristics totally barbarian and, indeed, contrary to the natural light, they have been most obstinate in waging war against us and preventing passage to the Ilocanos and Cagayan, our friends and vassals of the King our Lord, there thus having been no way to stop or put up for a single day in the passes between the Bar of Mangaldan and Agoo (a distance of seven leagues), nor the one between Bauang and the River of Balsas, and from Mount Bacnotan to the jurisdiction of Pura, Namacpacan, since atrocious deaths have occurred, and do occur, every day through their obduracy or cruelty, requiring travellers always to avail themselves of a company of escorts in the said passes, which is of the greatest cost and trouble to them.

This people, then, so unworthy of the land they inhabit for the said reasons, have many gold mines there, which, by the gain from their exploitation, would be most important for bringing in and maintaining the number of Spaniards sufficient to overcome the ferocity of these barbarians with their industry, and, by this exposure to more genteel customs, win them over to the use of reason and bring them to admitting the Holy Gospel voluntarily.

Concerning which, it is asked:

First, whether, because of the injuries received and the small hope of improvement due to the little capacity and reason which we observe in them—which considerations together make us wary and fear others such, or even worse—, it is in good conscience possible to conquer them so as to place them in subjugation and ourselves and our people in guaranteed security?

Second, whether by the right which the King our Lord has in the conquest of this land, and of all the Indies, as is apparent from what has taken place and from what has been set forth as procedures in the ordinances which he has issued for discoveries, new settlements, expeditions and conquests, to wit, the first, third section, which says, "Persons who go on voyages of discovery by sea or by land shall take possession in our name of all the lands and provinces and districts where they shall arrive and go ashore, performing the solemnities and acts legally necessary and giving public testimony thereof to make them authentic," and the 97th: "Item: We grant them the mines of gold and silver and other precious metals and salt mines and fisheries such as have pearls in the said land or territory, saving only that of the gold and silver, pearls, and all the rest which they may obtain from those deposits and mines, the particular founder and the dwellers of the said town, or whatsoever person, shall give and pay to us one-fifth of all obtained in gold from the whole coast;"

Accordingly, it is asked: Whether the Governor can both execute and obey each of these ordinances which are merely practical norms, and whenever it may appear suitable to him, and support without question the right which his Majesty has for ordering and commanding it so, or if he should, before proceeding to any such execution, examine its justification, permitting doubts and objections to be raised against them?

Beginning with the last, it appears to us (*salvo meliori iudicio*) that whether his Majesty has the right to conquer and pacify these islands, or whether he is lord of them and of the mines which are found in them, cannot be placed in doubt or in dispute because it admits opinions or views on something which touches and derogates the Royal Patrimony, as is said in the *New Compilation of the Laws of the Indies*, title 13, laws 1 and 2, and revives a question already decided by many judgments and which concerns the title with which his Majesty possesses Peru and Nueva España, something which must not be altered by what is decided here; and thus, passing on to the principal point in this matter, it is asked if it is possible to wage war against the Igorots for the damages and grievances which are here referred to and for their blocking the necessary passes? And, in case war should be waged against them and their land laid waste with fire and sword, whether the ordinances of his Majesty in his Royal Provision of July 13, 1575—which treat of expeditions and pacifications and the possession of mines undertaken in peace—, should be put into practice?

Reply is given with the teaching of the great doctor St. Augustine, *Book of the 83 Questions*, in the first question, which sets forth in all clarity the causes for a just war, all of which may be reduced to the matter of injuries received, "Justa bella solent definiri, quae ulciscunt injurias, si gens, civitas plectanda est quae vindicare neglexerit quid a suis improbe

factum est, vel reddere quod per injuriam oblatum est.”¹⁷ And, Saint Thomas, Pt. II-II, Q. 40, Art. 1: “Requiritur causa justa, ut illi qui impugnant, per aliquam culpam impugnantem mereantur.”¹⁸ In short, wars are just because of injuries done, and so, aside from others which the Igorots have done, we see one permanent one, that is, the blocking of the necessary passage by land. This alone is sufficient cause for waging war against them.

We take an example touching this from Numbers, chapter 20, where the people of Israel made war against the King of the Amorrites and deprived him of his kingdom because he prevented them from passing through to the Promised Land.¹⁹ St. Augustine gives this reason in *On the Book of Numbers*, question 44, and the *Law* gives it as a sufficient right (32, question 2, chapter *Dominus noster*, and chapter *Notandum* 23), which the Doctors [Francisco] de Victoria, [Domingo] Bañez, [Antonio de] Castro, [Luis] Molina, [Didaco del] Covarrubias, [Gregorio.] Valencia, and many others cite and follow; and some in this regard refer to the fact that Julius Caesar could legitimately make war against the Romans when they refused him the free passage which he justly asked, and for which reason he said, according to Lucanum, “Arma tenenti omnia dat qui justa negat—He who refuses what is right to him who is armed, gives him everything.” This sentence is well-known among learned men; and thus, in some consultations which his Majesty ordered to be held in Spain in 1603 as to whether war could be made against the Kings of Cambodia, Siam and Champa, though there were different opinions about the justification in regard to Siam and Cambodia, all agreed that war could be waged against the King of Champa because of his being a piratical corsair who attacked ships and blocked passage to Japan and China.

Resolution

This being assumed, we are of the opinion that, although it is possible to wage just war against the Igorots with fire and sword on the strength of just retribution, this nonetheless should not be done to them but only that their mines be occupied in the name of his Majesty, in which case they are dealt with kindly since the death they deserve is commuted to a lesser punishment for them, in the same manner as when for him whom one can kill in a just war, death is commuted to slavery.

This opinion is in conformity with the resolutions that have already been passed in meetings of the religious orders in these islands, such as when, to justify enslaving the Mindanaos, more than sufficient causes were

17. “A just war is wont to be described as one that avenges wrongs, when a nation or state has to be punished, for refusing to make amends for the wrongs inflicted by its subjects, or to restore what it has seized unjustly.” This quotation is actually found in *De diversis quaestionibus in Heptateuchum locutionem*, Book VI, Question 10.

18. “A just cause is required, namely that those who are attacked, should be attacked because they deserve it on account of some fault.”

19. This incident appears in the Douay Version in chapter 21, verses 21-26.

proved for making war against them, and in another consultation which the Royal Audiencia made on December 23, 1606, when, to make slaves of the Zambals, so many injuries they had committed were proved that it was possible to make war against them justly, since in these matters of bloodshed it is better to give the lesser hurt, *et aequitas preferenda rigori*.²⁰

This is all the more applicable because invading the lands of the Igorots to conquer and pacify them is something already taken up in these islands. When Don Luis Pérez Dasmariñas went up into the mountains of Ituy and Arisey, even from that expedition it was learned that they are not a peaceful people—as some have wished to say nowadays—but that they are fierce and barbarous and cruel enemies, since they killed many, and he returned without his expedition having had any effect.

With these considerations, the matter of the justification has been proved.

Now the advantages will be set forth if those mines be occupied and worked by Spaniards, which will appear very good both here where we see them and in the Court before his Majesty's eyes.

First, that these islands have languished with the wars against the Dutch and the lack of merchandise from China to such an extent that it is impossible to save them but by this or some other help which God may send, because the Royal Treasury is sorely in debt, and expenses exceed the revenues and royal assets.

Second, that with this discovery, these islands will become famous and Spaniards will come to settle here for greed of gold, since we know that gold is a magnet to men's hearts.

Third, that his Majesty retains these islands with great mildness and pleasure, which Dominican Fray Juan de Leyba realized he would be giving him when, going to Spain as Procurator in 1616, he brought the news of the discovery of those mines to his Majesty, and samples from them, and recommended to the aldermen of this city that they should write his Majesty to the effect that there would be profit not only in the silks of China but also in the gold of these mines.

Fourth, that it is only means by which these mountaineer barbarians will be domesticated, because to work the mines it will be necessary to set up a fort and take possession of the land, and, these being settled by Spaniards and peaceful Christian Filipinos, they will come to be converted, and for this reason the Lord Bishop [of Nueva Segovia] Don Fray Diego de Soria came to this City, urging the residents and Administration that the mines be worked, and bringing ores from them and samples of gold, and many of us heard him say that by these means he intended to introduce the Holy Gospel and tame those barbarians. This reason has much weight because of its coming from their very Prelate and Pastor,²¹ and because all the residents were witness to the intent which he had and the reasons he gave, which today are the same, as the state of the Igorots is now what it then was.

Fifth, that with this occasion the roads will be made safe and there will

20. "And equity is preferable to rigor."

21. That is, the Bishop of Nueva Segovia (then Lal-loc, Cagayan) had spiritual jurisdiction over all of Northern Luzon.

be free and open communications, which these days there is not: rather, very dangerous, and exorbitantly expensive for having to take escorts of soldiers and many guards in the bad passes; and, if it should be said that there are some there on the heights of the sierras who cause no harm, it is simply because we don't go there or they don't come down, like the griffins living on the peaks of the Caucasus Mountains where they harm nobody.²²

Sixth, that with this occasion a den of thieves will be removed in which delinquent Christians take refuge and are not punished by law, and they will no longer carry off Christian children who, being captured while tiny, are raised there in their tribal ways and idolatries and die thus, and the Church has the right to avenge this injury.

Seventh, that the working of the mines would be a common benefit to the Filipinos themselves because they will be much involved in the business and enjoy its fruits, and need not fear they will lose out as in Nueva España because the production of gold in this land does not entail the intolerable labor of the silver mines.

These reasons require undertaking the exploitation of the gold for the preservation of these islands, which are being lost, to succor the Royal Treasury which is very much depleted, for the preaching of the Holy Gospel which thereby would make headway, for the pacification of the Igorots, for the safety of the roads, and the general good of these Filipinos.

In the College of the Society of Jesus,
Manila, November 1, 1619.

Francisco Vicente
Miguél Gómez
Andrés Caro
Adriano de las Cortes
García Carces
Pedro Martínez
Hernando Paes

Endorsement by Bishop Miguel Garcia Serrano to the Governor

The proposed case was decided by eight religious of the Society of Jesus whom I consulted, men so learned I know of no university that would surpass them save only those most learned men in our Spain whom they quote in their decision for what they did in a similar case in the year 1603. It has seemed good to me not to consult the other religious since, aside from there being no need of such diligence where the Society has given so well-founded a decision, a serious grievance would be done to the authority of his Royal Majesty to place in doubt a matter so well attested, and one which the King has had so well examined, and so it is my opinion that your Excellency should follow the opinion of such learned gentlemen, and proceed

22. Mythological creatures believed by the ancient Greeks to guard the gold and precious stones of Asian Scythia, tearing to pieces any who tried to get them.

with the execution of the discovery of those mines, and the conversion of these souls, and this is the main thing.

In Guía,²³ outside the walls of
Manila, November 5, 1619
FRAY MIGUEL, Archbishop-
Elect of Manila

Another Opinion

in which two things are proved: first, the right which his Majesty has to occupy and work the mines among the Igorots; and second, the advantages which there would be in working them.

The Catholic Monarch Philip II set down the right which his Majesty has to all the mines of the lands of his crown in Book 6 of the *New Compilation of the Laws of the Indies*, title 13, laws 1 and 2, where he says: "All the mines of gold, silver, lead or other metals whatsoever which may be in our Royal Dominion belong to us," and in Law 4, he says that it belongs to his Royal Patrimony on the basis that the land is Royal Domain, and he thus resolves the question with these words: "Therefore, we take possession, hold and incorporate in ourselves and in our Royal Crown and Patrimony, all the mines, etc."

That these islands are his Majesty's and legally appertain to his Royal Crown nobody could doubt, and if it be said that this is to be understood as meaning only those pacified lands and that those of the Zambals are not, for this the following arguments are of much weight:

First: if the pacified territory is his Majesty's, then the Governor-General is already sufficiently justified for working the mines, because it is clear that to work them he has to possess them and be their actual owner since it would hardly be possible to work them without possessing them, and this is easy enough to understand.

Second: it must be realized that, in respect to the Zambals, not only is his Majesty potential lord, as if still to conquer the Indies, but actually has been lord, and acted as such in an order to Gómez Pérez [Dasmariñas], chapter 5 of the *Instructions* of the year 1592, dated June 10, which says: "The punishment which was given the Zambal Filipinos for their injuries, treacheries, uprisings and other crimes is good, since their excesses deserved it; but, as to making them slaves, it is deemed unsuitable for being contrary to what I have ordered, which must be complied with when applying the specific punishments established for persons under dominion and for insurrections, that is, for people who rebel."

After this order, the crimes, excesses, deaths and robberies were so great that in the year 1606 on December 23, the Royal Audiencia held a meeting of all the religious orders and, with complete unanimity it was resolved that the Pampangueños and people of other towns should capture them, making expeditions against them in the *tingues* and in the mountains. And in this meeting the existing causes were presented for making them slaves, so obvious that none could doubt them, and so justified that it was

23. The Church of Our Lady of the Way, Malate.

possible to wage war against them with fire and sword because it was said, in short, that they were highwaymen taking both life and property, and that they impeded the necessary passage by land, a reason so sufficient it alone is enough for waging war, as is seen in Exodus and Numbers, where, for impeding passage, God commanded war to be waged against the natives of the Promised Land.

It was said that they ate human flesh and that they were so cruel that when some Christians fell into their hands, they mutilated and disfigured them in a minute, one carrying off a finger, another an ear, with the greatest prize being the skull, which the chieftain carried off in order to drink out of it—oh, inhuman cruelty! It was said that they prevented the Filipinos from becoming Christians, and that they had fallen on Christian towns in troops, killing and robbing and carrying off baptized children whom they then raised among their idolatries, etc., a thing which without any manner of doubt the Church can avenge by making war against them.

Other grievances were recounted for which it was judged that they were unjust possessors of the land; and that when they simply impeded the necessary transit, it was sufficient cause to make war against them. "Arma tenenti omnis dat qui justa negat," said Julius Caesar, according to Lucanum, and the teaching of the Great Augustinian refers to this in the chapter *Notandum*, 23, question 2, and in question 44 of *On the Book of Numbers*.

A good argument for the advantage of working the mines is that Don Diego de Soria, Lord Bishop of Nueva Segovia, after long experience found no other means than working their mines for domesticating them, and therefore he came to this city and at various times took it up with the citizens and aldermen of the city, urging that they should give one slave from each house and encourage his labor with the great incentive of the gold, which is of the finest kind, and he brought samples of it, urging that they go to work the mines.

And although it is true that in some parts of the Indies in Peru and Nueva España there has been a great decline in native population due to the opening of the mines, here other circumstances would prevail because there all were Christians and peaceful (unlike here where conditions are such as we have stated) who had been condemned to the mines in perpetuity as a punishment; and here working the gold is not so onerous as getting out the silver; on the contrary, the friendly and Christian Filipinos stand to gain if the mines are worked considering the profit they will have through those who go to the mines; and even if there is some grumbling and toil, the advantage of having gold in these islands is the best means for their becoming known abroad, for with gold as bait—which is a magnet to men's hearts—, they will be well populated, as the mountain ranges of Peru and Nueva España have been populated—and even Hell itself.

In the Society
November 17, 1619

1620

Royal Order from the King from Madrid on August 9, 1620,
 secured from the Government
List of Royal Orders, No. 4, fol. 57

Governor Don Alonso Fajardo:

The section of your letter which deals with what you were ordered in regard to the exploitation and utilization of the gold mines of the Province of the Igorots, and what you have learned of their riches, and the efforts which you are making about them and for the conquest of their natives, has been read with particular rejoicing, giving to God our Lord the thanks which are fitting because of what you say and the good hopes you express; and, since in the preceding section you have evidently understood the financial state of the Treasury, it will be well for you to accept as my last resolution thereon that the best service you could render His Divine Majesty and these realms and the others which depend on them, and those islands, would be to secure from these and other mines the revenues which can be expected from their wealth, and for yourself the remuneration which is just for such a service; and, although these words may appear wanting to you for their brevity, they are all the matter warrants; and so I charge you again with the earnest and greatest efficacy demanded for the protection and defense of all that depends on this (and it is amazing that there are those who argue against it, all this being calculated to defend a cause so public and so lofty); and, because it is suitable to make an exposition of this which can be readily understood, we advise you again not to state similar matters in general terms but under specific sub-headings, precisely so that when it has all been seen, what is appropriate can be provided for, since, judging from the testimonies which you have sent, and others that have been read, they sometimes appear to be for some other purpose and not this one.

1620

An entrance to [the land of] the Igorots
 through the Ilocos region

An original petition preserved in the Archives of Santo Domingo shows that in this year of 1620 the Governor of Pangasinan, García de Aldana y Cabrera, was commissioned commander of the conquest of the Igorots, with men of arms, a notary public of mines and registry, two Dominican priests as chaplains of the troops, and a lay brother. This petition was made by the religious for official testimony to the masses and other services they alone celebrated in the land of the Igorots in the capacity of missionaries, without any other priests taking part, and from this the importance with which this conquest was regarded from the beginning can be seen. It is, in extract, as follows:

Lord Governor of the Province of Pangasinan and Commander of the armed forces of the same, and of the conquest of this Province of the Igorots, Don García de Aldana:

We, Fray Juan de an Jacinto, Vicar of the town of Manaoag, and Fray Francisco de Ugaba, priests of the Order of St. Dominic, state that, in conformity with what was ordered and commanded by His Majesty in certain royal ordinances, dispatched by his Royal Audiencia from Manila on February 19 of this year of 1620, and by the consent and order of our Provincial and Superior Prelate, your Excellency has brought us from the province of Pangasinan to this [province] of the Igorots, where we now are, for the administration and conversion of the said Igorots, and the other persons of this expedition, without intervention therein of any other ecclesiastical minister, regular or secular, and for the protection and confirmation of our rights, do hereby petition and supplicate your Excellency that you order the present notary public to bear witness for us of all the masses and spiritual acts which we made in this land of pagans, saying and performing them before the people and persons who came for this pacification and conversion, and that we performed them thus quietly and peacefully without objection by any person... (and at the end are the signatures of the said two priests).

I, Thomás Pérez, Notary Public of Mines and Registry, appointed by Captain García Aldana y Cabrera, Governor of Pangasinan and Commander of the armed forces of the same, and for the discovery and pacification of the Igorot Filipinos, do hereby state and testify that in the river which they named San Gregorio, which is at the beginning of the Province of the Igorots and within it some three leagues, more or less, from the town of Aringay, yesterday, Thursday, the 12th of March of 1620, Father Juan de San Jacinto of the Order of St. Dominic said mass in the said river, publicly and in the presence of the Spaniards and Filipinos who came on this expedition and pacification, Father Francisco de Ugaba and the lay brother, Fray Juan Marrano, of the same order assisting, and this was done without objection by any person... And today, the 13th of the same month and year, being in another river which we are calling San Benito and which the natives call Balnotan, they celebrated this mass, and that this be made of record, I give the present testimony by order of the said captain and governor.

Thomás Pérez, Notary Public of Mines

I, the said Notary Public, similarly testify that on the peak called Buenavista, on the 15th of the said month and year, and the following day, Monday, in the Concepcion River, and the following Tuesday in the fortress of La Trinidad, which the natives call the town of Boa, in the said Province of the Igorots, the said priests have said mass publicly, and have administered the other sacraments of Confession and Communion, and have proceeded to exercise their ministry without any objection up to the present day, the 25th of the said month and year, and I sign it in the fortress of La Trinidad.

(Thus the original petition ends.)

Comment:

It seems that this expedition and troops remained in that fortress of La Trinidad, not very deep into the mountains, without passing on farther or having done anything else of importance.²⁴ My efforts have not produced more documents than the two placed here, and thus it is necessary to give space to comments and conjectures.²⁵ It is shown by the following Order that this expedition did not have the desired result because on the death of its captain, García de Aldana, the office of mines and registry was given to somebody else, as is indicated by a Royal Order in the same *List of Royal Orders* mentioned above, which is not placed here since it does not contain anything else of interest. About this time Dutch fleet came to invade the islands and capture our ships, and in that same year, those that came from Acapulco were run aground and lost so the Dutch wouldn't take them. The Dominicans were evidently not able to found churches or missions among the Igorots for nothing is said about it in the capitulary acts of the Dominicans, nor does the historian Aduarte, who lived during that time, make any mention of this expedition to the Igorots. Neither does Father Colín make mention of it on pages 24 and 160 where he treats of two subsequent expeditions. Therefore it must be said that it was then disbanded without proceeding any further because of the reasons given.

Royal Order from the King in Madrid, December 31, 1622,
secured from the Governor *List of Royal Orders*,
No. 4, fol. 67 ob.

Don Alonso Fajardo, Governor:

The letter you wrote me on July 31, 1621, has been received and you are hereby given acknowledgment. You say you have not been able to go ahead with the subduing, conversion and pacification of the Igorot Filipinos, nor to learn the content of the mines in that territory because García de Aldana, who was engaged in this mission, has died; and because you were written about this last year as you must have seen, I charge you once more to continue the efforts which have been started for the working of these mines; and since you realize the importance of this, you will do everything possible to find just the right person to go on with it, and you will advise

24. Father Antolín is here mistaken, overestimating the distance from the Ilocos coast to the mines. Boa, the site of Aldana's Fort Trinidad, is actually in the midst of the richest mines of the Baguio gold deposits, and just opposite that Acopan Father Antolín calls Pancutcutan.

25. Aldana's report of May 20, 1620 in his own hand is in the Archives of the Indies in Seville, and is summarized in Scott, "Igorot responses to Spanish Aims: 1576-1896," *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 18 (1970), pp. 698-699.

me every year of what is being done, taking the care expected of you to produce such results that what you have undertaken may produce some relief to my Royal Treasury which is in debt, as you know, because of the sums spent from it for your parts without having had any return whatsoever of the great wealth in the said mines, as has been reported here, and as was written you.

Royal Order of the King from Madrid, October 9, 1623,
secured from the Government *List of Royal Orders*, No. 4,
fol. 7 ob., to the Governor, Don Alonso Fajardo

You say that because of the many chores with which you were occupied, you were not able to attend to that matter of the mines of the province of Pangasinan in the mountains and lands of the Igorots [but] that you will now carry out their discovery since you are well aware of the advantage there will be in doing so; and in reference to the efforts which you have made for discovering some fruits of that land, and what you say about having found a quantity of nutmegs which are the same as those from the Moluccas Islands, and the need for an examination to know for sure, I order you to continue what you started and to send some portion of the said nuts to the officers of my Royal Treasury of the City of Mexico of Nueva España so they may forward it to these realms, and that they also examine it, as I do order you by this Order.

1623

Another expedition of the Spaniards against the Igorots

Another expedition of the Spaniards to discover the mines of the Igorots is known from the *History* of Father Colín, pages 24 and 160, which Father Murillo copied into his own *History* on page 27.

It is a vast land (he says), that of these Igorot mountains, as was seen in the year 1623 when, making a trip for the conquest and discovery of their gold mines under command of Sergeant Major Francisco Carreño, Commander of the provinces of Pangasinan and Ilocos, and with a troop of Filipinos from Pangasinan with a Filipino chieftain and Field Marshal of the Filipinos, the army marched seven days at the rate of three leagues a day, and on the eighth reached the mines and proceeded to make camp. They passed groves of wild nutmegs which enjoyed the fresh, clear climate there, not so close and dark as those of the other groves and mountains of these islands. The Igorots made a peace pact with the Christians. But as our leader, the Sergeant Major, trusted them too much, they treacherously attacked when they were more careless, and with this the action was lost for, since the Field Marshal of the Filipinos was killed and the head of the troops wounded,

they were short of supplies, and the rains were about to come, it seemed better to retreat and leave this enterprise to be undertaken again the next year with better efforts and better preparations.

Royal Order of the King from Madrid, December 6, 1624,
from the *List of Royal Orders*, No. 4, fol. 34

The King

Don Alonso Fajardo de Tenza, Knight of the Order of Alcántara, my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, and President of my Royal Audiencia which resides in them:

What you said in a section of your letter of August 17 of the past year of 1623 has been noted in my Royal Council of the Indies, in reference to the gold mines of the Igorots, and how they were taken although at great expense to the Treasury and no less of labor and blood because the barbarians are so indomitable, and that they appear profitable; and since, according to what you write and certain news here concerning these mines, they are so rich they promise usefulness of much importance to the benefit of those Islands, you will continue the pacification and conversion of those pagans to our Holy Faith with preaching of the Gospel by those missionaries whom it will concern, making use of the means most just and suitable for the safety of their persons, and this same prudence must be used for their conservation afterwards, making some settlements of Spaniards and obedient subject Filipinos, or Chinese, being warned, however, that if they should be of the latter nation they should not be of such number as could cause concern, and that the settlements be made in such a way that no prejudice to the Filipino natives would result, looking after their spiritual welfare, reducing them to a political and civil life, and leaving them in their full natural liberty, and the quiet and safe dominion or their common and individual possessions and of the mines which they may have and wish to work, and when new ones are discovered, the labor can be undertaken and pursued at the cost of my Royal Treasury, or from individuals paying me the royal dues which belong to me as is done in the whole islands, without compelling any Filipinos, Christians or pagan, subject or not subject, to the labor of the said mines, even though they be paid a just wage for the work, because this must not be done except with volunteers who contract for their wages, or by slaves from among those condemned for their crimes in conformity with law, all of which is left to your great care and intelligence in such wise that, communicating it to the Audiencia and the Archbishop, you execute what is most fitting for the right and final results, as is confidently expected of your good zeal.

From Madrid, 6th of December 1624

I, the King.

Royal Order to the Archbishop so that he support the undertaking and execution of the preceeding Order; secured from a volume of Orders in the Santo Domingo Archives.

The King:

Very Reverend Father in Christ, the Archbishop of the Metropolitan Church of the City of Manila in the Philippine Islands of my Council [of the Indies]:

What you say in a section of your letter of August 3rd of the past year of 1623, in reference to the gold mines of the Igorots and their wealth has been noted in the Royal Council of the Indies; and since Don Alonso Fajardo is being ordered to do what appears to be most appropriate for pursuing the efforts which he has started, I have ordered that you be sent a copy of everything contained therein that you may do whatever behooves you to that same end, and the execution of everything, as I charge you.

From Madrid, December 6, 1624.

I, the King.

The third expedition of the Spaniards
against the Igorots

Father Colín's *History*, page 161, also gives this information:

The other expedition, of the year 1624, was made under the command of General Alonso Martin, and although the Igorots defended the defiles of the mountains with great courage, the vigor and valor of our people overcame everything with the General's good organization and skill until they reached the fort of the preceding year where they established and fortified themselves at their leisure, the enemy not daring to attack them. The proper time for this expedition would be in the hot, dry season season of March and April.

As Father Colín no more than summarizes the events of those times, he leaves out the description and names of the places. The Order which will follow below says that Alonso Quirante made some assays and tests with the raw ores of the minerals which were of much trouble but little advantage. I am inclined to believe therefore that in this expedition as in those proceeding, they did not reach far into the interior where the mines are more abundant because they remained in certain places rather near to the district of Ilocos in which there is also good ore, as has been said above, quoting a letter from a missionary of Ilocos which says, "In Buneng they get gold not by excavating but by undercutting a hill and grinding up the stones." This place of Buneng is in from the town

of Bauang, some five days at Filipino pace. The Spaniards only got this far and, without reaching the richer and more abundant mines, encountered this hill of gold-bearing stones, and the little time they remained there was spent in tests and assays, and the grand dreams they had had of getting gold in fistfulls came to naught.²⁶ This is suggested by way of reflection or conjecture, but what actually brought this enterprise to its unfortunate end was the death of the Governor General, the arrival of seven ships of the Dutch enemy, and the uprising of the Filipinos of Cagayán.

But—so Father Colín says—because it pleased God that in the month of August of this year, Governor Don Alonso Fajardo should die in Manila after long suffering from some excesses and melancholies he suffered in this land, and that some towns of Filipinos in Cagayán should revolt at the same time, the Royal Audiencia and Don Jerónimo del Silva, who governed after Don Alonso's death, ordered the infantry to retire from the Igorot lands and transfer to Cagayán, so the labor and expenses made utterly failed, and the opportunity to convert the Igorots and populate those mines was lost. Whoever wishes to know the origins, events and results of this uprising may read Aduarte's *History*, pages 413 and 491.,

Royal Order of the King in Madrid on 21 November 1625;
secured from the Government *List of Royal Orders*, No. 1,
fol. 116.

The King:

Don Juan Niño de Tavora, Knight of the Order of Calatrava, of my Council of War, my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, and President of the Royal Audiencia in them, or the person or persons in whose charge the Government is:

In a letter which the officials of my Royal Treasury of that city wrote me on August 10, 1624, they report that the measures taken for the exploiting of the mines of the Igorots have not produced the expected results since their expense alone has cost more than forty thousand pesos, and the test of their value having been made it has been found that they were of much cost and no profit and only produced what was necessary for the sustenance of the Filipinos, as is shown by an account which Alonso Martín Quirante, who was in charge of the said mines, submitted of the assays and

26. As mentioned in note 24 above, Father Antolín is mistaken in thinking the expeditions of 1620, 1623 and 1624 failed to reach the main mines. An English translation of Quirante's complete diary has been published by James A. Robertson and Emma H. Blair, *The Philippine Islands* (55 vols. 1903-1909), vol. 20, pp. 262-303.

tests which have been made; and that they sent ore from all the mines to the Royal officials of Acapulco so that they might send them to the people in Mexico, and in that City the examination be repeated; and this having been noted by those of my Council of the Indeis, I deem it well to send you what you see here concerning this matter that you may dispose of it as is most suitable for my service and the supplement of my Royal Treasury.

From Madrid, 6th of December 1624
I, the King.

Opinion and report of the Royal Officials to the Governor
about the many expenses and little results of the expeditions
against the Igorots.

(The letter and report to the King dated in August of 1624 by the Royal Officials as referred to in this Order cannot be located; but later in a book in our Archives the report and opinion of the Royal Officials to Governor Fajardo dated back in April was found, by which what has been said in this work is substantiated, namely, that the Spaniards did not reach the principal mine of Pancutcutan in these expeditions; and it is as follows.)

My Lord Governor:

In virtue of the Royal Order from Madrid of December 19 of 1618, your Excellency has undertaken the discovery of the gold mines which are said to be worked in the mountains of this island of Manila called the *tingues* of the Igorots, beginning in 1620 by dispatching Captain García de Aldana with paid infantry and persons experienced in mining, who made expeditions into the said mountains with a sufficient number of Filipinos of Pangasinan and Ilocos and tried to reduce the pagans to obedience to the King, and prospected or dug in the said mountains to discover the veins where the gold may be, and to set up mining sites and work them with the tools and people they had.

And having lost the said captain through death, you sent out Sergeant Major Antonio Carreño with new orders and a greater number of soldiers and Filipinos, and he made his entrance with them and founded two forts and camps where the said people gathered and placed the munitions and provisions under guard and then went on with the said expedition, pacification and prospecting of the mines, but because the natives called Tinguianes wounded him, he retired, leaving the fortress just as it was.

And in his place your Excellency named Captain and Sergeant Major Alonso Martín Quirante who, with new infantry and a company of Filipinos under military orders, reinforced the said fortresses, carrying out his predecessors' instructions to make an entrance into the said mountains.

For all of this, thirty-three thousand nine-hundred eighty-two pesos has been spent up to the present day from the Royal Treasury in purchase of supplies, munitions, and aids, and payment of the soldiers and natives, and there are still other sums outstanding and continuing expenses which are

not shown here because the accounting is not yet finished but they will certainly involve a huge sum.

Yet with all that has been done up to the present, no [significant] vein or gold mine has been discovered due to the resistance of the natives and the asperity and intemperance of those ranges and mountains which are very detrimental to the Spaniards and Christian Filipinos raised in the lowlands, and it cannot be expected that the said Tinguianes will give obedience or settle down because they are a nation raised in nakedness and subsist on roots and wild herbs with very little agriculture and without planting cotton for clothing themselves; rather, they purchase the blankets with which they cover themselves from the Ilocos with a little gold they bring down from their ranges in exchange for which they get a few blankets and rice; and sometimes simply for the fear which the Christians of the Ilocos have of them, they get them free so they will not attack them or burn their towns.

When this little bartering of gold was reported, His Majesty was informed that those mountains were wealthy without any mention of their inclemency and the resistance of that nation who can do much damage with their salvos of lances and stop the miners and laborers who would be safe from the pagans neither by day nor by night. Neither was it taken into consideration that where the Spaniards were there are no gold mines with veins following the ridge itself but only what miners call a "covering" near the surface of the ground which has no depth but soon runs out, and they did not reach the permanent mine which is in the center of those mountains which are so steep, and where the rains are so frequent;²⁷ indeed, these ranges of the Igorots do not have the dry seasons found in other places like America which are more healthful and peaceful and have thus produced more gold in one year than these Philippine Islands have since they were discovered. And nowhere else have mines cost his Majesty anything, but, on the contrary, private persons have paid him his fifth.

Since, then, what is spent, has been spent, and will go on being spent is so completely without hope of recovery, it should all be given up both for this reason and because ever since Adelantado Legazpi conquered the Island of Manila, its inhabitants have made various entrances into the said *tingues* and have not been able to make any discovery of the said gold mines, nor to pacify the said natives, and many persons have fallen sick or died because of the hardships and inclemency of those places, and others had to retreat; and all those many who died in the expeditions of those times, moreover, did so without having made any benefit to the Royal Estate or the common weal of the Islands, right up to the present.

Considering all this, it will be of great service not to continue the said expeditions, and for the natives to return to work their fields because taking them away has retarded the work in rice and cotton and there is now a scarcity of both, and if it is not stopped it will become worse. To remedy which, you will deign to inform His Majesty of the truth and that the other

27. Although it is true there are other perhaps older Igorot mines higher up the Agno valley, these expeditions reached the mines which are today most productive. The negative results reported are probably to be explained by the fact that the veins of the Baguio gold fields are extremely deep and can only be worked profitably by modern techniques.

accounts were misleading and given by persons of no experience, nor well-informed.

Manila, 29th of April, 1624
Don Luis de Vera y Losada.

Royal Order of the King from Madrid, November 13, 1626;
secured from the *Government List of Royal Orders*, No. 4,
fol. 141. ..

The King

Don Juan Niño de Tavora, of my Council of War, my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, and President of my Royal Audiencia in them:

In a letter which the Bishop of Nueva Segovia wrote me on the 24th of July of 1624, he says that that Province finds itself much in need of men to pacify and reduce more than five thousand Christians who have revolted, and although your predecessor in that government tried some tactics, they had no effect; so, because it favors the service of God, and mine, to attend to a cause so pressing, I order you to provide whatever is needed for it.

Dated in Madrid on the 13th
of November, 1626.
I, the King.

Comment:

If it had been possible to find the rest of the reports and diaries of these expeditions it would not be necessary to have recourse to conjectures. Differences of opinion, problems and difficulties are never wanting in these arduous enterprises that depend on so many people, which retard or render them useless and obscure the truth, as happened in the first explorations of America when, according to Herrera's account, some soldiers and leading subjects returned to Spain without permission and informed the Court that in the Indies there was no gold and that everything was a fraud and a deceit by Admiral Columbus,^V or that Vasco Nuñez's men were laden down with gold which a chief gave them when actually hunger and fatigue afflicted them so greatly there was no relief for them.^{VI} In chapter 50 of the account of Columbus [by his son], it says, "Many of those who accompanied Columbus to Hispaniola had gone believing that the instant they set foot ashore they would be laden down with gold and return, while in fact, although gold was found there, it cost them much fatigue, industry and time; and since it had not turned out as they had expected, they were very discontented

and quickly tired of it." Something like this may have happened in our case, too.

Moreover, it is still not definite that in these expeditions referred to the Spaniards penetrated the most interior [lands of the] Igorots, where the principal mines were. If they had gone up by the Agno River of Asingan, or through the frontiers of the missions, they would have come upon them; but at that time there were still no Christian towns in those parts, which were still unexplored. Only the district of Ilocos was then populated by Christians, and it was there that the Igorots came down with the most frequency to sell gold, and from there that the Spaniards made those expeditions, and only went as far as some other mines which were nearer and would not have been very abundant since the richest mines called Pancutcutan are very far from there. But the fact remains that, although these particular expeditions were so costly and unfortunate, the idea that the land of the Igorots was the richest in gold was not given up; this is the tradition that has been believed from olden times up to the present, and the continuing gold traffic by the Igorots cannot be denied.

1625

The three preceding expeditions having met with misfortune, the Igorots of Ilocos were left without the exploration and pacification so desired. But this did not cause those in Manila to give up the search for other means for their conversion. In those times it was much disputed whether the civilizing of these pagans would have to be by the din of arms and soldiery, or [could be accomplished] by gentle and peaceful means. Some said that you cannot move the deaf or tigers with songs and melodies, but others from the ecclesiastics reasoned: since the poor results of the past military invasions have been seen, let us now proceed with Evangelical meekness and found some missions in the very interior of the mountains; let the road from Cagayán be opened through the midst of these pagans, and missions alone will suffice to pacify and convert them. The religious of St. Francis and St. Dominic had already been in Ituy near the Igorots in the early days, but they had left there because of sickness and the attention other Christian communities needed, especially those in Japan. But then when this more recent discovery of the Igorots was made, it was decided that the Dominicans should return for the second time, by order and license of the Archbishop of Manila, Don Fray Miguel García y Serrano, O.S.A., who had earlier been Bishop of Cagayan. This license is preserved in the original in the Archives of Santo Domingo, and it is as

follows, in extract:

We, Don Fray Miguel García Serrano, Archbishop of the Philippines, inasmuch as the governance of the [See] of Cagayán is in our care because of the death of the bishop there, and the Province of Ituy, which is between Pangasinan and Cagayán falls under it, in which there are no missionaries or catechumens of the Holy Gospel, we, wishing to send workers to preach to the dwellers of the said province, have petitioned and charged the Father Provincial of Saint Dominic to take it under his care, sending out his religious to indoctrinate and administer as in the other provinces of the Order, which Order, desiring to be employed in so holy and worthy a work, wishes to undertake the same. In which testimony we order these presents given, signed by our hand, and countersigned by our secretary.

In Manila on the 28th of
April of 1625.

At the same time, the said Order held its Provincial chapter, and received the mission house of St. Joseph in Ituy affiliated as an outstation of the mission house of Manaoag. Very few religious were then able to go to Ituy, however, because the Church and missionaries of Japan were suffering dire need and persecution, and were given the main priority in the year 1632, and were reinforced with religious of the same Order, as Aduarte's *History* says on page 636.

1626

In this year—says the second part of Father Gaspar's manuscript [history]²⁸—Father Juan Pareja, OSA, missionary of Bantay in Ilocos, began the spiritual conquest of Abra de Vigan ("Vigan Gap"), and founded three missions or churches in Bangod [Bangued], Sabangan and Bucao, which are six leagues away from Bantay. These towns are usually at war with the pagans around Palang, Talamuei, Bataan, Calnag, Danguiden and Cabulao, which are towns of the Tinguian tribe, neighbors of the Igorots; the said missionary suffered many setbacks and trials because of the pagans of one or the other of these towns.

1633

The following is found in a book of consultations by Father Oquenda preserved in the Archives of Santo Domingo, in extract:

28. Gaspar de San Agustín's *Conquistas de las Islas Philipinas* was continued by Casimiro Díaz, O.S.A., and was known to Father Antolín in manuscript form, not having been published until 1890 in Valladolid.

In the year 1633, the Igorots made a robbery of one thousand and five hundred pesos on the way to Ilocos being sent by the Governor of Cagayan, and killed many Christians. Governor Don Juan Cerezo therefore sent soldiers and other people from the provinces to punish them, at the same time calling a meeting of the Auditors and the Prelates and professors of the religious orders, and they held a consultation on whether it was possible to make slaves of those they took alive from among these barbarians. All agreed that it was possible to demand satisfaction of them for the robberies and injuries they had done the Christians, even doing so by war if there were no other means. But a priest of the Society [of Jesus] said that it did not seem good and licit to make them slaves in perpetuity but only for ten years, as had been decided almost unanimously with the pagans of Caraga in Mindanao.

The opinion of the Dominicans who were present was to the contrary, holding that they could make them slaves in perpetuity because if it was licit to take their lives in war, it was much lighter to let them live as slaves, because for one whose life is to be taken, perpetual slavery is better than to die and, indeed, die condemned in his paganism. As to making them slaves for only ten years, they could afterwards return to their mountains, and this would make it all the more difficult to conquer them some other time after they understood our tactics of war.

At the end of this written opinion there is a note that says that Father Sebastian Oquendo, O.P., was not present at this meeting because of illness, but he gave this opinion—that for these islands there is the Decree of Gregory XIV dated in Rome on April 18, 1591, and also an instruction of the King to Governor Dasmariñas, that no Spaniard should make any Filipino a slave whether by a just or unjust war. As for making war against those Filipinos who live in their little hamlets in the mountains, it must be remembered that this is a case where particular individuals commit crimes without the authority of any king or head, since they have none, but only by whim or personal law, and to wage a just war against a community or nation it is necessary that there be mediation with the head or major part of the community, inasmuch as war is a very grave act of vindictive justice in that women and children and innocents may die and everybody's property be lost; and therefore, it is not possible to engage a whole town or community in war just because a certain individual from that town causes injuries or deaths, without first warning them so they may realize what they are doing and pay for the damages done because war is threatened but withheld.

So says the aforementioned document, somewhat abridged, and nothing more has been found pertaining to this period.

1663

In this year Don Diego Salcedo entered the Islands as Governor and Field Marshal, a great soldier from the wars in Flanders. He was a capable man of great intellect who had sized up the situation by his fourth day [in the islands]. He arrived in Cagayan to avoid the Dutch

enemies who were always looking for the galleons from Acapulco, and went to Manila by way of Ilocos. His arrival was a great comfort to these Islands so afflicted and debilitated with trials and disasters which had occurred in the three preceding administrations. Everybody made good predictions for his governorship, although it didn't all turn out that way. All this that is being said is taken from the second part of the Dominican history, page 331 and 397, and also from Father Murillo's *History*, page 225. During his time [in office] he made a famous expedition to pacify the Igorots and exploit their gold; and for a better understanding of the motives behind this enterprise, it is necessary to stress the poverty and backwardness which the Islands were suffering.

"Always have these Islands been a fatal theater of tragedies and weepings"—according to Father Murillo's own experience there—, but in this decade the misfortunes of lost ships, plagues of locusts, and smallpox and other mortal sicknesses were many and continuous. In August of 1658 there was a terrible earthquake which caused much destruction in Manila so that the city appeared to be a prostrate body hardly able to make a move, wanting both life and spirit—that is, men and silver. In the year 1660 came the general uprising in Pampanga, Pangasinan, Ilocos and Cagayan. It seems that the Pangasinanes were the boldest and most rebellious and the ones who united the Zambals, Igorots, Ilocanos and Cagayanes by emissaries and messengers to help them kill the Spaniards and one constable of Pangasinan, where a certain Malong was instituted as king and a Gumapos named a count. In Ilocos another Filipino was raised up as king, who placed a crown on his head which he took from an image of the Virgin of Laoag, and snatched the pectoral cross from the Bishop Cardenas' breast and the pastoral staff from his hand for a scepter, for which the Bishop died of grief soon afterwards. In Bacarra they killed an Augustinian, and a Dominican in Cabcungan de Cagayan, where another rebel called Magsanop or Manzano set himself up as king and captain.²⁹ Before the Spaniards quieted these uprisings, there were many deaths in many places in Pangasinan and Ilocos, and it took much time and travail to finish off the rebels because they had fled for refuge to the mountains of the Zambals and Igorots. Then in the following year came the uprising of the Chinese in Manila, and the threat and fear that the famous Chinese corsair Kuesing might come from Formosa. They killed a Dominican in the Parian in Manila and it cost no small labor to pacify that [uprising], too.

29. An undated manuscript, "Insurrecciones de los indios de la Pampanga y Pangasinan en el año de 1660 a 61," in the Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid (Codice 1270-B), identifies this Manzano as an Igorot.

From the two aforementioned published histories we pass on to look at what the second part of Father Gaspar's history tells us, still in manuscript form and preserved in the [convent] library of our Father Saint Augustine, for there only, on page 413, can a clear account of our subject be found, which in extract is this:

The new Governor Salcedo, well aware of the very real danger there had been of losing these whole dominions during the time of his three predecessors because of the Dutch and Chinese enemies without and the pagans (who were the worst) within, wanted to undertake some great and successful conquest which would remedy the evils and expand these Spanish dominions. As an experienced soldier of the wars in Flanders, he held a meeting of the captains and subjects familiar with the land, which the ecclesiastic prelates also attended, and presented them with these, or similar, considerations:³⁰

"To enter into my governorship and to escape our Dutch enemies' ships, I had to go around and land in Cagayan and pass through Ilocos and Pangasinan, and through all three provinces which had been the theater of the recent uprisings I came in sight and sound of the fires and destructions of the Filipino rebels, and I was told about the deaths, robberies, sacrileges and insolence that can be expected in civil wars.³¹ I took note of those hills and mountains still inhabited by the Igorots, owners of the gold mines, and other tribes of free peoples and enemies of the Christians, where the rebels take refuge because they are their allies and friends and the enemies of the Christians. None of you who are present in this meeting are unaware that the three said provinces and all the rest of the Philippines have never been more in danger of loss than in these years of my three predecessors, and how much it cost to put out—or, better said, temporarily dampen—the fires of rebel impositions. In the said trip through Ilocos and Pangasinan, I suffered a deep sense of shame to see such apostates and pagan enemies all through

30. The following passages are not found in the Díaz *Conquistas* cited or in any other published history and are presumably of Father Antolin's own composition. Some of their more fanciful rhetoric was evidently inspired by Murillo Velarde's *Historia*, book 3, chapter 13, and a 1779 "Project for the reduction of the Igorots" by Joaquin de la Guesta which Antolin includes in an earlier version of his *Noticias* called "Noticia sobre igorotes, de sus pueblos, genio y minas de oro" preserved in the Archives of the University of Santo Tomas, *Libro de Becerras* No. 37, fol. 21.

31. What Salcedo actually reported to the King about this trip in a letter of July 16, 1664, was the bad condition of the roads and scarcity of supplies because the natives were still not safe from the recent disturbances and uprisings nor their fields recovered from the harsh punitive expeditions of Salcedo's predecessor, Sabiniano Manrique de Lara.

the nearby mountains, within our very house and domain. Ever since I reached this capital, I have been seeing and hearing about greater misfortunes, Moro captivities, and deprivations due to the great lack of Spaniards and means, with this whole republic fallen into the saddest and most unhappy state.

“These same past misfortunes and these same present uprisings will always keep occurring unless we make some effective provision and remedy. To this end I have determined to hold this meeting, in my presence, of the persons most experienced and devoted to the honor and service of our King and lord, and of the common good of this Christendom. I do not find any solution more appropriate than depriving the pagan enemies of their means and making them Christians and allies and obedient vassals. And for this, first must come the discovery and pacification of the Igorots, who, because of their fondness and greed for the gold of their mountains, have always been, and will always be, our worst enemies and the nearest, unless they are overcome and pacified. Once their gold mines are discovered they can be put to use and necessities thus supplied—since it is well known that where there is no gold or money, nothing is done, nothing is possible, and nobody obeys. But if we leave the Igorots in their present paganism and in their lands so abounding in gold, they will consider themselves the strongest and most invincible of all, and will become daily more intolerable and aggressive for seeing our inaction. It is certainly a shameful thing for the Spanish nation to permit them such excesses; it is also a scandal to the Christian Filipinos, and a cause for derision and mockery by foreigners that in the very heart of the island which is the principal one there should be such pagan enemies of ours, and with the fame of having rich gold ore, too. It is meet for us to go back [on another expedition] for our honor and reputation and also for our sovereign King and our republic. It is most necessary for many reasons that all the inhabitants of this main island be united in the one interest of the Royal Domain and the Christian Religion, since the mixing and proximity of Christians and pagan tribes is the worst evil it is possible to have in a single continent. If those highlands of Ilocos and Pangasinan were explored, it would be possible to make new settlements of obedient Filipinos and Spanish families, and new establishments provisioned by the income if the minerals and other products, more dependable and substantial than those of the briney coasts and flooded lowlands since it is always the case that varieties of trees and plants which do not thrive in the lowlands and salubrious coastlands flourish in the cooler and healthier highlands. Also, some fortifications and outposts could be made there to guarantee the communications and

commerce of the different provinces with one another, and, if this capital of Manila should be threatened by insurrection and enemy invasion, they could serve for the safety of our persons and goods and as our refuge. Finally, with the exploitation of the gold, which is the most precious and principal object of that commerce to which all nations aspire, such straits and miseries as we suffer would be alleviated, and the Europeans and their descendents would spread out through the islands, just as they have increased and multiplied in America because of its mines, the major attraction for the populating or power and abundance of the whole state. Mines well used and flourishing are the fountains of public felicity; they are the roots of staples which continuously bear fruit without the uncertainties of winds and seas; they are the font of agriculture, of herds or flocks, and of all practical industries and useful arts for human life. With these it would be possible to advance our other possessions and conquests without fear of setbacks and domestic and external enemies.”

To all those in the meeting—writes the historian cited—it seemed that the most promising area for making use of our arms in conquest was the mountains of the Igorots in Ilocos, abundant in provisions and of rich gold ore which they themselves bring down to Pangasinan and Ilocos in great quantity to trade for clothes, animals and other things they need. The Igorots are a barbarous people of cowardly nature, lighter than the other natives because their climate is less hot and because of their descent from Chinese who reached these coasts through shipwreck before the Spaniards arrived in these islands, according to their primitive and confused accounts. They are deceitful, tricky and cruel, and a sure sign of their cowardice is that it is enough for them to see one fall dead for all to save themselves by flight. They cause much injury in Pangasinan and Ilocos with burning, robbery and waylaying. Very superstitious [they are] and given to omen-taking, but not very firm in their beliefs.³¹

Having made the preparations for this conquest, the Governor named Admiral Pedro Durán de Monforte, a brave and experienced soldier, as commander-in-chief. He gave him the title of Captain General to take command of one hundred Spanish and Pampangan soldiers and two thousand provincial Filipinos. Two sergeants-major, four captains, and three adjutants, all veterans, accompanied him, and the said history gives their names. Upon request by the Governor, the Provincial of the Augustinians appointed three religious as chaplains of the troops, and missionaries of the churches which they might found.³¹

31. Fray Lorenzo Herrera, Luis de la Fuente, and Gabriel Alvarez.

Pedro Durán and his men marched in short stages because of the encumbrance of the infantry and baggage and for fear of another ambush in the many narrow defiles of the mountains, taking along experienced spies and Pampango scouts, and Zambal allies, with some Spaniards. Without anything happening to them worthy of note, they arrived at the first two towns of the Igorots, called Cayan, of 150 houses, and Lobing [i.e., Lubon] of slightly less. They found them deserted, but they made camp there, waiting for the rest of the convoy. The location of Cayan was very good for making an armed headquarters, so the Lieutenant General decided to make a fortress for their defense, while they sent the Zambals and Ilocanos to reassure the Igorots and bring them back to their houses, Pedro Durán treating them kindly and punishing the soldiers if they caused them the least trouble. A church dedicated to Saint Michael was erected in Cayan, and a fortress with stockade and terraplane. There was no wood or bamboo around there because it was all barren land so it cost much labor to find some timbers and carry them from very far, which they did without meeting any enemies or mishaps.

Many days, and even months, these Spaniards wasted in making the terraplanes and stockade in Cayan, which, since it was right at the beginning of Igorot territory, was neither a strategic nor dangerous location so there was no need of trenches even though they were very careful about their safety and self-defense. The instructions which they carried from the Governor were that they should first fortify themselves and then proceed to attract and resettle the Igorots by good treatment, and he ordered them that even if they should come across the gold mines, they should make no show of esteeming them, nor look for them, because it should not seem that they had any other goal than that of reducing their souls to God, leaving the exploitation of the mines and the complete subjugation of those pagans for later, and by these means, the conquest would be accomplished without spilling blood. (All of this is expressly stated by a Royal Order which will be placed below.)

The Igorots, seeing that the Spaniards were doing them no harm nor proceeding into the interior, began to approach the fortress of Cayan, where they were well-received, dealt with kindly, and entertained. And, as they were so astute and deceitful, they kept fooling the Spaniards, and giving them a truce and indications that all their towns would give obedience and even that they wanted to be baptized. When the Spaniards were sufficiently deceived and satisfied with these feigned and cunning promises, some chieftains began coming to promise obedience, telling their names and the number of inhabitants, and there were even chieftains and towns that paid some small recognition, and from

all these the commander-in-chief ordered very extensive lists to be made, thinking that this was the very purpose of the conquest. The names of the towns which were listed as obedient were the following, which the historian cited gives:³²

Kayan	Lobon	Masla	Sumadel
Amkileng	Balugan	Maguimei	Tadian
Bauco	Caaguitan	Otocan	Bila
Kagubatan	Guinzadan	Banaao	Pingad
Pandayan	Naligua	Singa	Banao
Payeo	Agawa	Lobe	Madaguem
Balicoey	Biiogan	Balicnono	Biacan
Pangpanavil	Gambang	Mogo	Leccdan
Dugungan	Saigot	Calilimban	Sanap
Sabangan	Alab and a valley named Loo with 9 towns.		

Those which paid recognition were more than a hundred:

Fedlisan	Tamon	Mainit	Guinaan
Amtadao	Malibuen	Talagao	Bucog
Balignono	Balian	Malegcong	Dingle
Datalian	Agawa	Maliven and others whose names were left out because there are more than one hundred.	

Many of these towns were not seen or registered by our Filipinos and Spaniards although they were there two or three years because,³³ according to the instructions given by the Governor, the conquest would be very easily made without doing the pagans the least harm, or showing that they were seeking and valued the gold mines but rather only their souls, and for this reason the said three priests made their residence in the Church of Saint Michael of Cayan, a town of their mission, from which, although they actually baptized children and dying old folks, they proceeded with much caution and prudence for fear there would be difficulty in preserving this Christian community unless they were moved to more convenient and safer places. The history mentioned does not say that they planted any gardens or fields there for the sustenance of our people or army; the provisions and money they carried could not have lasted very long so they must have later suffered hunger and deprivations and many must have abandoned the lengthy endeavour

32. Where identified, the modern spellings of these names have been given.

33. It seems unlikely that this expedition could have maintained itself on the Cordillera for two or three years, but the only dates available are letters from Salcedo of Aug. 4, 1667 and June 25, 1668, announcing their presence there, and Manuel de Leon's of June 10, 1670, stating that all troops had retired prior to his arrival in September, 1669.

to convert those pagans without touching their gold. They notified Manila of their needs and the Governor appointed General Don Felipe Ugalde as Provisioner and Paymaster of those troops among the Igorots, giving him four thousand pesos for this purpose. He took some guards in his company as escort but his overconfidence was the cause of his death, because when he entered the wilderness of Pangasinan called Pantalon between Telbang and Paniqui, the Negritos and Zambals ambushed them, and although he defended himself with valor, a brave Zambal called Tumalang, who later became a Christian in Peinavan, killed him and carried off his head together with those of eight other Spaniards they also beheaded and robbed of their silver and whatever else they could. The fourth part of the Dominican history,³⁴ page 64, says of this Vizcayan gentleman that he was a man who had given repeated proofs of his great valor in the service of our Catholic Monarch.^{VII} (A manuscript says that this death occurred in 1667.)

This incident of the robbery and the deaths of those nine Spaniards was keenly felt in Manila, and proved a great setback for the conquest of the Igorots because they did not get the provisions and reinforcements they were expecting, and they suffered great need, and then the Governor undertook a new project to pacify those Zambals of Plays Honda and Bolinao and other places far away from the Igorots, and teach them a lesson. He ordered a fort to be erected in Pignaven, which is now called Iba, with a good-sized garrison of soldiers and some pieces of artillery, and named Sergeant-Major Blas Rodríguez as head, one of those who had gone on the expedition against the Igorots. Thus the interest, the aid and the forces were divided, being increased for the pacification of the Zambals, a ferocious people who have always been happy to cut the heads off Christians, and withdrawn from the fortress of Cayan which was reduced thus to a simple mission to the Igorots.

1667

On the 4th of August of 1667. Governor Salcedo wrote a report to the Court on what had been carried out regarding the Igorots and their gold mines, as is shown by a Royal Order which has been found in the government *List of Royal Orders*, No. 9, which says:

Field Marshal Don Manuel de León, Governor and Captain-General of the Philippine Islands, and President of the Royal Audiencia thereof, or the person or persons in whose charge their governance may be:

34. Domingo Collantes, *Historia de la Provincia del Santísimo Rosario de Filipinas*, Manila 1783.

In a letter which Don Diego Salcedo, your predecessor, wrote me on the 4th of August of the year 1667, he reported that a good reduction of the injuries and deaths which the Negritos, Igorots and Zambals in the mountains have been causing the natives of the lowlands has resulted from his disposition of outstations and forts throughout the province of Pampanga for its safety, and those of Ilocos, Pangasinan and Cagayan, and that because a chieftain of great power and many followers called Layuga happened to come down, offended by the other chieftains, he learned how that very populous land could be acquired and Spaniards placed in it and sent into the place where there are mines from which they say gold is obtained, and that he would act as their guide because the mountains were very rugged; and that he had resolved to send 100 Spaniards with suitable officers and two thousand Filipinos under arms, who would attempt this conquest and discovery with orders that even if they should find the mines of gold they should give no evidence of valuing them nor look for them because it should not appear that they came with any other goal than that of reducing their souls to God, saving the rest for later; and that the leaders had notified him that they had conquered and overcome seventy-seven towns of Igorots, and that the people who came out against them were many, and that seven mine entrances had been discovered where it seemed gold was being produced although they did not find out from anybody how it was secured, nor did the Filipinos care to show it, and so to facilitate the conquest they concerned themselves only with the good treatment of those whom they conquered, and with fortifying themselves; and that if they should all be reduced, it would be of great service to me since much tribute would be turned over to the Church and to my obedience though it would be necessary for some years to exempt them from paying tribute until the idea took root; and that he would continue such orders as were most advantageous, and notwithstanding the very great lack of Spaniards which there was, and the land being so unknown they reported they didn't know where or in what altitude they were at all, he had arranged to send a person experienced in measuring the [angle of the] sun so that a shorter and more convenient route might be discovered.³⁵ And, what the Fiscal said about this having been seen in the Royal Council of the Indies, it appears meet to give you notice of the above, and to order you, as is hereby done, to advise me on the first occasion which offers itself what progress this conquest has had, and the state in which it is found, with whatever else you may add at your pleasure.

Dated in Madrid, March 26, 1670.
I, the Queen.

The second part of the Dominican history,³⁶ speaking of Governor Salcedo on page 397, says:

35. This plan was evidently carried out because the Díaz account (see page 72) says the mines were found in the latitude of 17° North, which is correct.

36. Santa Cruz, *op. cit.*

He who started his administration in such good fortune began to be discouraged and soon was unable to escape despondency. He got no love from the people of Manila, and the merchants especially were grumbling and discontented. As the number of the disgruntled increased, his good intentions found no response, and at the end of 1668, on the first of October, the Inquisition seized him and put him aboard ship for Mexico, and he went off to die at sea.

Father Murillo's *History* speaks of this affair with great detail on page 229. After the imprisonment of the Governor there were dissensions and disputes about who was supposed to take his office—all of which was the main cause for the finish and dissolution of the whole mission of Cayan and the conversion of the Igorots.

The second part of Father Gaspar's *History* adds that this exploration was continued up to the year 1668, which was the time the Spaniards were in these parts, of which very brief and confused accounts have been left, merely that 150 towns were discovered, and that in the latitude of 17 degrees they discovered gold mines from which the Igorots got very high-grade gold, but after they saw the Spaniards in their land they didn't wish to produce any or teach them the method, according to the attached Order. It is certain—Father Gaspar says—that there the richest mines and placers in the rivers are to be found from which the Igorots get the unlimited gold which they have been bringing down to sell the provinces of Ilocos and Pangasinan, but it appears Divine Wisdom did not wish them to fall into our hands for it is most certain we would have rade bad use of this benefit.

Father Mozo makes mention of this expedition on page 70 of his book of Augustinian missions,³⁷ and of the Mission of Saint Michael in the Igorot place called Cayang, and says that, the soldiers having gotten sick and the barbarians having threatened them with death, they had to withdraw because they were unable to resist them, and they retreated, taking with them the few baptized to the missionaries of Ilocos. From this time until now, although many apostolic workers have tried to enter the land of the Igorots, never were they able to carry it out despite the many efforts they made.

1676

In a manuscript book of consultations by Father Paz which is preserved in the Archives of Santo Domingo, I came across one about the harmfulness of the Igorot commerce with the people of the town of

37. Antonio Mozo, *Misiones de Philipinas de la Orden de Nuestro Padre San Agustín: Noticia-histórico natural*, Madrid 1763.

Manaoag in Pangasinan. Since then I have seen this consultation printed in a book of consultations, and it is the first, with the title, "Of unjust war," page 316. It is very long because it contains many points, and for this reason I do not place it all here. The Filipinos of Manaoag had some business with an Igorot chieftain; he did not pay or keep his word about repaying some gold. The people of Manaoag, indignant, went to the place where the said chieftain lived with the permission of the Governor to recover it by force. They killed his wife and children, the chief escaping wounded. They stole what gold they were able to find, and returned to Manaoag content, and divided the spoils as they wished, giving the Governor his part, and for Our Lady of the said town. they gave gold worth forty pesos. [In the consultation] four doubts are raised about restitution and compromise, and the replies of Father Paz can be seen in his book of consultations.

This same town had already been attacked at the beginning of that century because of its treatment of the Igorots, as Aduarte recounts on page 642. Because of the defense which the Christians made. they could not burn its *nepa* church, but they fired the houses of the town, and about 60 persons were burned in them, besides which the Igorots killed and captured many other Christians.

1679

This year Father José Polanco, OP. died, missionary at the time to the Tinguianes who are neighbors of the Igorots. He had the spirit and hunger for converting pagans, and he ventured through the Vigan Gap with license from his superior and the Bishop of Ilocos. This missionary's fruits and labors can be seen in the Dominican history of Father Salazar,³⁸ Book 1, in chapter 27, which treats only of his life.

1688

The same history of Father Salazar, Book 2, chapter 11, recounts at some length the foundation of two missions called San Bartólome and San Luis on the Agno River near Asingan for the conversion of the Igorots nearby, with license from the Central Government and from the Bishop. The first, San Bartólome, was made wholly at the cost and enterprise of a Dominican provincial, Fray Bartólome Marrón, and lasted until 1709 in which year. because of differences which the people of the mission had with the Igorots, they came one night without being detected

38. Vicente de Salazar, *Historia de la Provincia de el Santísimo Rosario*, Manila 1742.

and all the houses were burned and the church in the fire which they started without anything being saved because the Christians and the missionary fled to save their lives. This mission was reestablished in the year 1723 with the name of San Luis of Asingan, which remains until now, and it would have had an increase if the Igorots were not so obstinate and so attached to their gold mines which are farther in the interior. The passages and journeys from the Mission of Ituy to this town of Asingan have been set down, which is in the most advantageous position for undertaking the discovery of the Igorots by the Agno River which leads to the principal gold mines.

1695

The Governor of Manila, Don Fausto Cruzat, sent a general order to the governors on January 7, 1695. prohibiting to all Christians and vassals any dealing, communication or commerce with the apostates, fugitives, Negritos, Zambals and Igorots, under pain of one hundred lashes and two years in prison, and that the said governors should be vigilant and take all care to prevent the Christians from having commerce with the pagans of the mountains and sierras and selling them iron for their weapons, clothes for their vesture, and the other things which are lacking in the said mountains and necessary for them for human life; the purpose of which was to prevent their reduction through the medium of the profit in gold and wax which the Christians get. It cannot be doubted that the Igorots, when compelled by necessity, will be converted and embrace our Holy Faith, which is the principal goal of the ever mounting expenses with which his Catholic Majesty is maintaining these islands, and everything else which is in No. 37 of those ordinances which are still given the provincial governors who, upon entering their governorships, publish it by proclamation in the provinces. The said Governor General received the advice that this was the only means for converting all the pagans of the Philippines—taking them through their own needs; but the failure of Filipinos to observe proclamations and laws is well known. Moreover, the Igorots are very crafty and astute in their commerce, carrying it on by night and over routes remote from people, and when they keep them from dealing in Ilocos and Pangasinan, they flock to Pampanga and the missions, and it always happens the same for the gold and silver which they handle facilitates a clandestine and profitable commerce for them which it is most difficult and even impossible to prevent among Filipinos. (See the said Ordinance No. 37.)

Father Mozo reproduces on page 27 of his book of missions the Census of Souls which his Provincial Olarte gave in 1702: "I hereby

certify that the missionaries of Agoó, Bauang and Bacnotan have re-settled, catechized and baptized in the space of two years 26 natives of the Igorots who inhabit the mountains." And he concludes his affidavit, "The reason there is not more increase is the lack of religious since those there are not enough for the maintenance of the other Christian towns which are in my charge."

1704

The Dominican chapter this year received the Mission of Latavan, near the town of San Jacinto in Pangasinan. It was founded for the conversion of the Igorots, Alaguetes and apostate vagabonds, but it lasted only a short time because of the hardships and small gain of baptized from those Igorots. In the year 1718 another town was founded in Pangasinan called San Fabian, on the seacoast and not very far from the Igorots who come down to sell gold, and it still has a church and mission house which are very nice because they are stone. It has had no increase because Igorots don't think of anything except their business. See Father Salazar's history, Book 2, chapter 11.

1719

Being informed of the many Igorots and other pagans of the interior of this island who blocked the pass and communications with the province of Cagayan, which was in rebellion at this time, Marshal Don Fernando Bustamante, Governor of Manila, on April 19, 1719, dispatched an order and commission to Don Eustaquio Venegas with the title of Lieutenant Captain General and Chief Justice for a military expedition with the goal of opening a road from Pampanga to Cagayan, and establishing three posts in the interior of the land which would be discovered, as is indicated in a short paper which is preserved in the Archives of Santo Domingo. A few months later, in October, the unfortunate death of the Marshal occurred, and for that reason this expedition was not carried out. Alluding to this, an account by the Dominicans printed in Manila in 1739 says, "What expenses has this road not cost the Royal Treasury!" The unfortunate Marshal undertook this work with the great efficiency natural to his intellectual genius, but in vain, for after the great costs and misfortunes which came even at the start of the road, nothing of the desired results was obtained at all.

1755

At this time, Father Francisco Córdova, O.S.A., was missionary of Agoo, having earlier been missionary in Ituy, and, desirous of the conversion of the Igorots who come down with enough frequency for trade in one or another area, he began to have communications with them. And Father Mozo says on page 82:

Father Provincial Carrillo had gone on a visitation, and I who was his secretary, and while he was discussing means for converting this pagan tribe with the said Father Córdova in Aringay, five chieftains came down from the mountains, appeared before us, and, on their knees and with great submission, asked for religious who might enter into their territory to preach to them and erect a church. Then, with a letter from the Provincial, five or six of this nation went to Manila, and arriving there they presented themselves to Governor Don Manuel Arandía, who received them with joy and directed them to be baptized in his presence in the church of Tondo with the most important people in Manila as godparents. Having been made presents and granted what they requested, they returned to Agoo. The Provincial was expecting them, and thereupon baptized five other chieftains, and some 500 Igorots were learning the prayers when he left. The progress which followed—continues the said author—I do not bother to recount since the said Provincial has done so in two accounts he wrote which were printed in Madrid. In them he states how the religious entered those mountains and put up two churches so that many hundreds were gathered to our Faith. [But] the envious Enemy did not fail to present obstacles, with which he finally undid this progress by making use of [human] jealousy.

With this clue, I searched for and found the two accounts printed in Madrid which Father Provincial Carrillo wrote, the first in June of 1755 and the second in March of 1758. They are very well written and treat of the efforts made in his time to convert the four nations of the mountains of Ilocos called Igorots, Tinguianes, Apayaos and Adanes by gentle means. They are rather long and would greatly extend this work if they were put in this place. But the major part of the first will be placed at the end because it contains many useful details about the Igorots most appropriate to the purpose of this work.³⁹

39. The text of both Manuel Carrillo's *Breve relación de las cuatro naciones llamadas Igorotes, Tinguianes, Apayaos y Adanes* and his *Breve y verdadero relación de los progresos de las misiones de Igorotes, Tinguianes, Apayaos y Adanes* are published in full in Angel Pérez's *Relaciones Agustiniánas de las Razas del Norte de Luzon* (Manila 1904), parts 3-5, together with letters and diaries of the missionaries involved, and the first was also published by Wenceslao E. Retana in his *Archivo del Bibliófilo Filipino* (Madrid 1895), Vol. 1.

1756

At this time, Don Manual Arza was governor of Pangasinan, [a man] of intrepid and virile spirit. He wished to comply with the order mentioned above, which prohibited all communication with the pagans and commerce in gold, wax and the rest, so that their needs would force them to be resettled, and, in conformity with this order, published the proclamation in that province, as other governors are still doing upon taking office. It also seemed to him, after learning of the injuries of the Igorots in the roads and the Christian towns in the neighborhood of their lands and gold mines, that an expedition and conquest would not be difficult for him. So he wrote to Governor General Arandía, who granted him the requested license to make an expedition with two thousand men of Pangasinan. While he was making preparation of arms, munitions and men, the Igorots nearest to Ilocos gave signs of becoming Christians, and gained the confidence of the Augustinian religious of that area, and of their provincial who had gone on a visitation. The Governor General, being informed of the good start and indications of this peaceful conversion, encouraged it on his part by suspending Arza's military expedition. The Governor General himself attended the baptism in the church in Tondo of six Igorot chieftains who had gone to Manila, their godparents being most distinguished Spaniards, and in addition to these considerations, granted a stipend for two Augustinian missionaries who should preach to the Igorots, and for this purpose they made their entrance, reaching some towns of the nearest frontier of the pagans and proceeded to found two churches.⁴⁰ Anybody can imagine that the Igorots, always fickle and inconsistent in matters of religion and conversion, would be so on that occasion, too. The threat of the Governor to raise troops had been made public, and they knew it and feared it, and, as they are timorous and cowardly, arranged to avail themselves of their old cunning and tricks, presenting themselves in borrowed colors.

The Governor, being acquainted with what was going on in the district of Ilocos, and not ignorant of the fact that the land of the Igorots extended considerably into the interior, finally obtained permission and authority to make his expedition through the district of Pangasinan until reaching their principal gold mines which were in the interior at some distance from Ilocos. It was his opinion, no doubt,

40. These were Tonglo, in the present Benguet municipality of Tuba, where Fray Pedro de Vivar spent six months in 1755 to become the first missionary ever to live in an Igorot village unarmed and without escorts, and Ambangonan in the Tubao-Pugo area of La Union, where Fray Francisco Romero took up residence the following year.

that seizing the principal mines would in no way prejudice the conversion begun with the two missions already mentioned in Ilocos; on the contrary, he thought that the troops, taking possession of the mines would more surely guarantee that the conquest of the Igorots be more certain, quick and permanent, since without taking their mines from them, the major difficulty would always remain.⁴¹ At any event, whether for this or other similar motives, the final decision was that the troops should set out through the borders of Pangasinan in the direction of the mines. He sent his orders to the towns of Pangasinan and the parts of Ilocos which belonged to the same jurisdiction, and almost a thousand and five hundred natives gathered, with some Spaniards and mestizos that accompanied them and carried out the instructions. From the town of San Fabian they set forth, and by the Angalacan River, which flows past Manaoag, in which they encountered some very steep, high slopes, and they had to drag up some field pieces they had along. With no small difficulty and labor they ascended the first heights without seeing any trails or footpaths or houses of pagans, and what gave most pain to those inexperienced men were the small pieces of artillery which they carried in their shoulders through those bad passes.

The route up the Angalacan which they had taken was the longest and most arduous for reaching the principal mines. They had to detour around the high mountains of Pantayac or Tapayac and Sapit and descend the Toboy River and go around another higher mountain to reach the waters of the Agno, where the mines are. It is true that the pagans of the mines take that route when they go to Mangaldan, but it is an emergency route which they make to escape other pagans who do not want them to pass through their villages. Of the troops wanting to advance over that bad trail, the Ilocanos were inspired to go first to win the honor of bravery, but not much later they encountered an ambushade of the pagans who began to throw logs, spears and rolling stones down the slope from a height, which threw them into confusion and made them fall back in precipitous flight. So they ran, disorderly,

41. The Augustinian friars who lost their Igorot missions as a result of this punitive expedition did not share Father Antolín's sympathetic attitude toward Governor Arza. Father Vivar exacted his own little revenge by writing of the Governor in the following terms in his 1764 *Relación de los Alzamientos de la Ciudad de Vigan* (p. 459):

"The Governor himself withdrew to Bauang in response to the military rule—which, as an authority on the subject he observed to the letter both on this occasion and during the pacification of Cagayan, Ilocos and Pangasinan—that the General be kept as far as possible from all danger in order to preserve, untrammelled and poised for any expedient, such intellectual and other powers as apprehensiveness might disturb."

fleeing and demoralizing the whole troop, and, leaving that road, fled down the hills and cliffs of the mountain of Agoo to see if they could find another more convenient route, but, not finding one, they went down to Bauang, a town of that region, to reprovision with food, of which they found themselves in need. There they held a council of war and determined to return on the expedition through the trail from San Fernando, which is more gentle and more frequented by pagans. But many Pangasinanes, tired from carrying the field pieces on their shoulders, ran off to their land one night when the others were asleep; those who remained continued the march and, going around two or three hills, found a number of animals which the Igorots were pasturing in a place called Estancia with some huts. They took some pigs to eat. Members of the troop kept escaping, so, seeing they were already very few, they decided to go back without having accomplished anything. All this is stated in some documents, and the accounts of two Filipinos who happen to be present now. These casual troops, made with drafted men without rations and without pay, are no good for such undertakings. Better a few selected and well paid than many ill-composed.

1774

At this time, Father Francisco Panadero, O.P., missionary of San Fernando in Ilocos, desiring the conversion of the Igorots nearby, wanted to go to talk to them in their own houses and villages without any other religious. For this reason he climbed the first hill, travelling on foot, and, drank a lot of cold water from a brook when he was tired and sweating which didn't make him feel very good for he soon began to have such severe chills and fever he had to go down to the nearest town, Bauang, where, after receiving the Sacraments, he gave up his soul to God.

In the preceding year Father Benito [Herosa], O.S.A., missionary of Tayug and San Nicolas in Pampanga, was also endangered when it happened a local headman had received a sum of gold from the Igorots and didn't pay for it or comply with his agreement. The Igorots went to the said priest so that he, as head and minister of the town, should pay them the debt of his Christian parishioner. He excused himself as best he could, and the Igorots went away disgruntled, and after some time came back in a mob at night to burn the church and mission house; the missionary was able to hide while everything was burning, and the Christians of the town took up arms and held off the pagans with them so they could do no more harm there. On their retreat they passed along the Agno River and captured more than twenty of some Christians

who were panning gold there, and subjected them to some cruelties, as has been said in chapter 6 of Part One.

In the mission of Ituy, commerce was permitted them a few years ago to see if any could be converted by these means. The debts were so many which they contracted for animals, blankets and second-hand iron which they got on credit from the Christians that they reached more than two hundred pesos, and when they wanted to make them pay, they immediately ran off and did not appear again for two years, and when they did come back, they were different ones from those debtors. These Igorot merchants are very untrustworthy and consider it licit to lie and cheat and overwhelm the Christians with debts, and thus the towns in which they trade have to be very careful, making them lodge apart and conduct their sales publicly.

1785

This year Governor Basco made a visitation to Pangasinan and Ilocos, and he went the whole way by coach. While he was in Mangaldan, a chief presented himself with some of his people to ask him to help them and grant permission to settle in Sobosob, a pleasant and spacious place with fields to work a little more than one league from San Fabian. The Governor General gladly ordered the Governor of Pangasinan to help the Igorots, and appoint officials for the new town, where they made a shed with some huts. But soon enough the fickleness and trickery of those Igorots showed itself, since they returned to the mountains and disappeared. They had the same intention of settling in Sobosob in the year 1739, under Governor General Zacharías, when Father Barroso was missionary of San Jacinto and Father Mariano Escriob of San Fabian—according to a general petition to the government which I have before me—, but the Igorots then, too, disappeared just when hopes were highest. In order to get these pagans who have come down to the missions of Ituy to remain permanently, it is necessary to help them with clothing, food, fields, carabaos, houses and everything they ask, and if they are not given them free, they run away just when it seems they're settled down. You must not speak to them of prayers or baptism the first years, because they say their heads have long been too hard for learning, but they do not mind their children being baptized and going to school.

Governor Basco, continuing his journey, spent Ash Wednesday in Bangar—says a manuscript account or diary which I have present—and while he was in the out-station of Tagudin the next day, a company of Igorots came forward to bid him welcome with a dance, which was very curious to us.

Ten or twelve placed themselves in a line forming a circle, resting their two arms on the shoulders of those nearest, and, bending their bodies over, they slowly went around some paces; they let go of each other and squatted down on their haunches, chanted some words of good wishes in a very solemn tone, accompanied by the music of a little gong of the sort they used to bring from Borneo before the coming of the Spaniards.

These Igorot people—the same diary adds—live in villages near to our towns, and through them communication is maintained with the more distant, bringing in many who are converted to our Holy Faith. All are of the Igorot nation, whose towns, situated in the interior of this island, reach from Pangasinan to the middle of the Province of Ilocos. The gold mines are the richest industry of their lands. Some people in the grip of greed believe the natural goods of these pagans belong to us, and to lend credence to this opinion, call them immigrants from the Chinese fugitives of the corsair Limahon, basing the claim on what one single historian of the islands says.^{VIII} Those of this opinion do not seem to notice that the Chinese are of very singular type and customs, by which they can be distinguished from all other nations. It would be very strange, and without example in history, that some fugitives should give origin to a populous nation that in only two hundred years and in five or six generations should forget their language, their religion, their customs of having many wives, the knowledge of their arts and their letters. All these characteristics in which the Chinese are distinct from all those around them, would hardly be erased in their children in so few generations. Instead of the customs of the Chinese, the Igorots are found to be simply Filipinos who speak their own language, similar to the others of the Islands, and in their crude superstitions, governments, uses and customs, they seem very much like what we observe in the unsophisticated Filipino hill-billies.

So says the diary, somewhat abridged, whose author, according to what they say, in Don Joseph Armenteros, [a prominent] citizen of Manila who accompanied Señor Basco. There are enough nice turns of phrase apparent in this diary to indicate the urbanity, literateness and good judgment of the author. What a pity that his being so busy does not permit him time for more writings conducive to the public welfare of our continent which would without doubt be welcome to the judicious, for it must be confessed that our possession of the Philippines, our production, our commerce, the quality of our soil, and connections with domestic and neighboring peoples and, finally, everything pertaining to our natural science and polity, is still very imperfect!

* * * * *

This concludes the Second Part of this work on the Igorots with all the documents and notices which it has been possible to find and which prove that their lands and minerals, their commerce in gold, their proximity to the Christian lands and provinces, and their way-

laying, opposition and fraudulencies are not imaginary or fabulous but actually exist. Moreover, the aforesaid documents attest the various efforts, attempts and expeditions which have been made since the beginning to discover and convert this pagan people on the part of kings, governors, bishops, religious, and the Spaniards our ancestors, to whom no taint of carelessness or oversight can be imputed in this regard without doing them a grave injustice. As first settlers, they had to defend themselves from Chinese, Japanese, Dutch, English, Moros, and inconstant Filipinos who have risen up many times. Here they found no horses, cows, wheat, cacao, sugar and other useful products, which have come from abroad and have been multiplying little by little. In the early days, both seculars and ecclesiastics were always small in number. The circumstances of those days made them see their very preservation as if hanging by a thread—that is, they were dependent on the one ship from Acapulco. In view of this, it is not to be wondered that the Igorots and other pagans of these mountains of this island should not have been converted and pacified by our ancestors though they were so near the lowlands of the Christian Filipinos; after all, the Holy Land of Jerusalem, too, and the fertile lands of Africa are quite near to various Christian powers who have many times attempted to subjugate them with crusades and military arms but never succeeded. Let us then always praise our betters in the Philippines, who, despite their dark and turbulent times, preserved for us the 27 provinces or jurisdictions of which these Spanish dominions are composed.

But now that the times and circumstances are more favorable, it may be possible to consider and execute those earlier plans of exploring the mountains of the Igorots, populating their highlands, and exploiting their precious minerals. In those days they knew no more for their expeditions to the Igorots than to enter through the Ilocos region, which is not the most direct or nearest to their principal mines. Now other better and more direct routes are known, that of the Agno River in Pangasinan and Pampanga, and that of the missions of Ituy. In the old days they didn't have the pack animals [we have] to travel the highlands with ease. The land route from the missions and Cagayan has now been discovered and can be of much service in helping this enterprise with people and supplies, and Pampanga the same. This exploration should not be considered inaccessible and impossible now. May it please God our Lord, and may He grant it with His infinite power and kind Providence, that these gentile Igorots and their neighbors, who are living in great shadows, dazzled by their gold and devoted only to the service of their bellies, should some day know the riches which Jesus Christ, Redeemer of all men, acquired for us with His

precious blood, and that the Spaniards of Manila should learn to value and exploit the treasure and wealth which the Creator has put in the highlands of this island, and by this means extend His sovereign Kingdom more and more so that He be obeyed and praised by everybody as the Preserver of all creatures!

A Brief Account of the Missions to the Four Tribes Called Igorots, Tinguians, Apayaos and Adans, Recently Established in the Philippine Islands, in the Mountains of the Provinces of Ilocos and Pangasinan, by the Fathers of Our Patron Saint Augustine, of the Province of the Most Holy Name of Jesus, by the Rev. Fray Manuel Carrillo, Provincial of the said Province and founder of the said missions. Printed in the Council of the Indies, Madrid, 1756.

When I reached the Ilocos during my first visitation of our Province in the recent year of 1753, I was moved to great sadness and compassion by the thousands of souls who inhabit those mountains without any knowledge of the true God. I proposed to the missionary fathers under my jurisdiction in this province as well as Pangasinan that each should undertake to befriend these fierce men with gifts and such means as prudence directed, each taking responsibility for those bordering his own jurisdiction. Some received my proposal with immediate pleasure and without reservation, but others were reluctant to undertake the enterprise because of the experience they had had with the obstinancy of those tribes, of whom they had been able to win none over to accept our Holy Faith even by the most diligent efforts they had been able to put forth. I tried to dispel the reservations of these last, reminding them all of their one task, which was the service of God, and gave them instructions both by word of mouth and in writing.

They began to solicit intercourse with the infidels, which is the first step in persuading them to conversion, and although in the beginning they refused to present themselves to the fathers, after seeing their affability, their good treatment and their favors, these same would seek them out when they came down to the Christian towns, and have dealings with them without fear or reticence. The fathers would then propose to them that they receive baptism and become Christians, to which suggestion they showed indifference, neither accepting nor rejecting it. In this tedious work they passed several months, until those who used to flee from us now began to have intercourse and communications—and at least they did not resist the Holy Baptism of our Sacred Faith any more.

I was observing this favorable situation in which those infidels seemed ready to embrace the Faith of our Lord Jesus Christ because

the missionary fathers were sending me accounts of everything; but just when all looked rosiest for the happy promise of converting these souls, news reached me which changed all my satisfaction to bitterness. For I kept hearing that the Igorots had withdrawn and were no longer to be seen in the Christian towns because the Governor of the Province of Pangasinan, after having prohibited them from intercourse with the Christians and persecuted them harshly through his agents, had already prepared a military expedition of 2,000 men-of-arms all provisioned to move in with fire and sword. The situation demanded an immediate remedy, as the religious begged me, insisting that if it were not quick, the many souls would be lost in one moment for whom I had such hopes of success, based on the favorable circumstances referred to above.

I was filled with confusion because I found no means to provide the remedy which this evil called for, and could only plan to go there personally, confident that God, for whose glory this work was, would not fail to provide ways and means for its success.

It was just the time for my second visitation, so to get there quicker I delegated the visitation of some towns of Pampanga to an assistant and travelled as fast as I could to visit the Ilocos. I arrived in the town of Agoo in the middle of December of '54, and learned for certain both the favorable disposition of the Igorots to receive Holy Baptism and of their retreat after learning of the expedition against them which had already been prepared and publicized. Here it was then that God, in his infinite mercy and that it be known that those who place their hope in Him will not be confounded, offered me a means and complete solution, and one far better than I could have hoped for or thought of. I was told that a chieftain of the Igorots and about seven others of his own tribe wished to see me because they had something to speak to me about, but that they dared not venture out in public from the place where they were hidden for fear of the Governor and his agents. I sent to call them, bidding them come without fear and assuring them that whatever harm might come to them should come first to me, and that I would readily suffer any trials to protect them.

With this and other assurances, they were appeased and came; and after I had greeted them with all affection and made them as welcome as I could, the chiefest among them, called Lacaden, presented me a document on behalf of himself, his companions and the rest of their villages, which was a petition which had been made for them in the Ilocano language. In it they begged three things of me: first, that I should send them a missionary because they and their townmates now desired to become Christians; second, that part of the gold and other things be returned which the Governor's agents had seized from several

Igorots for having come down to trade with the Christian towns contrary to the aforesaid Governor's prohibition; and third, that I should order some Igorots set free who for the same reason were imprisoned in the capital of Pangasinan. I replied that what they asked was not within my power but in that of the Governor General in Manila; that the most I could do was to help them in their appeal by sending on their document, begging the Governor General to take care of it myself, and that I did not doubt that he would do so because his compassion for the natives of these islands was well known, as they would experience themselves if they wished to be the bearers of my dispatch and their own petition.

They agreed to my proposal, but asked for twelve days' delay to return to their villages to announce their plans to their families and make provision for the trip. I agreed to their proposal, leaving the petition there and preparing my own dispatch to the Governor General in which I remitted the Igorots' petition translated into our Castillian tongue; and I earnestly supplicated him myself to order the suspension of the expedition which the Governor of Pangasinan had planned and provisioned, so that, without the shedding of human blood, the favorable disposition which this tribe itself had shown might provide a great number of vassals to God, and to the King our Lord—since, indeed, it would not be zeal but cruelty to attack those who were presenting themselves in submission with fire and sword.

But I always proceeded with these infidels cautiously lest their promises prove to be false, both because of their common reputation for deception, and, in the present case, the threat of the expedition. So I talked to them to test them, saying that I was afraid their saying they wished to become Christians was only for the purpose of having the gold returned to them and those in prison set free, and that afterwards, or failing to get what they wanted, according to the decision of the Governor General, they would no longer desire to be Christians. To this they answered that it was absolutely positive that they wished to be Christians, that of course they would like the gold returned to them but that even if it wasn't, they would not give up baptism and becoming Christians for this reason. I told them I still didn't believe them on one matter—that I was afraid afterwards they would not be willing to give up their superstitions and the sacrifices which they made to the Devil in their heathenism. To this they responded that they had wished to give up these sacrifices for a long time already because they were so costly for them. Still I went on, adding that I was afraid to give them a priest because if he should correct their errors, they might maltreat him and keep away from him, going off to the most interior and rugged

of their mountains, apostate to the Faith. To this they responded that they would not ignore the priest's corrections, and would even punish those who didn't live like Christians, indeed, that they would punish their children and the other natives of their villages when they did some bad deed even more than Christians do.

With similar responses I was persuaded that what they said was true and represented their real feelings, and later I was confirmed in this judgment, both by the fact that after they promised to return in twelve days to carry my dispatch to the Governor General, they did just that, and the fact that in all the other towns through which I passed on the continuation of my visitation, such as Bauan, Bacnotan, Bangar and Namacpacan, I found the same intent and disposition; for which reason I concluded that this was the hour indeed in which God by His infinite mercy desired that this tribe, which until now had remained so obstinate in its heathenism that it had not been possible for even the most zealous and enthusiastic missionaries to find means to save them from their blindness, no matter how much they had worn themselves out from the very start trying to reach them and attract them to the light of the Gospel, should now depart from the darkness of its errors.

However, the plan that the said Igorot chieftains should carry the dispatch to the Governor General didn't work out because, although they started for Manila, on passing through Lingayen, the capital of the Province of Pangasinan, the Governor seized them and ordered them to return to their mountains and villages, whether because he knew they were making objection to the expedition he intended to make, or because he was afraid these Igorots would appeal to the Governor General that they be given back the gold, silver and other goods which he had taken from them. In place of these Igorot chieftains, another six were sent, and so it would not happen to them as it happened to their predecessors, they were conducted by some clever Filipinos by side roads. They arrived in Manila before the Governor General who, well-informed of what had happened, received them with signal honor and affection. He immediately sent orders to the Governor of Pangasinan to suspend the expedition he had organized until further orders from him, and to permit the commerce of Igorots with Christians.

The Governor of the said Province of Pangasinan received this dispatch with due obedience, but with the utmost insistence presented anew the reasons for which he had mounted the expedition, and the useful results for which he hoped from it. But the Governor General, **weighing in the balances** of his well-known astuteness the practical results which the peace with the Igorots offered in the present circumstances, as against the advantages promised by the expedition, and con-

sidering that the one was very costly and the other without any cost whatever, the one as certain as if already tangible and the other highly speculative and dubious, decided, like the prudent and judicious gentleman he is, to send a new decree in which he ordered again that the Igorots be permitted free commerce with the Christians, that the Governor release and free all the Igorots he had in prison, that they should have the gold, silver and other things that his agents had deprived them of returned to them, and that this official decree from the supreme authority be manifested and declared to the Igorots to publicize the benignity with which the King our Lord, and his ministers, deal with the natives. But it should be understood that if any treachery should be discovered in them, the expedition would be launched with all due rigor.

I received this dispatch from his Excellency in the town of Agoo when I happened to have many Igorots who had come down from the mountains with me. I explained the decree to them and emphasized as much as I could how great a favor the Governor General had done them, and so that it might reach even the most remote of those mountains, had it translated into their native tongue and many copies made that they could distribute throughout their villages. The Igorots were delighted with such a favor as this and appeared to be very pleased, and began making lists, or registers, of the inhabitants of their villages who promised to receive Holy Baptism and to obey and recognize our King and Lord as faithful vassals. These lists were the first I sent to the Governor General who, not being content with the reception he had given those six Igorots mentioned, wished them to be baptized in his presence, after which they might return to their own land.

There was no difficulty in this because they had already been sufficiently catechized and had left their own place with the desire of being baptized in Manila. The affair was prepared with all grandeur, and so arranged in everything, as the Governor General told me later, that he had never seen an occasion more joyous. He could hardly have felt otherwise since all that took place was so beautiful: the church in which it was celebrated (ours in Tondo) was well adorned, and the godfathers were the most distinguished citizens of the City of Manila, who dressed their charges most decently in Spanish style. The minister of baptism was my own Vicar Provincial, the Rev. Fray Pedro Velasco. Many of the most illustrious of the City of Manila attended with the Governor General, and the crowd of religious, citizens and commoners was so huge that no more could squeeze in. With all this, and the other circumstances what caused such pleasure for all that every heart was filled to overflowing with joy that showed in their outward actions, the ceremony was carried out with such pious solemnity as there are

not many examples of, as was to be seen in the behaviour of the Governor General who, not being able to contain his extraordinary happiness, rose from his chair, approached the newly baptized and kissed each of their hands, performing this edifying act before the whole crowded congregation.

While this Catholic sacrament was being celebrated in Tondo, I happened to be in the town of Agoo entertaining many pagans who had come down, and had already received the lists of the towns that gave themselves up to our Holy Faith and the service of the King our Lord. I also learned that there were nine adult Igorots there then—three men and six women—who were already instructed in the Christian doctrine and asking for the administration of Holy Baptism. I was delighted with this news, and ordered that everything necessary be prepared for the Feast of St. Matthias the Apostle, and it was all done if not with the grandeur and solemnity with which it had been done in Tondo with the first six who were baptized there, as has been described, at least with all the decency possible in a Filipino provincial town. One of the godfathers was Don Pedro de Vivanco, a citizen of this City of Manila, who happened to be in the town of Agoo at the time, and the rest were the most prominent Filipinos of that town. I dressed and adorned those Igorots the best I could, and then they were conducted to the church with much pomp, with triumphal arches, lights, drums and the pealing of bells. We religious received them at the door of the church; I, who had the good fortune to be the minister, began to sing, and the music proceeded very harmoniously and solemnly with the *Hymn of the Holy Ghost*, after which I baptized them, and then as an act of thanksgiving the *Te Deum Laudamus* was sung, with which the ceremony ended. As soon as the function was over, the native Filipinos of the town feasted the newly baptized according to their custom, who were very happy, as were most of the pagans who attended the whole service, too, showing that they liked our sacred Rites very much. The next day the newly baptized, dressed in the same clothes they had worn during baptism and accompanied by their godfathers, went to the church and heard Mass, after which they were given something to eat, and I distributed rosaries and medallions to them and made them other little gifts, with which they departed delighted.

Every day many new pagans came down to embrace Baptism and the service of God and of the King our Lord; and there was one day in which 500 came down! It seems that it was the special providence of God that it so happened on that particular day because it was the day when those six who had been baptized in Tondo reached the town; for, hearing from their own mouths of the benefits that had come to them,

the sympathy with which they had been treated, and the favors and hospitality that had been shown them, the people began to lose all their reticence and fears. In order to attract them still more, it was arranged that the six should enter on horseback, accompanied by the dignitaries of the town and dressed in Spanish style with the ceremonial canes-of-office signifying the titles with which the Governor General had favored and honored them; and in everything they were given as decent a reception as possible. All these pagans were astonished seeing them so well dressed, and much more so on hearing tell of the grandness of Manila, which for them, who had seen nothing more than their own huts, caused such amazement that they were actually incredulous, so that one, I recall, replied ludicrously to him who was describing it, "But what about our town;" That is to say, he could not be persuaded that this Manila was better than their own town.

Besides being so large, the multitude of those pagans who presented themselves every day with promises of becoming loyal vassals of God and of the King our Lord, contained some, I observed, with very real desires of receiving Baptism. Among others, I recall one fellow, about 25 years old, who had been learning the prayers for baptism in the town of Namacpacan. When I was passing through, he met me in the convento when the Prior wasn't there and began regaling me in his own tongue, and since I couldn't understand, I sent him away, and when the Prior came home, told him what had happened with the Igorot and that he should find out what he wanted. The Prior did so, and discovered that he had meant to accuse him before me because he hadn't baptized him although he had been learning the prayers for two months already. The Prior told him to be patient and that he must learn more because he still didn't know enough. To this the Igorot replied, "So how is it, Father, that you baptized So-and-so, an Igorot woman who knows even less than I, and later, when she was ill, confessed her? so why shouldn't you baptize me who knows more than she?" It was necessary to give him a lot of conciliating excuses to quiet him.

When I arrived in Tagudin, which is an outstation of Bangar, an Igorot woman and her husband began to speak to me when I appeared at a window of the house. I thought they were begging alms, but when I gave them something they went on with their story, so I called the Prior to explain to me what these Igorots were saying. He listened to them, and then told me that they were accusing him because it had been a month since they had come down from the mountains and still he hadn't baptized them. The Prior told them that when they finished learning the prayers he would baptize them. "But what," replied the Igorota, "have I failed to learn?" The Prior told her, the Command-

ments of God and of the Church. To this she responded, "It's true, Father, that I've failed to learn a little bit, but I know the rest." We were able to satisfy them by promising that by Easter they would be baptized. Then the woman proceeded to accuse her husband of being block-headed, saying that she had gotten a headache trying to teach him what she knew but that he learned nothing. She also complained to me about another Igorot woman who had come down to town fifteen days ago with her husband and all their children, despite the ardors of the trip, and having slept eleven nights on the way, and being about to deliver, but "You should know, Father she doesn't want to learn the prayers—I want to teach her but she got angry with me." We tried to tell her what she had to do therefore to teach her husband and the other one, too; and with this she was quite satisfied.

At this time, seeing the great multitude of pagan Igorots who desired Holy Baptism, I ordered the Father Procurator General of this Province to petition the Committee of the Royal Hacienda for missionaries and the customary stipends, and they released funds for two. I appointed Fathers Fray Francisco Romero and Fray Pedro Vivar for this apostolic ministry, ordering the Father Prior of Agoo at the same time to go into the Igorot villages before the missionaries arrived, both because the Igorots themselves wanted it for the great fondness they had for him, and because it would be good for him to see in what places it would be best to locate the residence of the missionaries.

So this father set forth from Aringay, an outstation of Agoo, on the 10th of May [*sic.*, evidently an error for March 10th] in this present year of '55, and after travelling all day on foot—since it wasn't possible to travel by any more convenient means because of the roughness of the mountains—he reached a village called Buyan, in which the Chief-tain, called Tampo—a sort of minor king of these mountains—and his wife, children and many people, received him with great joy, all kissing his hand. He explained that he had come that they might embrace the Faith of Jesus Christ. He expounded the principal Mysteries and Commandments to them, and they all showed signs of wishing to embrace the Faith. Here he encountered the wife of one of those whom the Governor had imprisoned in Lingayen, who grumbled much about the Christians still holding her husband prisoner, saying that she didn't want to become a Christian for this reason, but that she intended instead to flee to the most remote mountains and die there under Igorot law. This one was called Chanao, and she didn't know about the order that had been given by the Governor General that freedom and liberty should be given all the imprisoned Igorots; but when she was told about it, and learned that shortly she would see her husband, she was consoled and

promised to be baptized with all her children. He stayed in this same town the whole day of the eleventh, and on the following day went to the town called Butiagan, Lacaden having come out to meet him with other prominent people, after he first passed through another village called Pintocoan, in which he did not stop, but passing through which a woman gave him cold camotes and asked him for a shirt, and the father told her that if she should be in Agoos, he would give her one there. It was already afternoon when he reached Butiagan, where they all received him with extreme joy, youngsters and adults surrounding him, and holding out their babies-in-arms for him to hold. Everybody in this village already know how to make the sign of the cross, and some knew the "Our Father". It was necessary for him to stay in this village the whole day of the 13th because Buel, Gornido and chieftains from other villages joined them, having come to give him a welcome, and to all of them he expounded our Holy Law as much as the short time permitted, and they said that they submitted with all joy. Here also Guilit, Laongan, Gutub and other prominent men of the town of Tonglo joined the others to conduct the priest to their town.

He set out from that village on the 14th and proceeded through another village called Apatut, whose inhabitants came out to greet him most joyfully. Here they told him there was a very sick Igorot in danger of death. He went to see him, desirous of gathering in that soul for God. He found him stretched out on a piece of tree-bark, covered with a piece of old blanket, with a block of wood for a pillow. The sickness he had was what is commonly called St. Lazarus's, from which his feet and hands were eaten away and covered with the bark of a tree called *arandon*. He wasn't in the village but out on the mountainside in a wretched bower which gave him shade but so made it wasn't possible to enter except by crawling. The discomfort of this dwelling was aggravated by the fire which the invalid had by his side and the great smoke it made. The father ordered all this to be got rid of, and, cleaning out the place, approached the invalid and asked if he desired to become a Christian. He replied that he was willing, so he proceeded to instruct him in what was necessary, concluding which he baptized him, giving him the name of Marcos because Chief Guilit asked it. In gratitude for the benefit which he received with the Holy Baptism, he gave the father a boy he had, about 14 years old, for him to take with him, instruct, and baptize; and he said that if he got well, he would arrange to be taken to a Christian town himself.

With this delay, the father couldn't reach Tonglo until the fifteenth. All the people went out to greet him some distance from the town, and when he arrived where they were, they kissed his hand with much

happiness, and so conducted him to the town between the two main chieftains, Laongan and Guilit. They visited Laongan's house, at whose portal they had already erected a tall cross. Here a chieftain of a village that was the farthest to the east came to render obedience. This chieftain was called Bulic, and he brought a son with him called Biran, as well as other companions; and his village was called Albacan. He received him with fife and drum and a rifle salute, and when they drew near they kissed the priest's hand and seated themselves, though those of his retinue sat down behind Bulic and Biran, his son, and somewhat apart. The father explained to them the reason for his visiting those mountains, which was to persuade them to receive the Faith of Jesus Christ and give obedience to the King our Lord—to all of which they responded very favorably and with signs of sincerity, and, inviting the priest to their town, they departed. In this same town of Tonglo he decided it was necessary to say Mass because it was Passion Sunday, and with this news most of those pagans were delighted since, they said, now they would be having the Mass of the Christians in their town. They all attended it from places some distance around, the old men taking care that the children be quiet and not make a disturbance. Afterwards, he delivered a short sermon, explaining the holiness of the Law of God, and admonishing them to be constant in embracing it, as they had promised, and with all this they showed themselves most satisfied; and then they asked the father, that, having had Mass in their village, he permit it to be celebrated with a dance in the Christian style. The father approved: he ordered them to sound the drum, and the Christians that accompanied him to dance; and afterward the pagans danced, beginning with the most prominent and the old men, and they all did it with much modesty. While still engaged in this diversion, he learned that chieftains called Guericy and Patey from the most interior parts of the mountain had arrived to render obedience. He received them like chieftains, and they responded with favorable promises on their own part and for their villages. Thus another day passed, and when the morning of the seventeenth arrived, the priest ordered all the chiefs to gather, and he read and explained to them that so favorable decree of the Governor General's, as mentioned above, and with this they were more determined in their good intentions; and the father gave them his word that another time he would visit the villages of those chieftains who had come down to give obedience. They were still here when another chieftain from the town of Benguet—his name was Amonin—joined them, who, after rendering obedience on his own part, asked that they permit him to join Tonglo in becoming Christian with Guilit's people, which request was granted him. The

same day in the afternoon a great chief called Baban appeared, whom he received with all the attention possible because he was like a sort of king in the most interior mountains. He was startled by the salvo of the rifles; but when they told him that this was the sign of happiness for his coming, and an honor that the Spaniards were accustomed to show great men like him, he was satisfied and his fears calmed. He gave his obedience and showed like the others that he accepted joyfully all that he explained to him, both in regard to embracing our Holy Faith and in giving obedience to our King and Lord.

On the morning of the eighteenth the father learned that in the interior of the mountains there was a Christian captive, and he asked Amonin and the other chieftains to bring him to him to see about his ransom, which they did quickly and gladly. They asked 35 pesos for the ransom, which was the amount they had compensated his masters, and for their help in the ransoming the pagan chieftains asked another seven pesos, and the father gave what he had and promised to pay the remainder; and with this they handed the captive over to him, and he set out from Tonglo with his company; and on the way they proceeded to visit the villages called Daimicil and Ampusa. He slept that night on the banks of a river, and the next day returned to Aringay, whence he had departed at the beginning of this trip.

On the 28th of April the same father made another trip, and entered the village called Bangquilay, which was farther to the south than the former. The people of Tunec came out to meet him on the way, they having made and cleaned the trails by hand, together with the people of Bangquilay. He had to eat and sleep on the way in huts, not so much because the rivers were passed leaping from rock to rock, inasmuch as the banks were such deep sand, and for the rest of the trip they had to pass the very peaks of the mountains, to all of which was added the great heat of the sun, so the travel was very painful. On the morning of the 29th the father arrived in Bangquilay, where he was received with much rejoicing by all; he then adored a cross that they had set up, and at his example all the rest did the same, young and old, mothers even bringing the faces of their babies at the breast near the Holy Cross. Here the people of the three villages of Yutbung, Cubal and Inlauac gathered, and all begged him most urgently to proceed to their towns, but since he couldn't do so at that time, he gave them his word he would another time. These of Tunec also gathered round, and because of the great emotion they showed over the priest's not reaching their village, he consented for fear of offending them.

He set out from Bangquilay for Tunec, then, on the 30th, though the people of Tunec were not more delighted by this decision than those

of Bangquilay were disappointed because they had agreed that on the following day he would say Mass in their village; notwithstanding this, however, both of them accompanied the father on his trip. When he reached Tunec, the people of the villages of Sabaca, Palina, Linsi and Bilis joined them. Here he said Mass; he set up a cross and blessed it, and preached to them, and to everything they were all attentive and happy, manifesting by the joy of their countenances that they were taking the Christian Religion to their hearts. The priest proposed to them that it would be good for them to form a settlement in a big plain called Ambangonan which had capacity for a town of 400 houses, with enough land suitable for planting rice, cotton, sugarcane, and whatever they liked, and with good water; and they agreed gladly.

After this the father went back to his town of Agoo, carrying lists of the people of those villages with him, and of the many people who accompanied him, some remained in that same town of Agoo to be instructed in the Doctrine and Christian Rites. On the third day after this father returned to Agoo, the chieftains of the villages called Tunec, Buyo, Yutbung, Guatcan, Immarang, Balicangcang, Mugmug, Patungao, Baay, Pighin, Paltigan, Benguet, Buo, Bucanan, and Basis came down to visit him, and all pledged their towns, begging that he come to them. Some brought down lists of the people of their towns, and the others promised to get them.

On the twelfth of May, the same priest (the Prior of Agoo) returned to the mountains accompanied by the Reverend Fray Pedro Vivar, the missionary destined for that place; they arrived at the town of Palina, and from there proceeded to Sacaba, and in both of them they were well received. From Sacaba, the missionary proceeded to Tonglo to establish his residence there, and begin his apostolic ministry. He was well received by Chief Guilit and the whole village; and the next day they presented him with a carabao, or small buffalo, and a basket of camotes, or potatoes, to make him welcome. The father told them that from the application with which they were learning the Christian Doctrine he knew they really had the desire for baptism. The Father Prior of Agoo then returned to his town for business he was committed to.

At the same time, Father Fray Joseph Torre entered the towns of the Igorots facing the town of Bauang. He was with them three days, during he visited the villages of Bonoy, Cabeng, Magmodey and Botoacan, and made lists of those of each one of these villages who agreed to become Christians. To make a new town, he chose a level and beautiful site which lay about a league and a half from the town of Baung; and this site offers great advantages to its inhabitants to which no doubt

many pagans will be attracted, and especially if a missionary is assigned for that place.

The Reverend Fray Juan Sánchez, Prior of Bacnotan, also went up to the mountains which overlook his town: he was in the towns of Temuc, Mamanao, Motlue and Tanubung, and he didn't make the trip in vain, either, for not only did he reach those who accepted the Faith and obedience to the King our Lord, but also he got them to agree that they would give up those rugged heights in the mountains and come down to the lowlands; and they selected a place about a league from the town of Bacnotan; and there they live very contentedly because of the good water supply and the beautiful land. Some families have remained in the town of Bacnotan to be instructed by the Christian old men and be baptized. The chieftains of these Igorot pagans who have come down are sure that if a permanent missionary father is assigned to the said town, those mountains will become depopulated.

In Tagudin many Igorots have come down, too, through the diligence of the Father Visitor, Fray Carlos de Lorta, and every day more are coming, twenty of whom have remained to be baptized and the rest to be catechized. These are setting up a village about a quarter-league from Tagudin, in very beautiful farmland which the town has ceded to them.

In Candon, through the efforts of Father Fray Joseph Torres, a sort of king of those mountains came down with his wife and all his children to remain in the outstation of Santa Lucia, arranging to be baptized. The same father advises me that he plans to go up to their villages accompanied by this chief and that he hopes to gather copious fruit; but until now I haven't heard of his having done so.

I said above that some of these villages that have submitted have given lists of the people they contain and the others have promised them, but if these latter have already provided them, they still have not reached my hands.

And so that the mercy of God may be praised, who so graciously communicated with this nation of Igorots in these times, I wish to set down here the number of persons contained in each of the lists I have received, and it is as follows:

Banguilay	105	Tonglo	212
Tunec	66	Apatut	104
Yutbung	72	Ampusa	82
Ceibal	35	Dumasil	88
Sacaban	67	Candong	7
Bilis	39	Quinmonges	30
Linsi	28	Ynlavac	35

Butiagan	175	Manonao	59
Bitocoan	73	Motluc	44
Sarrat	43	Tanobung	64
Caben	90	Gueday	58
Manocdey	27	Tamuding	40
Tumuc	63		
		TOTAL	1,772

Of this large number of souls, many are already baptized and the rest are being catechized for baptism. The same thing is being carried out in many other villages that have already given their obedience, but I didn't put them down because their lists haven't yet reached me. All together, they are so many as to require eight missionaries, both because of the numbers of people and the distances from one town to the next, especially with the near-impassable ruggedness of the roads. We are trying to supply the lack of missionaries by catechists, many of whom are already required because twenty are now occupied for the Igorots on the borders of Agoo alone, and they have their hands full. These are divided among the towns and paid by the priests. They are married so that they can instruct the men and their wives the women. Not only do they instruct them in the Christian Doctrine, but also in the cultivation of the soil, and other things concerning civil and political life.

These, then, are the felicitous beginnings of the famous Igorots, who, by the favor of God and the King our Lord, to whom we look for the further assignment of ministers and missionaries, promise great additional growth in a few more years.

To the north of the Igorots come the Tinguianes, a nation most widespread and numerous; and those Tinguianes who live in the lowlands are peaceful but those who inhabit the mountains are really savages. We began the mission among this tribe twelve years ago, penetrating the mountains of Dingras. After its foundation, it garnered such fruit in the conversion of these people that a medium town called Santiago was formed whose inhabitants are so well-instructed in everything they cannot be distinguished from the old Christians. But, despite the fact that this mission was begun twelve years ago, I put it with the new ones both because of its being relatively new and because of the growth it has had this year.

The towns which have been induced to receive Holy Baptism are three. The first is called Banna, which will have no less than 100 good houses well-arranged, and good fields of rice, cotton and other things. More than half the town has been baptized already and the rest are being catechized. In the month of January of this year, when I visited Dingras, I took time to go and see them, and I spent one happy day

with them, both the Christians and the pagans striking me as very affable; and neither the one nor the other left us all day. In the afternoon they all came and asked me what saint should be the patron of their town. I told them, the Holy Child of Jesus because the following day we celebrate his Most Holy Name, and I promised to send them an image of the Holy Child made in Manila, as I subsequently did, with which they felt most satisfied. They also asked me when the Mass would be said in their village. I replied that if they had a decent place in which it could be said the next day, it could be; and when they heard that, they began to fix up a tiny chapel made of bamboo and wood and decorate it, so pretty, in fact, that I ordered the missionary father who accompanied me to remain there and say Mass the next day. Finally, both the Christians and the pagans requested me to send a missionary father to live permanently in their town. I told them, it was right for the Christians to request it but surprising that the pagans should, for, after all, if they intended to remain pagans and not carry through on their resolve to receive baptism, they didn't need a priest. To this they said that if a priest stayed there, then they would all be converted. Good enough, I said,—but it was necessary to make a little house for the priest's dwelling; and then they agreed to what I said, and began it the next day, as I later learned. Upon my departure the pagans knelt down before me and begged my forgiveness for their having been so stubborn about accepting baptism. I said what was appropriate, and departed.

The second is another town of medium size called Parras on a small mountain halfway between the aforementioned Banna and Batac. I also went there for a day from Batac, and took some little gifts for them. I was well received by them, but as far as their receiving Our Holy Faith was concerned, which was the one reason for my going, I obtained no results at all, they remaining as adamant and stubborn as they had always been. At my departure I told them that although they didn't want baptism now when we were offering it, it could be that some day they would seek us out and ask for it. And, in truth, it pleased God to comply with this little jest of mine, for after my visitation, when I was hoping for little, I found four men from that town here in Manila who told me they wished to be baptized and that many of their town remaining there were similarly disposed. The Baptism of these four was set for the Feast of Sts. Peter & Paul in the afternoon in the church in Tondo, and was celebrated with same solemnity as that of the six Igorots I described earlier.

The third is one in the mountains facing Narvacan, whose name I have forgotten. I wanted to go to this town in person, too, but was

prevented by the unforeseen mishap of having our convento and church burn at noon. Nonetheless I had occasion to speak with many of them who came down to Narvacan, and although I realized my persuasions didn't have the desired effect of their embracing our Holy Faith, they did not completely resist the idea for within a short time of my having left the Province, some of them have already left the mountains and come down to the said town of Narvacan, where, on the return from my trip, I saw them and they were disposed to be baptized. Among them there was an old man, who because of having the desire to become a Christian, didn't eat a bit of meat on those days when it is prohibited to Christians, giving as an answer to those who tempted him that he wished to train himself to observe that which he would be obliged after baptism. I also tested him to find out the truth of this, but didn't find out anything different from the rest.

The mission of the Adanes and the Apayaos is so new it only began at the end of the past year of '54. Of these two nations, that of the Apayaos is very numerous, and it inhabits many leagues of mountains, which run from the town of Dingras northward to Cape Bojeador, in which the tribe of the Adanes lives, which is a tribe of very short people settled in a single town of some 60 houses; and since they are so few, they live by the help and favor of the Apayaos, living as if under their protection. This mission was founded this way: in my first visitation in December 1753, I sent some prominent Filipinos of Bamban and Bangui to these tribes to explain to them that I wished to deal with them in friendliness, and that for this reason if they didn't wish to come down, I would order the Father Prior of Bangui to go and visit them in my name since I couldn't spare the time myself; and with the messengers I sent them a little gift. The reply they gave the Filipinos I sent was favorable, so the Father Prior went up as I had ordered to visit them twice, and they received him with much satisfaction and joy. He proposed to them that they become Christians, and they said that if they were not forced to come down from the mountains they were ready, both Adanes and Apayaos. So the Apayaos also replied who live on the frontiers of Pasuquing, an outstation of Bacarra, having received a mission of prominent Filipinos from that town. Considering this, I resolved to give them a missionary, and appointed Father Fray Juan Solórzano, the same one who went up into the mountains on my order. I had the intention of conducting him to the town of the Adanes personally on my second visitation, even if I should suffer the travail of those rugged places on foot for the two days required to reach the place where they lived, but I wasn't able because of a fatal fall my horse suffered so that I couldn't take the road for some days. Therefore I

sent to call them, and some thirteen of the two nations came down, to whom I entrusted their Father Missionary, and they received him and accompanied him to their towns with much happiness, and with the same happiness began to be instructed in our Holy Faith, so that, from the end of January, when this happened, to the beginning of April, when the said missionary reported to me, 26 of the Adanes and Apayaos had been baptized already, of whom two came to Manila in the name of all the others to give obedience to the Governor General. Since that place is so distant and isolated, I have received no more news; but I'm sure that at the present time many others have been baptized.

And, giving God all the glory, I close this account. In our Convent of San Pablo of Manila, on the 27th of June of 1755.

Fray Manuel Carrillo
Provincial

1758

Order from the King to the Governor exempting the Tinguianes, Igorots and other pagans from paying tribute if they are converted

The Bishop of Nueva Segovia has stated at length in his letter of June 20, 1756, that the territory of his diocese includes the three provinces of Pangasinan, Ilocos and Cagayan, and part of Zambales, in whose mountains there are a great number of pagan Filipinos called Igorots, Tinguianes and other tribes, living as wild beasts without having been brought to domesticity nor the zeal of many ministers of the Doctrine having been able to convert them, among whom those called Tinguianes reside peacefully in the mountains of the province of Ilocos in places suited to their labor, occupying one hundred villages or hamlets, about ten thousand souls recognizing me as their king and lord, and paying a small tribute to the ministers of the governor of the same province, who collect it and supervise the major, or more profitable, commerce; that the Auditor Don Joseph Ignacio de Arzadún considers them to be a quiet people, and of good habits, so much so, indeed, that although pagans they excell many Christians in the same, as can be seen from their humble obedience, inclination to peace, adoration of God, veneration of the churches, and invocation of the Virgin Mary and her most Holy Son in their necessities, and the observation that when they lack water for their crops, they collect alms among themselves in common and carry it to the father missionary for a novena and to obtain the favor they ask from God. They believe in the principal Mysteries of our Holy Faith, and many know how to read and write and use books on the Christian Doctrine; they obey the governor of the province mentioned; no few of their towns have a civil government like that of the Christians; they elect their petty governor every year and officers of justice in the presence of their own mayor or his lieutenant, and in everything they are subjects just like the Catholics; and despite the fact they are exhorted by the missionaries who are found in those mountains to receive our holy

religion and the waters of baptism, they resist it, saying that if they receive it, after the ten years of freedom from the tribute, forced labor and personal service which converts have, they will be obliged to pay the same as the old Christians give, and they keep refusing this although they understand it to be necessary for their salvation, as the aforesaid bishop gives personal testimony to in a sworn statement which accompanies his cited representation, made by the Provisor and Vicar General, in which it is verified that although there are many Tinguian pagans, those who embrace our Sacred Religion are few simply due to their fear of the cited tribute, giving the fact that they will be free and exempt from it as their reason for remaining in paganism and understanding but not caring that they thus deprive themselves of eternal glory, for the Common Enemy of the human species has impressed this apparent benefit of their liberty upon them to keep them in their paganism; just so they have expressed it verbally that if they are not freed of this charge, they will not be converted; in which matter the aforesaid bishop supplicates me that it would be of service to order that the stated Tinguian pagans and the other tribes who occupy the mountains of his diocese and are converted be given freedom from forced labor, tribute, and personal duties in the town where they reside, not only for ten years but for their whole lives, but that [these duties] be imposed upon their children and descendents in proportion to what they might be able to give, taking account of the unhappy conditions which have prevented them all commerce, so that with this example the rest of the barbarous tribes who reside in those so rugged mountains will be inclined to receive the waters of Holy Baptism, the same as the *indios* of the Marianas and obtain the same benefits, whereby, in addition to the principal goal of the service to God which will result from the conversion of so many souls, my Royal Treasury will profit when the descendents of the Tinguianes are contributing a greater amount, and it will increase in a few years to much more since the favor done their parents can be emphasized; more, that it can serve as a motivation in general for them and many others to submit to the gentle yoke of the Divine Law, and that my Royal name will be exalted and well-known to those barbarous nations. And, the representation referred to having been seen in my Council of the Indies, with what my Fiscal explained from his knowledge and in consultation with me about it, I have decided on duplicating what was done in the case of the pagan Filipinos called Ilongots located and established in the coast of Baler of that same island,⁴² to exempt the Tinguianes, and all those who are baptized as adults from tribute, as the express Bishop of Nueva Segovia requested from which favor their sons and descendents must be excluded since, being educated in the Faith and well-informed of the obedience and vassalage which they owe me, they ought to contribute what is accustomed in those islands; and that there be given to the churches which are built in the towns of Filipinos who may be resettled, at the expense of my Royal Treasury one ornament, one chalice with its paten for celebrating the Sacrifice of the Mass, and one bell, which, upon the notice of the said bishop or of the Provincial of

42. A Royal Order of Feb. 1, 1756, in response to a 1754 request by Franciscan missionaries, grants the same exemptions and favors in the same terms as appear here.

the Order to whose charge the spiritual administration of the territory may belong which the particular Filipinos called Tinguianes inhabit, or the other tribes that may be resettled, you will order to be turned over at the time the said churches are constructed, with which those Filipinos should help because of the mercy and favor of not paying tribute which is granted those who are baptized as adults for life, and therefore I order and command you to comply and observe inviolably this my resolution according to and in the form in which it is here expressed, since such is my will.

Dated in Aranjuez, June 18, 1758.
I, the King.

First Discourse:

The opinion that the Igorot nation is descended from the Chinese is without foundation

That the Igorots are descendants of the Chinese fugitives of the pirate Limahon who came to these islands in 1574 some years after the Spaniards got here, I have only read in two modern authors, but they do not allege any proofs or reasons. The history by Father Juan, Recollect,⁴³ which is now in press, says at the end of the first volume, "The Igorots who populate the mountains of Kingay in which they exploit gold mines are remnants from the corsair Limahon."^{IX} Father Mozo's book says, on page 62, "This opinion is confirmed by the appearance of their figure, for although they go about naked and subject to all inclemencies, they still look very much like Chinese in their light complexion, and the gracefulness of their bodies, especially in their eyes which look exactly the same."

I have carefully read the old historians of the Philippines—Aduarte, Colín, Gaspar and others who treat of the coming of Limahon and his escape abroad by sea in detail—and none say any Chinese retired to the mountains of Ilocos. The painstaking Father Murillo says in his *Geography*, "The Zambals, the Tinguies, the Manguianes, Ilayas, Igorots, and others who until now are not entirely subjugated, are barbarians."⁴⁴ Along the borders of the Agno River and of the missions I have seen plenty of Igorots, and have not observed in their costumes or fashions anything special not also found in other tribes of pagan Filipinos, and even Christians. Among the Ilocanos, Pangasinanes and Tagalogs some Filipinos can be picked out with bodies as robust and well-featured as the Igorots. Among the pagan Ilongots and Gad-

43. Juan de la Concepción, *Historia general de Philipinas*, 14 vols., Sampaloc 1788-1792.

44. Pedro Murillo Velarde, *Geographia Histórica de las Islas Philipinas, del Africa, y de sus Islas adyacentes*, (Madrid 1752), vol. 8, p. 33.

dangs, near the missions of Cagayan, some rather white and nicely featured faces are found among many others ugly and emaciated, but this must be attributed to the facts that in the mountains there are many who have not had smallpox which disfigures many, and that they live in cold places and shady, without bathing or exposing themselves to the sun so much as they do along the coast and in the lowlands.

This opinion, or contention, seems to me similar to another which there is about whether the Pantagonian Indians of the Straits of Magellan are a tribe of giants as some travellers' accounts would persuade [us]. In the prologue of the journey of Byron,⁴⁵ translated into Castilian, it says:

The most learned persons of these last two centuries declare themselves against this opinion. They admit that from time to time men have been seen of greater stature than ordinary, which the ignorant, always predisposed to strange and amazing ideas, have taken as giants without reconciling it to the fact that there neither exists nor has ever existed any whole people or nation of inhabitants truly giants.

Pluche,⁴⁶ Book 6, page 73, comments, "The abandoning of truth to proceed to the marvelous is very ancient; the inclination toward the extraordinary has generally been the ruler of [men'] thinking." In the same manner it is possible to argue in our case, and about what Father Colin's *history* says on page 19: "Persons familiar with the provinces of Ilocos and Cagayan testify that tombs have been found thereabouts of people of greater stature than the Filipinos, with their arms and jewels from China or Japan, who, presumably at the scent of gold, conquered and settled those parts."

The second part of Father Gaspar's manuscript, which is preserved in the library of San Agustín, says on page 414: "The Igorots are a barbarous people, and of little spirit, lighter than the other natives both because of being born in a less hot climate and of being descended, according to their traditions, from Chinese who reached those shores in ships much before the Spaniards arrived, according to their confused and barbarous tales." If there is anything in all this, it could be expected that the Ilocanos and Pangasinanes who live along the coast are

45. John Byron, *Narrative* (London 1768). Vice-Admiral Byron accompanied George Anson on a circumnavigation of the world, and some of the adventures recounted in his *Narrative* were utilized by his grandson George Gordon Byron in his "Don Juan."

46. Noel Antoine Pluche, *Le spectacle de la Nature, ou entretiens sur les particularités de l'histoire Naturelle*, 8 vols., Paris 1732-1750; Spanish editions appeared in 1755, 1758 and 1771.

descended from the Chinese rather than the Igorots who live far away from the seashore, hidden in the interior of the mountains. I conclude, therefore, that the said opinion is devoid of basis, and that I have established the point without there being necessity of further discussion here, since this whole work is an obvious proof that the Igorots are Filipinos in everything.

[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: "It is proverbial among us that not one of them, leaving a feast thoroughly drunk, . . . if he happens to be buying or selling something, not only does not act incoherently but in weighing gold or silver for payment (a common procedure among all these people, so much so that each one carries a little balance with him in his purse), he does so with such steadiness that his hand does not shake nor he err in the weighing."

Second Discourse:

The journey to Cagayan of Don Luis, son of fifth governor Dasmariñas, did not go by the land of the Igorots but by Laguna de Bay and the sea of the opposite coast of Baler.⁴⁷

Father Colín, speaking of Governor Luis Dasmariñas on page 147, says: "In 1595 Field Marshal Chávez completed the conquest of the Province of Cagayan for the second time; and so that it would have the best results, Governor Don Luis himself went there by land, entering through the River of Tuy, and, crossing the mountains of the Igorots, reached Cagayan and assigned its conversion and instruction to the Order of St. Dominic." This account is given almost verbatim in the history of the Franciscans in the catalogue of the Governors of Manila. On page 327 it speaks clearly of Governor Gómez, father of Don Luis

47. Father Antolín subsequently concluded that he was mistaken in this contention, and inserted notes to this effect in his own hand in his MS *La Misión de Ituy, su descubrimiento, entradas y sucesos, y compendio cronológico sobre el camino para Cagayan* (Archivo de la Provincia del Santísimo Rosario de Filipinas, *sección "Cagayán,"* vol. 3, fols. 1-134) in which he had expounded this idea at greater length; and in his 1793 MS *Sobre el Ituy antiguo* (Archives of the University of Santo Tomas, *Libro de Bercerros* No. 37, fols. 279-297) recounted the research which led to his revised conclusion. At the present time, the complete journals of the trips in question are available in Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 14, pp. 281-326.

who pacified Tuy, Cagayan and Sambales in the best manner he then could, and it does not say "Ituy" but "Tuy." In the *History* of Father Aduarte, who was Bishop of Cagayan, is to be read on page 142 only, "When Don Luis Pérez Dasmariñas went through Tuy to Cagayan, before there were religious there, he spent one night beside the sea on the beach where the river comes out from the town of Pata." The *Compendium* of the Franciscans, page 227, says Father Diego del Villar went as commissary of four other Franciscan religious in the company of Don Luis Dasmariñas, son of the Governor, who went as head of a regiment of soldiers.

There is much variation in these statements, and even in the names, since some give *Ituy*, others *Itui*, and Aduarte *Tuy*. It must cause great difficulty to anybody to believe that a gentleman like Don Luis, Governor or Governor's son, should make the crossing in those early days, in which there was very little explored and still no Dominican religious in Cagayan, and penetrate into the mountains of the Igorots and by the River of Ituy to Cagayan, especially since there where no horses then for making such long journeys.^{XI} Since even nowadays when there is a known trail it costs no small travail for even a single man to go to Cagayan by land, what would it have been like then? What difficulties to penetrate the Igorot mountains which are even now considered impenetrable?

The most reliable source from those early days, based on the old histories in particular, is a manuscript which is preserved in the Archives of St. Francis, composed by Father Antonio de Padua, or de la Llave, who came to the Islands as a close friend of Governor Dasmariñas and then entered the Franciscan Order, which I have seen myself and copied, and it says, "Don Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas, knight of Betanzos in Galicia, arrived in Manila as Governor in the year 1590, and brought in his company his son, Don Luis, and various of his relatives with many people and soldiers to compose the Regiment, or Camp, of Manila."⁴⁸ One of this Governor's first expeditions was to explore the shores of the opposite east coast of this island as far as Cagayan to locate a good port and anchorage for the ships that come and go to America, and if a good harbor were found in it, the ships could enter and depart directly without having need of the detours now required by the Straits of San Bernardino or by Cagayan to reach Manila Bay. Earlier, the first governor, Legazpi, had sent his nephew Juan de Salcedo on voyages of discovery from Mariveles to Cagayan, and from there he went

48. The *Crónica primitiva desta Provincia de San Gregorio* was written in Manila about the year 1624 and has never been published; three copies, including what appears to be the original, are preserved in the Franciscan Provincial Archives in Pastrana, Guadalajara.

around the island on the east and came back to Manila by Laguna de Bay. Dasmariñas ordered the same trip to be made by sea, but in the opposite direction.

He sent his son, Don Luis, as Captain or head of the expedition, and he took five Franciscan religious with him and several Spaniards and a company of soldiers to found and settle some port or convenient spot on the opposite coast. They set out by Laguna de Bay for Binangonan de Lampon, and in this port embarked to follow the coast-line to Cagayan. Farther up from Lampon a rather large river flows into that sea which is now called [the Bay] of Baler; here they went ashore which they saw was peopled with Filipinos and mountain Negritos, and founded a mission of Franciscans and post of soldiers. The Governor's son and the rest of the people proceeded on shipboard to Cagayan to visit the new conquests and *conquistadores* of Cagayan, Ilocos and Pangasinan in passing, and thus returned to Manila.

The land of Baler is mountainous and they called its large river Tuy, then and even later. I have tried to get information if anywhere there is any place or tribe around there so called, but have only been able to find that those who inhabit those mountains are called Italan or Italon, and Father Murillo places the Italones there in his map, which [name] sounds something like Ituy. Not having been able to find any place, river or town which is clearly called Tuy on that other coast, I have concluded that Don Luis and some of his retinue, who were from Galicia where there is a city of Tuy on the north bank of the Miño River near Portugal, wanted to give this name to that land and big river they discovered to perpetuate the memory of the first discoveries, as other Spaniards did in this same island with the names of Nueva Segovia, Nueva Cáceres, Villa Fernandina, Arevalo, and other names derived from their birthplaces in Spain.

The Tuy of Galicia is commonly written with three letters, of which the last is a "y" and so Bishop Aduarte writes it the first time he names the Tuy of the Philippines, but in present practice it is pronounced Ituy. This "i" placed in front of Filipino names is rather common with no more significance than case endings in Spanish. This name of Tuy which the retinue of Galicians of Don Luis imposed on the river and coast of Baler was [later] understood by the religious and Spaniards to be the interior mountains of the center of this island which reached and bounded those of the Igorots, calling them the Province of Tuy or Ituy, and it was for this reason that in the partition which was made of the already explored lands and provinces among the different Orders by royal order of Felipe II in the year 1593, the Franciscans were given Tuy to administer. But they stayed

there only a few years in the beginning because both missionaries and soldiers got sick so they gave it up and retired to Binangonan de Lampon, where the garrison of soldiers was retained for the ships from Acapulco which anchored there.

Governor Dasmariñas made another expedition in 1592, as Father Gaspar says on page 461, sending his son, Don Luis, on the pacification of the Zambals of the Island of Manila, who, with 300 picked soldiers, performed deeds worthy of memory, leaving the Filipinos of Masingloc and Bolinao pacified. Aduarte's *History* also speaks of this expedition to Bolinao and Zambales, and seems to place it in the year 1591. This land of Zambales and that which they call Tuy are very near the Igorots, and from this fact stems the error of some historians in saying that Don Luis passed through and entered [the land of] the Igorots. Similar errors are very easy for those who write of lands not seen or well explored. This Don Luis became governor himself at the end of 1593, because the Chinese killed his father violently, and occupied that office a year and a half, and during this time he assigned the administration of Cagayan to the Dominicans, but he was not able to go there in person nor leave Manila for reason of business that came up, as the histories recount.

Third Discourse:

The gold ores of Europe, Africa and America,
and means for exploiting them.

The *Mirror* of Pluche, in the dialogue on rivers, raises the question:

I have read descriptions in the Poets, and other authors, of rivers which abound in golden sands. It would be very pleasant to know if some of this can be believed. As a brief answer, I believe that the Poets have enlarged their subject a bit and that they have distributed the gold more generously in their books than Nature has in the rivers. But that she made rivers which bear gold in their sands and in the mud which they throw up on the banks is an incontestable fact, and even nowadays there is trade in gold dust which certain rivers carry along with their waters. In such particles from the rivers lie the riches of the people on the coasts of Guinea and Sophala, and those of Zairo, Zanguebar and Abyssinia, some with more abundance than others according to the amount of rain. But the privilege of gold has not been granted to the rivers of Africa, nor those of Brazil and Chile, with the exception of those [mentioned above]. In France there are various rivers and creeks which carry little scales or wafers of gold in certain black sands which are different from the ordinary. The blackness of these sands is a sign of the ores through which such streams pass. Sometimes similar sands are found thrown up on the bank; other times they are re-

tained behind the stones which obstruct the waters. The method of recovering them in France is by stretching woolen cloths, or sheep-skins, on the banks and in the middle of the river so that these sands will be caught more easily in the wool. There are days when a single man gets a doubloon in grains or flakes of gold from the Arrigue River; other days he will get the weight of a silver *real*, and sometimes he will find nothing at all but pain and fatigue. The country folk, after other more useful labors and harvests in the fields, are accustomed to employing the little time when they are free to this occupation with gold after the floods or muds when the rivers overflow their beds.

The method of separating the grains and little leaves of gold from the mud and useless sand is to wash all the material which is secured from the bank or depths of the river again and again. The biggest grains are separated with the hand; but they are ordinarily so small that it is necessary to separate them with quicksilver, which is a pale and heavy liquid which looks like molten silver, and which, when poured out where there is gold, has the property of absorbing it, attaching it to itself without attracting or having any effect on the useless dregs or materials. After tipping the plate or basin, the quicksilver is separated from the gold, and it is again washed very well so that it will be purified, and, inserted in a pouch of chamois skin which is folded and pressed and squeezed as much as possible, the quicksilver comes out through the pores and leaves all the gold it absorbed in the pouch, and then, taken from there, it is put in a crucible over the fire to evaporate all the quicksilver completely and make [the gold] a solid lump.

In the dialogue on mines he says:

The gold from mines comes in grains or incorporated in stones or earth; if grains, it is enough to wash it without the aid of fire and quicksilver, and this is the most profitable method; if in stones or earth, it is all ground up very fine in mortars of iron and in mills, and sifted thoroughly with a screen or sieve of copper. So sifted, the powder is placed with water and quicksilver in some troughs or boxes of wood in the very strong sunlight for the space of two days, during which the quicksilver absorbs and sucks in all the gold which there is. The troughs are turned very gently to remove the water little by little and spill it out; then, with care, a fine mass composed of gold, quicksilver and very soft earth is obtained, and the heavy earth and big grains of sand which the quicksilver has rejected is left in the bottom of the trough. The fine mass which contains the gold is washed very well and many times with hot water over the fire in a crucible. The quicksilver evaporates and changes to vapor and leaves the almost pure gold behind, but in some peculiar kinds and metallic earths, it is necessary to have recourse to violent solvents such as nitric acid, or *agua regia*, antimony, and lead, salt and ashes for their perfect separation. (See the *Mirror* of Pluche.)

Pliny, in his *Natural History*, Book 33, chapter 4, says:

Not only in India and in Scythia is gold found but also in our own Europe, and especially in the rivers Tajo, Pado and Pactolo; and this is the best and most purified because of the force and current of the streams. The dry and sterile mountains of Spain which produce nothing else are rich and fruitful in this metal.

In chapter 6 he says, "The silver of Spain is also excellent, and it is produced in the mountains and sterile lands, and where one vein is encountered, nearby there is another." The Romans worked the mines of Spain with hordes of slaves. Other authors celebrate these mines of the Pyrenes and the rivers Tajo, which passes through Toledo, and Darro through Granada, for their gold sands. These days the subject of the ancient and modern minerals of Spain is disputed with much difference of opinion, and whether they were worked in ancient times because now they are not. The traveller Ponz says in the first letter of the first volume,⁴⁹ speaking of the Tajo which passes through Toledo, "I believe that the gold sands attributed to this river could never, even if all gathered together, buy a pair of squab." The literary history of Spain treats of these silver mines which are those that were most exploited in ancient times, and states that the reason the profits of the mines declined is the same as that of the fields—"It is sad that the great art of working the fields which in other days was the employment of the most honorable men, has been turned over and abandoned to slaves and peasants. And what progress or what fruits can we expect of such people who work without pleasure and without intelligence? The same can be said of our mines." (See vol. 1.)

Let us pass on to the gold mines of America. In the voyage of the Englishman Byron, we read that in Brazil they gather considerable gold, the slaves being used in looking for it along the banks of streams and creeks and in the beds of rivers. In the histories of the first discoveries made by the Spaniards in the islands and mainland of America, we have abundant accounts of the gold, which it would be troublesome and confusing to place here. In Hispaniola or Santo Domingo, and even in Cuba or Havana, they found considerable gold in the possession of the Indians, and also the rivers and mines from which they got it. In Hispaniola, the most famous Puerto Rico, and the territory of Abao, of which the account by Fernando Colón, son of the Admiral,⁵⁰ tells, there is a river which is called [the River] of Gold because on crossing it they collected some grains. It is a rough and rocky land which, when they passed on farther, they found rougher and more full of high mountains, in whose creeks were to be seen grains of gold, and throughout all of them there were many mines of this metal. It

49. Antonio Ponz (Pedro Antonio de la Puente), *Viage de España, o Cartas, en que se da Noticia de las cosas mas apreciables y dignas de saberse que hay en ella*, 18 vols., Madrid 1772, 2nd ed.

50. Fernando Columbus, *Historie del Signor Don Fernando Colombo... e vera Relatione della Vito... dell Ammiraglio D. Christoforo Colombo*, Venice 1571.

has few trees, and these for the most part are pines. The close relationship of the gold with the wild pines in the rocky mountains is something worthy of note, as the same is also observed in the mines of the Igorots. Also on the continent of America the Spaniards encountered many jewels and flakes of gold, and many rivers and mines where they grow and for this reason they did not waste any time before settling in Santa Marta, Venezuela, Veragua, and Cape Hacha, Cartagena, Zenu and Darien whose jurisdiction they called "Castile of the Gold."

In the first thirty years of the discovery of America there is hardly any record of silver, because the mines of Nueva España and Peru were still undiscovered, so everything was talk and discussion of the gold of the Indies. Nuggets of gold as big as studs were carried to Spain in those days, and there are reports of ones as big as apples, and even one shaped like a big loaf of bread which the sea took together with the ship in which it travelled. In 1525 Oveido wrote an account of things in the Indies which he dedicated to the Emperor Charles V,⁵¹ and at the end he tells him, "Countless treasures have entered Castile from these Indies in gold and pearls as well as in other merchandise: proof is [to be had in] these double ducats called doubloons which your Majesty exports throughout the world, which leave Spain and never return because since they are the best money which is current throughout the world today, when they enter the power of foreigners, they do not release them, and if they do return to Spain, it is in disguised form, their content debased and your royal insignias changed."

The same author Oviedo, in his *Summary, or Report to Charles V*, chapter 84, says the following, in extract:

I can speak better than any other about mines because for twelve years I served as inspector of mines and gold mills, and had gold obtained myself by my Indians and slaves, and as an eye-witness was able to learn all about all the gold mines of Tierra Firme already discovered as far Castilla de Oro near Darien and Panama. Although gold is found throughout all parts of known Tierra Firme, in some places it is little and does not cover the cost and labor. The mine or lode which is to be followed must be considered abundant in order to have some profit after paying the costs. To my **knowledge, all gold** originates in high and mountainous lands, and little by little the rains carry it down and around the ravines in the streams. The gold which is found in the lowlands always has its origin in the nearest mountains. The proof of this is that digging in the lowlands to get gold, sometimes timber like coal is encountered at [a depth of] four or five yards, which are of such toughness they take long to decay. These timbers were

51. Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdes, *Historia general de las Indias*, Seville 1535.

carried and washed down with the rains, and inasmuch as it rained again innumerable times, they were left covered with sand and the mud of the rains.

I say, moreover, that the farther the gold is carried from its origin, the purer and finer it is, and of better quality, and, conversely, it is cruder when it is nearer to the mine. At times large nuggets of gold are found; the largest that has been seen in the Indies was that which the servant of a Spaniard found in the Island of Hispaniola which weighed 32 pounds, and was afterwards lost at sea. Gold is generally found in the lowlands or plains which are without trees, and bare mountains with only a little grass. Rarely is gold found in forests. Anyway, to work the gold with water, they seek the places which are nearest to the rivers to lighten the labor of transporting the earth. The method of getting the gold is this. In those places the miners or prospectors suspect might produce it, they clear off the ground and dig a foot deep for the space of seven feet wide and the same length, or as long as they like. They carry off the earth which they get to wash, and if they didn't find any gold in it, dig another foot, or still more feet, washing it little by little; they sometimes come across live rock while testing these layers of earth, and if they haven't found gold until then, they go and look for it someplace else.

But if they find it, even though it is somewhat deep, they go to the necessary exertion of getting it, and finding out if the vein is abundant and working it would promise some advantage. For this, some Indians dig up the earth, others take care of carrying it with baskets to where those who wash it are seated on the bank with some basins in their hands, shaking them like a barber. The work of washing the gold is less laborious and therefore the Indian women do it, putting their legs in the water up to the knees or less, according to the posture in which they station themselves in the river. They place the earth in the pan, let in the necessary water, and shake and revolve it with the earth or sand which, little by little, is washed out by the water and the gold remains in the bottom since it is heavier, and, gathering it and separating it, they take in more earth and wash it. For two [women] panning, two persons are needed to carry the earth to each one of them, and another two to dig it up and put it in the baskets, and in the house or hut to which they go to rest, more people are necessary to make the cornbread. In this way, five persons are ordinarily required to keep one basin working.

There is another method of getting gold, where they make the water from the rivers and creeks empty through another bed and when the main course has dried up, they often find gold among the rocks and crevices of the stones and in the holes which the current of the river makes.

So says the author cited.

The chronicler Herrera⁵² also deals in many places with the gold of America, as can be seen in the index of his *Decades*, from which

52. Antonio de Herrera, *Historia general de las Indias occidentales o de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y Tierra Firme de Mar Oceano*, Madrid 1730 (1st ed. 1601-1615).

the following has been taken:

In reference to the gold, there is no need to deal with its excellence since everybody knows it. In the Audiencia of Quito much is secured, and very superior. It is secured in three ways—in little seeds like those of a squash, and even larger, without any admixture or any other material, and the better and purer is rarely found in this form; in stone penetrated by veins and particles of gold, which is most difficult to get out because of its hardness; and in powder or very tiny particles, which is how they secure the major quantity in America, especially in Nueva Granada, Chile, and, at the beginning of the Discovery, in the Barlovento Islands. Here the difficult question arises as to why the Indians had more gold at the beginning of the Discovery than now, why the Spaniards had more commerce with it then than now, and why Hispaniola, Castilla de Oro, and the others mentioned above no longer have such fame for gold. I will say briefly that there were more Indians then so there were more hands for searching the rivers and getting it out. In Hispaniola alone—unless the histories are deceiving us—, there were more than a million Indians, and as they had no commerce with foreigners, they had collected and monopolized all the gold since antiquity, the fathers passing it on to their sons, and there must have been more in quantity then than now because even if only a little had been secured every year, it would have added up to a great amount. The first discoverers and settlers kept collecting it and sending it to Spain for barter and by a thousand other means, and kept exhausting that older inheritance, and when it became less, they managed to get information about the rivers and mines where they used to get the gold, and exploited them by means of the many Indian hands, whose wages and salaries were then of little cost. The Indians kept moving away, the costs and wages kept rising, the explorations and conquests kept extending through practically all those provinces of Central and South America in which rich silver mines were found, especially those of Potasí, which produced much at first although they only worked them in the Indian method without quicksilver, though later it came about they made very much use of the benefit of quicksilver. That was back about the year 1577. These are the reasons why the exploitation of gold has diminished, and is almost forgotten in Hispaniola and other places.

We continue with other information from Herrera: "Every one of the chieftains of Hispaniola gave Columbus a sheet of unfused gold, because they did not have the art of smelting it there, but rather pounded the grains of gold dust out into a sheet, [and] in Cuba near Puerta de Jagua, rich mines were found of gold softer than that of Hispaniola, and it was therefore more esteemed by goldsmiths."

The *Account* of Columbus says, in chapter 50, that many of those who accompanied Columbus on his first voyage to Hispaniola believed they would quickly lay hands on the gold and return, but what actually happened was that, although gold was collected there, it cost much fatigue, work and time, and as it did not turn out as they expected, they were very discontented and quarrelsome. Solórzano, in his *Política*

indiana,⁵³ book 6, chapters 1 and 2, deals with the great riches of the West Indies thoroughly, of their gold and silver mines, and goes on to say what follows, which we find very much to the point:

Although the mines of America were only worked in ancient times by washing the gold, it later came about that they found it more advantageous to make use of quicksilver. This is ordinarily secured from mines, and many consider that all metals are formed from quicksilver and brimstone, mixed to a more or less degree in the bowels of the earth. As a matter of fact, vermilion is also secured from the mines of quicksilver, which serves painters as a color like *grana*. The use of quicksilver to work metals first began in Nueva España, of the lands of Mexico, and only later in Peru in 1571, and began with quicksilver obtained from Huancavelica, which was the salvation of the mines of Potasí which were then already given up as worked out. Quicksilver is heavy but not so much so as gold. It easily separates into very tiny drops which readily go back together again and reunite. It receives and embraces within itself not only gold but also silver, and rejects earth and other lighter matter, and this seems to be its special property.

To obtain the silver—and the same with gold—, they grind up the earth or rocks which they have dug up and brought out of the mines in some mills or mortars, and, sifting it in wire sieves, they dump the fine part into boxes or 5000-pound capacity, dump 500 pounds of salt in, and pour the quicksilver they consider necessary over it, and then mix this all thoroughly, stirring it with a stick. Afterwards they put fire under it, and heat it with the flames of some grasses or dried straw which is like matgrass. It is stirred frequently, and in the space of five or six days the metal is incorporated with the quicksilver, and then this whole mass is washed till the quicksilver mixed with the metal is left in the bottom of the basins after the water has been poured out little by little. Then it is put in canvas and compressed so that the quicksilver, which will be used again, is all squeezed out, leaving the silver within, in the form of a lump, and from these lumps the “pineapples” are made in the shape of sugar loafs. In the case of clay, they expose it to fire in furnaces, and the quicksilver is completely expelled in vapor and smoke with the heat of the fire, and leaves the silver purified and good for use.

Before this property of quicksilver was discovered, Solórzano adds, the ancients made use of lead, and even the Indians of Peru used lead they called *sorroche*, which means something which causes melting or fusing, and they mixed [the ore] with the lead just as is done nowadays with quicksilver. One can even read of this in Jeremiah—“There were no furnaces or bellows, and no lead; the silversmiths wore themselves out in vain trying to get silver.”⁵⁴ They also do it without lead for in some places the minerals are so abundant, easy to work, and com-

53. Juan de Solórzano, *De Indianum Jure*, Madrid 1639, translated as *Política indiana*, Madrid 1647-48.

54. Chapter 6, verse 29.

mon that, putting the ore and stones in the fire, the metal is melted in the furnaces and runs out separated from the slag. The same author adds that in China they get plenty of quicksilver, and some years ago Baeza, a Portuguese, offered to take the job and responsibility of bringing it from China and providing Nueva España and Peru all the quicksilver that should be needed. But this proposal was not approved for various reasons which are referred to in a Royal Order from Valladolid of the year 1603 sent to Viceroy Velasco of Peru, who also had proposed this means of getting quicksilver from China. Finally, to understand the industry and application with which the mines are worked in America, we set down what Solórzano himself says—"When I was inspector of the mines of Huncavelica, I could never get over the fact that there they should work day and night, for such labor seemed excessive and even harmful to me." Solórzano gives many other details of the extraction of metals in America in four whole chapters of his *Política* which are not included here for the sake of brevity. The same author cites St. Peter Crisólogo who says in a sermon, "Those who tend the mines, when they encounter a rich vein, put all their skill and all their labor into working it."

To understand the means of extracting gold in America in our own times better, we may see what an authoritative modern author says, who in 1748 published in historical account of the voyage he made to America by order of the King. This is Captain Don Antonio de Ulloa,⁵⁵ who, in this second volume, chapter 10 of book 6, says (in extract):

The method of extracting gold in Quito.—In Popayan in Quito jurisdiction, gold deposits are many, and lest the curious go without a description of them, I shall make a report of the most important ones, and the method of working them. The mines in which the gold occurs here are not in canyons enclosed between two natural walls where the metal is all around as in a chamber as happens with other mineral deposits, but it is here scattered and mixed with earth and stone in those places. Thus there is no more difficulty in getting it out than separating the grains of gold from the earth, which is done with great ease with only the help of the water of the streams and conduits. They get the ore from the ground, wash it in a big tank made for this purpose, in which that amount is placed which is proportionate to its capacity, and leave it so the water runs in till it is full. When it is, they move the earth around inside that tank, which has already become mud within it, so that what is lighter will flow out through a conduit to drain; and so they continue until by the force of the movement only that heaviest is left in the bottom, like the pebbles, sand and gold.

55. Antonio de Ulloa (and Jorge Juan), *Relación histórico del viage a la América meridional de orden de S. Mag.*, 2 vols., Madrid 1782.

After they have got in this state, they collect it with wooden basins especially for this purpose, shaking it around with a steady quick movement, and, the water being changed, what is less heavy comes to be separated from the more solid, and the gold is finally left in the bottom of the basin, clean of all that was mixed with it before. Ordinarily, grains as tiny as the finest sand are found, for which reason they call it powdered gold, but there are also little studs and big seeds, other times medium-sized, although commonly they are small. The water that goes out of the first tank is then stopped in a second which is somewhat lower, in which everything heavy is again left behind, and they to through the same process as in the first; and finally, if they wish to lose absolutely nothing they run the gold through a third tank even though what can now be recovered is sure to be very little. This work is done in all the mine-fields belonging to the jurisdiction of Popayan with negro slaves, which every mine owner keeps for their labor, and generally among them some are laborers, others are employed in digging, with others carrying the stuff so those panning it won't be slowed down. In the district of Choco, which has placer mines like those just described, many others are encountered, too, where it is necessary to make use of quicksilver to extract it because the gold is covered with metals and accretions and stones, and sometimes ores are found within rocks of such resistance that it is not easy to break them or pound them up with steel hammerse, or by calcination by fire, nor is there any means of extracting the gold they enclose without the expenditure of much labor and cost and this is the reason they are abandoned. Also there are found among these mines some where the metal "copper-gold" [*tumbaga*] is mixed with the gold, as fine as that which comes to us from the Orient, and with the same properties.

The jurisdiction of Cuenca is also endowed with different minerals, but their inhabitants show very little inclination to take advantage of them. Besides gold, iron and copper are found, and there is no doubt they also have tin, lead and other alloys for generally these are not lacking where the more precious metals are formed. But the potential of these mines is completely ignored because of the availability of cheap, easy living with which the inhabitants, satisfied with the necessities of life for little labor, feel no pressure to seek to disembowel the earth for greater riches. From this it follows that among the citizens of those cities and towns there are no great fortunes and so no opportunity to begin working the mines. To this is to be added that if some one of their inhabitants shows any inclination in this direction, the others look on his as a fanatic who seeks their loss, under the illusion that the mines will detract from their own wealth, so, trying to make him give up his ideas, they will have nothing to do with him lest he infect them with his arguments. Generally they look on this sort of work with horror there because of never having had any experience with it, which is not the case in the southern provinces of Peru where the miners are men of consequence and from the most important families.

Fourth Discourse:

Mineral deposits of Asia and the Philippines, especially of the Igorots, and the methods of exploiting them.

In the history of the Franciscans there is a passage taken from Father Murillo, Philippine historian, which says:

Generally speaking, the land of the Philippines is fertile, rich and abundant in various metals, which are encountered especially in the rivers and creeks. Considerable gold is found in Guruarn, Sibuco, Caraga, Ilocos, and in other places. In Paracale there is a great amount of gold in the mountains. In Antique, silver was secured in former times, and a descendant of an *encomendero* told me he had some silver jewelry obtained there. Deposits of iron are today said to exist in various parts of the Visayas, and I saw the most perfect and solid traces in many places near Tanauan, and it seems that these are evidences of iron, but nobody has applied himself to taking advantage of them. A half a league from San Mateo I saw a mountain whose stones appeared to the eye to be tartar but when broken open showed little veins of what looked like gold, but it has not been tested.

Auditor Castillo y Negrite, in his work printed in Manila on hospices,⁵⁶ speaks of the products of these islands and the gold mines on page 62, and says they are many but not very productive, and names those of Caraga, Curucan, Sinaga, Iligan, Little Cagayan of Panay (*Cagayán chico de Panay*), and Mindanao, Paracale and Gapan. He doesn't name those of the Igorots, which to my way of thinking are hardly the ones to be passed over, but then these pagans have always managed to hide them so they will not come to the attention of the Spaniards. In the *Historia general de Philipinas*, whose first volumes are already off the press, I find the following:

There is no lack of mines in the islands, especially gold mines, which are only worked by placers; if they were worked with as much labor as in America and if the veins were followed up with skill, their output would be [greatly] increased. Those of *tumbaga* and iron are so extensive there are whole mountains in which stones and chunks of prodigious value are found. They are known to have been worked to advantage at some time in the past but were abandoned because of petty disputes. The Island of Mindanao is rich in minerals. Its province of Caraga produces much gold, so much so that it can be inferred that its veins are rich since what they get is by a wasteful method without any more skill than panning the earth. In the rivers they collect the best gold, digging potholes along the banks, and when

56. Manuel del Castillo y Negrite, *Remedio político y civil para corregir los Defectos de una República... Ordenanzas o Instrucciones que se proponen para el regimen y gobierno del Hospicio general*, Sampaloc 1779.

the floods fill them, heavy sediment is left in the bottom which contains many particles of gold.

Father Colín, speaking of the gold in the Philippines, says:

In reference to gold, I am informed by reliable sources that year after year what is obtained from these islands will be worth a hundred thousand pesos. And since this business has been going on more than 80 years, it has already run into the millions. Besides this, much was also obtained by the eastern route before these islands were discovered by the western route. Juan de Barros, treating of the emporium of Malacca, says that much gold is brought there from Great Lequio, which cannot be any other than this island of Manila, which trade, as was said at the beginning, continues with the Lequios [Ryukyus]. Moreover, the great quantity of cornelians which have been found, and are still being found, in this Island of Manila in the provinces which have gold and in those nearby is a sure argument for this conjecture: for they are not found in the rough but worked with all perfection and polish, which is evidence that they came from other parts, and the natives admit that they are found in the ground in vessels from Borneo and India, where Ptolemy places a mountain of mines of this kind of stone, which it is logical to assume wound up in large quantity in this Island of Manila in trade and exchange for its much gold, since they are not found except in the provinces which produce it. After the Spaniards arrived, they continued getting this noble metal by hand. And to prove the great quantity the land produced in the beginning, it is enough to repeat what is mentioned in a manuscript report by an authoritative person, long in these islands, which I have before me—that the first tribute that the two provinces of Ilocos and Pangasinan rendered His Majesty in gold reached a value of 109,500 pesos. And that in the year 1587, when the Englishman Thomas Embleg [i.e., Cavendish] captured the galleon *Santa Ana*, he took three thousand *taels* from a single citizen of Manila, an *encomendero* of Ilocos, each *tael* being a peso of ten *reales*. And when the corsair happened to come to these shores himself, he sent word to him as a joke that if he had need to send another shipment of the same metal, he should be sure it was of higher quality because he was not supposed to touch anything less than 22 carats, which is the Spanish standard in these islands. But the Filipinos are satisfied with even less. Another surprising thing about this gold is the ease and little cost of obtaining it, which is done only by means of panning, cleaning the sands of certain rivers, or if it is a lot, grinding the earth or rocks from certain veins and washing it in some small pans of wood which the natives use, and then, getting the gold as dust or grains, melting it in a little furnace and making ingots. In this way, if the owner of a mine or placer sets 15 or 20 persons to work in the morning—some to get the earth or sand, others to grind it, and others to wash it, and finally one to melt it in a little furnace and refine it—, by six in the afternoon he easily finds himself with the finished product for his coffers. And since the Filipinos exploit it thus with their natural sloth and simplicity, it would be a great source of wealth should a more energetic method be applied to it or should Spaniards do it with the knowledge of prospecting and better milling that are employed in other places. The custom of the Filipinos is to go to the

placer or mine and get exactly what is necessary when they want to cover the cost of the tribute or their basic needs, and do not worry about any more. And still there are Filipino dealers in this product who bring 500 or more *taels* to Manila to sell at the time of the departure of the galleons. A certain Spanish captain was sent to the province of Paracale as Governor because of his experience with mines, and set up a mill to grind the earth from a vein he bought there, and his wife, a person of truth and virtue, states that in the 30 days the mill was operating they wound up with 15 pounds of gold in ingots in their coffers. And I heard that the said captain considered that that whole province abounded in such veins and that all the earth contained gold so that if you took some from any place you might go, even in the highways, and panned it with care, it would produce gold.

Many laws about mines and minerals are found in the *Summary of the Laws of the Indies*, and one of them says, "Because gold mines of the richest promise have been discovered in the province of Camarines in the Philippine Islands, more than seventy leagues from Manila, running nine leagues from north to south and having been tested by panning and quicksilver, and others are now being discovered and their exploitation and working having already been begun by different persons, it is our desire that the miners of the said islands should enjoy all the privileges established by the laws, and we order the governors general that the said mines be worked as is most useful for our Royal Estate and the well-being of our vassals." (This law is taken from an Order of Philip IV of April 16, 1696.) In Gapan, a town of upper Pampanga, gold of high quality has been obtained and is being obtained from some excavations which the natives make in the banks of the rivers, carrying the soil to the water for washing. Very near Mount Caraballo on the left hand [proceeding from Pangasinan to the Missions] there is a little creek among whose rocks I have seen the Filipinos of Caranglan getting gold in grains as plentiful as rice, but they do not make a business of it for they seem to find the chase for deer easier and more profitable. Within the Mission of Ituy the memory has been preserved that the Filipinos used to wear earrings of gold which was obtained in ancient times from a town near Dupax, and the same is affirmed in Aduarte's *History*, book 2, chapter 43. I myself have made the experiment of breaking up stones from this place, and various sparkling particles and granules are to be seen in them but I never found out if they were of gold or some other metal.

Various notices of gold and copper which the Igorots bring down to the mission of Ituy have already been given in this work, so little is left to add. They assure me that a citizen of Manila not many years ago sent more than a thousand pesos in silver to the said missions to trade for gold from the Igorots, and that they brought the required

amount down from their mines in short order after receiving his message. From the sands of the Agno River, which comes down from the mines of the Igorots, not only do the pagans get considerable gold, but also the Christians of Tayug and Asingan, and what is panned in these two towns every year amounts to five thousand pesos. Other rivers which flow down from the Igorots with considerable gold come out around there. It has already been said above that when the Marquis of Obando was governor general of these islands, he asked the mestizos of Pangasinan to find him eighteen thousand pesos of Igorot gold and they simply replied that it would take three months' time to notify the Igorots and collect this amount. This is clear proof of the abundance of gold in their lands and mines, for which reason they do not much wear themselves out getting it.

These gold mines have not been encountered in all the mountains of the Igorots, for there are territories like those of the Tumanguis, Apsay, Awa, Leaban, Tinoc and others who come to look for gold in the Potasi⁵⁷ of Pangutcutan because it is scarce in their land, or bring food, clothes and animals bought from the Christians to sell, or if not, come to work and pan gold in the rivers, although they can only do it for two or three months a year. After the rainy season, it is not only the able-bodied men who do the work but also the old men, women and youths, carrying the soil and panning it in the rivers, whose banks get actually crowded with different kinds of people, or, as a pagan chieftain told me, like the crowds of Christians in the rivers when a whole town goes out to carry sand, stone and water for the construction of a church. Nor do all of their rivers bear gold. Two of them of considerable volume, the Awa and the Matane, come out in the missions after having flowed through the land of the Igorots, but I have never heard it said that gold was found in their sands. It is known for certain that the rivers Agno, Toboy, and Angalacan which go to Pangasinan bring down gold since the Christians get it there. The Igorots also regularly make a living by getting the gold in these rivers after they flow out into the plain of Pangasinan. They rise in, and pass through, the surrounding slopes of the mountains where the principal mines are, thus collecting the particles of gold which they wash down in the rainy season. As I understand, these rivers have very few beaches or stretches of sand when they flow through the interior because of the many mountains and defiles which make them run precipitous and deep and do not let them slow down and spread out.

57. The silver mines of Potasí, Peru, had such a reputation their name was commonly used to signify any mine of fabulous wealth.

Considering this, it may be assumed that the major part of the gold is obtained from their mines and excavations and not from such narrow and precipitous rivers. I have heard it said by the same pagans that pure gold is encountered at times in their three principal mines, and in little pieces as big as the tip of your finger, but most commonly it is mixed with earth. It may be that they also get gold in other places. According to two letters already placed above, they get gold in the Toboy near Asingan and in the village of Buneng near Ilocos by cutting into a hill and opening ditches; but I am not well informed about those parts. These ditches are a sort of open gullies where they can work without so much fear and danger as in the main mines where they are always afraid that they will cave in and collapse and trap them inside, especially in the time of heavy rain when the earth is wet and cumbly.

Fifth Discourse:

The ancient wealth of the Filipinos is much like
that which the Igorots have at present.

Gold and slaves constituted the principal wealth of the Filipinos in ancient times. Some historians of the Philippines state that the wealth is no longer so great as then. In order to form an opinion on this, let us see what they tell us. Father Gaspar, on page 243, states that the people of Paracale and those of Bicol and Camarines were sworn not to make friends with the Spaniards even if it cost them their heads, and the chieftains had much gold for there were some who possessed more than four *quintales* of gold dust, and the rest had beautiful chains and filigrees so that the natives from there were great experts in it and fond of it. The Franciscan history states on page 24 that the gold which appeared in the veins of earth in almost all these islands was not as much as was obtained in ancient time, which amounted to a hundred thousand pesos a year. According to modern reports, it is not so much now—indeed, not even a quarter of what it was before—, whether because the mines have been worked out over these many years, or—as I believe to be more likely—because nobody nowadays applies himself to this task as of old. The *Historical Compendium* of the Franciscans, page 68, refers to the fact that in the year 1600 the Most Holy Sacrament was placed in the town of Lumbar of Laguna de Bay, and because this was the first time it had ever been placed in a native church, a very solemn fiesta was held, richer than any other that had ever been seen. Forty-four religious gathered from the Augustinians and Franciscans; the lamp, monstrance, stands [for

carrying the images] and the triumphal car on its 26 wheels were all covered with diamonds, pearls, rubies, gold chains, and different gold plates. And—the said *Compendium* adds—from these circumstances the wealth which these natives had when the Spaniards first came to these islands can be deduced, all of which had since been consumed, leaving the Filipinos in the extremes of misery and poverty.

Bishop Aduarte of Cagayan says on page 152 of his *History*, “A chieftain of Camalaniugan near Lallo, or Nueva Segovia, was so rich that—if his slaves can be believed, and even the old soldiers from those times—he weighed his gold with a steelyard the way iron is generally weighed.” On page 76 he speaks of the great wealth of the chieftains of Pangasinan. He says of a chieftain of San Carlos or Binalatongan called Cabanday that he was very harsh, tyrannical and fearsome to his slaves and vassals, who were many, and was always very much opposed to becoming a Christian because he saw that to be a Christian it was necessary to return all he had gained by usury and extortion, which was all he had and he was very rich, but at last God touched his heart, and he had his slaves carry a chest with all his gold and riches and went to the church with it and everything else and offered it all up. Further on Aduarte tells of another chief, Casipit of Mangaldan, who offered half of his estate in gold—which was not small --to his *encomendero* [to atone] for some iniquity.

All of which is enough to conclude that the fortunes of the ancient Filipinos were not common nor were they divided among all but rather were monopolized or held by the chieftains of a town or province who had the power and sovereignty over all the others whom they had as dependents and slaves, and these they made serve them and work in their houses and in the fields, in the boats with oars, and in the gold placers, without any more pay or gain for the slave than bad food and some old rag to wrap himself in, all the profit going to the chieftain. But under Spanish government and management and preaching by the ministers of the Gospel, the ancient system of slavery among the Filipinos is being diminished and liberty and equality have been procured for all, and the large estates, fortunes and lesser goods, and even the power, have been redistributed and extended to many. If the riches, jewelry, animals and clothes in every Filipino town today were gathered together and held by no more than two or three chieftains in every province as in ancient times, it would be seen that the present wealth of the Filipinos equals or even exceeds that of their ancient leaders'. This ancient government of slaves and chieftains still prevails among the Igorots and other pagans of the mountains. They say the one who has the biggest pile of rice or food is the most important because it

shows that he has more followers and slaves to make him better fields. These chieftains usually travel accompanied by many of their dependents who serve them in all their needs, and one Igorot chieftain who came down to the Missions some years ago was carried on their shoulders the whole way. The leaders are distinguished by covering themselves with certain black blankets and some G-strings decorated with little tubes of gold which they buy from the Christians at an exorbitant price; but their slaves go about naked and simply cover their shame with some tree bark, or at most wear a plain white blanket, and very short, such as they make in Ilocos. The leading women place a plate of gold over their teeth, and remove it to eat, but the lower-class people hardly have more adornment than some snail shells and glass beads.

Some Igorots said to the Christians of my Mission:

The fiestas of the Christians aren't worth anything because it's all just a matter of the noise of bells, drums and musketry, and then everybody goes to his own house to eat what little he has. But not so the fiestas of our chieftains, because without making such a racket and all the rest [of that stuff], they kill animals to eat by the dozens and everybody drinks till he's stupified, and this goes on for many days. Among you, anybody is mayor and anybody chief, but our chieftains are always the same, and no matter how much they spend, they always have some left over for other occasions...

and they told of an Igorot chieftain who had a deer of solid gold. But their slaves and dependants, who are the majority, are almost always poor, and hardly have a blanket to cover themselves with. This same occurred in ancient times in all these islands.

It is only possible to make a judgment on the wealth of the Igorots by conjecture. They come down to the upper towns of the Missions often enough to buy animals, blankets and G-strings, and, according to my reckoning, get as much as 600 head of cows, carabaos and pigs every year, which at the rate of three pesos a head, would amount to one thousand eight hundred pesos, which they pay in coined silver, knives, and low-grade alloyed gold. And for this reason the Christians of the Mission generally don't want the Igorot gold because they have little knowledge of weighing it or distinguishing the good from the bad, and because of the tricks they have suffered from those Igorots who are more accustomed to adulterating it and giving it the color of good gold. Over in Pangasinan and Ilocos they have more experience and knowledge, and merchants get together more often there, so there is a lot of commerce in animals, clothes and other goods which they sell for gold, but I don't have particular details of all that goes on there.

Sixth Discourse:

The Igorots have no special gift or skill for extraction gold,
copper or iron.

Father Gaspar's *History* states that in December of 1572, more than two years before the pirate Limahon came to these islands,

Field Marshal Martín de Goiti was sent by the Governor of Manila to visit and collect tribute from the Pangasinanes and Ilocos, and brought back an amount of gold from those provinces said by those who saw it to amount to more than two thousand *taels*, including both the tribute for his Majesty and what he and his companions bartered, because of those two provinces' being very rich through the commerce they had with the mountaineer Filipinos called Zambals and Igorots, who possess the richest mines of this whole island, from which they obtain the gold with the special skill which Divine Providence has given them for their survival; although what they get nowadays doesn't amount to even one-twentieth of what they enjoyed formerly.

(So says Father Gaspar.)

If it appears that more gold was obtained in all these provinces in ancient times than now, it is because the ancient Filipinos had very little commerce with foreigners overseas, and all the gold they got, whether little or much, remained in the hands of a few chieftains in the said provinces; while, later, with the coming of the Spaniards, commerce increased and spread to America, China, Batavia and Coromandel, and with this commerce year after year various kinds of quality goods entered the islands even among the natives themselves, like silver, copper, iron, beads, chinaware, plows, firearms, cauldrons, silken garments, *cambayas* and a thousand other things which they did not have in their antiquity. I should think that the fancy sets of buttons, the hats, dress swords, bracelets, rosaries, crosses, medallions, embroidered cloths, *zasos* [?] and printed calicos which natives enjoy nowadays must be worth much more than all their ancient gold added together. One who is in a position to know has assured me that more than two hundred thousand pesos in gold leave these islands every year in exchange for the things which come to us from abroad, and it is certain that an eighth of this gold comes from the Igorots.

Their method of obtaining it has already been described in this work—that is, the simple Indian method of placers in the rivers without the use of quicksilver. There can be absolutely no doubt any more of the existence of their mines and excavations in the interior of their mountains. There they proceed to dig and mine the earth, fixing props and timbers so it will not cave in, and, using the pine chips which are abundant there for illumination, they are able to follow up the vein.

They grind up and pulverize the earth they obtain mixed with gold and carry it to the river to wash in wooden pans made for the purpose, in the bottom of which the flakes and grains of gold settle because they are heavier, and this they do so inefficiently it is to be assumed much time and gold is wasted. They place their huts at the mouths of the mines or the owners' and lords' houses to guard them and don't let anybody enter but their servants and slaves, who are pagans bought farther inland, and they punish them with whips, sticks, lashes and death if they steal, run away or do not obey the masters who give them their food. All the gold which they get in their mines and rivers is what they call gold-dust, but they rarely bring it down to sell the Christians in this form since any alloy mixed in can then be easily seen by passing a little cotton, a feather, or a bit of cloth through it, to which the sand, earth or particles of copper, if there are any, cling but not the gold because it is finer and heavier. It is not easy to be fooled with this gold dust and for this reason they bring down very little of it.

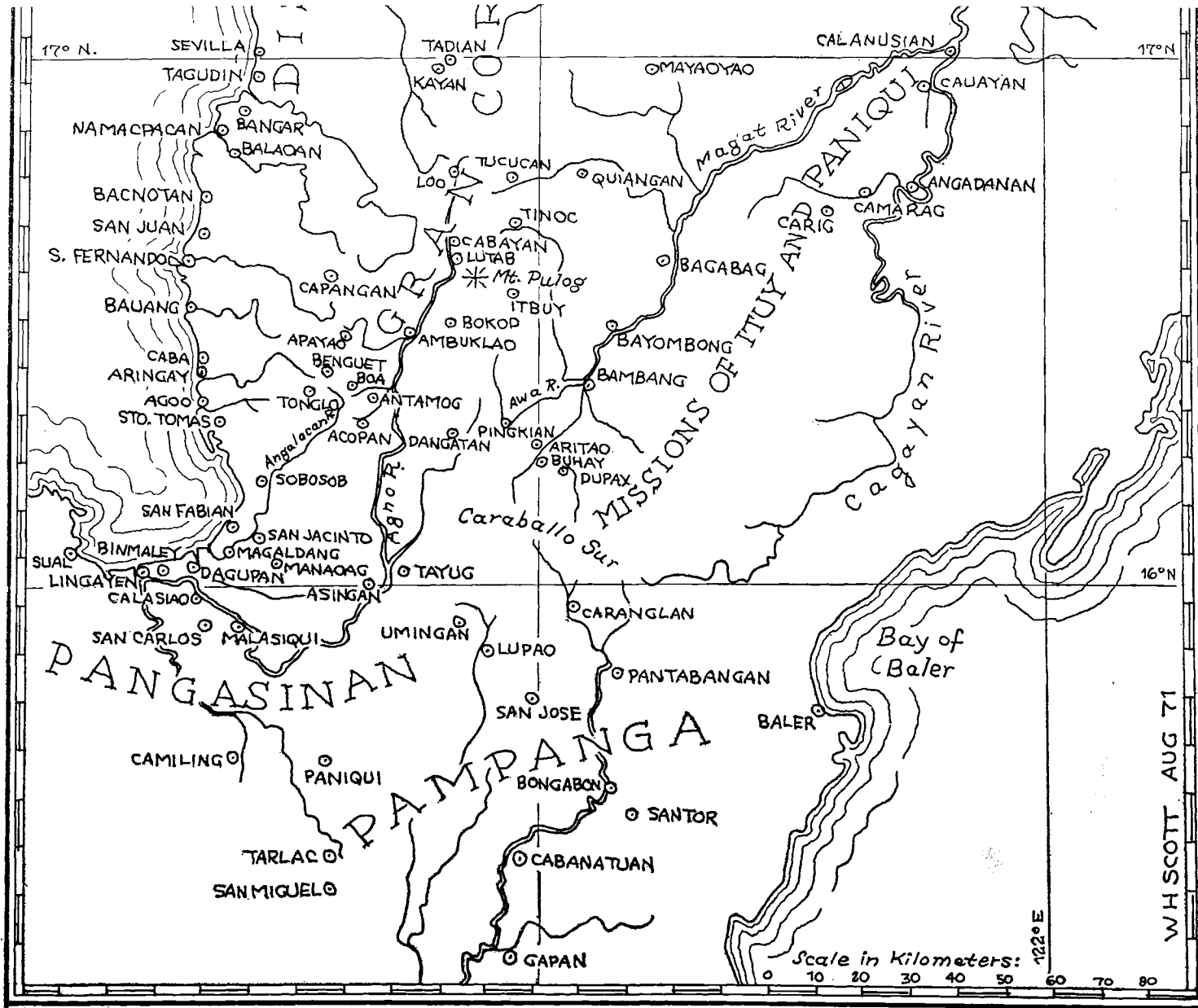
Ordinarily they sell it in sheets or ingots so there is more opportunity for deception and alloying it with silver or red copper. I have many times seen it happen that nobody wants to take their cakes of gold from them because of its being low-grade and adulterated, so they go off to some place away from the Christian towns and make a little pile of animal dung for their fires and fan it all night and melt the gold in two broken pieces of pots or jars, throwing in a pitch of salt to give it a redder color, repeating this three or four times till it is purified enough to find a customer. Not all buyers have touchstones or bits of other gold to make comparison and test, but they can all break it up with a knife or pound it with a hammer and tell the quality of the gold by the crack because if it is rough, uneven and in little pieces it is still much alloyed, but if the edge is smooth and of the same color, and soft when struck, then it is really good gold. Since the Christians in the Missions have been tricked so many times with these Igorot gold ingots mixed with silver and copper, they do not like to sell them their animals and cloths except for silver coins, copper kettles or the steel knives which they make themselves.

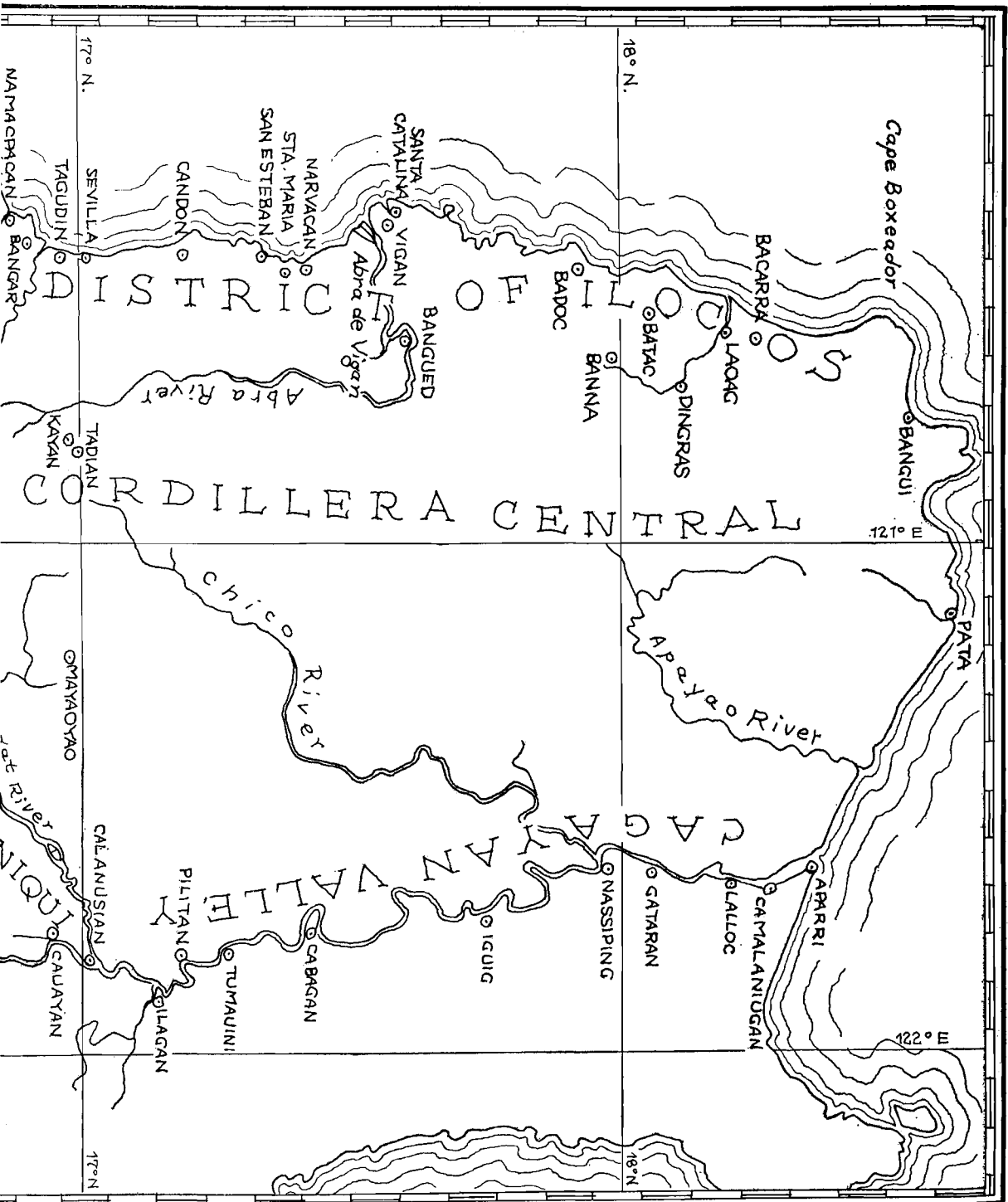
Now, this looks like some professional skill in working metals other than gold on the part of the Igorots. But in truth they have no special technique or talent to apply in this, but rather, just as the Christian Filipinos support themselves by planting rice, cotton and sugarcane, or hunting deer and fishing in the seas and rivers, each according to the properties of his land, so the Igorots have managed their self-preservation by means of the metals in which their mountains abound, since their rugged land scarcely permits anything else. But they do

actually have copper mines where they secure the metal mixed with earth; they put it in the fire until it melts, runs out and separates from the earth, and when it is thus only a little refined, they beat it and work it, shaping it into pans or kettles less breakable than earthenware for cooking meat or rice. But they make these by a very simple method without any skill or artistry; they do not even use hammers or files. They pound them with hard stones, consuming much time and tedium, and as they don't even know how to refine it well, some pots or pans come out very rough and ugly and of a dark color, very like to those in our bedrooms, but the Filipinos of the mountains value them for use on their journeys since they have none stronger. Some of this Igorot copper was sent to Manila in the time of Governor Anda.

The knives, axes and spears they also make are made of broken pieces of plows and cauldrons which they buy from the Christians at a low price. They don't extract iron from mines in their mountains or buy it from the Christians because it is harder than the iron used for plows which is softer and melts more easily than raw iron ore. But these blacksmiths' knowledge does not extend to making complicated pieces like keys, scales or socketed axes because they have no files, anvils or molds for this. For bellows they make use of whole tree trunks hollowed out within, [and] after working a long time with pine charcoal, they get spears and big knives which are better tempered and stronger than the bolos they make in Manila and therefore the Christians value them more and buy them from the pagans. We can be sure that they waste much of these three metals—gold, copper and iron—because they work them without tools or special skill, and thus we may conclude by asking—if the Igorots were to work their mines and exploit them with the means and devices with which those in America are worked, how much more gold would they not obtain? More than a hundredfold, no doubt. Every year they sell something like twenty thousand pesos' worth of gold to the Christians of Ilocos, Pangasinan, Pampanga and the Missions, so if they exploited it methodically and energetically, at this estimate it would amount to two million pesos.

What some of these historians of the Philippines say—that in our time not a twentieth part of the gold is obtained that was enjoyed in ancient times, that the mines are exhausted, and that the Spaniards have left the natives in the extremes of misery; or that God did not plant gold in these islands for the Spaniards to enjoy but for the natives to collect bit by bit, in tiny particles, for their self-preservation, and that the Igorots have a special gift for extracting it which nobody else has—these and other statements of like tenor are simply ridiculous and unworthy of being put in histories. Nature is always impartial and





even prodigal in her benefits, and God has given her irrevocable laws. The winds always blow, the words produce trees and the rivers fish, and the earth constantly brings forth green plants. The talent of the Igorots is precisely to survive where their crests and slopes are generally sterile, have no trees but a few pines and therefore little game and fish, and where they can make no good fields because the land is so broken up. But it abounds in metals and different kinds of rocks, clays, salts and other compositions which are not found in the coastal regions. The necessity for self-preservation obliges them to extract the gold and exchange it for clothes and food which they buy from the Christians, such as cows, carabaos, pigs, dried fish, salt, honey, wine, blankets and G-strings, mats, scales, plates, little jars, heavy wire for making bracelets, precious stones and beads for necklaces, wooden boxes, and other things they need, and they buy it all with their gold. So if they exploited it with more art and perseverance, how much more they could supply this island, China, Batavia and Coromandel than what they now do, which is not small!

Last Discourse:

About the discovery and pacification of the Igorots.

This, then, is to bring this work about the Igorots to a close, and I should not wish any to interpret it incorrectly or contrary to what its title expresses. Both in the title and in the text I have avoided the term "conquest" as much as possible since even before I began I had Law 6, title 1, of "The discoveries of the Indies" before me, in which it is ordered that this word "conquest" be avoided, and "pacification" or "settling" be used instead, since "everything having been done in total peace and charity, it is our desire that even if this term be interpreted contrary to our intention, it should not give occasion or excuse for making use of force or violence against the *indios*," and in Law 2 of the same title, it is ordered that no harm shall be done the *indios* in their persons or possessions. The title and aim of this treatise has been to present reports of the customs of the Igorots, of their lands and mines, and to make an historical account of the various expeditions and deeds done for their discovery. The method which I adopted for carrying it out was to arrange and present various writings and observations I collected myself for my own instruction and conduct toward these pagans. So, too, these notices as I have collected and arranged them could without doubt serve for the instruction of any missionaries or other ministers who are obliged to be neighbors to these pagans because of their assignments, and even to have relations with them. I

was moved to do this by observing that no history of the Philippines has dealt specifically with this land and this people. I have tried to accomplish this purpose by putting down all the notices I could find in their proper order. But let nobody take occasion from any part of this work to attribute to me unfounded opinions which I have not held and do not hold. I protest with all sincerity that never have I been of the opinion that any war could be made against the Filipinos on the grounds of their paganism or their personal vices, however enormous they might be. Nor am I one of those who believes in an unrestricted temporal dominion over the whole world. I have simply tried to set down some of the many offenses these pagan Igorots have committed against the travellers and settlers of the Christian provinces from the beginning up to the present. It was only two days ago that I received a letter from Don Mateo Cabal, Commander of the two forts of the Missions, dated April 8, 1789, which says:

The Igorots are braver now than last year. A few days ago they sallied forth to attack nine soldiers of the Picat outpost; they wounded a major and one soldier by throwing spears though, thanks be to God, not fatally. Eight days later they killed a Christian of Cauayan on the same road. The soldiers went after them but though they remained in ambush one week, they did not see any Igorot. After Easter the soldiers will set forth again to throw a scare into them.

These are the Igorots facing the Mission of Bagabag spoken of in chapter 8 of Part One, who are the cause of the little progress of the new Christianization of Ituy and Paniqui by their destructive enmity. They are always stealing their animals, impede communication between one town and the next, and receive various apostate Christians in their settlements who run away from their towns and their wives. For these and the many other offenses which they have always committed against the Christians and are recounted throughout this paper, they may well be compared to the Moros of Mindanao and Jolo, who have caused such confusion and harm in these islands and whom it has cost the King such expense to restrain.

This being the case, it is reason enough, even under the heading of self-defense and self-preservation, to pacify and condemn the Moros and Igorots and any other nation that cannot be reduced by means other than war and conquest, for all people and every nation deserves to be deprived of its government when it abuses it to disturb the public peace which binds Christian provinces together. But in respect to the Igorots, all this has already been taken up and considered in royal orders and documents which can be referred to above. However, be-

fore declaring war, it is customary to have recourse to such peaceful and milder means as the presentation of grievances, or amends, compromises, pardons, treaties, cessions, and indemnity of restriction, but all of which it is outside my purpose to discuss at greater length here.

I would be of the opinion that in the event of making an exploration and pacification of the Igorots, the first and main aim should be that which our Catholic monarchs have always had of extending the Faith and Kingdom of Jesus Christ, looking forward to their spiritual good and to reducing them to a civil and political life, but leaving them in complete natural liberty, peaceful dominion, and secure in their homes and goods. This being understood, the discovery itself should begin with an order to the Governor of Cagayan to make an entrance from the upper towns of the Missions in the direction of the principal mines, which are in the headwaters of the Agno River, with a properly qualified major and soldiers selected from the forts of Cagayan and the Missions, with good arms and provisions of food for a month, who, marching in good order and with vigilance, could get there in less than three or four days; and their instructions should be only to look at the mines and map and reconnoiter the terrain insofar as the pagans permit, who doubtless will try to close up the passes against them but against whom they will be able to defend themselves with the muskets they fear so much, and proceed on. When their supplies are used up, they should follow the waters of the Agno down and come out in Pangasinan. When they get to the plains of Pangasinan, they will give an account of all they have seen and observed. When this information is examined, a decision can be made as to the number of men necessary to go back to the location of the mines to have peaceful dealings with the most important chieftains, adjusting as much as possible to their barbarity and simplicity. To my way of thinking, two hundred well-armed soldiers with good leaders and three hundred *cargadores*, all hand picked and well paid, will suffice. Once they reach the principal mines, which are those of Acopan, Apayao and Locjo, the first and most important thing they must do is make a camp or fort, and a parapet for stronger defense, or, better yet, a wall of the rocks which are so plentiful there—and those Igorots will see that the invasion has really begun—, and simply stay there some days and weeks without making any attacks or harm to the Igorots but rather showing good will and friendliness so that they will come to gather around to talk and make treaties of peace, and if they should bring some gold or food, to pay a good price for it, so that in this way they will lose their suspicion.

This will be enough to make them submit and lay down their

arms, for they know very well that they cannot resist the Spaniards and Christian Filipinos when they are well organized and well led.

At the beginning of the mountains near Asingan would be the most convenient and necessary place to establish houses and stores for servicing the ascent and for storing the provisions and supplies and even the headquarters of the chief leader, who would direct the dispatches, orders and the disposition of the whole expedition, since this region of Asingan has convenient access to Pangasinan, Pampanga and Manila which are more abundant in foodstuffs and available men. Communications through Ilocos and the Missions would be slow because they are sparsely populated areas, although they will be able to help considerably with provisions after the Igorots are pacified. For the maintenance of the Christian fort, or forts, and the complete pacification of the Igorots, I say that no more than the passage of time will be required for the place to be well surveyed and discovered, and the formation of towns, churches, roads and the rest to follow.

Addenda⁵⁸

Finally, we place here what the paper, or "Edifying letter from Ilocos" already cited, says:

East of the town of Bangar in the country of the Igorots, barbarous and ferocious pagans, is the famous volcano which erupted and exploded with great noise in the past century. On the beach at Bangar and Tagudin is found an abundance of black sand and pumice stone, and passing through on horseback the earth sounds hollow and cavernous, with other signs of past volcanic action. The activity of this volcano of the Igorots is reported in the second part of Father Gaspar's manuscript [history], and also in the third volume of the *Philosophical Works of Father Eusebio Nieremberg* under the heading, "Volcanos."⁵⁹

58. This *addenda* was evidently written after receiving the June 14, 1789, letter from Fray Agustin María de Castro, O.S.A., to whom Father Antolín had submitted the *Noticias* for comment, which said, in part:

"Your Reverence has done me the honor of citing my 'Edifying letter from Ilocos' in reference to the volcano of the Igorots. My dear friend and sir, I much appreciate the honor which your Reverence has deigned to pay me and I thank you for it, but although I appreciate it I cannot accept it since, frankly speaking, I am not the author of things I have not seen myself: the reference to the volcano I first saw in the MS Part Two of Father Gaspar, then in Eusebio Nieremberg, and afterwards in Father Murillo, fol. 124, who adds much more and says the noise was heard in an area of 900 leagues in circumference."

59. *Obras philosophicas del P. Juan Eusebio Nieremberg de la Compañia de Jesús*, 3 vols., Madrid 1664.

So I then went to see what Father Nieremberg says, which turned out to be the following, in substance:

On January 4, 1641, a great rumbling and subterranean noise like thunder and artillery fire were observed in the whole Philippine Islands, and even heard far out at sea. In Manila they thought it was in Cavite, and the people of Mariveles thought it was in Marigondon so they sent dispatches to find out where the noise and bombardment had been. Then it was learned that the volcanos of the archipelago had erupted in various places, vomiting forth stones, fire, ashes and smoke so dense it obscured the sun. The major explosions were around Mindanao and Jolo, but also in Ilocos for a section of a letter from Father Gonzalo de Palma, O.S.A., a minister of Ilocos and Procurator General, states that on January 4 of the said year, a very strong typhoon and frightful earthquake occurred deep within the land of the Igorots. The earth swallowed up three mountains with towns of Igorot pagans, and in their place a lake of water was formed. Panicked by this event, and of the smallpox of which many died, the Igorots kept the roads closed up without seeing or having any contact with the Christians until some time had passed, after which some came down and told the said father all this... (and other things which Father Nieremberg reports).⁶⁰

Other eruptions occurred about the year 1754 in the volcano of Taal and Balayan. In this island they heard the noise 50 leagues away. See the beginning of the fourth part of our [Dominican] *History*, and vol. 16 of the *Edifying Letters*.⁶¹ But what was cited by Father Nieremberg was simply told to one individual by some primitive pagans [and therefore] needs greater confirmation to be given credit. It may be that this is the origin of the idea held by some that there is a real lake inhabited by Igorots in the interior and highest of their peaks; but many Igorots have been unable to tell me anything about this when I asked them on various occasions about this lake, whether it had boats, fish and fishnets, and aquatic birds, or if many people lived on its banks. It is also said that the two main rivers which come down from the Igorots—the Tagudin and the Agno—rise in this lake. But myself, considering the rains and torrents we see in the Philippines and the known fact that some rainy years the water collected in a rain-gauge in Manila amounts to as much as 100 inches when the observatory in Paris only measures 36 to 40 inches a year, I find it difficult to

60. The full text of Palma's letter was published in Raymundo Magisa's *Suceso raro de tres Volcanos* in Manila, 1641, and reprinted in Wenceslao E Retana's *Aparato bibliografico de la Historia general de Filipinas* (Madrid 1906), vol. 1, pp. 118-119.

61. *Cartes edificantes y curiosas, escritas de las Misiones Estrangeras, por algunos Misioneros de la Compañia de Jesús, traducidas del idioma francés por el Padre Diego Davin*, 17 vols., Madrid 1753-1757.

believe that the said two torrential rivers should not have made openings and outlets so deep and wide as to have emptied all the said lake and left it dry. The lakes of these islands, like those of Cagayan, Paniqui, Candola, Bay, Taal, Bato, Buhi, Malanao, Mindanao and others, are all in the lowlands and almost at the exact level of the seas nearby. Even Laguna de Bay about five leagues away from Manila rises no more than five feet above the level of the Bay, according to observations made by others. So how could it be believed that it would be possible to maintain a lake elevated so high above sea level in the highest of the Igorot mountains? The land occupied by the Igorots is no larger than 16 or 20 leagues long and about the same width, and has no plains or level land in the interior and so no possibility of any lake or standing water.⁶²

Father Murillo's *History* also makes mention of this volcano of the Igorots on page 124 in these words:

On the 4th of January, 1641, three volcanos erupted at the same time—one in Sanguil, another in Jolo 40 leagues away, and another among the Igorots of Ilocos more than 200 leagues distant from the former. Of this last volcano, Fray Juan de la Palma, Procurator General of the Augustinians, wrote as follows:

"The land of the Igorots suffered an earthquake as terrible and frightening as the furious typhoon which preceded and forecast it. The earth swallowed up three mountains, one of which, whose slopes had formed the site of three villages, could no longer be reached. [It was as if] the whole world was turned upside down in a flash, and in its place a wide lake was formed, leaving no sign of there ever having been any village, nor even any mountains. The wind ripped out the very entrails of the earth, together with its waters, with a fury so amazing that trees and bits of the hills themselves were thrown up higher than the length of 12 spears, and when they knocked together in the air and fell to the ground, they made such a frightful din it could be heard for many leagues."

But it is obvious that this is no more than copied from Father Nieremberg without adding anything or giving any citation.

62. As a matter of fact, the Trinidad Valley of Benguet contained a lake up until modern times. Fray Pedro de Vivar, O.S.A., personally observed it on Oct. 16, 1775 (see Angel Pérez, *Relaciones agustinianas de las Razas del Norte de Luzón*, pp. 150-151), and German scientist Carl Semper described it in geological detail in 1861 ("Reise durch die nordlichen Provinzen der Insel Luzon," *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde*, vol. 13, pp. 81-96). It is not impossible that it was formed in the manner described in the 1641 account since it is obviously reporting an avalanche or earthquake and typhoon rather than the eruption of a volcano.

Index of Citations

I. Every *tae*, or *tael*, is commonly the peso of ten *reales* of silver, but according to the tariff regulations of 1727, which fixes the weights of the Indies at the Castilian standard, a *tae* corresponds to an ounce and a quarter, which would be a peso of ten reales plus three *cuartillos*. See the *Franciscan History*, Part I, page 166.

II. These reports of the stolen baggage and the religious of San Juan de Dios killed by the Igorots, or Tinguianes, which are the most recent [of these depredations], are attested by a manuscript entitled, "Edifying letter from the Province of Ilocos, and of the Igorots," written by Father Agustín María [de Castro, O.S.A.], and by the published *Compendium of the Order of San Juan de Dios of Manila* written by Father Pugo,⁶³ which states on page 212 that the Tinguianes—Filipino barbarians who live in the mountains of that province, whose assaults are never prevented because of the advantages of the terrain where they live for making forays—took the life of Father Lorenzo Gómez de San Juan de Dios, travelling through the Ilocos collecting alms. Some writings confuse the Tinguianes with the Igorots. Father Gaspar makes mention of Father Agustín Niño on page 451.⁶⁴

III. The entrance of the Dominicans from Lingayen is attested in Father Gaspar's history, page 447.

IV. Aduarte,⁶⁵ pp. 310, 329, 639, Part II,⁶⁶ p. 255. Part III,⁶⁷ p. 163. Part IV,⁶⁸ pp. 13, 483. Part II, p. 175, of the *Franciscan history* also deals with this.

V. Herrera in his *History of the Indies*, decade 1, book 2, chapter 16, in which he says that Don Pedro Margarit and Father Buil returned to Spain without permission.

VI. This statement of Father Gaspar's is only based on the primitive and confused versions of the Igorots themselves, in which very little confidence should be placed precisely because of their being so confused and primitive. In the event Chinese settlers actually did arrive on our shores before the coming of the Spaniards, they would not have failed to populate the coasts and lowlands, which are better, without needing to go way off to the remote stretches of the mountains. Father Gaspar doesn't say anything about any fugitives of the Chinese pirate Limahon as some modern writers do. See the Discourse.

63. Juan Manuel Maldonado de Pugo, *Religiosa Hospitalidad por los Hijos del piadoso Coripheo patriarca y Padre de los Pobres*, Granada 1742.

64. Thomas de Herrera's *Alphabetum Augustinianum* (Madrid 1644) actually says Niño was killed by Zambals, viz. "Augustinus Nino, ut quaedam relationes ferunt, anno 1591, a Zambalibus in Philippinis Insulis pro Fide Christi minutus in capite creuit in gloria" (p. 30).

65. Diego Aduarte, *Historia de la Provincia del Sancto Rosario de la Orden de Predicadores de Filipinas, Japon y China*, 1640.

66. The continuation of Aduarte's Dominican history, by Baltazar de Santa Cruz, 1693.

67. The continuation of the Dominican history, by Vicente de Salazar 1742.

68. The continuation of the Dominican history by Domingo Collantes, 1783.

VII. Don Felipe de Ugalde and Don Lorenzo de Ugalde, Viscayan gentlemen and citizens of Manila, were very well known and famous, and there are notices of them in the histories by Father Baltazar de Santa Cruz (pages 89 and 335), Father Murillo (p. 225), and Father Gaspar (Part One, p. 446). Part IV of the *History of Santo Domingo*, page 64, states that General Don Felipe Ugalde, a man of great standing, went as Purveyor of the army which was assembling in Ilocos against the Igorots, and when they were passing through Paontalon, the Zambals attacked them and carried off nine of the Christians' heads, one of which was the general's.

VIII. Father Mozo says this expressly on page 62, and so does the *General History of Father Juan, Recollect*, which is in press, at the end of vol. 1. Part II of Father Gaspar's suggests that they are descended from very ancient Chinese who came to these islands before Limahon and the Spaniards. But this has already been spoken of in the first Discourse.

IX. "Mountains of Kingay" is probably a printer's error which ought to be "Aringay," a town in the district of Ilocos close to the Igorots.

X. In the past century there were very few horses, and travel was done by water or on the shoulders of Filipinos. I recall having read an ordinance by a Dominican provincial not so long ago in which he ordered the missionaries of Pangasinan to have only one horse for the priest, but none for the servants because they were so expensive but rather to put them on cows or carabaos, which are cheaper.