

**CROSS, SWORD, AND SILVER:
THE NASCENT SPANISH COLONY IN THE MARIANA ISLANDS**

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Introduction

When European adventurers sailed westward across the vast unknown Pacific seeking sea routes to the riches of the Indies, the winds and currents drove their ships toward a chain of islands that form a crescent-shaped shield before the Asian continent. Magellan was the first to come upon them. Other exploratory expeditions followed and the Islands of the Ladrones with their sister Islands of the West (Islas del Poniente) made their appearance on the sea charts and maps of European cartographers.¹

In 1564, Spain undertook to establish a foothold in the Islands of the West, by then known as the Philippines, and sent forth an expedition of four ships with four hundred men that sailed from New Spain, or Mexico, under the leadership of Miguel López de Legazpi.² Several expeditions had made the Pacific crossing from east to west before Legazpi's and the presence and potential importance of the Islands of the Ladrones had been recognized. Not surprisingly, when Legazpi sailed for the Philippines with specific instructions to seek a return route back across the Pacific to New Spain,³ he carried a commission as governor (*adelantado*) of the Islands of the Ladrones.⁴ In January 1565, Legazpi's ships reached Guam, the southernmost of the Ladrones, and during

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the nearly two weeks' stopover at Umatac Bay, the general formally claimed the islands for Spain: a cross was symbolically planted on the beach and mass was celebrated in a large native boathouse nearby.⁵

A few months after Legazpi reached the Philippines and had established the new Spanish settlement at Cebu, one of his ships, the *San Pedro*, with Father Andrés de Urdaneta as chief navigator, successfully completed the long-sought eastward passage across the Pacific to New Spain, reaching Acapulco on 8 October 1565.⁶

This crossing in 1565 charted the sea routes to be followed by Spain's ships sailing between Mexico and the Philippines for the next 250 years, thereby initiating the so-called galleon trade.⁷

The ships, which became the lifeline between Spain's two Pacific colonies, occasionally sailed through the northernmost Ladrones on the eastbound track as they reached for favorable winds at the higher latitudes. They approached the chain's southernmost islands only on the return trip from Acapulco to Manila's seaport of Cavite. In the early years of the trade, laden with men and supplies for the new Asian colony, the ships passed through the channel between Rota and Guam. As they sailed between these islands, they hove to long enough to barter with the islanders, exchanging bits and pieces of iron for water and provisions. The system of barter and exchange that evolved during the late sixteenth century between the islanders and those aboard passing vessels was destined to be refined and perfected by colonial officials a century later and would eventually lead to flagrant abuses by some governors of the isolated colony during the late seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries.

The Colony and Its Lifeline

In June 1668, the *San Diego*, a supply ship (*patache*) making the annual run from Acapulco to Manila, off-loaded a small group of men at Guam, in the Ladrones. Those five Jesuit missionaries and their small escort of lay and military companions landed at Agaña, the largest settlement accessible to the ship. The contingent, under the leadership of Father Diego Luís de Sanvitores, formed the nucleus of the first Spanish mission and subsequent colony in the Ladrones Islands.

Although it was not until 1668 that a Spanish settlement was established in the Ladrones, the galleons sailing between Acapulco and Manila had been making regular stopovers there for more than one hundred years, usually during the months of May and June. During that lengthy period, hundreds of ships and thousands of men had sailed through the

islands en route to the Philippines. At least three galleons had been wrecked on their shores,⁸ leaving substantial numbers of castaways waiting to be rescued by the next passing ship. Some survivors, however, remained and spent the rest of their lives there. Moreover, near the turn of the seventeenth century, several religious had jumped ship and lived among the islanders for varying periods.⁹ Not surprisingly, by 1668 much had been learned about the islands and their inhabitants.

The nascent colony in the Ladrones Islands--immediately renamed the Mariana Islands by the Jesuit missionaries--was inextricably linked to Mexico and the Philippines by the Acapulco-Manila galleons. Not only did the islands lie astride the galleons' route, but the new colony depended on the ships for supplies, support, and news of the outside world. Very quickly the lives of the islanders, as well as those of the colonists, were affected by activities related to the trade.

Among those who could exercise authority affecting the colony were the generals of the galleons, men who commanded either a single ship or a convoy. In the early years of the trade, generals were appointed by the viceroys of Mexico, but soon the appointments became an important, lucrative prerogative of the governors-general of the Philippines, who sold the office to relatives or favorites or to anyone who would pay their price. More often than not, the general in charge of the galleon convoys was not a naval officer, although there were professional navigators and seamen operating the vessels. The officers in charge sometimes held appointments for the duration of the voyage only, many for the Manila-Acapulco leg alone. Such persons need not be familiar with the sea and subsequent tragedies, such as the capture of the *Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación y Desengaño* off the coast of Mexico in 1709, were often traced to this factor.¹⁰

Documentary evidence pertaining to the Mariana Islands indicates that the generals of the galleons had the power to appoint the men who were to be off-loaded to serve at the garrison (presidio) in Guam. Quite often the generals were called on to extend special support to the missionaries, particularly when it was necessary to make a show of force to punish or intimidate the islanders. Given the regularity of and the need for the stopovers in the Marianas, some ships' officers were tasked repeatedly with the responsibility of off-loading shipments of money and supplies loaded at Acapulco for the mission and garrison in the Marianas, thus becoming familiar with Guam's port people. At first, the off-loading took place at Agaña, a dangerous undertaking that often proved unsuccessful. Early on, instructions were issued by the Crown requesting the missionaries to seek a safe harbor for the galleons,¹¹ and

it was not long before the more protected port of Umatac became the established stopping place for the Acapulco ships.

During the last half of the seventeenth century, the Philippine Islands, Spain's most distant colony, continued to attract adventurous native-born sons (*peninsulares*) as well as their American-born cousins (*criollos*), toward whom the *peninsulares* often displayed a degree of disdain or superiority. They came as members of various government-supported religious orders, as well-placed military officers and civil servants, as ordinary soldiers or convicts sent out as settlers, and some as itinerant merchants seeking quick profits from the already well-established galleon trade. The men who served in the Marianas included missionaries, Spanish-born and others; regular military personnel, some of whom were very young; and convicts assigned as soldiers to the presidio. The assignment of convicts was in clear violation of a directive from the Crown.¹² Nonetheless, the soldiers' rebellion of 1688 against Interim Governor Joseph de Quiroga was led by a Mexican *criollo*, sentenced to serve time in the Philippines, but who found himself assigned to the presidio in the Marianas.¹³

Miguel López de Legazpi had established the Spanish colony at Cebu in 1565 and, within a few years, had relocated the capital to Manila, where he had discovered a flourishing trading center revolving around the yearly spring arrival of fleets of trading junks from Canton and other Asian ports. The Spaniards in Manila soon devised ways to control the lucrative trade of highly prized Oriental goods. They bought silks, porcelains, cottons, carved ivory, and a wealth of exotic items from the Chinese, then shipped them across the Pacific to Acapulco for transshipment to Spain and Peru. Payment in Mexican and Peruvian silver was returned to Manila aboard the same government-owned galleons.

Once the Spaniards had established a foothold in the Marianas--in the guise of a Jesuit mission--the ships from Mexico off-loaded not only men, but a *situado* and a *socorro* to support them.

The *situado*, funds drawn as a subsidy from the Viceregal Treasury of Mexico, arrived in the form of silver currency or clothing and comprised the salaries for the governor and the commandant of the presidio (*sargento mayor*), the payroll for the infantry, and the stipends of the missionaries. After the *situado* for the Marianas had been off-loaded, the rest of the silver shipment went on to Manila. In addition to the monetary support of the *situado*, the missionaries and the military received the *socorro* (assistance), in the form of allotments of necessities such as soap, wine, flour, tools, textiles, thread and cordage, copper and steel sheeting, iron, domestic animals and seeds, and so forth. At first,

the missionaries were in total control of the colony and the delivery of the *situado* and the *socorro* was made to the Jesuit provincial. In 1681, at the request of the missionaries, the procedure was changed with the arrival of the first royally appointed governor of the Marianas, Antonio de Saravia. From then on, the delivery was made to the governor, who was instructed to distribute personally the funds to the infantrymen.¹⁴

During the early years of the mission, the *socorro*, in the form of personal, religious, and teaching necessities, was much more important to the activities of the Jesuits than currency. The governor and soldiers, on the other hand, were entitled to receive their pay, which was released from the funds of the *situado* and, although at times a portion arrived in the form of clothing, they could expect to receive a certain amount of silver as well. As there was no store in the Marianas nor anything to buy, the soldiers often gambled their silver away.

When Governor Antonio de Saravia died in 1683, he was succeeded by Damián de Esplana. During his first administration, 1683-1688, Governor Esplana seems to have begun to contrive ways to manipulate the *situado* that would affect not only those entitled to their pay, but also some of the people involved in the shipping networks that operated between the ports of Acapulco, Umatac, and Cavite as well.

William Lyle Schurz, in his classic study of the Manila galleon trade, indicates that a share in the profits of the galleons was the lodestone that attracted Spaniards across the Pacific, and that if this stimulus to migration were removed, further retention of the colony would have been difficult and expensive.¹⁵ Because of the great distance from Spain, the governors of the Philippines could trade until their coffers were filled with Mexican silver in defiance of a remote government, too distant to exert effective control. Men in large numbers came from Spain, New Spain, and Peru to seek quick fortunes in the islands, hoping to return to lives of comparative ease at home. Some found themselves in the Marianas, where the colony's early governors were the first to find ways to profit from the galleon trade and their remote assignments.

Manila, as far as the Spanish colony there was concerned, existed for and because of the galleon trade. Nearly all Spaniards in the Philippines, many of whom were Mexican-born, lived in the city and profited legally or otherwise from the galleon trade. This was possible because of the system by which cargo space on the ships was allocated. A certain number of tickets (*boletas*), representing the number of bundles of cargo that could be placed aboard, were made available to eligible Spaniards--and for one reason or another, practically all Spaniards were eligible. *Boletas* that sold in Manila for 125 pesos could bring fif-

teen hundred to two thousand pesos in trade.¹⁶ Widows received *boletas* as a form of pension; government officials were entitled to them; the clergy, through their allotments, operated the *obras pías*, which were charitable institutions that ultimately came to perform banking and financial functions supporting the trade.

Among the military officials who received *boletas* were the provincial governors. At this time, the Marianas governorship was a royal appointment and the islands were not a province of the Philippines, but a separate integral part of the Spanish Empire. Nevertheless several interim governors and captains-general of the Marianas received their appointments, by delegated authority, from the governors-general of the Philippines and, in their absence, from the Colonial High Court (Audiencia) of Manila. Surely, they enjoyed the same privileges, and perhaps more, than the provincial governors in the Philippines.¹⁷

The galleons were the vehicles that facilitated the Spaniards' presence in the Mariana archipelago, but the Spanish colonial government structure--based upon a complex interrelationship between church and state called the Patronato Real (Royal Patronage)--provided the organizational, financial, and military support that enabled Father Diego Luís de Sanvitores' mission to become a reality.¹⁸ The Crown, through its Council of the Indies (Consejo de Indias), controlled all matters, secular and religious, in the Spanish colonies. Government and military authorities were charged with support for the *reducción*, the method used by the ecclesiastical authorities to Christianize or convert the indigenous inhabitants of the colonies to what was considered a Christian way of living. The *reducción* applied to the newly established mission in the Marianas, as it did to Spanish missions elsewhere, with the Church calling upon the Crown for the financial and military support to carry out its responsibilities. Because of their close relationship to Church and Crown authorities, the missionaries often addressed appeals and complaints directly to the monarch or members of the Council of the Indies.

In the Marianas, tension between the Jesuits and the military establishment increased shortly after Father Sanvitores' death in 1672, because, in spite of directives from the Crown and the Council of the Indies, the religious and military authorities did not always agree on the methods to be used in carrying out the *reducción* or on who was to issue the orders for military action against native resistance.

Native Discontent and Spanish Military Buildup

Native resistance to the missionaries' efforts followed closely upon their arrival in June 1668. Basically, the tiny group of Jesuits and their Fili-

pino and Mexican assistants sought to change the life-style of a fiercely independent island people, a life-style characterized by long-established settlement patterns that depended upon ready access to the sea for food and mobility.¹⁹ The evangelizers sought to change age-old customs and habits, and to impose urban-type communities that would make it possible for the people to center their lives on the daily routines mandated by the Church and its priests. The *reducción* sought to gather the people into village-like settlements (*pueblos*), where chapels and churches were served by a priest; it also required the people to abandon old beliefs and customs deemed contrary to Christian thought and behavior.

Perhaps the missionaries had not anticipated the strong resistance the *reducción* elicited from the islanders, but by August 1668--just three months after reaching Agaña--they had cause for concern and realized they would need additional military assistance and protection.²⁰ After a year of considerable hardship, the appearance the following June of the galleon *San Joseph* was a welcome sight. Returning to Manila from Acapulco, the ship carried orders to stop at the Marianas in order to offer support and to seek news of the new mission. It circled the island searching for the settlement of the Jesuits and, having located it, anchored off Agaña Bay, where it remained three days.²¹ The missionaries made their needs known to the the new governor-general of the Philippines, Manuel de León, who was aboard. Responding to their plight, Don Manuel left six soldiers with their firearms, in addition to the *socorro* destined for the mission.²²

The following year, 1670, no galleon arrived. Native unrest continued and, in 1671, the small group of outsiders was forced to build a stockade for protection. This and their other structures were destroyed by a typhoon in September.²³ From then until 1674, the religious, their assistants, and their military escorts lived huddled in a single barnlike structure in Agaña.²⁴

In June 1672, two months after Father Sanvitores' death at the hands of the islanders, the *San Diego* anchored at Umatac and left behind thirty soldiers, weapons, powder, and ammunition.²⁵ A *socorro*, consisting of supplies and other necessities, had been sent from Mexico, but no *situado* for the soldiers' pay arrived from the Viceregal Treasury. On 22 May 1673, the galleon *San Antonio* arrived off Agaña and off-loaded a horse for the missionaries and the small contingent of soldiers.²⁶ With piecemeal additions such as this, the presidio was gradually strengthened and, since small numbers of soldiers from the ships were usually selected to remain at the garrison, corresponding adjustments in the size of the *situado* and the *socorro* had to be made for their support--theoretically at least.

Changes in Administration of the Colony

Until the arrival of the *Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro* in June 1674, the small military contingent at Agaña was headed by a captain who responded to the needs and directives of the missionaries. By this time, the mission was experiencing such difficulty with native revolts that the Jesuits prevailed upon the general of the galleon, Diego de Arévalo, to leave an experienced military commander with them.²⁷ Selected for the assignment was Captain Damián de Esplana, who was traveling to the Philippines. While he was ashore, strong winds came up, driving the ship away before it was able to unload all the mission's supplies--and perhaps before Don Damián could change his mind.

Esplana was a thirty-seven-year-old Peruvian *criollo* from Lima, a veteran of twenty-three years of fighting in Chile. He may have been typical of many men who went to the Philippines to seek rapid career advancement, to profit in some way from the lucrative galleon trade, and to return home within a few years as very wealthy men. His wife, Josepha de León Pinelo, was from a prominent Peruvian family and the couple were the parents of two daughters, María Rosa de Esplana and Rosa de Esplana.²⁸ Captain de Esplana held the grade of *sargento mayor* (troop commander) and thus became the first commanding officer of the Spanish forces in the Marianas.²⁹

The men in the Marianas were now joined by several additional soldiers from the galleon and the new *sargento mayor*. The additional military protection enabled the missionaries to extend their activities beyond the limits of the Agaña compound. In June of the following year, 1675, the *San Telmo* arrived from New Spain and anchored off Agaña Bay. Aboard were Father Gerardo Bouvens, the new mission superior, and a contingent of twenty soldiers.³⁰ Although some of the men rotated on to the Philippines, the presidio in the Marianas continued to grow.

During the two years that Captain de Esplana served as *sargento mayor* of the presidio, he failed to ingratiate himself with the missionaries. Tension increased between the military and the religious because of what the latter considered the unbridled actions of the soldiers in regard to the islanders. Nevertheless, by the time Esplana sailed for Manila aboard the *San Antonio de Padua* in June 1676, the missionaries had a new house and church in Agaña, and there was a garrison of fifty soldiers and their commandant whose responsibility was to protect and assist in the *reducción* effort.

Esplana was succeeded as *sargento mayor* by Captain Francisco de

Yrrisarri, a Spaniard from Navarra who, because of the recognized need for someone to take charge of secular and military affairs in the Marianas, was also granted the honorary title of *gobernador* (governor) by the general of the galleon.³¹

Like other well-placed Spaniards who served in the Marianas, *peninsulares* and *criollos* alike, Esplana had influential friends in Mexico, Manila, and Madrid. After leaving the Marianas, he spent seven years in the Philippines, 1676-1683, during which he received appointments as provincial governor of Cebu and as *sargento mayor* of Cavite and its royal compound, both important and prestigious positions that offered opportunities to learn at close hand important details concerning the operations of the galleon trade and to become personally acquainted with people within its power structure.³²

Important administrative changes were taking place in the Marianas while Esplana was in the Philippines. The last of two honorary governors, Captain Juan Antonio de Salas, completed a tenure of two years, resigned, and left for Manila in 1680.³³ Because the trouble between the missionaries and the commanding officer of the troops--now called governor--had continued unabated, instructions were issued that the governor was not to interfere with the activities of the missionaries and was to provide soldiers for their support only upon request. Earlier, in June 1678, the missionaries had asked the governor-general of the Philippines, Juan de Vargas Hurtado, to grant separate authority and responsibilities to the missionaries and the military commanders.³⁴

Also addressed during those years was the matter of finding a better anchorage for the galleons, where supplies for the mission and the presidio could be off-loaded more easily and with greater safety. Agaña did not provide an adequate port, although it was the mission's headquarters, the seat of the presidio, and the principal settlement. Additionally, the supply ship that had long been requested from Manila had yet to arrive; when it did, it would need a safe port in which to spend several months awaiting seasonal wind changes before it could embark on the return trip to Cavite.³⁵

Arriving on the *San Antonio* in 1679 was a very well-connected young aristocrat from Spain's province of Galicia who was destined to become one of the most influential men in the Marianas during the next forty years. This "monk in soldier's garb" was Joseph de Quiroga, a cousin of the archbishops of Santiago and Mexico City.³⁶ Among his mentors were the general of the Jesuits, Tirso González, and the Duchess of Aveiro. He had served as a captain in the Spanish infantry in the Low Countries and, although he contemplated a religious life, he was persuaded to sail

to the Marianas to serve as a military officer and provide a good example for the troops.³⁷

With the abrupt departure of Juan Antonio de Salas in 1680, Quiroga found himself not only the commander of the troops, *sargento mayor*, but the acting governor as well.³⁸

In Spain, the Council of the Indies was kept well informed of the situation in the Marianas by the missionaries and by government authorities in the Philippines, although nearly two years often elapsed before news reached Madrid from Agaña. In 1679, the Council decided that a governor was needed in the Marianas for temporal affairs. This man should be a brave, experienced soldier, a good Christian, and virtuous in his own being in order to discipline the infantry there. In making the appointment, the king was to consult with the archbishop and the viceroy of Mexico. The person named was to serve as governor of the islands and commander of the infantry.³⁹

A royal decree dated 13 November 1680 appointed Master of the Camp (Maestre de Campo) Antonio de Saravia as the first governor and captain-general of the Mariana Islands. As noted earlier, with his appointment instructions were issued at the request of the missionaries that the *situado* for the soldiers should no longer be sent to the superior of the mission, but to the governor, who would receive the money via the general of the Acapulco galleon from the Viceregal Treasury of Mexico. By his own hand, the governor was to pay the soldiers in clothing or silver, whichever was best for the infantry.⁴⁰

During 1680-1681, the time that Quiroga served as acting governor while awaiting the arrival of the royally commissioned Saravia, excellent working relationships were established between the military authority and the missionaries. After a typhoon destroyed the church at Umatac on 11 November 1680, Quiroga had a new one constructed immediately. Additionally, he divided the village of Umatac into two barrios, had a church built at Agat,⁴¹ and assigned a captain to each *pueblo*⁴² with the authority to rule in the name of the governor.⁴³ Quiroga, close to the hierarchy of the Church and devoted to its goals, had a strong personal commitment to support the missionary effort to Christianize the Chamorro people and devoted his life to this end. As a professional soldier, his role was to lead the military actions that would force the people to comply with the *reducción*, though, at times, the Jesuits themselves questioned his harsh and brutal methods.

The new governor, Maestre de Campo Antonio de Saravia, was an experienced soldier who had served his king for more than thirty years in Sicily.⁴⁴ He arrived in Agaña on 13 June 1681, aboard the same ship on which Quiroga sailed for Manila on business.⁴⁵

During Saravia's governorship the work of the missionaries prospered, and the goodwill of the natives increased with the appointment of a Chamorro leader, Antonio Ayhi, as his lieutenant governor.⁴⁶ On 8 June of the following year, 1682, the *San Antonio de Padua* anchored at Umatac. Aboard was the first bishop to visit Guam, Fray Juan Durán, and the faithful gathered at the church of San Dionisio Areopaguita for confirmation by the distinguished visitor.⁴⁷ Perhaps it was at this time that the failing health of Governor Saravia was noted and reported to Manila.

The Cavite Supply Ship

Since the earliest days of the mission, the Jesuits had asked to be provided with a small vessel for use among the islands. They also requested that a supply ship (*patache*) be sent regularly from Manila, because the galleons from New Spain, in disregard of repeated royal decrees, did not always stop at Guam.⁴⁸ Several factors accounted for galleons' bypassing the islands. If the weather was bad when they reached the Marianas, the anchorages at Guam, especially at Agaña, were treacherous. If a ship was running late in the season, it chanced being unable to enter the San Bernardino Straits before the impending adverse winds carried on the southwest monsoon began to blow. Should the galleon not reach Cavite with its cargo of silver, the Manila merchants would be hard pressed to make their spring purchases from the Chinese traders for the goods to be shipped to Acapulco aboard the summer galleon, and the Manila colony would suffer great financial hardships as a consequence. Such compelling reasons for not making the mandatory Guam stopover weighed heavily upon a general faced with the decision of bypassing the island or making the obligatory stop. Not only would he lose several days' valuable sailing time, he might also risk the loss of a ship to the treacherous winds and currents around Agaña and Umatac, factors responsible for the wreck of the *Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Zaragoza*, which was blown onto the reef off Cocos Island as it approached the Umatac anchorage in June 1690.

Questionable dealings on the part of the galleon officers during Guam stopovers were noted in 1681 when Governor Saravia, arriving on the *San Antonio*, was required to pay freight charges on each of his personal cargo bundles. On such a government ship, the imposition of such a fee for transporting the personal effects of a government official from Acapulco to his duty station in the Marianas was illegal. It may be assumed, perhaps, that officers demanding such fees did so for personal profit.

Father Manuel de Solórzano, the mission superior (1680-1683[?]), complained that despite repeated royal decrees directing the generals of the Acapulco ships to stop at Guam, they did not always do so and that when they did, freight fees were charged on each cargo bundle. He also noted that the assistance items, the *socorro*, were not always off-loaded and sometimes went on to Manila.⁴⁹

The governors-general of the Philippines had been instructed repeatedly through royal decrees to send an annual supply ship from Cavite to the Marianas. The first to be dispatched was in April 1681, but the vessel was caught in the adverse seasonal wind change and failed to reach its destination.⁵⁰

In April 1683, Governor-General Vargas Hurtado dispatched a second small supply ship from the Philippines to the Marianas. The *San Francisco Xavier*, a single-masted sloop-type vessel, sailed from Cavite under the command of Esplana, the former commandant of the presidio at Guam. Also aboard was Sargento Mayor Quiroga, returning to the Marianas after an absence of two years. At the Embocadero, the mouth of the San Bernardino Straits, the ship was met by an incoming native boat from the Marianas, dispatched by Governor Saravia after it had become apparent that the Acapulco ship would not arrive that year and the need for supplies was desperate. After a successful twenty-six-day voyage from the Embocadero, the *San Francisco Xavier* reached Umatac on 23 August 1683.⁵¹

Esplana's Governorship

As a precautionary measure in anticipation of Governor Saravia's death, the missionaries had written to influential friends and officials in Manila requesting the appointment of Sargento Mayor Quiroga as his successor. On 3 November 1683, while the *San Francisco Xavier* was still at Umatac, Governor Saravia died. To the disappointment of the missionaries, Esplana immediately presented his sealed orders from Governor-General Vargas Hurtado designating him as interim governor with the title of "Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief."⁵²

Perhaps recalling Esplana's earlier activities as the commandant of the garrison during the 1674-1676 period of native unrest, Father Solórzano in a report described Esplana's appointment as "God's punishment to the Marianan people." He also reported that the new commanding officer summoned all the military and clergy to his house for the ceremony of his formal nomination: "He ordered that the document from the Royal Council be opened, and they read aloud his warrant, in

which the King conferred upon him the title of Commander in Chief and Governor of these islands and, in the event of his death, nominated Don Joseph de Quiroga y Losada as his successor.”⁵³ Father Gerardo Bouvens, in a letter to the Duchess of Aveiro, also expressed the missionaries’ disappointment at Esplana’s appointment.⁵⁴

During the following period of nearly five years, 1683-1688, continual trouble plagued the relationship between the clergy and Governor Esplana, quite unlike the harmonious working relationships that had existed, first under Acting Governor Quiroga and more recently under the benevolent Governor Saravia. The Chamorro people were also increasingly unhappy with the “light yoke imposed by the faith”—a phrase that appeared regularly in mission documents—and the brutality of the military establishment.

A month after the galleon *Santa Rosa* had made its stop, and after Sargento Mayor Quiroga had departed for the islands to the north with a large contingent of soldiers, on Sunday morning, 23 July 1684, after mass, the largest, most violent, and most devastating uprising of the Chamorro people erupted. Before it was over, Agaña had been held in siege for four months and the revolt had spread to the distant islands of the north. The attack on the missionaries and the governor was unexpected. Governor Esplana, having attended an early mass, was strolling alone in the garden along the Agaña River. Suddenly he was attacked by several Chamorros. He was slashed on the face, stabbed in the body several times, and left for dead.⁵⁵ A number of missionaries were killed or wounded, as were many soldiers. After innumerable difficulties, Sargento Mayor Quiroga, in Saipan, was informed of the crisis on Guam and hastened to return to quell the revolt.

In early 1685, Esplana, who had survived the attack, departed for Umatac to await the galleon. The *Santo Niño* arrived in mid-June and left forty-four men and additional supplies for the garrison. When the ship sailed it carried messages reporting the revolt to the Manila authorities, including Esplana’s request to be relieved of his duties so he might return to Manila to recover from his injuries. Father Bouvens, now the mission superior following Father Solórzano’s death in the uprising, sent a personal emissary to relate the details of the uprising.⁵⁶

The supply ship from Cavite failed to arrive in 1686, and the missionaries reported that “no vessel of any description has arrived from Manila to remove Esplana from our midst.” It was the missionaries’ belief, as expressed by Father Lorenzo Bustillo in a letter to the Duchess of Aveiro, that if the galleon *Santa Rosa* (which had passed that year) had stopped and delivered its badly needed supplies, they would have pre-

vailed on the general to arrest Esplana and remove him to Manila. His letter ended with the hope that "God will soon remove this scourge with which He has punished us for three years."⁵⁷

Although Interim Governor Esplana sought a replacement through his appeals to the authorities in Manila, the government prosecutor found no reason to accede to his requests.⁵⁸ Meanwhile, in Madrid, on 30 March 1686, Carlos II signed a royal provision and title for Esplana's appointment to the governorship of the Marianas, granting him the title of "Lieutenant General and Governor and Captain General of the Marianas Islands."⁵⁹

In 1687 matters worsened between Governor Esplana and the missionaries and, once again, the galleon from Acapulco and the supply ship from Cavite did not arrive. In a letter to Father Francisco García in Madrid, Father Bustillo complained that Esplana had failed to punish the islanders who had caused the murders of several priests and had allowed them to go about unpunished.⁶⁰ The missionaries also continued to express that "His Majesty, at the Court of Spain, is still unaware of the necessity of nominating Don Joseph de Quiroga to the governorship, so eminently suitable for the post."⁶¹

Another letter, written in May 1687 by Father Bouvens to Father García, is filled with condemnation of Esplana and praise for Quiroga: Esplana "does not allow the good Don Joseph de Quiroga to proceed with the conquest of what he himself allows to be lost. Secondly, he discredits him [Quiroga] amongst the soldiers as though he were good for nothing, when in truth, the existence of the remnants of this mission is entirely due to Don Joseph."⁶²

By February 1688, the situation in the Marianas was desperate and, as it was already apparent there would be no ship from either Mexico or Manila that year, Governor Esplana and seventeen others set sail for the Philippines in a native boat. In addition to Esplana there were four of his servants, as well as seven Spaniards and six Pampangos. Upon his arrival at Cavite, Esplana was arrested for having deserted his post. His defense was that, since there had been no supply vessels to the Marianas for nearly three years and, since he was sick and needed medical treatment and, since he was afraid the English had taken Manila because there had been no news to the contrary and, since he was, after all, a lieutenant general in the service of the governor-general of the Philippines, he had found it incumbent to risk his life in a small boat to go to the Philippines to offer his personal service to his commanding officer. He explained that he had left the government in the hands of Quiroga

who, according to the royal provisions signed by Carlos II on 30 March 1686, was authorized to serve as interim governor.⁶³ At the time of his trial in Manila, Esplana was fifty-one years old, a senior officer who had served the king for thirty-seven years. After a few months of judicial hearings, he was acquitted and began to make plans to return to the Marianas.⁶⁴

A few months later, in the summer of 1688, the supply ship *San Gabriel* made the trip from Cavite to Umatac and carried a new *sargento mayor* to replace Quiroga, now the acting governor. Although the official appointment from Madrid had arrived in Manila granting Esplana the governorship, he did not sail for the Marianas at this time. Instead, he remained in Manila until the summer of 1689.

Esplana's Business Interests

Esplana's year and a half in the Philippines, 1688-1689, was undoubtedly well spent, attending to personal affairs and matters concerning the Marianas' *situado*. While he was there, not only did the *patache San Gabriel* make a round trip to Umatac, but two galleons arrived from Acapulco, providing him with ample opportunities to discuss their Marianas' stopovers with the ships' officers. Surely, he saw to his personal investments in the galleon trade through the *obras pías*. He must have also formalized contacts--if not contracts--and made various arrangements with ships' officers, maritime officials, and personal friends concerning items to be sent on the supply ship to Umatac.

The annual supply ship from Cavite had been in operation since 1683 and its late summer arrival at Umatac had become a matter of routine anticipation, just as the Acapulco ship was expected in May or early June. There were years, however, like 1686 when one or both ships did not arrive, much to the dismay and disappointment of those who depended on their safe arrival. By this time, it had been determined that it was more advantageous, convenient, and less expensive to purchase needed supplies and yard goods in the Philippines than in Mexico. Only the *situado*--the silver--and special items unavailable in Manila needed to be shipped from Acapulco.⁶⁵

In effect, the institution of the Cavite supply ship provided a new orientation for the Spanish colony in the Marianas. No longer must it depend entirely on the Acapulco ships for long-delayed supplies and men, nor be subjected to being bypassed at the whim of the galleon generals. The colony could now expect supplies, Filipino soldiers, and occa-

sional families from the neighboring archipelago. It would also prove to be an advantageous situation for a governor who had lived in the Philippines several years and who had many close associates there.

By this date, part of the governor's salary and most of the *situado* for the infantry seem not to have been off-loaded at Guam, but were sent on to Manila to be delivered to agents empowered by the governor and the superior of the mission to spend or invest on their behalf. Governor Esplana's agent in Cavite was Sargento Mayor Francisco de Atienza, the *castellano*, chief judge, and commanding officer of the terminal and ship repair facility at Cavite. The Jesuit procurator for the Marianas in Manila was responsible for the mission's affairs in that city.

By 1694, Atienza was sending Governor Esplana, on behalf of the Marianas' garrison, such items as bolts of various kinds of cotton and linen fabrics, bundles of tobacco, thread, silk stockings, cooking utensils, farming implements, gunpowder, lead, needles, and so forth.⁶⁶ Once the shipments arrived at Umatac, a portion may have been sent to Agaña, to be stored in the presidio's warehouse (*almacén*) or in the governor's store. The remainder may have remained at the military compound facilities in Umatac: in its *almacén* and in the *bodega* (store-room) of the Palacio, the governor's residence.

Esplana returned to the Marianas in early September 1689, when the *San Gabriel* made the yearly supply ship run from Cavite to Umatac.⁶⁷ Father Matthias Cuculino, writing to his provincial in Manila, reported that Governor Esplana's return to his post had not only abrogated the missionaries' hope of increasing the number of conversions, but had also caused them to lose the hope of restoring the mission to its previous state by bringing back those islanders who had fled to other islands--especially since Esplana had ordered the dismantling of the boat built the year before by Admiral Francisco Lascano.⁶⁸

The missionaries also complained of Esplana's attitude toward Sargento Mayor Quiroga after the governor's return from Manila. Esplana had exiled Don Joseph for several months and had attempted to strip him of his title of *sargento mayor*, which proved to be impossible because it had been conferred as a royal appointment. In view of the continual disagreements between the two men, it may be that Esplana preferred to deal with the new *sargento mayor* sent from Manila in 1688 to replace then Acting Governor Quiroga. Only after Governor Esplana had been to confession, confided one of the missionaries, did he relent and allow Quiroga to resume his duties. Sargento Mayor Quiroga and the missionaries wanted to get on with the *reducción* and force the Chamorros to return to Guam from Saipan and Tinian, where they had fled

in desperation after the 1684 uprising. Disdainfully, the missionaries accused Esplana of lack of interest in the *reducción* and dereliction of duty, of spending his time building pigpens, fattening hogs, and hunting cattle. They grumbled that if the islanders so desired, they could easily destroy everything because of the Spaniards' neglect.⁶⁹

Contrary to their attitude toward Governor Esplana, the missionaries looked on Quiroga with great favor because he was as committed and determined as they to force the islanders to comply with the *reducción* demanded by the Church and Crown.

By 1690, Governor Esplana was well ensconced at Umatac, where he had built his official residence, the Palacio,⁷⁰ and around which he had established an official military compound (*real*).⁷¹ The missionaries quipped that the governor preferred to live in Umatac because Agaña was not to his liking; also because, in Umatac, his conscience was less constrained and he could do as he pleased.⁷² The presidio's 180 men were divided between the governor's contingent at Umatac and those under the command of Sargento Mayor Quiroga in Agaña.⁷³

Why would a man who had wanted so desperately to leave the Marianas after the revolt of 1684, when he had been so severely wounded that he had been left for dead, who had been accused by the missionaries of cowardice and fear of the islanders, who knew the missionaries were pursuing all avenues to have him recalled--why would such a man wish to return to such an assignment? The answer must lie in the business interests he wished to pursue.

Esplana and the Wreck of the *Nuestra Señora del Pilar*

Two galleons appeared off Umatac at sunset on 2 June 1690. The *Santo Niño*, the general's flagship, was carrying Governor-General Fausto Cruzat y Góngora to his new post in the Philippines, as well as the *situado* and *socorro* for the Marianas. The *Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Zaragoza*, the consort ship, was transporting a number of Franciscan missionaries and a large contingent of soldiers, including many convicts, from New Spain to the Philippines.

As the *Pilar* made its approach to Umatac, the lookout warned of the dangerous shoals off Cocos Island toward which the winds were driving the ship. At eight o'clock in the evening, the ship struck the submerged reef and could not be refloated. There was no loss of life and much of the cargo and valuables was salvaged, including the personal belongings and silver of the survivors.

Before dawn on 3 June, three hundred people were rescued from the

wrecked *Pilar*. The high-ranking persons among them, including the ship's admiral and officers, boarded the flagship *Santo Niño*; the others, including nineteen of the twenty-two Franciscans, were taken ashore to await the next ship. The Franciscans were lodged at the priests' house at Umatac and provided meals at the Palacio. Esplana attended to their needs and made them as comfortable as possible. The large number of unexpected guests presented serious problems to the island residents, native and Spaniard alike, in terms of the undisciplined men and the demands on the island's food supply.

These two Acapulco ships were the first to arrive after Governor Esplana's return from the Philippines the previous September, and he had prepared well to bargain with the ships' officers for their usual purchase of provisions. The missionaries, ever disdainful, described the governor's rude attempt to sell his hogs, chickens, and watermelons at inflated prices before he would order his men to off-load the mission's *socorro* from the *Santo Niño*. They reported that they had received only the wine, the flour for communion wafers, a few edibles, and the mail. They added that what little they had received was the result of their insistence that their supplies be loaded into the boats that were returning empty after carrying out survivors and salvaged goods from the *Pilar* to the *Santo Niño*, not because Esplana had ordered his men to off-load their *socorro*. They also reported that Esplana had hoped to make a favorable impression on Governor-General Cruzat y Góngora by presenting him with a gift of 330 hogs.

In spite of a short supply of food and water, the officers of the *Santo Niño*, mindful of the strong erratic winds that had driven the *Pilar* onto the reef, refused to tarry to negotiate with Esplana, who wanted to strike a bargain before he would order his men to off-load the *situado* and *socorro*. Instead, the flagship hove to several miles offshore and, when it became apparent that the unfavorable winds would not permit a safe approach to port, it set sail before daylight on 5 June without completing the delivery. According to the missionaries, Esplana was so surprised and stung by the decision of the ship's general to proceed to Manila that he sat down and wept like a child. He had sold nothing and he had been unable to impress Governor-General Cruzat y Góngora with his gift of 330 hogs.⁷⁴

Governor Esplana immediately set the marooned soldiers and convicts to work, pressing them to the point of exhaustion as they were forced to hunt pigs, plant corn and potatoes, and perform other undesirable chores, many of which were directed toward providing food for the two hundred unexpected survivors.

Rumors spread among the men from New Spain that the governor intended to avail himself of their services to aid in the *reducción* of the native rebels in the northern islands, and that he had no intention of permitting them to proceed to the Philippines. Driven to the point of desperation by the thought of a lifetime of exile in the Marianas, approximately eighty men, including convicts, began to plot their escape by seizing the incoming Cavite supply ship and sailing it off to a safe haven. The plot was discovered and reported to Governor Esplana, who promptly had twenty of the conspirators shot on the beach at Agaña: eleven one day; nine the next. The following day, 13 September 1690, three others were executed at Umatac.⁷⁵

As much as possible was salvaged from the wreck of the *Pilar*. In view of the wreck, a shipyard was set up at Umatac, where two ships, a frigate and a schooner, were constructed and a third existing boat was enlarged.⁷⁶

The events surrounding the sinking of the *Pilar* brought to light one of Esplana's business interests in the galleon trade: the opportunity to make a profit on the sale of provisions to the ships that put in at Umatac. Settled in the Palacio in Umatac, from May to July Esplana was occupied attending to matters associated with the arrival of the Acapulco galleons, especially with overseeing the production and stockpiling of large amounts of foodstuffs. After the ships arrived and the cargo was unloaded, there was the matter of arranging for storage in the Palacio's *bodega* and in the compound's warehouse. From August to September, he prepared for the arrival of the Cavite supply ship, which would remain in the roads at Merizo until the winds were advantageous for its return to the Philippines. This could mean a stay of several months, during which the ship might make a run to the northern islands. The activity at Umatac left Esplana little time to spend in Agaña, where the missionaries remained hostile to him and where they were much happier to deal with Sargento Mayor Quiroga.

The 1692 convoy of three galleons--the *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, the *San Francisco Xavier*, and the *Santa Rosa*--arrived at Umatac on 23 May under the command of General José de Madrazo. Later Madrazo reported that he had been entrusted with 11,028 pesos from Esplana--nearly three times the governor's yearly salary--which were to be delivered to specified persons in Manila.⁷⁷

In November 1693, a few days after the departure of the Cavite supply ship *Santa Rosa*, on which six thousand bundles of tobacco had arrived consigned to Esplana, a terrible typhoon struck, destroying all buildings on Guam, including Agaña's Fort Guadalupe built by Gover-

nor Saravia ten years earlier, which disappeared leaving no trace of where it had once stood. The tobacco and sugar in Esplana's store was lost because it had been engulfed by the sea and had rotted. In a letter to Francisco de Atienza, the *castellano* of the port of Cavite who held Esplana's power of attorney, the governor wrote concerning the tobacco and sugar, "I am happy that it was on my account and that I am the loser because it was the first commission in which we were involved and I would have been sorry to have had to make a bad report."⁷⁸ Esplana's letter to Atienza seems to imply that, at least, the sale of tobacco and sugar from the governor's store was part of a business arrangement between the two men.

Prior to the November 1693 typhoon, Governor Esplana had notified the Manila authorities not to send the supply ship the following summer, 1694, because there was a sufficient stock of supplies on the island.⁷⁹ The missionaries later inferred that the attempt to delay the supply ship had something to do with Esplana's wish to deplete his store of supplies before new ones arrived.

When the *Santo Cristo de Burgos* was lost on its 1693 run from Cavite to Acapulco, it was later revealed that Esplana was among those who had suffered heavy financial losses from investments in its cargo space, which he would have arranged through Atienza and the *obras pías*, the financing institutions operated by the Jesuits and the Franciscans in Manila.

The galleon *San Joseph*, which sailed from Cavite for Acapulco in late June 1694, commanded by General José de Madrazo, was wrecked at Luban, just outside the entrance to Manila Bay, with a loss of four hundred lives and twelve thousand bundles of cargo. The disaster was an enormous loss to the city of Manila.⁸⁰ It also represented a loss to Esplana, who had invested in cargo space through the *obras pías*.

Esplana's Legacy

On 16 August 1694, at the age of fifty-seven, Governor Damián de Esplana died, probably at his Palacio in Umatac, as he had been in failing health for some time. Because of the loss of the Acapulco-bound galleon *San Joseph* at Manila a month earlier, there was no large galleon that called at Umatac the following spring and the news of his death was probably carried to Cavite aboard a smaller vessel of the same name, *San Joseph*, a *patache* that stopped at Umatac from Acapulco in 1695.

Quiroga became the acting governor once again, in accordance with

the provisions authorized by Carlos II concerning the governorship of the Marianas. When Quiroga collected Esplana's papers, his will, and the garrison account books at his home in Umatac, in order to forward them to the proper authorities in Manila, the former governor's wealth and involvement in the Acapulco-Umatac-Cavite shipping activities were revealed.⁸¹ According to Quiroga's calculations after reviewing Esplana's accounts, the deceased governor had, over a period of three years-- 1691, 1692, and 1694--kept 56,066 pesos for himself from a total of 108,991 pesos sent for the infantry's *situado*. The governor's yearly salary had been four thousand pesos.⁸²

The various charges against Esplana concerning his seeming manipulations of the *situado* resulted in a decision by Manila authorities to subject his estate to a *residencia*.⁸³ Among the ways in which the governor was thought to have manipulated the *situado* was that he bought certain articles, such as tobacco, in Acapulco or Manila, charging them against his own salary. When they were delivered in Guam, he was able to demand from the men at the presidio whatever price he chose. He either kept running accounts for individuals, in which case the amount was deducted from the man's pay, or there were cash payments.⁸⁴ Either way, the governor set the price.

It seems quite clear that a share in the galleon trade was the lodestone that had enticed Esplana to return to the Marianas and specifically to the port of Umatac. From there he was able to manipulate, quite undisturbed, the expenditures and investment of the *situado*, funds he received as governor from the Viceregal Treasury of Mexico for his own salary and for the payroll of the men at the presidio.

When Esplana first served in the Marianas as the *sargento mayor*, 1674-1676, he established a reputation for brutally subduing the discontented islanders. During his first administration as governor, especially during 1683-1684, he was again responsible for ruthless attacks on the islanders. After the uprising of 1684, he sought refuge in Umatac, away from the continual demands of the missionaries who wanted him to vigorously pursue the *reducción* with its attendant military forays. During the 1688-1689 interim in his governorship, when he indubitably renewed his contacts in Manila, Esplana evidently decided to return to the Marianas, not because he was anxious to get on with the *reducción*, but because he sought to increase his personal fortune. He succeeded in doing so in several ways: by selling provisions at inflated prices to the officers of the ships that stopped at Umatac, by setting up a store in Agaña where the funds of the *situado* could be manipulated by skimming a profit from the sale of goods purchased at a discount in Manila

and sold at inflated prices to the men of the presidio, and by continuing his investment in cargo space aboard the galleons through his friend Atienza and the *obras pías*.

In sum, by drawing on his many contacts with business associates in Manila, with the port authorities in Cavite, with the officers of the Acapulco galleons, with the officers of the Cavite supply ships, and with the banking facilities of the religious' *obras pías*, Esplana amassed considerable wealth, which he invested primarily in the Philippines.⁸⁵ Death robbed Esplana of the opportunity to return to his native Peru and to his family as a man of considerable wealth--if, indeed, he had intended to do so. The methods he had refined for exploiting the funds sent to the governor of the Marianas for the support of the presidio did not die with him, however. His successors would continue to perfect them, some with great success, until almost the mid-nineteenth century.⁸⁶

The missionaries, ever watchful and ever critical of the activities of the governors, were careful to inform members of the Jesuit hierarchy, members of the Council of the Indies, and the monarch himself of their shortcomings. In May 1689, Father Gerardo Bouvens, associated with the mission from 1675 until his death approximately forty years later, wrote to Father Antonio Xaramillo, the Madrid and Rome procurator, setting forth twenty-four points that had to do with the kind of man who should be appointed to the governorship of the Marianas, the activities with which he should and should not be associated, the kind of treatment that the men at the garrison should receive, and the manner in which the islanders should be treated. He cautioned that the *situado* for the infantry should not be sent in silver, but in clothing and other necessities. He noted that silver could be utilized by a greedy governor, as had already happened when one had sold a single leaf of tobacco for at least six reales. In effect, Bouvens anticipated or had observed at firsthand Governor Esplana's manipulation of the *situado*.⁸⁷

Much to the dismay of the missionaries, the man appointed to succeed Esplana as Lieutenant General and Governor-General of the Mariana Islands was not their favorite, Joseph de Quiroga, who they knew would spare nothing to bring about the *reducción* of the Chamorro rebels. Instead, the new governor was to be José de Madrazo, the former general who had commanded several galleons that had stopped at Umatac during Esplana's administration and one of the late governor's associates.

Pending the arrival of Governor-designate Madrazo, Quiroga served a third term as acting governor, from 1694 to 1696. No longer obstructed by Governor Esplana's lack of interest and ineffectual support, the

missionaries and Acting Governor Quiroga vigorously proceeded with the *reducción*. At the Battle of Aguiguan Island in 1695, Quiroga's forces savagely crushed the last pocket of native resistance, thereby insuring the success of the *reducción*, at the cost of the near-annihilation of the Chamorro people.

The behavior of Esplana and his early successors did not go unnoticed in Madrid. Early in the 1700s, a royal decree was forwarded to the president and the members of the Royal Audiencia in Manila stating that the Council of the Indies condemned the governors of the Marianas for neglecting to further the conquest, for misadministration of the *situado*, for maltreatment of the islanders, for imposing unauthorized royal fees, and for openly engaging in commercial activities by operating a store (*tienda abierta*). The decree also stated that, although such abuses deserved to be punished, His Majesty had chosen to overlook them, charging the Audiencia to be aware and correct them in the future.⁸⁸

The Cross and the Sword had worked their magic in the Marianas. Silver would continue to beckon to those who "come for the same reason that has caused most of us to have lost our souls already"⁸⁹--greed.

NOTES

1. Ferdinand Magellan's men saw the islanders' vessels before they sighted the islands themselves and because of the unusual speed and the shape of the sails, named them the Islands of the Lateen Sails (Islas de las Velas Latinas). This name immediately gave way to an epithet recalling an altercation over the captain's skiff, and the group became best known as the Islands of Thieves (Islas de los Ladrones).

2. Legazpi's flagship was the *San Pedro*. Others in the fleet were the *San Pablo*, *San Juan*, and *San Lucas*. A brigatine (*patache*) was stored on the deck of the *San Pedro* for use in shallow waters. See Andre Gschaedler, "Mexico and the Pacific, 1540-1565" (Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, New York, 1954), 132.

3. *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de ultramar* (Nendeln: Kraus Reprint Limited, 1967), vol. 2, pt. 1, Filipinas, xxi.

4. Archivo General de Indias, Seville (hereafter cited as AGI), (typescript copy, Micronesian Area Research Center, Spanish Documents Collection, University of Guam [hereafter cited as MARC]), Filipinas 339, Libro 1, fol. 7.

5. *Colección de documentos inéditos*, vol. 2, pt. 1, Filipinas, 251.

6. Donald D. Brand, "Geographical Exploration by the Spaniards," in *The Pacific Basin*, ed. Herman R. Friis (New York, 1967), 130.

7. After emerging from the Philippine Islands at the San Bernardino Straits, the east-bound ships headed northeast toward Japan. Once they reached certain northern latitudes, the prevailing winds propelled them to the American continent; then they headed

south to Mexico's ports of Navidad and Acapulco. The return route westward followed a parallel south of Acapulco and, in the early years of the trade, after sailing approximately sixty days, the ships sought a landfall at the island of San Barolomé, today Taongi, the northernmost of the Marshall Islands. Then they set course for the Ladrones and, from there, on to the Philippines.

8. One of Legazpi's ships, the *San Pablo*, was making a second run from Cebu to New Spain in 1568 when it was lost in the Ladrones (Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robinson, eds., *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898* [Cleveland, 1903-1909], 3:33). After battling severe storms off Japan, the *Santa Margarita*, sailing from Cavite to Acapulco, was wrecked on the north coast of Rota in early 1601 (M. G. Driver, "Fray Juan Pobre de Zamora and His Account of the Mariana Islands," *Journal of Pacific History* 18, no. 3 [July 1983]: 200). The *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*, also sailing from Cavite to Acapulco, was wrecked off Saipan's Agingan Point in 1638 (W. L. Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* [New York: E. P. Dutton, 1959], 259).

9. At least four Franciscan friars, including Fray Antonio de los Angeles and Fray Juan Pobre de Zamora, remained in the Marianas for varying periods of time between 1596 and 1602. Years before, Gonzalo de Vigo, originally with the Magellan expedition, spent four years in the islands between 1522 and 1526 (M. G. Driver, trans., "The Account of a Discalced Friar's Stay in the Islands of the Ladrones," chapter 19 of *Historia de las islas del archipiélago Filipino y reinos de la China, Tartaria, Cochín-china, Malaca, Siam, Camboche y Japón* by Marcelo Ribadeneira [1947], *Guam Recorder* n.s. 7 [1977]: 19-21; Driver, "Fray Juan Pobre de Zamora," 198-216).

10. Schurz, 202.

11. Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico (hereafter cited as AGN) (MARC), Reales Cédulas, vol. 12, Expediente 86, 1671.

12. *Ibid.*, vol. 20, Expediente 45, 1684.

13. The revolt was the result of Captain Quiroga's unrelenting harsh treatment of the men under his command (*ibid.*, vol. 22, Expediente 749, 1689).

14. AGI, Filipinas 331, MARC typescript pp. 59-61.

15. Schurz, 155-172.

16. *Ibid.*, 166.

17. Others who made enormous profits from the trade, legally or illegally, were the commanding officers of Cavite's Fort San Felipe, the *castellanos*, who were the officers in charge of the terminal facilities (see Margaret M. Higgins, "Old Cavite, Its Place in Philippine History" [unpublished manuscript, Micronesian Area Research Center, Pacific Collection, University of Guam, 1929], 77). Minor officials of other installations, including a shipbuilding and repair center, also found ways to involve themselves in the port's commercial activities. The last stop prior to the ships' arrival at Cavite was in the Marianas and, by the late 1680s, this was the port of Umatac. Consequently, the network of people intimately concerned with the galleons' port operations came to include those stationed in the Marianas, especially those at the military compound (*real*) at Umatac.

18. The Patronato Real referred to concessions made by the Papacy to the Spanish Crown in return for undertaking Christianization efforts among the multitudes of indigenous peo-

ples in Spain's American and Oceanic possessions. In return, the Spanish Crown was given the right to make certain ecclesiastical appointments. Because of the reciprocal responsibilities of the Spanish Crown, Father Sanvitores was able to call upon various figures for support for his Marianas mission, including his father, who was in charge of the Royal Spanish Treasury; the Queen's confessor, who was a Jesuit; the Duchess of Aveiro, a patroness of Jesuit missions throughout the Spanish colonies; and other influential persons in church and royal circles.

19. Driver, "Fray Juan Pobre de Zamora," 198-216.

20. Francisco García, *Vida y Martyrio del Venerable Padre Diego Luís de Sanvitores de la Compañía de Jesús Primer Apóstol de las Islas Marianas y Sucesos de estas Islas desde el de Mil Seiscientos y Sesenta y Ocho, hasta el de Mil Seiscientos y Ochenta y Uno* (Madrid, 1683), 217-229.

21. W. C. Repetti, "A Supplementary Note to the First History of Guam," *Guam Recorder* 17 (1940): 91.

22. Biblioteca de Palacio, Madrid (hereafter cited as BP) (MARC), MS. 2866, Manuel Solórzano, "Descripción de las Islas Marianas," 1683, fol. 122.

23. F. García, 283-287.

24. AGI, Filipinas 12, MARC typescript p. 259.

25. Luís de Ibáñez y García, *Historia de las islas Marianas con su derrotero, y de las Carolinas y Palaos, desde el descubrimiento por Magallanes en el año 1521, hasta nuestros días, por el Coronel de Infantería D. Luís de Ibáñez y Garecía* (Granada, 1886), 46.

26. Archivo Histórico Provincia de Aragón (hereafter cited as AHPA) (MARC), Luís de Morales, "Historia de las Islas Marianas," 1737, fol. 13.

27. Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome (hereafter cited as ARSI) (MARC), Filipinas 13, Alonzo López, "Relación de las Yslas Marianas desde el mes de junio de 74 hasta junio de 75," fol. 1.

28. AGI, Filipinas 16, MARC typescript p. 99.

29. AGI, Filipinas 12, MARC typescript p. 30.

30. L. Ibáñez y García, 51.

31. The general of the galleon, Antonio Nieto, was a staunch friend of the missionaries. In addition to Captain Yrrisarri, the galleon left five religious, fourteen soldiers, and--adding to the semblance of permanence of the colonial enterprise--two families, one with three children. See ARSI, Filipinas 13, Gerardo Bouvens, "Relación de lo sucedido en la Misión de las Islas Marianas desde 10 de Junio de 1676 hasta Mayo de 1677," fols. 1-2.

32. AGI, Filipinas 12, MARC typescript p. 212.

33. Newberry Library, Ayer Collection (MARC), letter, Manuel de Solórzano, S. J., to Francisco García, 1681.

34. AGI, Filipinas 11, MARC typescript pp. 20-25.

35. Another shipping concern had to do with the galleons that, in violation of their orders, had occasionally bypassed the islands. In order to ensure that the stopover was made and

that the ships did not pass unknowingly at night, the authorities in the Marianas were requested to keep large fires burning on mountain tops in northern Guam during the month of June. See AGI, Filipinas 11, MARC typescript p. 27.

36. W. C. Repetti, trans., "The Uprising in Guam in 1684," *Guam Recorder* 18 (1941): 124.

37. Maggs Bros., comps. and trans., *Bibliotheca Americana et Philippina*, part 3, catalog no. 442 (London: Maggs Bros., 1923), letter, Padre Francisco Salgado to Duchess of Aveiro, Sevilla, 14 June 1678, p. 117. This catalogue, published by a London dealer of rare books and manuscripts, contains detailed listings of letters and other materials for sale, each accompanied by a translation or summary in English.

38. A lengthy list of instructions had been prepared for him by the governor-general of the Philippines, Juan de Vargas Hurtado, during his stopover aboard the *Santa Rosa*, the ship on which Salas departed. See L. Ibáñez y García, 180.

39. AGI, Filipinas 101, MARC typescript p. 83.

40. AGI, Filipinas 16, MARC typescript p. 207.

41. AHPA, Felipe de la Corte, "Notas útiles para la Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Filipinas referentes a la conquista expiritual de Marianas . . .," 1875, fol. 36.

42. A *pueblo* was a settlement that had a church and priest and was the seat of a church district, which might include several smaller settlements.

43. F. García, 587.

44. W. C. Repetti, trans., "Relation of the Events in the Marianas Mission from June, 1681, to June, 1682," *The Catholic Historical Review* 31 (1946): 433.

45. By this date, the garrison at Guam had grown substantially and it was possible to service the galleons at Umatac, although some off-loading continued at Agaña where the treacherous channel often made the operation difficult, if not impossible. Perhaps inadequate storage facilities at Umatac and problems related to the transportation of goods to the presidio's headquarters were responsible for the continued attempts to make deliveries at Agaña. See AGI, Filipinas 13, MARC typescript p. 97.

46. Antonio Ayhi was a *chamorri*, the ancient Chamorro term designating a person of high status; a *principal* or leader. See Repetti, "The Uprising in Guam," 124.

47. BP, fol. 130v.

48. AGN, Cédulas, vol. 20, Expediente 45, 1684.

49. AGI, Ultramar 562, MARC typescript vol. 5: 1364.

50. *Ibid.*

51. W. C. Repetti, trans., "Another Seventeenth-Century Letter from Rota," *Guam Recorder* 18 (1941): 95

52. AGI, Filipinas 12, MARC typescript p. 267.

53. Maggs Bros., letter, Padre Manuel de Solórzano to Padre Josef Vidal, Agaña, 7 April 1684, p. 174.

54. Father Bouvens wrote:

The vessel under Sargento Major Don Damián de Esplana, a criollo from Peru, arrived from Manila in this island of San Juan or Guam, on 23 August 1683. On board were Fathers Antonio Xaramillo and Juan Adan, and Captain Joseph de Quiroga, who as you are aware, was political governor and in command of the garrison in these islands during 1680 until the appointment approved by His Majesty of Don Antonio de Saravia in 1681, who being near unto death, had nominated the said Quiroga to be Acting Governor and Commander in Chief of the Islands in succession to himself. The failure to carry out this appointment has been the cause of much of our trouble. As expected, the governor's death occurred on 3 November 1683, whereupon Sargento Major Damián de Esplana presented a provisional document from the Royal Court and Chancellory of Manila, which in consideration of his services, gave him the right to claim the position of Acting Governor and Commander in Chief of these islands. (Maggs Bros., letter, Padre Gerardo Bouvens to the Duchess of Aveiro, Guam, 30 May 1685, p. 182)

55. AGI, Filipinas 12 R7, MARC typescript p. 24.

56. AGI, Filipinas 12, MARC typescript p. 193.

57. Maggs Bros., letter, Padre Lorenzo Bustillo to the Duchess of Aveiro, Agaña, 7 June 1687, p. 200. Governor Esplana was at Umatac in late May 1686 awaiting the arrival of the galleon when two small ships appeared off the coast. One was the *Cygnnet*, with its captain, the English privateer Swan, and the writer William Dampier aboard. In a later report, Dampier stated that the governor was living on the west side of the island near the south end, where there was a small fort with six guns. Because he considered the English ships a threat to the expected incoming *Santa Rosa*, Esplana dispatched a small boat to warn the galleon not to stop at Umatac. Without unloading its desperately needed supplies, the galleon hastened off toward the south, where it subsequently struck the shoals that today bear its name, the Santa Rosa Banks.

58. AGI, Filipinas 12, MARC typescript p. 16.

59. AGI, Filipinas 16, MARC typescript pp. 208-210.

60. Maggs Bros., letter, Padre Lorenzo Bustillo to Padre Francisco García, Agaña, 10 June 1687, p. 220.

61. *Ibid.*, letter, Padre Jacinto García to the Duchess of Aveiro, Manila, 12 June 1687, p. 223.

62. *Ibid.*, letter, Padre Gerardo Bouvens to Padre Francisco García, Guam, 12 May 1687, p. 224.

63. AGI, Filipinas 12, MARC typescript p. 194.

64. *Ibid.*, pp. 212-214.

65. Many of the supplies required by the missionaries continued to come from Mexico, arranged for by the Jesuit procurator there. Included were such items as holy oils, missals, chalices, boxes, mass kits, hand bells, rosaries, guitars, harps, trumpets, and rosary beads.

They also received reams of paper, pens, and large quantities of turtle shells that were to be used for exchange with the islanders, who valued them highly. See AGI, Ultramar 562, MARC typescript vol. 2: 347-350.

66. AGI, Filipinas 16, MARC typescript pp. 78-80.

67. *Ibid.*, p. 141.

68. Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid (hereafter cited as RAH) (MARC), Cortes 567, Legajo 11-2677, letter, Padre Matthias Cuculino to Padre Provincial Luis Pimentel, Pago, 4 December 1689.

69. *Ibid.*, Legajo 12, Padre Lorenzo Bustillo and Padre Diego Zarzossa, "Estado de Marianas en la Milicia, 1689-1691," n.d.

70. Based on written descriptions, it seems quite possible that the building constructed by Governor Esplana around 1690 was the same palace of coral masonry that stood until the mid-1800s, which appears in the drawings of many European artists who visited the colony around the turn of the nineteenth century.

71. ARSI, Filipinas 14, Lorenzo Bustillo, "Relación breve del estado en que se halla la Nueva Christiandad y Misión de las Yslas Marianas," Agaña, 23 Mayo 1690, fol. 78.

72. RAH, Cortes 567, Legajo 12, Bustillo and Zarzossa.

73. W. C. Repetti, trans., "Conditions in Guam in 1690," *Guam Recorder* 18 (1941): 230.

74. RAH, Cortes 567, Legajo 12, Bustillo and Zarzossa.

75. AGI, Ultramar 562, MARC typescript vol. 2: 275.

76. The newly constructed and repaired vessels were to supplement the mission's boat and the many small native boats already available to form an armada that would sail to the northern islands with sufficient men to confront and subdue the rebels who had taken refuge there. When the three large boats were ready, they were joined by the others and the armada sailed north in the fall of 1690. As the fleet neared Tinian, Esplana decided to turn back to Guam, much to the disgust of Quiroga and the missionaries. In March 1691, Captain General Esplana decided to send the frigate to Manila with eighty survivors of the *Pilar* and a number of malcontents from the presidio. Earlier, on 14 December 1690, after a six-months' stay, the eighteen Franciscans had sailed to Cavite aboard the supply ship *San Gabriel*. See *ibid.*

77. AGI, Filipinas 16, MARC typescript pp. 123-124.

78. *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.

79. AGI, Ultramar 561, MARC typescript vol. 1: 155.

80. AGI, Filipinas 16, MARC typescript p. 48.

81. In his will, Esplana requested that, if he died in Manila, he was to be buried in front of the altar of Santa Rosa in the church of Santo Domingo; if he died in the Marianas, he was to be buried "in the church that the Jesuits have in the pueblo of Agat, in front of the altar of the Glorious Santa Rosa." Among his several bequests were six thousand pesos to the Franciscans of the Philippine province of San Gregorio. He also declared his heirs to be his two legitimate daughters in Peru, Maria Rosa de Esplana and Rosa de Esplana. Appar-

ently, Don Damián had had a lifelong dedication to Santa Rosa de Lima, the patroness of his native city. See *ibid.*, p. 99.

82. *Ibid.*, pp. 136-143.

83. The *residencia* was a judicial investigation of an outgoing official's conduct during his term of office conducted by an especially appointed judge.

84. AGI, Filipinas 16, MARC typescript pp. 134-136.

85. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-241 *passim*.

86. The "governor's store" over time became the "government store," a practice that precluded private enterprise until the arrival of Governor Villalobos in 1831. At that time, the governor's monopoly on the store was discontinued and new economic policies were instituted that allowed for private commerce.

Governor Antonio Pimentel (1709-1720) was among the most notorious governors to abuse the funds sent to the Marianas and to exploit the islanders for personal gain (AGI, Ultramar 561, MARC typescript vol. 4:921-1237).

87. RAH, Cortes 567, Legajo 11-2677, letter, Padre Gerardo Bouvens to Padre Antonio Xaramillo, Agaña, 12 May 1689.

88. Library of Congress (Marianas), Washington (MARC), "The Records of the Spanish Government in the Mariana Islands. 1678-1899," MARC typescript item 1, p. 1-9.

89. Fray Juan Pobre de Zamora, a Franciscan friar who spent seven months on Rota in 1601, while speaking with a survivor of the wrecked *Santa Margarita*, said "May God, our Father, with his mercy, so direct the good will of these *indios* as to prepare them to receive the light of heaven for, although there may never be gold nor silver here, if our Lord sees that they are ready, He will send help so that they may become Christians, which is why we have come from Castile." Sancho, Fray Juan's companion, replied: "Well, the Spaniards do not come for that reason, Fray Juan. They come for the same reason that has caused most of us to have lost our souls already" (Driver, "Fray Juan Pobre de Zamora," 216).

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