

Spanish Settlers in the Philippines (1571-1599)*

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1. Approach and sources

This work is part of a project dedicated to study the human movements on the route of *Galeón de Manila* during the period of the Spanish rule in the Philippines. It was more than two centuries of history in a regular line. Perhaps it could be called the *Silk's new route*; meaning to say, a tie between the East and the West. It was through this tie that people, products and certainly, cultures, passed from one side to another.

The first objective is the study of the settlers. The basis of our documentary information in reaching this objective consists of the records made in Spain bound for the Philippines, and the rest of the possessions of the Pacific. It is possible to gauge the movements of people -both Oriental and Spanish- who in general, were settlers in Manila who went from the Philippines to Spain and the homeward journey from Spain. In a second phase, my objective will extend to the study of the life of the community in Manila, adding to the aforementioned documentaries the information that can be found regarding the settlers in the city. With this, it is possible to obtain a new and less official perspective of the most original and exotic of Spanish domains.

Because of the many requirements that one had to submit in order to obtain a permit to travel to the Indies, the documentation on voyage crossings gathers quantitative and qualitative information from which it is possible to confirm a series of data and make statistics studies. Seven variables are used in this work:

name	sex
age	marital status
origin	occupation
observations	

To this date, my sources of information are derived from the Archivo General de Indias in the section of Contratación e Indiferente General. In meeting my first objective, I make use mostly of passenger records, the permits and the concession of passports.

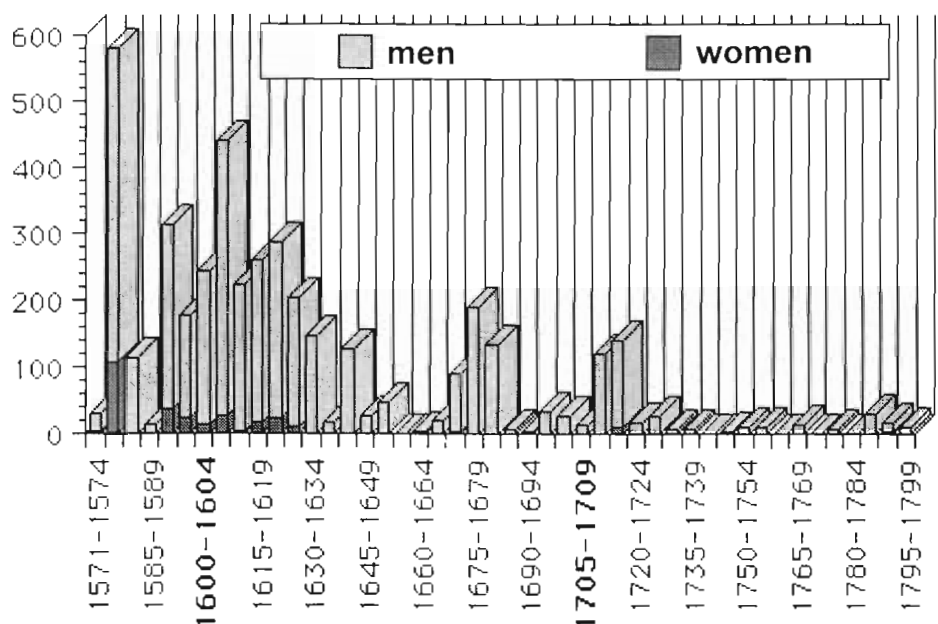
* Lecture presented in the 3rd. Congress of the Asociación Española de Estudios del Pacífico, Córdoba, 1995.

The second phase, which deals with the more qualitative aspects of the inhabitants of Manila, I also analyze the information derived from the *Autos de bienes de difuntos* (Documents of the Goods of the Deceased). Here, one can avail of testimonies, inventories of goods and information from witnesses on auctions carried out in the Philippines and in places in Spain where those who died in the Philippines originated from. This documentation also provides quantitative information. There are multitude of people as witnesses, friends, colleagues, executors, creditors and debtors, such as buyers in the auctions, who could be situated in a given place and date. Occasionally, it is possible to investigate on well defined professional activities, and one can even make an assessment on the individual's economic capacity. Here I rely on another type of documentation which is also very useful. It is situated however in a second plane which, to cite an example, the lists of merits and services are part of.

Up to this moment -with the use of these sources- I have successfully gathered information on approximately more than 5,000 passengers on the route of *Galeón de Manila* from the 16th and the 19th centuries. Among the people registered who have taken return trips were natives from the Philippines who returned after spending some time in Spain, generally accompanied by Spanish missionaries, businessmen or officials. These journeys were not only taken by the natives. Early 19th century I have been able to examine several cases of Creolés, children of rich families from Manila, who were sent by their parents to study in Spain. Paradoxically, some of them were involved and enthusiastically participated in the wars against the Napoleon Army. The climate of agitation in the Peninsula made them return without having obtained any degree from any educational center.

Considering the current state of my research, I have preferred to focus my report on the period which I consider a fundamental one in the European population in the Philippines meaning, the formation of the Spanish community in Manila. I am referring to the period between 1575 and 1625, and especially to the last quarter of the 16th century. In graph number one, one can examine the voyages corresponding to those years in the general context of the 16th and 17th centuries, for which I think I can show a number of sufficiently complete records; always putting into consideration that, until now, my sources are the embarkations made in Sevilla bound for the Philippines. For greater clarity in the graphic representation, I have chosen to use groups of five years, between 1571 to 1799.

Graph number 1
 Passengers bound for
 the Philippines
 Period of 1571-1799



It is necessary to note the following important observations in the graph:

1st- The most interesting years in the settler's point of view were approximately the years between 1575 to 1625. Those were the only years in which female migration was truly significant. It would be the same as saying that these were the years of family migration. The column which stands out the most corresponds to the period of 1575 to 1579, in which the 1578 expedition of Governor Gonzalo Ronquillo was a fundamental contribution. A special study will be made of this expedition.

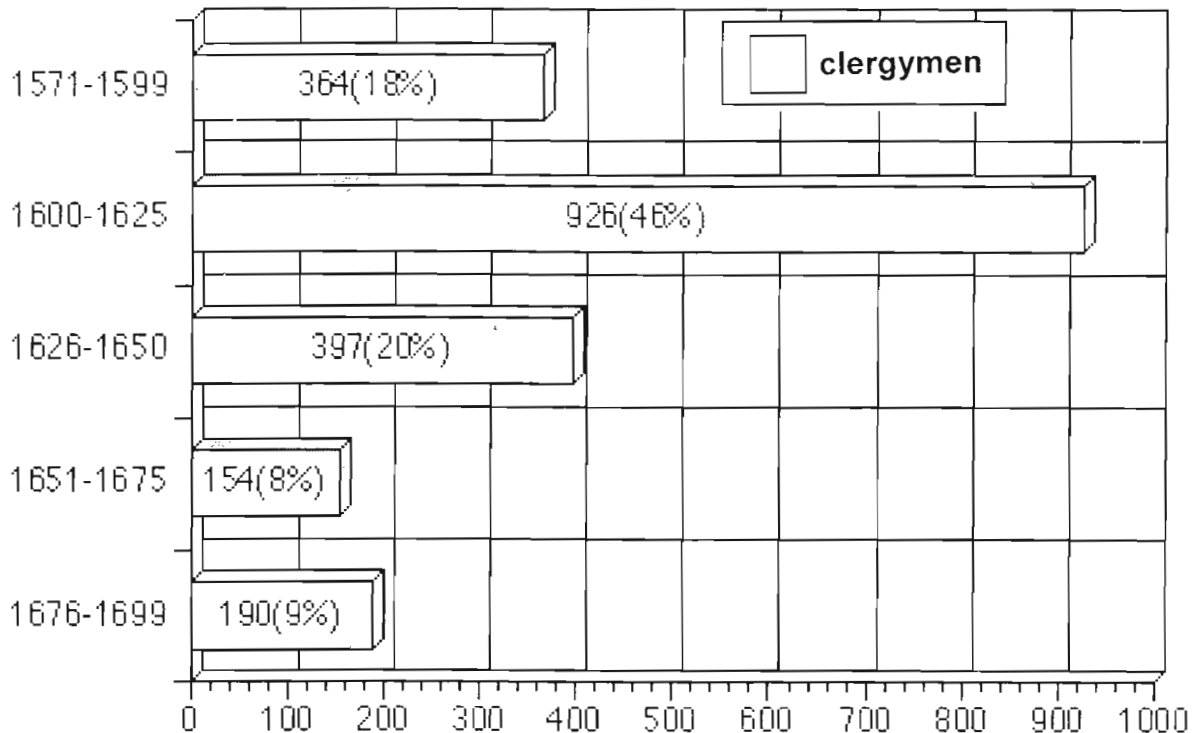
2nd- The migration of men was disproportionately greater than that of women, although it was more abundant in the marked dates, during the time when women's migration was also at its highest. Beginning 1625 and until the end of the 17th century, the migration of men graphically outlines an inverted bell, with its highest points in the decades of 1630-1634 and 1675-1679.

But the enormous disproportion in the migration of men could be misunderstood, and requires a more thorough analysis when the focus are the settlers; meaning, when the focus of the study is family migration. That is the reason why I have found appropriate to show in graph number two the voyage crossings encountered coinciding with that of religious missionaries in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Graph number 2

Clergymen bound for the Philippines

Period of 1571-1699



There are a total of 1.971 records which compose 45% of the total licenses. It is very evident that the percentage of the religious among the bachelors during the period of 1600-1625 was much greater than that between 1575 and 1599. This reaffirms even more my earlier judgment on the importance of the 16th century in the formation of the European community in the Philippines. Between 1600 and 1625, almost three fourths of the unmarried male passengers were missionaries, while between 1571 and 1599 the number was a little less than half.

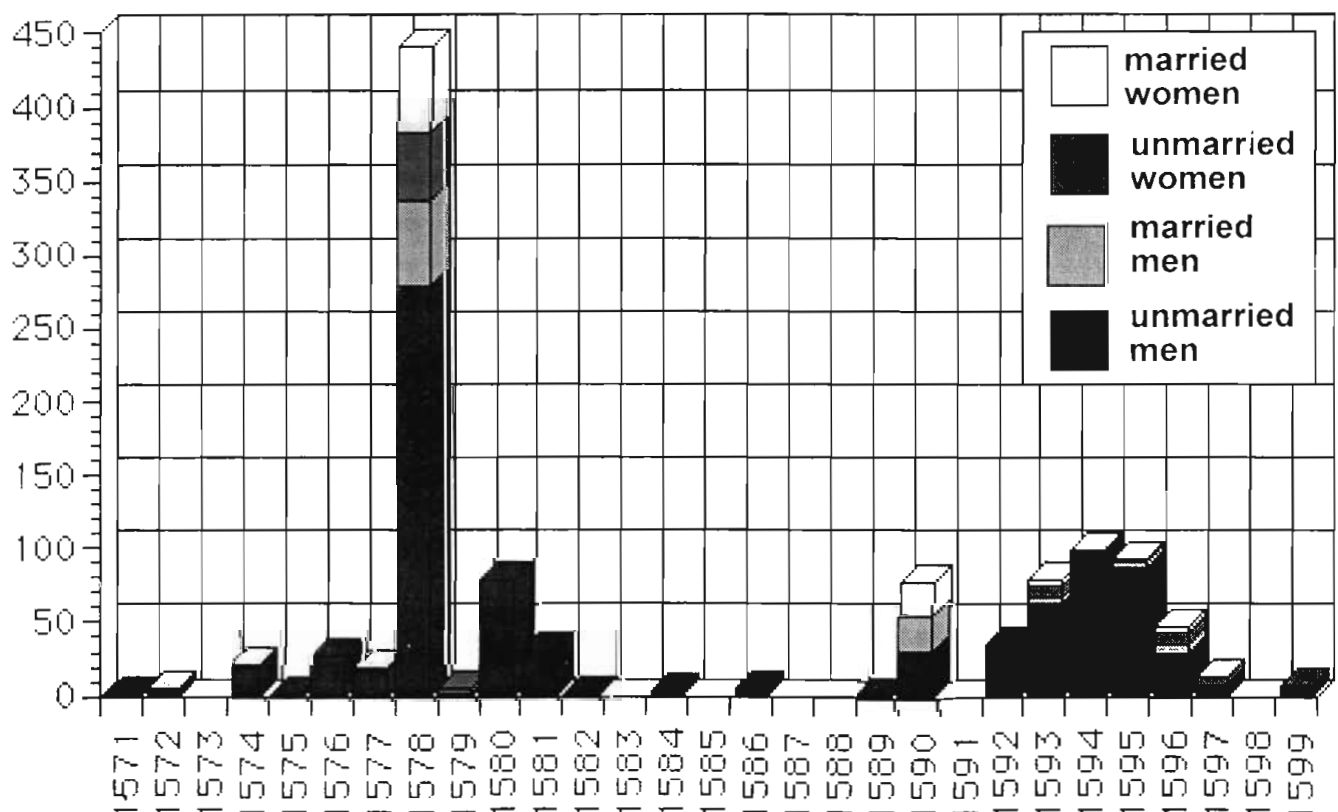
Nevertheless, the total quantity of fares granted to women in the period between 1600 and 1625 was also high, and it stands out most of all in a human movement which is preferably of men. Beginning the end of the 16th century, the percentages between male and female passengers balanced in a popular manner, much more intensely and for a longer time than during the Spanish migration to the American continent.

2. The Philippine population in the 16th century

We will now focus on the study of the fares granted during the 16th century. Graph number three shows the embarkations made in Sevilla between 1571 to 1599. The absence of women emigrants during the 1570's and 1590's is reflected.

Graph number 3

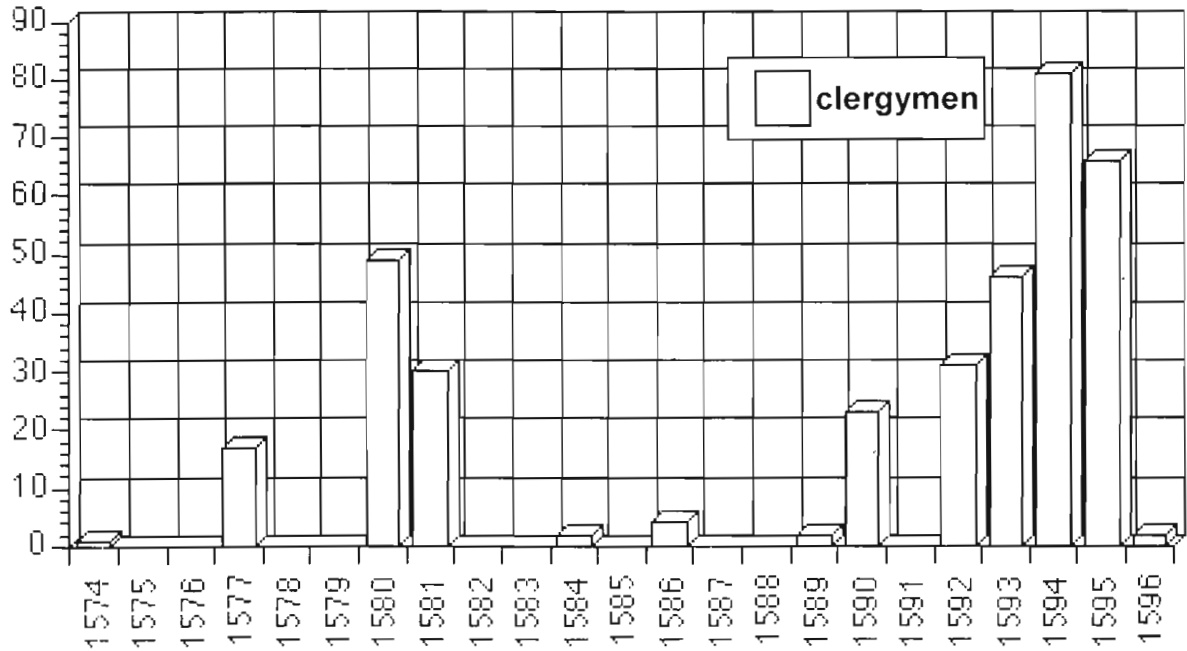
Passengers bound for the Philippines in the 16th century
Period of 1571-1599



During the 1570's, the journeys centered most especially in 1578, while in the 1590's it was distributed almost among all the years of the decade. The journeys of monks are taken into account in the graph. Therefore, following the same previous procedure, we move more towards family migration, making an assessment of the percentage of the monks (graph number 4).

Graph number 4

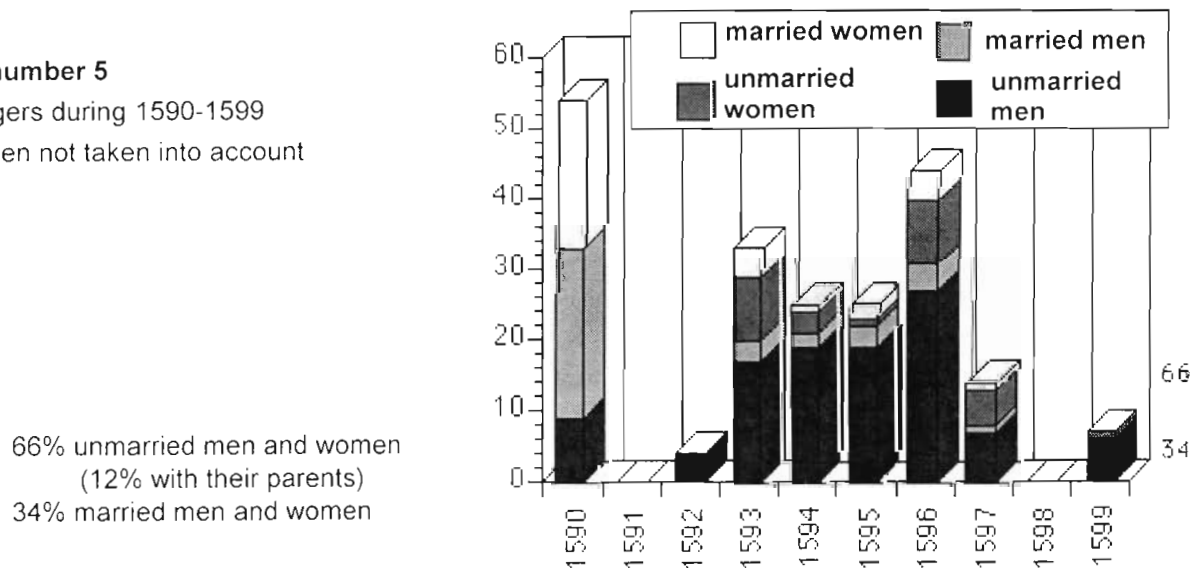
Clergymen bound for the Philippines
Period of 1574-1596



During the 1590's, the percentage of monks among unmarried men was 70%, a very high figure. If we reconstruct the graph without including them, the final result would be much closer to what would be understood as the harmonic guide of family migration.

Graph number 5

Passengers during 1590-1599
Clergymen not taken into account



66% unmarried men and women
(12% with their parents)
34% married men and women

That statistic retouch (graph number five) represents a total of 234 people registered, proportionately distributed in the following manner:

Men	70%
Unmarried	52%
Married	18%
Women	30%
Unmarried	14%
Married	16%

But it is also necessary to have in mind that, among both unmarried men and women, 12% were minors who traveled with their parents in a family migration. Therefore, the conclusion that should be derived from the fares granted during the 1590's, is that they conformed to a not so much unbalanced migration. This is very useful for the population, if not directly addressed to it.

3. The expedition of Gonzalo Ronquillo.

We will now focus our attention to the column of year 1578, which notably represents the biggest group of people embarked in Seville bound for the Philippines among those I have examined. It corresponds to people recruited by Governor Gonzalo Ronquillo Peñalosa, by virtue of a contract signed on September 16, 1578¹. As a summary, the colonist's obligations Ronquillo committed himself to were the following:

1. Recruit 600 people in Spain, of which at least 200 should be married. Among them, there should be professionals of all necessary occupations in a community. There should be also 12 monks. The men should be equipped like soldiers: with an arquebus, a tabard, a sword and a dagger.

2. Bring them to Seville and to Sanlúcar de Barrameda and have them embark in the *Galeones de Tierra Firme*. In Panamá, they will be given the boats needed for the voyage towards the Philippines.

3. Once in the Philippines, discover and exploit gold and silver mines and give the necessary tools to all the men needed.

Among the documentation that I have been able to find regarding the preparations for this expedition, is a letter written by Juan de Illescas, an official from the Contract-making administration. He wrote regarding the departure on November 1578 of 650 men who, together with the families that some of them brought along, raised the number of the group to 1.000 people².

¹ Concesion made to Gonzalo Ronquillo to send 600 settlers to the Philippines, 28th May 1577. *Asiento* from Gonzalo Ronquillo to bring 600 settlers to the Philippines (General Archives of the Indies, from now on AGI, *Patronato* 24, *Ramo* 34).

² Juan Núñez de Illescas to Philip II. Sanlúcar, 14th November 1578 (AGI, *Indiferente General* 1095).

4. From Spain towards Panamá

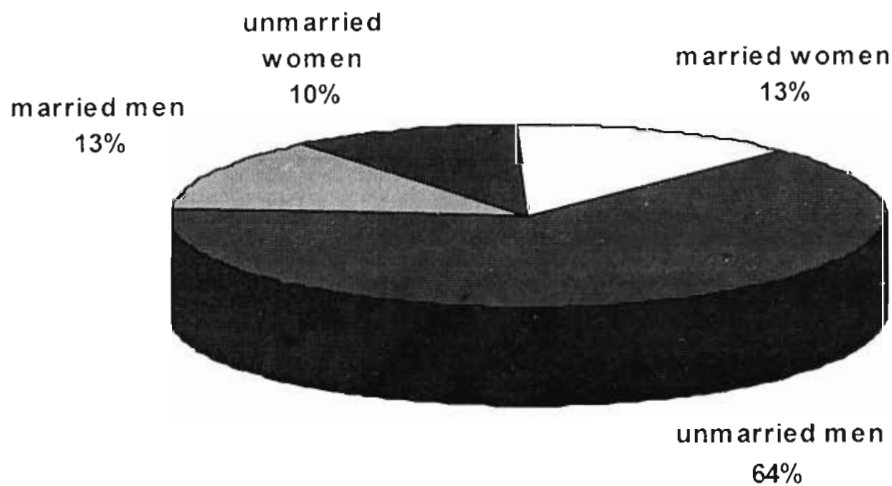
The difficulties encountered in the journey from Nombre de Dios to Panamá, in which Ronquillo assures that he paid 20 pesos for every mule, and later, the four months he had to wait for the boats in Panamá, made him renounce the suitability of that route. Six hundred people arrived in Cartagena, among them 400 soldiers. During the 50-day stay in the city, 100 people left the expedition group. From Nombre de Dios to Panamá, around 80 died as a consequence of the difficulties in adapting and the lack of help from the people, while a few others, their exact number unknown, fled. In the end, the number of people who embarked in Panamá, more than a year after leaving Sanlúcar de Barrameda, reached 340³.

Augustinian Father Francisco de Ortega said in México on December 1580 that Gonzalo Ronquillo arrived in Manila with two ships and 300 soldiers⁴.

The statistical results of Gonzalo Ronquillo's expedition, of which I have only been identify 431 records, are similar to that of the 1590's (graph number six)

Graph number 6

People embarked with Gonzalo Ronquillo in 1578 (431)
 Twenty-eight percent of the unmarried men and women
 were minors who traveled together with their families.



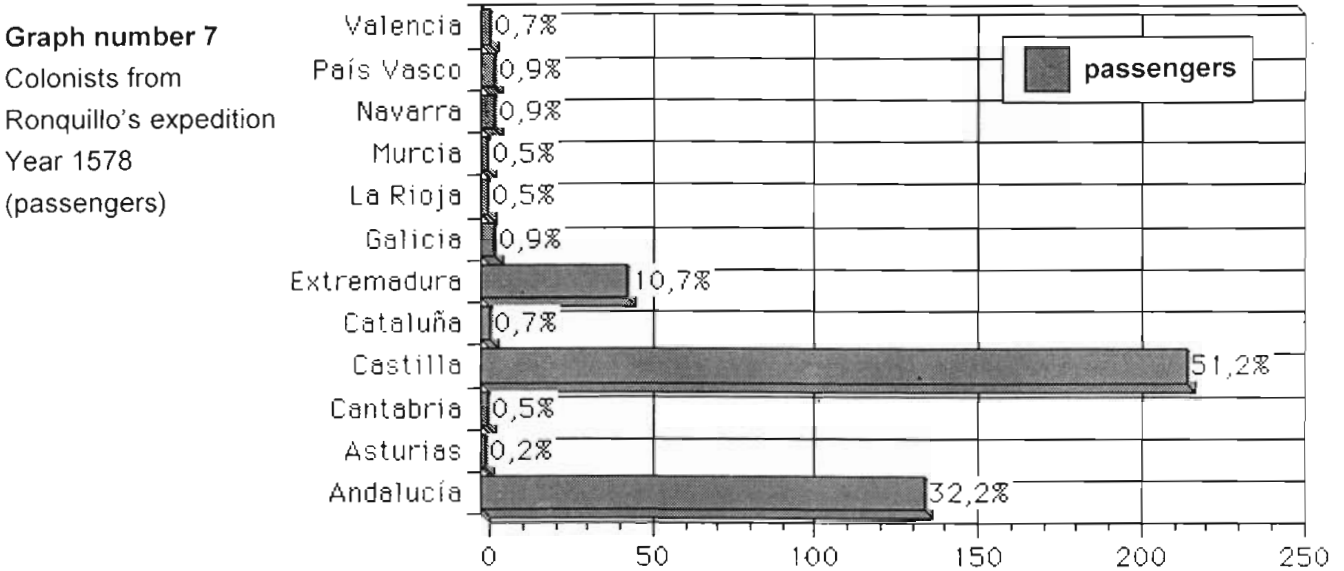
Men	76%
Women	24%
Married	26-27% (13% men and 13% women. Entire families traveled)
Unmarried	73% (Among them 28% were children who traveled with their parents)

³ Letter from Gonzalo Ronquillo to the King. Panama, 22th February 1580 (AGI, *Patronato* 24 Ramo 52).

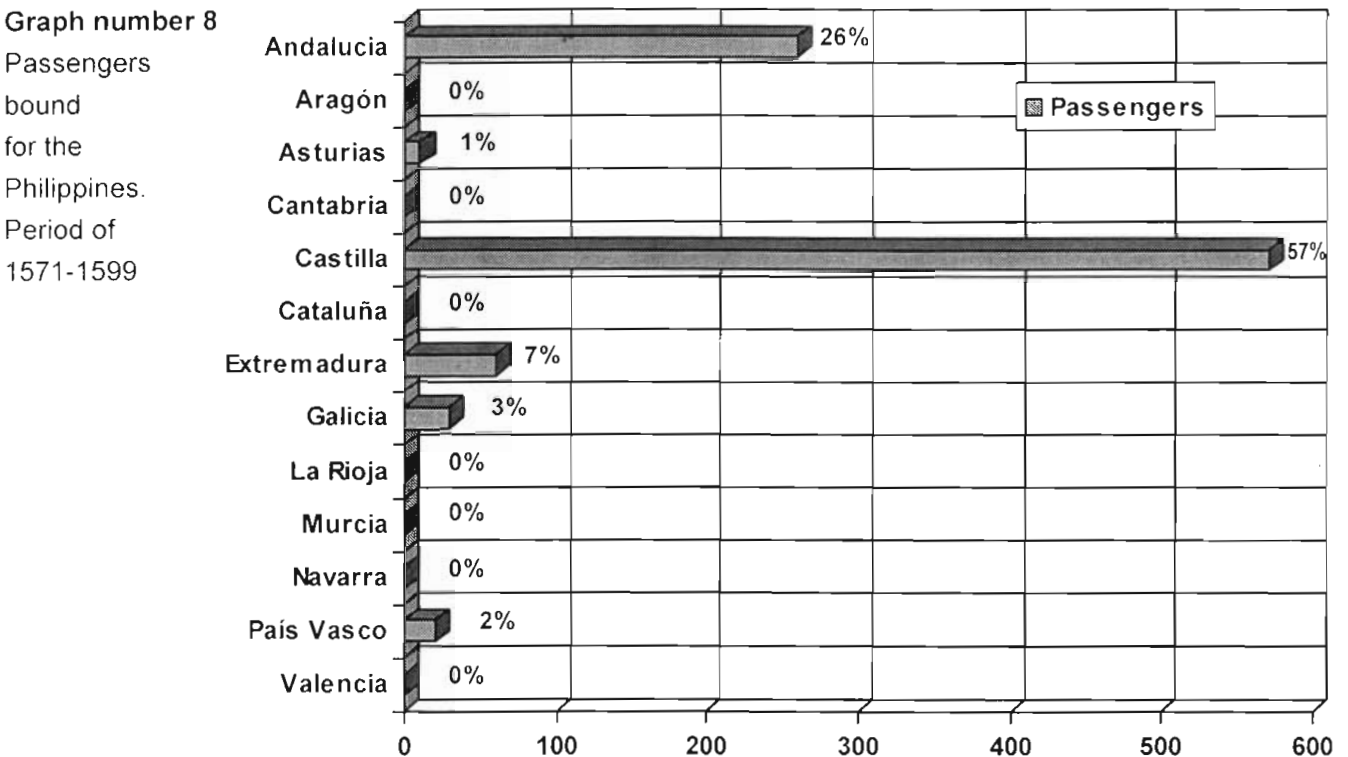
⁴ Letter from Fray Francisco de Ortega (OSA) to the King. Mexico, 28th December 1580 (AGI, Mexico 285). Isacio Rodríguez *Historia de la Provincia Augustiniana del Smo. Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas*, Vol. XIV, Manila, 1978, p. 542.

In this group of 431 people, there was not a single clergyman. Graph number 4 represents the clergymen bound for the Philippines between 1574 and 1596.

Origin. In terms of origin, Ronquillo enlisted almost 95% of the settlers in Castilla, Andalucia and Extremadura. The remaining 5% or 6% was evenly distributed between the rest of the Spanish regions, including Catalonia and Valencia (graph number seven).



The above graph represents a similar trend regarding the origin of the settlers that departed Spain towards the Philippines in the last quarter of the 16th century (graph number eight).



Occupation. Although one does not frequently find information regarding the passenger's occupation, I have been able to find around 50 cases in Gonzalo Ronquillo's expedition that reveal how, in effect, he tried to fulfill the section in the agreement that referred to bringing officers of all occupations to the Philippines. The sample is very varied and does not only deal with the essential arts in a community. On the other hand, it would be necessary to have in mind that possibly, in some occupations, more craftsmen weren't needed in a community with Manila's proportions:

Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa's expedition. Occupations.

Mason	3	Book writers	1
Barbers	3	Farmers	14
Hat makers	1	Book sellers	1
Druggists	1	Millers	1
Hosiers	3	Pastry cooks	1
Mailmen	1	Tailors	4
Carpenters	3	Weavers	1
Locksmiths	1	Cloth shearers	2
Cutlers	2	Shoemakers	1
Lawyer's clerks	1		

A Colonist's policy. Behind these data are the attempts of establishing a colonist's policy that can be studied with certain detail. Why was this policy of inhabiting the Philippines from Spain established in the first place? Why did they chose to take the itinerary Sevilla -Nombre de Dios- Panamá-Manila? Very soon in the History of the Philippines the difficulty in maintaining a constant and fluid flow of settlers from México presented itself. In 1571 the ships *Santiago* and *San Juan* bound from Acapulco with 140 soldiers⁵. In 1573, a ship left for Manila with 150 soldiers and seamen under the command of Alonso Velazquez, which sank at the gateways of Manila after having traveled for four months⁶.

At any rate, the biggest contingents that embarked accompanied the governors. During these occasions, the fleet was better equipped and more ships made the trip. The governors themselves took charge of the preparations for the expedition, putting special interest in bringing settlers to strengthen the site. Francisco de Sande remained in Acapulco supervising the preparations of his fleet beginning mid February until April 6, 1575, the day he left for the Philippines. He brought a group of 350 people in two ships: 162 soldiers, 25 noblemen formed by Spaniards and Creoles who originated from México and intended to be of use in the Philippines with their weapons, 80 officials, sailors and cabin's boys, three religious Augustinians and 34 women together with their families. To be able to learn about the type of people who embarked, it is interesting to note that Francisco de Sande discovered some children among the soldiers, who were too young for the job. He brought them to the islands and made them return the payments they received as soldiers. To gauge a little more the difference that Sande established between young men and children, we add the reference

⁵ *Oficiales Reales al Rey*. México, 12th May 1571 (AGI, Mexico 323).

⁶ Martin Enriquez to the King. México, 30th May 1572 (AGI, Mexico 19). *Oficiales Reales al Rey*. Mexico, 31st March 1573 (AGI, Mexico 69).

to his own younger brother Bernardino, *the second to the last* (among the brothers) *of 16 years who does not know how to write but is good with weapons*. The Sande family was composed of his mother, a widow, and ten brothers and sisters. It can therefore be understood why there was hope in the capacity of the young and impulsive governor to find employment for his five brothers and to marry off his five sisters. He himself was conscious of his responsibility and did not mind proclaiming: *God know how I feel for having relatives with little money*⁷.

In 1573 viceroy Martín Enriquez assured that he had fulfilled the orders he received from Sapin and that he never failed to deploy ships equipped with people, ammunitions and weapons to the Philippines yearly. But it is necessary as well to consider the assessment he makes of the results:

*They are always drained by the effects of the sea and the earth and the times in a way that, by sending ordinary people, the objective that we have on what is beyond is attained just a little. Whoever it may be has needed people, because China's land is large. We expect them to unwillingly admit foreigners, and therefore more people will be needed; better those originating from the New Spain. The provisions originating from the New Spain arrive with difficulty -of people as well as the rest- and it is made almost by force*⁸.

Here, there is not only an estimation of the scarce effects of a settler's policy in the Spanish Far East, but also other interesting appreciations such as the valuation of a Spanish settler coming from Spain, very much above the Spaniard residing in America and the Creole. It is also repeatedly expressed that the objective was not only the Philippines, but the passage of Spanish people -not only of missionaries- to China. In fact, during the years of Gonzalo Ronquillo's rule in Manila, the opportunity of the military conquest of China presented itself, with the absolute trust in that the capacity of conquest carried out in America would also have its effects in the East. Philip II resisted the sudden attacks of the anti-China pressure. However, the objective of the Spanish presence in the Pacific remained, together with the plans that were considered viable. The person who was chosen to present them to the king and to the Council of Indies was a curious character, Jesuit Alonso Sánchez, who in record time (1583-1586) had made an anti-China proselytism with absolute efficiency. The confidence in the capacity of conquest was so amazing that it reflected in the estimates for the military requirements: the forces that were hired were estimated at 10.000 Spaniards or Italians, around 5.000 or 6.000 Japanese and another 5.000 to 6.000 Philippine natives.

In Spain, this vision of expansion already belonged to the past, as it was clearly and conclusively stated in the Ordinances of discovery, new settlements and pacifications, signed in Bosque de Segovia in 1573⁹. Its second point read the following:

⁷ Francisco de Sande to Juan de Ovando, President of the Council of the Indies. México, 13th December 1574 (AGI, México 69).

⁸ Martín Enriquez to Philip II. México, 5th December 1573 (AGI, México 19).

⁹ *Normativa para descubrimientos y Ordenanzas del Bosque de Segovia*. Compilation and introduction by Mariano Cuesta Domingo, Segovia, University Collegue of Segovia, 1994.

Those who govern the Indies, in the spiritual and in the temporal sense, should acquaint themselves with much diligence into their district; into the lands and provinces it is confined to, for anything discover and exploit; without sending any soldiers, nor anything that can create scandal. But by finding out through the best ways and inquiring about the people who would result to be useful in making such discoveries. And with the people who would seem to be most convenient, they should work out a pact, offering them fair payment without offending the natives (...)

Perhaps the tendency in understanding the Spanish colonization's areas of influence with a sense of unity can be related to this trust. In the *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, José de Acosta refers to the New World as composed of the Western and the Eastern Indies. The notion of a New World was being transformed in order to understand both Indies, which were transformed by the experience of the Spanish presence in the Pacific¹⁰. Perhaps that worldwide expansion of the Spanish empire of Philip II could have been interpreted as the basis of the expansion of Christianity throughout the entire world, as announced in the Gospels.

On the other hand, viceroy Enríquez also made his personal contribution to the settler's policy in the Philippines, which he derived from his experience as a governor. He did not allow passage to neither blacks nor mulattos from the New Spain, as he was absolutely convinced of the inconvenience of their presence in the Philippines¹¹; he did appear favorable to the passage of Mexican Indians who voluntarily chose to settle there. The Monarchy granted a license that would allow passage to married natives and skilled workers of any occupation, but the viceroy explained that it was preferable that passage be open to all, as long as the married relatives brought with them their wives; except if the law implicitly intended to avoid cross-breeding between the Indians of the New Spain and the Natives of the Philippines. These problems were represented in 1572, when some Portuguese settled in the Philippines and married natives. He allowed the Portuguese to remain in the islands, but sent the unmarried men back to their colonies of origin¹².

A Royal Decree in May 28 1577¹³ echoed the inconveniences encountered in inhabiting the Philippines from New Spain, and put the project of Gonzalo Ronquillo under the judgement of viceroy Enríquez, who as the viceroy, was considered a knowledgeable person concerned about the issues of Spanish colonizing in the Far East. In the last analysis, the Monarchy trusted he would declare the convenience of organizing the settlers from either Spain or México as void.

San Lorenzo el Real, May 28, 1567

(...)realizing the lack of people in the Philippine Islands and how much it matters that these be provided and that according to what you have written, this cannot be done

¹⁰ José Luis Porras, *Sínodo de Manila de 1582*, Madrid, 1988, pp. 123-139. John M. Headley, «Spain's Asian Presence, 1565-1590. Structures and Aspirations», *Hispanic American Historical Review*, (75:4), November 1995, pp. 623-646.

¹¹ Martín Enríquez to the King. México, 18th March 1575 (AHN, Letters from the Indies 231).

¹² Martín Enríquez to the King. México, 30th May 1572 (AGI, México 19).

¹³ Royal Decree to the viceroy of New Spain, Martín Enríquez de Almansa. San Lorenzo el Real, 28th May 1577 (AGI, México 19).

from those provinces without much difficulty, the order in which this could be carried out has been discussed, that it be more brief and suitable. And because Don Gonzalo Ronquillo, our constable mayor who came from the Royal Audience Chamber, has offered to serve us by bringing to those islands six hundred men suitable for our purposes there, amongst them farmers and officials, of which one hundred of them should be married, by which from here to Puerto de San Juan de Lua, they and others from the fleet be accommodated in the army ships to have aboard some of the people who could go and pay the freight for the rest and will provide ship's stores for all of the people at their own expense and, from the port of Veracruz to that of Acapulco, where they should return to embark to navigate to the said islands, they only be given to all the six hundred men what you usually spend until the said port of Acapulco with two hundred men of which you send to those provinces and from the said port of Acapulco they be given all of the ships and ship's stores needed from my estate for all the said people until bringing them to the island of Luzon where Doctor Sande, our ruler of those islands, is now and aside from this he should be given the rule of these islands in the manner and for the time and with the other benefits and comforts found in the list that we order you to send together with this, signed by Joan de Ledesma, our town clerk from the chamber of government of our Council of Indies, and although we can make a resolution here regarding this, it has not been made until having known your opinion, like such person we are so satisfied with, that with care, love and diligence handles the things that reach our service and also for being dependent of what we have assigned you to do and for which you have worked so hard and you know clearly what could be done and what could be more suitable to provide in this occasion it has occurred us to warn you about it and we assign you that when you receive this notice, with all the brevity that you can, having examined all of which (...) of this matter that you would think more suitable to our service, the good and the advancement of those states, you inform us of the arrival of the warning fleet, which you will try that be dispatched with all brevity possible and if it would be suitable that it be provided by this order or if from this land another could be given that would be more suitable, and if you think that this which has been given is good, there will be and you will be able to give so that there be ships in which those people and the supplies that will be necessary be brought, since it will be necessary that these be ready when they arrive, because in another way it would be an opportunity for them to scatter and not go in the order that is suitable, aside from the delay that it would cause, which would be a big inconvenience. Inform us of the expenses that will be covered for the two hundred men that the said Don Gonzalo asks that be given to him to bring these people from the port of San Juan de Lua until that of Acapulco, and what will cost to bring all the six hundred men until the said Philippine islands from the said port of Acapulco, so that we will order that an agreement and a resolution be made on the matter that will appear to be more suitable for our service.

The Royal Decree explained simply and clearly one of the problems that would later be constant in that human movement. The itinerary between Seville and Manila had a route through the viceroyalty of New Spain that could result very dangerous in the consistency of the groups of the settlers. The Mexican colonial world was a rich province at the state of expansion while the new that arrived from

the Philippines was not encouraging at all. The inevitable comparison between the good that was seen and the bad that was foretold ended with decisions of fraudulent townships in New Spain, except for the mechanisms that the authorities presented to avoid it.

These considerations, very much alive in the experience of viceroy Martín Enríquez, led to the decision that the group of settlers of Gonzalo Ronquillo would avoid passage through New Spain, between Veracruz and Acapulco. Therefore, the expedition left Sanlúcar bound for Cartagena, to later pass through Panamá bound for Acapulco, from where Martín Enríquez would take charge of having the boats available and supplying the needs for the crossing of the Pacific.

We do not know how many of the settlers sent to the Philippines from Spain before and after 1578 decided to remain in New Spain: but it is not at all strange that some opted for the prosperous Mexican viceroyalty as opposed to the uncertain East, considering the situation in which these families would find themselves in Mexico, hearing the unpleasant news that reached the West as they waited to avail themselves of a ship to embark.

5. Conclusion

After his experience, it is no wonder that Gonzalo Ronquillo would change his approach and propose the viceroyalty of Peru, especially as the place that would supply for settlers bound for the Philippines. He clearly manifested it to Philip II to the viceroy of Peru himself:

I consider it very important to the service of Your Majesty and for the good and the benefit of that kingdom and of this that frequently sails on route from here to Peru, because in this way Your Majesty could bring a number of people to these islands, with brevity, at little cost on your part, saving up in expenses that you make with those coming from the New Spain and those that I brought.

He immediately put the new settlers program into effect and sent a boat to Peru carrying a shipment for sale, despite very strong and reasonable criticisms from the inhabitants of Manila and the traders.

Likewise, I send in it a quantity of four hundred quintales of iron and one hundred of spices for Your Majesty, so that the sailors be paid from the proceeds and suffice themselves and provide for what is needed for the trip home. Your Excellency will understand how much Your Majesty will benefit for having discovered this route and entered this business, and from that kingdom, multitudes of people will gather to serve you at such little cost on your part the way these naos that are dispatched from here do, bringing what I say for the expenses on the voyage home.

Although he assured he had an official approval: *I discussed this with those men from the Royal Council of Indies and they all found it good and important.* I do not think that he consulted with the Council of Indies in Spain, since there was a colonizing agreement which Peru was not part of. It appears more like a new approach derived from the problems that were presented in the transfer from Sanlúcar de Barrameda to Panamá.

Also, the new settler's program would be a good service to free the viceroyalty of Peru from the abundant vagrant adventures who infested the air with the richness from the silver mines.

It is also known and Your Excellency has written to Spain the many idle people that there are in that kingdom, and how much it matters that they be taken from the kingdom for its calmness and safety. And to such rich land such as this where there is so much to inhabit and where one lives with hopes of reaching China one day, it usually is easy to bring idle people, since there, there is a lack of similar opportunities and since they are friends of adventure.

At any rate, Don Gonzalo could not avoid that it be obvious up to what point he was giving his imagination a free rein when he spoke of the stimulus that the Philippines could give future settlers. He apologized to the viceroy of Peru for not having found anything from China to give him and decided on two earthen jugs containing cinnamon water, a unicorn glass and a Chinese knife which, to make matters worse, did not reach their destination¹⁴.

Gonzalo Ronquillo's settler's proposal as well as trade between the Philippines and Peru, in general, was maintained until the Monarchy decided to bring it to an end in 1578¹⁵.

¹⁴ Letter from Gonzalo Ronquillo to the viceroy of Perú, Francisco de Toledo, Manila, 30th May 1581 (AGI, *Patronato* 24 Ramo 56).

¹⁵ Royal Decree to the Marquis of Villamanrique, viceroy of New Spain, El Pardo, 11th November 1587. Marquis de Villamanrique's account, viceroy of New Spain, to the King. México, 18th February 1588 (AGI, México 21). Isacio Rodríguez, *Historia de la Provincia Augustiniana...*, Vol XV, Manila 1981, p. 311.