omnia tributa 3\textsuperscript{rd}. vt Agros a Joanne et alijs hispanis acceptos jubeas nobis reddi: & qui in nostro oppido manent praedia quae nobis relinquant. Vltimum vt quae extra tributorum moderationem accepit Joannes nobis restituat et premium laboris nostri quem habuimus in edificandis domibus quas non tenebamur construere, soluat nobis. Dat. Mexici & tlacoban, Kalendis decembris 1552 asj\textsuperscript{93}

20. antonius cortes
melchior geronymo
vasquez de suero

[V]
joannes çacançatl benedictus thoribius
Petrus de santamaria Jacobus Gaspar tla-
cateuctli
martinus balthasar michael
xolotecatl

6. English Translation

[I] To your Holy, Catholic and Caesarean Majesty, Antonio Cortés, Ruler of the people of Tlacoban and all other fellow citizens render humble service.

1. So lofty is your eminence and Caesarean majesty, most invincible Caesar, that among peoples everywhere the Christian quality of your soul, as well as your empire stretching far and wide, sounds on the lips of all and is proclaimed to the ends of the earth; and all men affirm that you are not only the most faithful guardian of the highest empire, but also the best defender of the Christian religion and the most vigorous champion against the incursions of pagans and heretics; this has led us to commend those words of the holy prophet Job as very true in your case, without any doubt: “The

\textsuperscript{93} “asi” (thus): hispanism.
life of man upon earth is warfare,“94 since your exertions seem always to be directed to fighting against barbarous peoples, pagans and worshippers of devils, in the end against God’s enemies, then leading them from the darkness to the clear light possessed of Christians, indeed to that very Sun of Righteousness which is Christ, saviour of all, and to pacifying them once conquered, enlightening them, and at last winning them for Christ.95 2. To this end you have laboured very happily among us: by the agency of your own Spaniards you have overthrown the dreadful army of devils, introduced Christianity, and with the utmost peace and tranquility given order to our province which has the humblest recognition of your immortal kindness, even though it grieved at the slaughter of our elders and at the very great loss of our worldly wealth. To a large degree our knowledge that we are subject to the most invincible, the most humane and in fact most Christian of emperors, is the source of a great and clearly inexpressible joy to us. This is a thing which is of very great reassurance to us, it bids us be in good spirits as we certainly have no reason to be afraid of engaging in correspondence with your Caesarean majesty. For though we may be judged to be humans of the lowest condition and may seem to be of no worth in the eyes of Spaniards, your oft-proven gentleness, open-mindedness and the singular affection which you have so far shown and still show to native people, and which we hope you will show again, seems to compel us to declare our pleas and afflictions in writing, now we are no longer granted the opportunity to hear and respond to your actual words in person.
3. So then, most pious of Emperors, deign to lend us your most patient ears, since from one day to another we are groaning because of the huge and weighty burdens which, it is recognised, come upon us from excessive tribute and much servitude by which all we Indians are worn down, but especially we Tlacopanecs, for whom conditions are worse, more wretched and unfair than could be imagined. This was a matter which it was not granted to us to declare to your sacred Council, because of the remoteness of its location and because we had no power to send delegates.96 Wherefore benefiting from the opportunity of the moment and from the very loyal support of certain friars, we have not failed to set out in this letter the mass of misfortunes which we lament as we describe them here, the most pressing of which is the hardship which has resulted from the tribute. We beg you to hear us briefly on this subject and not be aggrieved:

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94 See note 31 above.
95 See notes 32, 33 and 36 above.
96 tuo sacro isti senatui (To your sacred Council). The Council of the Indies established formally in 1524 had been conducted in Valladolid in 1550–1551.
4. Before all else, we affirm that no other people is so fiercely oppressed by such a multitude of tributes as our people of Tlacopan, which up to now has been burdened with excessive annual payments by our encomendero, Juan Cano by name – and not only by him but also by Montezuma’s daughter whom he took for a wife. Even though she was of our own blood and native land, she was herself so remote from humanity that instead of the duty and natural love which men of the same race and country usually show to each other, she exercised tyranny and kept us in the position of slaves, when we were born from renowned and noble parents. 5. To each of these two, [II] every eighty days, we pay six hundred silver pesos, twenty garments which the Spaniards call naguas, the same number of what our people call huipiles, the same number of finely woven male garments, and the same number again of Indian loincloths, which among us here are commonly named mastiles.97 In addition, on any day, we give five Indian hens, each one of which costs two silver pesos, and eight weights of grain each worth two silver pesos, and over and above that, very many types of fruit which are sought with the greatest of effort and bought for six silver pesos. To those things we have to add four partridges which we actually buy for two silver pesos, and furthermore two hundred of the little pancakes we name tortillas; we also give six loads of wood, ten of fodder, two large loads of charcoal, a bundle of the pitchpine torches which are called ocote, three black candles which are of this land. So we pay all these things as tribute each day. And at the end of every year we give a thousand measures of grain which are called hanegas, and always in any given year we cultivate two huge fields, the cultivation of which is a very great hardship imposed on the people.

6. The aforementioned Juan Cano, not happy with this, positioned one of his two Spanish guards in his gardens, and the other on the farms which are his estates. To each of them on each day we give one hen worth two silver pesos, one weight of wood, many peppers which are called axi, half of a wheel of salt, and two hundred tortillas, so that we provide service to these men along with Juan Cano, as if we had three encomenderos.

7. Not even those provisions are enough for him, as twenty men serve in his house ready to take his orders, another fifteen provide service in his gardens, and the same number are employed in guarding his sheep and goats. Those men are bound to so much work – or rather servitude – that on holy days and Sundays they are hardly ever allowed to heed sacred rites, services or

97 See notes 45–46 above on the terms introduced here.
the Christian doctrine which you very strenuously bid us learn, and so they are unmindful of the salvation of their souls, rather like the cattle they are always tending in the mountains and enclosures. And if they do not diligently go about this work which has nothing to do with them, they are robbed of their clothes and treated in the worst way possible.

8. What is more, he is not happy about what is calculated and granted to us in the rating of our tributes – he has actually used his own authority to exact and demand forcefully many other things from our people. We had complained about that matter before the council held by the most illustrious Viceroy Don Luis de Velasco and your other councillors who heard of our hardship and wanted to relieve us of our tribute to some degree. But the said Juan Cano does not at all assent, nor does he accept the judgments they are making, but wants to refer the whole business and the plea to your Caesarean majesty, to be concluded and settled by your Council.98 It will cause us great hardship and trouble if he indeed does this, as we will be unable to attend, owing to the great scarcity of our resources and to the distance of the location, which is as far away as it could possibly be. For that reason with our humble words we ask, if our case is to be settled there, that the new rate of our tribute may be made in line with our poverty and the number of our community, which cannot come near three thousand men, even counting the boys. We also plead that Juan may, at your bidding, return what he has received that is above the rate for three thousand people.

9. What is more not only has he gone beyond the rate for our tributes, but he has also received from us in three locations – and this against our will – three fields colossal in breadth and also great in length, which he has made into gardens. In fact, in one of them named Atotoc we built high walls and many lofty houses, spending a lot of our own money: he did not spend a single coin for these things to be done, and the varieties of trees we planted on the site, we ourselves sought out, planted and nurtured with a great deal of work. He had actually taken possession of this garden before marrying Doña Isabel the daughter of Montezuma mentioned above, on whose death, Juan Cano, becoming her husband and his successor, held and holds fast to this property, and when we ask for it he replies that this field or “garden” was legally due to his wife as an inheritance from her father Montezuma. [III] Very many attest to how untrue this is. So on that account with the love you bear to God, first may you order the field with all the homes we made to be granted to us.

98 “istum senatum”: note 96 above.
10. Another case is that of a field named Tetlolinca, which Juan Cano received eighteen years ago and planted with many vines. 99 When he took it using his trickery, he put to us, or rather left us with, these words: “You know the Spaniards are very covetous of land, and because of this, so that they do not take from you this field where you grow many kinds of flowers, I will plant vines in order to keep it. Whatever produce the land brings forth will be common to me and to all of you; and the field will always be yours by rights as it has been up to now.”

That is what he said, but for many years he has been in possession of the said field and not only has he not given back the field itself, but he has not given us any of the produce from the land either. We therefore earnestly beg that this field, taken by a cunning kind of malice, be returned to us, since it is rightly owed to our dominion.

11. In the last place called Tepetlapan there is still a very fertile field, where we planted many trees and we built high walls around it. Juan Cano took this field fourteen years ago now, and as he wanted to go to Spain, sold it to a certain Spaniard by the name of Juan of Burgos: he received one thousand two hundred gold pesos for it. We ask that this too be returned to us by the order of your sacred majesty, since by rights it belongs to us rather than to Juan Cano.

12. You have heard, most merciful king, that we Tlacopanecs are not only being weighed down with a multitude of tributes, but also being deprived of our fields and many other possessions. It does not seem to be the place to speak at the present time of how many and how large are the lands the Spaniards have taken, and still take, where they make either gardens or farms. It would therefore be an immortal kindness to us, and one which we are striving for to the utmost, from now on to give to your sacred majesty the tributes, which, up to now, we have given to the said Juan Cano and his wife the daughter of Montezuma, and that you may deem us and all our own worthy of being in the number of your servants, who make tribute available to you and your officials, and what we choose to obtain from your piety is that all our tributes and services which we measure out may be kept within due limits; and so that it may be possible for this to be done more rightly, we beg your mercy, that a man who is undoubtedly Christian and upright and very much a lover of the Indians, Jacobo Ramírez, may come to us by

99 Tetlolinca, now San Lorenzo Totolinga, Naucalpan in Mexico City, was subject to the cabecera of Tlacopan: Memorial de los pueblos, fol. 1 [1970, 5].
your decree as your Visitor, to see with his own eyes the tributes and services we provide; so that in accordance with our own measure, he may after a while moderate our tribute and relieve our people from excessive service; and so that he may see whether all the farms (I mean the estates and all the gardens left in our town) should be held by the Spaniards, and by our encomendero Juan Cano: that he might provide for us the justice which is most correct. In this matter the benefit to us is something that would be unparalleled.

13. Here we may add some things through which you may understand our former state and by which you may be easily persuaded to grant us what we ask. In the first place then, we inform your most excellent majesty that in former times these Indies were divided into three parts, namely Mexico, Tlacuba, and Texcoco, and as a consequence they had three lords or rulers who ruled the other surrounding peoples. Although that is known to the Spanish invaders of these Indies and especially to the religious men who declared the Catholic faith to us, what we are explaining is not known to very many. Our own people was never in servitude, but rather great service was due to it from others: it is the greatest burden to us that we should pay such excessive tribute every year and (what is worse) be deprived of our lands and other possessions. For that reason on bended knee we pray that you relieve us from our tribute to the greatest degree, and, if it can be arranged, that you allocate to our dominion one of the peoples that used to be in our service, either to help us in paying tributes or ease our poverty.

14. At this point the fact should not be passed over in silence that the aforementioned Juan Cano took three towns or estates away from us: one was Capoloac, another Ocoyacac and the third Tepeuexoyocan, which in former times used to belong to us. Juan Cano said that he had obtained these from your most invincible majesty for [IV] to separate service, and not to yield tribute jointly with ourselves. But when he went from here and set off for Spain, he said he would seek those estates from your Senate, so that we should pay our tribute jointly. May you deign to command Juan Cano not to possess those estates separately, but ensure that we provide our annual tribute all at once, so that we might accordingly have some relief from making payments.

15. One remaining thing which I, your humble subject Antonio Cortés, should point out in all submissiveness and reverence is that my father, Totoquihuatzin by name, had been chief and ruler of Tlacopan at the time of the war with the Spaniards. Knowing that your Spaniards had already come with their commander the Marquis del Valle, he greatly rejoiced, sent
several gifts to them and, as they approached this town of ours, he welcomed them, as the saying goes, “with open arms,” and provided all that they needed in abundance. He then proposed the following to the Marquis:

16. “May your arrival with your army be most auspicious, and may you know that we are prepared to serve you, and him in whose name you come. Along with my people I will worship the same god you praise. Here you have the shrine of my gods: destroy it, go in and take and make use of anything you find there that you like. Furthermore, here are my daughters – the men who have come with you can take them as wives, so that we may share grandsons and granddaughters. In any case, you should know that I have no wish to wage war against you and your army, lest my people come to a bad end. Rather what I want far more is – since there are many nations hostile to me which I have never managed to defeat – it would be a very great help if we could make war on them together.”

Those are the very words, invincible emperor, which my father put to the Marquis and you should not think that any of these things which both Spaniards and Indians attest are inconsistent with the truth.

17. To that I add that my father was said often to have prevented Montezuma the ruler of Mexico from campaigning against the Spaniards, but in defiance of my father’s warning he nonetheless prepared for war. What is more, the Spaniards fleeing Mexico passed through this community of mine, which, as it had already entered into an alliance with them, again supplied them with all the things they needed to survive, and freed them from the severe hunger which was devastating them, and they made further advances. After their departure, my father had died, by no means in battle but of an illness. One year went by and the Spaniards returned to Mexico, and the Mexicans were strenuously warned not to enter into a war against them by my father’s other sons who were my brothers. Receiving an evil return for their good deed they were killed by the Mexicans: one was called Tepanecatzintli, and the other Tlacatecalzintli.

18. From all this, you will gather that my brothers met their end for the sake of your own Spaniards and that my father welcomed you indeed as his lord, and did not contradict you in any respect, but rather always served your own people in the same way as he served you. Counting on all this, I presume to beg your help, so that you do not suffer us to be weighed down by tributes, but bid this district of ours to belong to your empire and not at all to Juan Cano and the daughter of Montezuma and their sons from whom we have suffered enough with the ills they have inflicted on us. In order that the mention made of the Spaniards be deemed true, I append here the names of witnesses: Melchor Vasquez, Juan Xacancatl, Gaspar Tlacateuhtli,
Balthasar, Benedicto, Toribio, and many other men. These are all Indians, but there are Spaniards too, whose names follow: Bernardino de Tapia.

19. And so that what we ask for may be summed up, we ask for it again in a few words. First and foremost is that we may give to your sacred majesty the tributes we give to Juan Cano. Second, that the Visitor Jacobo Ramírez may come to our people and reckon the value of all our tributes. Third, that you order the lands taken by Juan and the other Spaniards to be given back to us and that those who reside in our town give up the estates which are ours. The last is that Juan restore to us whatever he has received in excess of his tributes, and release to us the pay which we have earned for building houses we were not obliged to construct. Signed in Mexico and Tlacoban, on the Kalends of December 1552, as follows:

Antonio Cortés

Melchior Vásquez          Gerónimo de Suero

Juan Zacanacatl       Benedicto         Toribio

Pedro de Santamaria    Jacobo           Gaspar Tlacateuctli

Martin        Balthasar Xolotecatl    Michael
Carta de Don Alonso de Illescas,

negro que está en las Esmeraldas [1586]¹

Muy poderoso señor,

Habiendo el devoto padre Fray Alonso de Espinosa de la orden de la Santísima Trinidad, por mí y en mi nombre, por una carta que de mí llevó a vuestra Real Audiencia, pidió que tenía deseo de reducirme al servicio de Dios Nuestro Señor y de vuestra Real Corona, con que de vuestra parte se me enviase remisión y perdón general, por razón de haber estado fuera de vuestra servicio, y que enviándonos sacerdote que nos predicase el Santo Evangelio y enseñase [a] nuestros hijos y mujeres, haría todo cuanto en mí fuese y procuraría traer de paz todos los naturales de esta provincia.

Y habiendo Vuestra Señoría concedido lo que por mí fue pedido y suplicado, doy a Dios Nuestro Señor muchas gracias por tantas mercedes como he recibido de la mano liberalísima de Dios y de Vuestra Señoría.

Y así el dicho padre me dio noticia cómo Vuestra Real Persona en España tiene proveído esta gobernación en Rodrigo de Ribadeneyra, al cual le viene cantidad de gente para prosegir en el allanamiento y población de esta tierra; y asimismo me mandó que todos nos juntásemos para ver y comunicar lo que más conviniese a Vuestro Real Servicio.

Y si Vuestra Real Persona encomendó esta gobernación en Rodrigo de Ribadeneyra, no habiéndole sido hecha relación [de] la voluntad que yo tenía de reducirme al gremio de la Iglesia y de su Real Corona.

Y así lo que se puede conquistar con la doctrina del Santo Evangelio no será servicio de Dios ni de Vuestra Real Persona entrar con fuerza de armas a costa de tantas almas de la una parte y de la otra, y para dormitar a los campazes y hacerlos venir sin conocimiento de mi Dios.

Quiero por haber estado fuera de vuestro servicio, animarme con la gente que tengo debajo de mi dominio dándome Vuestra Alteza licencia [para] entrar en Campaz, y que no se entienda gobernación lo que yo me ofrezco poblar. Y así suplicó a Vuestra Alteza que no se enviase la entrada de los soldados porque será alborotar lo que el devoto padre ha pacificado con la doctrina del Santo Evangelio.

Y si hubiera de entrar gente, sea en el Valle Vicioso y Barbacoas, porque realmente estoy temeroso porque vuestros capitanes siempre me han quebrado la palabra que en

¹ Ministerio de Cultura, Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Sección Escribanía 922b, fols. 192v-193v.

Letter from Don Alonso de Illescas,
a Black Man in Esmeraldas [1586]

Most powerful sir,

Having the devout Fray Alonso de Espinosa of the Holy Order of Trinitarians, by me and on my behalf, in a letter that he carried from me to your Real Audiencia, requested that I desire to submit to God Our Father and to Your Royal Crown and that on your part I be sent a general pardon and remission, because I have not been in your service,¹ and that you send a priest to preach to us the Holy Gospel and teach our women and children. I will do everything in my power and I will try to pacify all the natives of this province.

And Your Highness having conceded what I have requested and entreated, I give thanks to God Our Father for the many mercies I have received from His most liberal hands and from Your Lordship.

And so Father Espinosa brought me news that Your Royal Highness in Spain has granted the government of this land to Rodrigo de Ribadeneyra, who will bring many people to pacify and populate this land. And so I ordered that we should all gather to discuss and communicate [to His Royal Highness] what will best serve your royal interest.

And if Your Royal Highness granted Rodrigo de Ribadeneyra this government, it was before, without our report expressing our desire and willingness to join in union with the Church and Your Royal Crown.

And so what can be conquered with the indoctrination of the Holy Gospel would only be of disservice to God and Your Majesty to conquer by force of arms and at the cost of many souls on the one hand, and on the other in order to dominate the Campazes and have them recognize and know of my God.

Therefore, because I have not been in your service, I will encourage the people under my command, and receiving your license to enter the territory of the Campazes and require them to surrender peacefully to your service. And I will settle them near the sea in the best place possible. And in time I will ask your Real Audiencia for aid in order to form two towns in another province for Your Royal Crown that will be in the service of Our Lord.

Thus I beseech and supplicate Your Highness: do not form another government of the areas I offer to settle. Likewise, I ask Your Highness to suspend the expedition of soldiers; it will only bring chaos to the peace the devoted father [Espinosa] has brought with the Holy Gospel.

If you must allow a [Spanish] settlement, let it be in the Valle Vicioso and Barbacoas,² as I am truly afraid because your captains have always broken their promises

¹ Here, Illescas refers to his recent illegitimate status as a Maroon, when he was not acting as an obedient subject of the Crown.
² The Valle Vicioso and region of Barbacoas were both located to the north of Esmeraldas in modern-day Colombia. For more on the history of Spanish conquest in these regions, see Calero.
vuestro nombre me han dado; y del devoto padre hemos hecho confianza por haber entendido de su pecho la mucha voluntad que tiene de reducirnos al gremio de la Iglesia y al de Vuestra Real Corona.

Y así para la certificación y creencia de lo en ésta contenido, envío a Juan Mangacho con el dicho padre a vuestra Real Audiencia, para que a Vuestra Señoría bese los pies. Y confiado como de cristianísimo rey en todo, Vuestra Señoría nos hará mercedes no más sino que Nuestro Señor dé a Vuestra Señoría larga vida con aumento de mayores reinos y señoríos.

De esta provincia de las Esmeraldas 24 de febrero de [1586], muy poderoso señor, bese a Vuestra Señoría los pies vuestra humilde vasallo, Don Alonso de Illescas.

Y el sobre escrito de esta carta dice: Al muy poderoso señor el rey don Felipe, nuestro señor en la Real Audiencia de Quito en su acuerdo real.

given in Your Majesty's name. The devoted father has gained our confidence, and we know it is from his heart that he comes to bring us into union with the Church and Your Royal Crown.

To prove and make credible what is contained herein, I am sending Juan Mangacho with the said father [Espinosa] to the Real Audiencia [in Quito] to kiss the feet of Your Highness. And with the same trust as a most Christian king in all things, Your Highness will give us mercies, and [we desire] that Our Lord provide Your Highness with long life and the growth of many kingdoms and lands.

From the Province of Esmeraldas, the twenty-fourth of February [1586], most powerful Lord, your humble vassal, Don Alonso de Illescas, kisses the feet of Your Highness.

And the letterhead of this letter says, “To the most powerful Lord, King Don Felipe, our Lord and his royal agreement in the Real Audiencia of Quito.”
Juan José de Eguiara y Eguren (1696-1763) to Andrés Arce y Miranda (1701-1774) regarding the *Bibliotheca Mexicana* bio-bibliographical project and defining the term “Mexican” (*Mexicanus*).

[...] The term “creole,” in addition to being ridiculous and denigrating, is scandalous. It is denigrating because it is a term originally invented by blacks, and it is scandalous because with this term, they confuse us with the Ethiopians... So, how are we to refer to ourselves with justice and propriety? We should use the name that the great philosopher of our times, Jerónimo Feijoo applied to us, namely “American Spaniards,” in contrast to the *cachopines*, who are the European Spaniards. And what does *cachupín* mean? In Peru, so Gaspar de Villano tells us, they say *chapetones*. In truth, I don’t know. I believe there is a term in the [indigenous] Mexican language *cachopín*, which means a man who is shod, or wearing shoes, and since we are just as shod as them, we are just like the Spanish from Spain, unless of course we join the Order of the Discalced [i.e. barefoot] Carmelites.¹

[...]

Letter from Fray Gaspar de San Agustin to a friend in España who asked him as to the nature and characteristics [genio] of the Indian natives of these Philipinas Islands (1720).

My Dear Sir,

Although your command has so great weight with me, the undertaking of performing it satisfactorily is so difficult that I doubt my ability to fulfil what you ask. It would be more easy for me, I believe, to define the formal object of logic; to give the square of a circle; to find the mathematical of the double of the cube and sphere, or to find a fixed rule for the measurement of the degrees of longitude of the terrestrial sphere; than to define the nature of the Indians, and their customs and vices. This is a memorandum-book in which I have employed myself for forty years, and I shall only say: *Quadraginta annis proximus fui generations huic, et dixi semper hi errant corde*; and I believe that Solomon himself would place this point of knowledge after the four things impossible to his understanding which he gives in chapter xxx, verse 18 of Proverbs. Only can they tell the One who knows them by pointing to the sky and saying, *Ipse cognovit figmentum nostrum*. But in order that you may not say to me that I am thus ridding myself of the burden of the difficulty, without making any effort or showing any obedience, I shall relate briefly what I have observed, for it would be impossible to write everything, if one were to use all the paper that is found in China.

2. The knowledge of men has been considered by the most erudite persons as a difficult thing. *Dificile est, noscere hominem animal varium et versipelle*. Man is a changeable theater of transformations. The inconstancies of his ages resemble the variation of the year. A great knowledge of man did that blind man of the eighth chapter of St. Mark have who said, with miraculous sight, that he saw men as trees: *Video homines velut arbores ambulantes*. For the tree in the four seasons of the year has its changes as has man in his four ages; and thus said the English poet Oven:

"*Ver viridem flavamque æstas, me fervida canam.*
*Autumnus calvam, frigida fecit hyems."

"For this is the inconstancy of man in his [various] ages: green in his childhood; fiery in the age of his virility; white in old age; and bald in his decrepitude." But his greatest change is in his customs, for he is a continual Proteus, and an inconstant Vertumnus. Thus does Martial paint his friend:

"*Dificilis, facilis, jucundus, acerbus est idem;*
*Nec tecum possum vivere, nec sine te."

From this came the proverb "*Quot capita, tot sententiae.*" For in the changeable affection of man are locked up all the meteoric influences of natural transformations.

3. It is a fact that the difficulty of knowing these Indians is not in the individuals, but in the race; for, if one be known, then all are known, without any distinction—so much so that the Greek word *monopantos* fits them, and which another critic gave to another race of people, because they were all homogeneous and uniform among themselves. At the eighth meeting of the last Lateran Council, held in the time of Leo X, the opinion of the Monophysite philosophers—who give but one single soul to all men, each body having a part of it—was condemned. Doubtless that impious opinion originated from some nation as alike in customs as these Indians; and it is not the worst thing to have been able to give this humble judgment, although it is defective.
4. Although we call both the natives of America and those of these Philipinas Islands Indians, it cannot be denied that they are very different; for the inclination of the Asiatics is somewhat more docile and more capable of progress through teaching. Accordingly, I shall confine my remarks to the Indians of Philipinas, leaving the definition of the Americans for those who know them; for they have enough chroniclers who have undertaken it, although I doubt that they obtained their desire, such as Father Juan de Torquemada in his *Monarchia Indiana*, Fray Antonio de Remesal, and Father Jose de Acosta. For what has been written of them by the bishop of Chiapa, Fray Bernardino de Cassas, and by Don Juan de Palafox in his treatise on the virtues of the Indians, was written from very remote experience; and they were carried away by the holy zeal of their defense as they were deceived by their remote knowledge of the object—as [in viewing] the hills and mountains, which anear are green, but afar are blue. Gold conceals from the sight the degree of its fineness; and one must crush the rock himself, and frequently, in order to recognize the truth.

5. The Asiatic Indians of Philipinas, then, are almost the same as those of the other nations of East India, in what regards their genius [genio], temper, and disposition. Consequently, the Malays, Siamese, Mogoles, and Canarines are distinguished only by their clothing, languages and ceremonies. I except the Japanese (who are, as Gracian learnedly remarked, the Spaniards of Asia) and the Chinese, who, by their culture and civilization, and love of letters, seem to be different—although, touched with the stone of experience, they are the same as the Indians. The influence of the stars which rule Asia is common, whence Macrobius and Suetonius complain that the corruption of the good native customs of the Romans proceeded, especially from Persia, whence came great evil both to the Greeks and to the Latins.

6. But leaving this immense sea of peoples and customs, let us return to our natives of these islands, who, besides having been exceedingly barbarous, living without a ruler, and in a confused monarchy, have the vices of the islanders; for they are fickle, false, and mendacious, and [that] by the special influence and dominion which the moon exercises upon all the islands, isthmuses, and peninsulas [Chersonesos], of which much will be found in the *Theatrum vitæ humane* of Laurencio Beyerlinch.

7. The temperament of these Indians, as is proved by their physiognomy, is cold and humid, because of the great influence of the moon. They have but little or no difference among themselves in their temperament, as was remarked by a learned doctor who has had considerable experience in these islands, namely, Doctor Blas Nuñez de Prado. [He observed] that there was no difference, but a great similarity, in the humors of those who had been treated, and a fine natural docility in responding to the medicine; in whatever remedy it was applied to them. For they have not the great rebelliousness and changeableness of the Europeans, because of the infinite combinations made in them by the four humors. The cause of this is the similarity and lack of variety in the food that they use and which their ancestors used, which go to make up a nature different in its root from that of the Europeans, but yet very similar.

8. This disposition and influence makes them fickle, malicious, untrustworthy, dull, and lazy; fond of traveling by river, sea, and lake; fond of fishing, and ichthyophagous—that is, they sustain themselves best on fish; they have little courage, on account of their cold nature, and are not disposed to work. Besides this they have other qualities and vices, of which I do not know the cause, and I do not believe that I can easily know them. I shall mention some of them.

9. First, they are remarkable for their ingratitude; and although ingratitude is an innate vice in all people, through the corruption of original sin in our vitiated nature, it is not corrected in them by the understanding, and they lack magnanimity. Therefore, it is all one to do a good turn to an
Indian, and to prepare oneself to receive the blow of his ingratitude. Consequently, if one lend them money, they do not pay it; but instead they run away from the father. Hence there is ground for scruples in regard to lending money to them; for that is a benefit from which evil must result, as they absent themselves and do not come to mass. If others ask them why, they answer that the father is angry at them. In them is verified the picture given by the Holy Spirit in chapter xxix, verse[s] 4-91 of Ecclesiasticus. "Many" (he says) "have thought by artifice to satisfy the thing due, and have given trouble to those who have aided them. So long as they receive, they kiss the hands of him who gives, and humble themselves with promises. But when it comes time to pay, they will beg for time (for they are beggars, and not givers); and they will utter tedious and complaining words, and the time is spent in vain. Even though one can pay, he can be got to do so only with great difficulty. For one solidus scarcely will he give the half, and that he will think an unjust artifice; and if he cannot pay he will keep the money, and will esteem the debtor as an enemy causelessly, and will return him insults and evil words, and for honor and kindness will return him dishonor." This picture of ingratitude given by Ecclesiasticus fits many, but it fits the Indians better than all other nations, except the Vix solidi reddet dimidiun, for they pay nothing. This is one of the evil signs that the royal prophet finds in the evil and ingrate in Psalm xxxvi, verse 21: "The sinner shall take the loan, and shall not pay." Consequently we find our Indians pagans in this, although they are Christians.

10. If they borrow anything that is not money, they will never return it until it is requested; and, as an excuse for not having returned it; they say that they have not been asked for it.

11. Their laziness is such that if they open door they never close it; and if they take any implement for any use, such as a knife, pair of scissors, hammer, etc., they never return it whence they took it, but drop it there at the foot of the work.

12. If they are paid anything in advance, they will leave work and keep the pay.

13. They are naturally rude, and consequently, it is strange to see them, when talking with the father or a Spaniard, first scratch themselves on the temples, and, if it be a woman, on the thigh; but the more polished scratch themselves on the head.

14. It is a thing of great wonder that in everything they make in which there is a right and wrong side, they naturally make it wrong side out. Consequently, they have not thus far been able to give in to difficulty of folding a cloak with its right side in; nor do they understand it can be that when a shirt or habit is wrong side out, on putting the head in, it is given a turn and remains right side out. Consequently, whenever they see this done, they express more surprise. Hence the remark of a discerning man, that all they did was wrong except folding a cloak, because in that operation the wrong side is the face or right side.

15. When the men walk with their wives, they go in advance, and the wives follow; as that is just the contrary of our custom. This was a bit of carelessness that cost Orpheus the loss of his wife, who was stolen by the prince Auresteo, as we are told in mythology.

16. They are curious, rude, and impertinent; and accordingly, when they meet the father they generally ask him where he is going and whence he is coming; and innumerable questions, all impertinent and troublesome. If any letter is read before them, they will go behind one to see it; although they do not know how to read. And if they hear any talking in private, they draw nigh to listen to it, even though it be in a language that they do not understand.

17. They enter, without being summoned, into the convents and the houses of the Spaniards, even into the most secret apartment, but in their own houses they practice many civilities. If the
door be locked, they try with might and main to loop through the cracks at what is being done, for they wish to know everything. They tramp about in the convents and houses of the Spaniards so loudly, that it causes wonder and annoyance; and especially if the father is asleep. In their own houses, on the contrary, they walk about so lightly, that they seem to be walking on eggs.

18. They are very early risers in their own houses, for their poverty and the noise demand that. But if their masters sleep until ten, they must do the same too.

19. They must eat and try all that their masters eat, even though it be something delicious or from Europa; and no Spaniard, and especially the father minister, will have been able to succeed in making them eat out of other dishes than those from which their master eats. I know well that I have been unable to obtain it, notwithstanding my efforts. Neither will they drink out of another and separate jar.

20. Their manner of sitting is generally on their heels [en cucilllas], and they do that in all places except in the convents, where they break the seats with sitting on them and leaning back in them with out-stretched legs. And they must do this in the balconies, where they can see the women.

21. They care more for their disheveled hair than they do for their souls; and only they will not imitate the Spaniards if they have the custom of shaving, as is now being introduced with the false hair and perukes.

22. Their usual habitation and happiness in the convents consists in not leaving the kitchen. There they hold their meetings and feasts, and there is their glory, as is the open country in Castilla. A religious whom I knew, called the kitchen Flos sanctorum, because the life of the father and of all the village was discussed there.

23. When they go out alone at night, they must have a blazing torch, and go about waving it like a censer; and then they throw it down wherever they please, and this is usually the cause of great fires.

24. They would rather wear mourning than go about in gala dress, and are accordingly very observant in wearing it during their funerals.

25. They do not esteem garments or gala dresses given them by their Spanish masters; and accordingly leave such in any place, without perceiving that they are losing them. But any old rag that they wear from their own houses they esteem and value highly.

26. They do not care for any domestic animal—dog, cat, horse, or cow. They only care, and too much so, for the fighting cocks; and every morning, on rising from slumber, the first thing that they do is to go to the roosting-place of their cock—where, squatting down on their heels, in its presence, they stay very quietly for at least a half-hour in contemplation of their cock. This observance is unfailing in them.

27. They live unwillingly in convents, or in houses where they cannot be at least on the scent of women.

28. It is not known that the Indian has [ever] broken a dish or a crock in his own house, and consequently one will find dishes in them that date from before the arrival of the Spaniards in this country. But in the convents and houses where they serve, they break so many that one would believe that they do it on purpose to do their masters an ill turn.

[...]

101. May God our Lord preserve your Grace for the many years of my desire. Manila, June 8, one thousand seven hundred and twenty. Your humble servant, who kisses your hand,

FRAY GASPAR DE SAN AGUSTIN
Prefatory Letters in Gomes Vaz, *De Mancipiis indicis manumissionibus et libertis libri quatuor* (ms).

/fol. 4r/ Reverendissimo et illustriissimo in Christo P. ac D. D. Alexio Menesio Archiepiscopo Goano Indiarum primati et gubernatori indici Lusitanorum imperii.

Tot tantaque sunt in te, praesul vigilantissime, excellentissimarum virtutum et religionis ornamenta cum primaria generia nobilitate et clarissimo sanguinis splendore coniuncta isisque me licet immitterum, sed nemini in benevolentia erga te secundum et minimam societatem nostram amoris signis et officiis devictum tenes, ut cogitant mihi sub cuius potissimum nomine, quasi sub dei tutelaris patrocinio prodest in lucem parvulus iste moster de mancipiis Indicis libellus, primus laborum meorum factus, tu primus occurreris, quem gratis meus in te animus primitus postulabat, quique primus es, et primam sedem omnium istarum orientis solis ec- /fol. 4v/ clesiarum sapientissime moderaris et primatum tenes inter omnes Indici orbis pontifices. Tu, inquam, cuius ope ex quo primum tempore faustis auspiciis, omnium populum festis acclamationibus Goam appulisti, et pauperum causae patronum et egestas viduarum subsidium habuere et quod ad rem facit dominorum in servos tyrannis, quae ubique impie saeviebat sanctis legibus compressa est. Tu denique qui pro parente benevolo et benefico solertissimoque pastore miserrimis Indiarum hominibus Dei Optimi Maximi beneficio datus es, qui non solum temporali ovium tuarum in ediae tuis exhaustis redditibus spiritibus que profectibus studere non desinis, et fidei catholicae propugnationi expulsae magna exp. rte et nostris finibus idolotria sic incumbis, ut comparaveris a regia maiestate non modicis ad vestiendos neophytos animis redditibus (quod maxime desiderabamus) in primo felicissimi tui pontificatus tempore plusquam quiquam inter omnes Indicis ordinis millia ad gregem tuum vel potius dominicum annumeraveris. Quin etiam plus animus tuus in amplificanda religione progreidiens maioraque concipiens salutem tuam imo et libertatem imo et vitam in alios qui metropolitico tantum iure ad te attinebant ad Romanae atque adeo catholicae ecclesiae fidei et ritus reducendos cum maximis tuis expensis te fecit exponi. Qua in re post multas graciosissimamque difficiulitates et vitae pericula ab infidelibus te eminentia Domini Papae Clementis authoritate tuaque incredibili et prope divina in rebus peragendis dexteritate et gratia sic Deo votis nostris favente) profecisti, ut contradicentibus omnibus nostris ordinibus regularibus et certam tibi aeternum mortem nistare concludantibus paucis nostrae religionis sociis et in his Francisco Rocio viro Chalclaitae linguæ perissi- /fol. 5r/ etae mortem non te capit iste, quem tenes, locus; omnibus enim qui Iesum diligentiam, castimoniam integritatemque tuae novimus videris ad maiora natus.
Quamobrem sapienter catholici reges nostri volvere ut praeter spiritualia negotia, quae ex pastoraliofficio indefesso studio geris, in administrandis quoque temporalibus rei publicae, belli pacisque rebus pro regibus assisteres et succederes, ut in te regis et sacerdotis (quod de Melchisedech sacrae litterae testantur) officia convenient atque in te uno tota domus, hoc est tota Indica Provincia .demeritis quotidie magis ac magis inclinata et in ruinam propensa recumberet. Quod enim sine divino consilio factum esse conspicimus, enimvero ubi primum inabsentis et postmodum demortui proregis locum regia dispositione successus est, religiosissimi pastoris officio duas domos exaedificasti alteram tuis magna expunte sumptibus pro alendis et impuditia continendi pauperibus puellis iis praesertim quae parentibus /fol. 5v/ destitutae integritatis facile poterant experiri iactura. Sacra altera pro consecranda Deo virginibus sub santo Augusti regula et Divae Monicae patrocino quorum aechum tanto erit fructus ut speramus quanto fuerit diuturnior. His duas aedibus quae singulare urbi nostrae ornamentum attulerunt, adiectisti demum alia piis mulieribus quae spretis et abiectis mundanae vitae voluptatis et illecebris quibus se daemone instigante aligii macularunt in meliorem frugem Dei Optimi Maximi beneficio et ope se recipere voluerunt quo factum est ut vix ullum sit foeminarum genus cui non certae salutis adictum e fervens in te et ex omni parte exardescens Dei tellus aperuert.

Neque tamen rebus tamen intentus reipublicae negotia praetermittis, quin imo in his regiam dignitatem sic tueris et proregis officium ea moderatione et longani... sustines, ut praeter te nemo quantumvis velim rebus bellicos expertus vel in rei publicae moderatione conspicuus abque ulla subditorum concussione aut molestia his calamitatis temporibus in tanta rerum omnium penuria post exhaustos apraeecessores in Malacensi expeditione omnes bellicos conmeatus par esse posset imperio. Cum igitur non in he modo et in oculis omnium sis primus sed intus domique praestantissimum quid mirum si te primum calamus, manus, ocule mei inventin in quem libellus iste meus quasi in patronum confugiat. Accipe .. prosul religiosissime obsequentissimi servi tui de servis Indicis libellum et quem admum singulis prope diebus servos ad te con fugientes meque pro eorum libertate decertatnem benigne actueris ita de servis librum ad alios tuae bibliotechae, quibus ex maxime deditis, adiunge, ex quo quasi eum in sinu habeas authoritatem. Sibi conciliabit, et nomen et erit ab oblatantium dominorum (si quae forte erit) calumniis sub tuo nomine patrocinioque securres.

Gomezius Vazius

/fol. 6r/ Reverendo admodum in Christo Patro Claudio Aquaviva Praeposito generali Societatis Iesu Gomezius Vazius eiusdem Societatis minimus et indignus salutem optat et aeternam in Christo Iesu felicitatem.

En tibi reverende admodum in Christo pater librum e tribus unum quo primum a me promissos, tuo postea tuo quasi iure a me saepius efflagitasti, est ille quidem ingene fateor rudis et impolitus quid enim literarium aut sperari aut exigi ab homine potuit quem prius per duo deviginti annos in scholis versatum, scholastica studia et gymnasiis nostris exervitationes quasi noverca praevignum non reediturum repulere, si quaereres quales redditus habeant in toto Indico imperio collegia nostra? Quasis nostrorum Sociorum ratio in victu et vestitu qua modus habendus sit in dessimindanda fide, quae leges convenient ad promotionem Evangelii et ad idolatriam penitus extirpandam, qua dexteri- /fol. 6v/ tate sit neophytorum rusticitas excolenda dicerem
fortas se apposite de re proposita. Nam in his omnibus virilis aetatis meae temporae ex tuo
superiorumque praescripto transegi quin etiam hoc proximo quinquemio adeo in infidelium
conversione distentus sum, ut quator mille homines Deo optimi maximi beneficio et his plures
(absit iactantia verbo) hiscemanibus sacri baptismatis aqua conspersos catholicae Christi
Ecclesiae adiunxerim. Hinc factum est, ut ab scholasticis studiis in tota hac temporum period
abstimerim neque liberos evolverim nisi prorenata nempem moribus nostrum patrum et
exteriorum hominum quaestionibus hinc inde interrogatus satis facere aut casuum, quos vocant
conciae controversias innocturnis disputacionibus quibus pae eram concitatus componere opus
habui. Qualisqualis igitur fuerit liber iste de veris indicis meae tamen in te ingenuae
observantiae erit testis conspicuus tuaeque in me benevolentiae non obscurus, su eum aqua quam
prae te fers viva lustraveris hoc est si approbationis tuae gratis dignum cum iudices quis typis
mandetur, id quo et opto et peto ad Dei gloriam et confessariorum nostrorum utilitatem.

Gomezius Vazius