

Gaspar de San Agustín
Letter on the Filipinos
1720

Source: Blair & Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, volume 40, pp. 183-280. Translation from the Spanish by James Alexander Robertson.

[Gaspar de San Agustin, O.S.A., wrote the following letter regarding the Filipinos. This letter has been widely discussed pro and con by various writers, because of the views expressed therein. Many manuscript copies of it exist in various collections, archives, and libraries. The present translation is made from an early manuscript copy, belonging to Mr. E. E. Ayer, of Chicago. In footnotes we give the variant readings of the MS. conserved in the Museo-Biblioteca de Ultramar, Madrid (pressmark "6-5^a; caja 17; 21-4^a"), that MS. being indicated in our notes by the letter M.; and of the letter as published in Delgado's ⁸³ *Historia* (pp. 273-296, where it shows marks of having been edited by either Delgado or his editor), that publication being indicated by the letter D. Sinibaldo de Mas presents many of the essential parts of the letter in his *Informe de las Islas Filipinas en 1842*, i, "Poblacion," pp. 63-132. He says: "In order to give an idea of their physical and moral qualities, I am going to insert some paragraphs from a letter of Father Gaspar de San Agustin of the year 1725, ⁸⁴ suppressing many Latin citations from the holy fathers which weigh that letter down; and adding some observations from my own harvest, when I think them opportune." We shall use most of these observations in the annotations herewith presented. Sir John Bowring gives, on pp. 125-139 of his visit to the *Philippine Isles* (London, 1859) some excerpts taken from Mas's *Informe*, but he has sadly mixed San Agustin's and Mas's matter, and has ascribed some of the latter's observations to San Agustin, besides making other errors. ⁸⁵

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. ⁸⁶

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 fulfill 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 [side ⁸⁷] 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 generationis huic, et dixi semper hi errant corde*,⁸⁸ 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, *Ipsa cognovit figmentum nostrum*.⁸⁹ But in order that you may not say to me that I am thus ridding myself of the burden of the difficulty,⁹⁰ 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*.⁹¹ 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*.⁹² 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 Owen:

"Ver viridem flavamque æstas, me fervida canam.

Autumnus calvam, frigida fecit hyems." ⁹³

"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.⁹⁴ Thus does Martial paint his friend:

"Dificilis, facilis, jucundus, acerbus est idem;

Nec tecum possum vivere, nec sine te." ⁹⁵

From this came the proverb "*Quot capita, tot sententiæ*." ⁹⁶ 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* ⁹⁷ 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 ⁹⁸—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. ⁹⁹

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 ¹⁰⁰ 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*, ¹⁰¹ Fray Antonio de Remesal, ¹⁰² and Father Jose de Acosta. ¹⁰³ For what has been written of them by the bishop of Chiapa, Fray Bernardino de Cassas, ¹⁰⁴ and by Don Juan de Palafox ¹⁰⁵ 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 ¹⁰⁶ 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 ¹⁰⁷ 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 ¹⁰⁸ are distinguished only by their clothing, languages and ceremonies. I except the Japanese (who are, as Gracian ¹⁰⁹ 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. ¹¹⁰ 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,¹¹¹ 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 humanæ* of Laurencio Beyerlinch.¹¹²

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.¹¹³

8. This disposition and influence makes them fickle, malicious, untrustworthy, dull, and lazy; ¹¹⁴ fond of traveling by river, sea, and lake; fond of fishing, and ichthyophagous ¹¹⁵—that is, they sustain themselves best on fish; they have little courage, on account of their cold nature, and are not disposed to work.¹¹⁶ 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.¹¹⁷ I shall mention some of them.¹¹⁸

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 ¹¹⁹ 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 ¹²⁰ 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."¹²¹ This picture of ingratitude given by *Ecclesiasticus* fits many, but it fits the Indians better than all other nations, except the *Vix solidi reddet dimidium*,¹²² 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."¹²³ Consequently we find our Indians pagans in this, although they are Christians.¹²⁴

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.¹²⁵

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.¹²⁶

12. If they are paid anything in advance, they will leave work and keep the pay.¹²⁷

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,¹²⁸ and, if it be a woman, on the thigh; but the more polished scratch themselves on the head.¹²⁹

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; ¹³⁰ 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.¹³¹ 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.¹³²

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.¹³³

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.¹³⁴

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.¹³⁵

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.¹³⁶

18. They are very early risers in their own houses,¹³⁷ 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.¹³⁸

20. Their manner of sitting is generally on their heels [*en cuclillas*], 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.^{[139](#)}

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.^{[140](#)}

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*,^{[141](#)} 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 censor; 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.^{[142](#)}

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.^{[143](#)}

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.^{[144](#)}

29. One may not trust a sword, mirror, glass, musket, clock, or any other rare article to them; or allow them to touch it even with the hands; for immediately, by physical contact alone, they put it out of joint, break it, and harm it. They can only handle bamboo, rattan, nipa, or a bolo, and some few a plow.¹⁴⁵

30. They are insolent and free in begging for unjust and foolish things, and this without considering time or season. When I remember the circumstance which happened to Sancho Pancha when he was governor of the island of Barataria, one day after eating¹⁴⁶ with an importunate and intrusive farmer, who said that he was from Miguel Turra, I am reminded of the Indians when they beg.¹⁴⁷ And we shall say that if they bring four eggs, they think that with justice they ought to be given a price of one hundred pesos. That is so true that when I see an Indian who is bringing something, which is always a thing of no value, or something that is of no use to them, such as ates, mangas, or belinbiles [i.e., balimbing], I repeat those words of Laocoon to the Trojans: *Timeo Danaos, [et] dona ferentes* (2nd Æneid). An Indian came to beg from the bishop of Troya (as was told me by his illustrious Lordship)—Don Fray Gines Barrientos,¹⁴⁸ a specially circumspect prelate—the loan of fifty pesos, for which he took him a couple of guavas. An Indian brought a cock to the Marquis of Villa-sierra, Don Fernando de Valenzuela,¹⁴⁹ while he was in the fort of Cavite; and, when that gentleman ordered that he be given more than six times its value; the Indian told him that what he wanted was to be given eighty cavans of rice,¹⁵⁰ and that in a time of so great scarcity it was not to be had for two pesos per cavan. But they have this curious peculiarity, that they are just as happy if these things are not given to them as if they had been given. For they have little or no esteem for what the Spaniards give them, and especially the father. Accordingly, when they sell, anything that is worth, say, six,¹⁵¹ they ask thirty, and are satisfied if six be given them.¹⁵²

They would rather have one real from the hand of the Sangley than one peso from the Spaniard; and the power that the Sangleys have over them is surprising, for they are generally cheated by those people.¹⁵³

31. They are very fond of play,¹⁵⁴ for they believe that it is a restful way in which to gain much, and it is very suitable to their laziness and lack of energy. Therefore, an Indian would rather lie stretched out in his house than gain the greatest wage. On this account, when he gets a peso he stays at home without working, until it is all eaten up or drunk up, for it all amounts to the same thing. This is the reason why they are so poor, in comparison with the Sangleys and

mestizos, who live in abundance, for they know how to seek and work.¹⁵⁵ *Egestatem operata est manus remissa*, (Proverbs X, verse 4.)

32. They have contradictory peculiarities, such as being very cowardly, while on some occasions they are rash; for they confess that they would rather suffer a hundred lashes than to have one shout aloud to them—which, they say, penetrates even to the heart, without the cause being known.

33. It is laughable to see them waken another who is sleeping like a stone, when they come up without making any noise and touching him very lightly with the point of the finger, will call him for two hours, until the sleeper finishes his sleep and awakens. The same thing is done when they call anyone downstairs, or when the door is shut; for they remain calling him in a very low tone for two hours, until he casually answers and opens to them.¹⁵⁶

34. In another way, they exhibit other rash actions, by which it is seen that their rashness is rather the daughter of ignorance and barbarity than of valor. For it occurs that an Indian, man or woman, may be walking along the road and hear a horse which is coming behind him, running or going at a quick pace; but this Indian never turns his face. If the horse come in front of him, he will not turn out of the road so that he may not be trampled underfoot, if he who comes on horseback does not turn out with greater consideration. The same thing occurs when they see a very large banca coming down upon them with long sweeps of the oars, while they are in a small banquilla; when they will allow themselves to be struck by it, with the danger of being overturned and drowned. It costs much labor to those in the large banca to avoid that, while the others could do it with great ease. This has happened to me on innumerable occasions.¹⁵⁷

35. The same thing happens in the rivers where there are crocodiles, although they see them swimming about; for they say the same as do the Moros [*i.e.*, Mahometans], that if it is from on high it must happen, even though they avoid it. And thus, as says father Fray Gabriel Gomez (*History of Argel*, book 2, chapter 19), they say in the *lengua franca* "God is great! Be not led by fancy! The world is just so. If it is written on the forehead that one is to live, then he will live; but if not, then he will die here."¹⁵⁸ For their Koran says that each one has his fortune written in the lines of his forehead. These Indians believe the same thing (and they have never seen the Koran) and only because it is great nonsense. They receive no warning from the many misfortunes. that happen every day for their sins.¹⁵⁹

36. While it is a fact that they are extremely credulous among themselves, they will believe of the Spaniards only what is against them. Therefore, it is evident that the [Christian] faith is a supernatural act, in that they believe the divine mysteries taught by the Spaniards. However, they do not believe some things, or refuse to believe them because they find the contrary profitable.

Consequently, there is no one who can persuade them that it is a sin to steal from the religious ministers or the Spaniards. Of this we have such proofs that we have not the slightest doubt that it is so; but, only perceiving it is not being able to remedy it.¹⁶⁰

So great is the ease and tenacity with which they believe the greatest nonsense, if this is to the discredit of the Spaniards or against them, that it would be a long undertaking to recount some of it. I have deemed it advisable to mention only two [instances] of it of which I heard ¹⁶¹ and of which I was a witness, so that the rest can be inferred from them.

37. While I was in Bisayas in the year 1672, those islands began to be depopulated and the Indians began to take to the mountains from the visitas of Xaro, because a rogue told them a bit of nonsense like the following. He told them that the king of España had gone out fishing, and the Turks had come upon him and made him captive; and that the king had given for his ransom all the Indians of the province of Oton. They believed this so thoroughly that it was with great difficulty that the alcalde Don Sebastian de Villarreal and the father ministers could quiet them, and considerable time passed before they were sure of the whole matter.¹⁶²

The second: While I was in the village of Lipa, a mine was discovered in that of Tanavan which was said to be of silver. Governor Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongorá sent ministers and officials in order to find out about it and to assay it. These men made their efforts, but the mine only said, *Argentum et aurum non est mihi*.¹⁶³ But the devil willed to have some rogue at this time to sow this deceit, namely, that the ministers¹⁶⁴ said that the mine would yield no silver until all the old women of Cometan had been caught, and their eyes plucked out and mixed with other ingredients, in order to anoint the vein of the mine with that mixture. This was believed, so that all was confusion and lamentation, and the old women hid in the fields; and it took a long time to quiet them, and cost the ministers great difficulty, as the Indians would not believe them because they were Castilians, until time itself undeceived them.¹⁶⁵

38. May God deliver us from any one of those Indians whom they consider as sages, who says any bit of nonsense, even though it be against the faith,¹⁶⁶ and they only respond, *Vicanong maronong*, "Thus say the sages," and it is labor lost to persuade them to the contrary; for the authority that these scholars have over them is incredible.

39. They are extremely arrogant, and hence the son will not obey his father, or the headman, or captain of the village.¹⁶⁷ They are only bound in this by fear, and when they have no fear they will not obey. They only recognize the Spaniard to be more than they;¹⁶⁸ and this they say only because of an interior impulse, which forces them against their will and without their knowing why. This is the providence of God, so that they can be governed.

40. They are very fond of imitating the Spaniard¹⁶⁹ in all his bad traits; such as variety of clothes, cursing, gambling, and the rest that they see the coxcombs¹⁷⁰ do. They shun the imitation of the good things in the dealings and civilization of the Spaniards, and in the proper rearing of their children. For in all the rest that treats of trickery, drunken revelries, and ceremonies in their marriages, burials, and tyrannies one against another, they observe exactly what they learned from their ancestors. Thus they unite in one the vices of the Indians and the Spaniards.¹⁷¹

41. Just as the poor are arrogant, so also are the old ones ignorant, and they are not to be distinguished from the youths. Consequently, in their weddings, banquets, and revelries one will see old men with white hair, mixed with the lads; and slouchy old women with their scapularies, clapping their hands and singing nonsensical things with the lasses. Scarcely is there an Indian who knows his age, and many¹⁷² do not know the baptismal names of their wives, after they have been baptized for fifty years.¹⁷³

42. They are so ignorant that they do not have the slightest knowledge concerning the origin of the ancestors from whom they descend, and whence they came to settle these islands. They do not give any information concerning their paganism, which is not the worst; and they only preserve in certain parts some ridiculous abuses, which they observe at births and sicknesses, and the cursed belief that persuades them that the souls of their ancestors or the grandfathers of the families are present in the trees and at the bottom of bamboos, and that they have the power of giving and taking away health and of giving success or failure to the crops. Therefore, they make their ancestors offerings of food, according to their custom; and what has been preached to

them and printed in books avails but little, for the word of any old man regarded as a sage has more weight With them than the word of the whole world.¹⁷⁴

43. They act tyrannically one toward another. Consequently, the Indian who has some power from the Spaniard is insolent ¹⁷⁵ and intolerable among, them —so much so that, in the midst of their ingratitude, some of them recognize it, although very few of them. Yet it is a fact that, if the Spaniards had not come to these islands, the Indians would have been destroyed; for, like fish,¹⁷⁶ the greater would have swallowed the lesser, in accordance with the tyranny which they exercised in their paganism.¹⁷⁷

44. They are wanting in understanding and reflection, so that they do not recognize any means in anything, but go to extremes. Consequently, if one ask them for warm water, they bring it boiling, and then if they are reproached and told that one wishes it more temperate, they go and bring it back as cold as ice.¹⁷⁸ In this vicious circle of extremes, they will continue ceaselessly without finding a mean. Consider then, how they will act in prudential matters, where one must seek the mean and not the extremes, as says the poet:¹⁷⁹

Es[t] modus in rebus; suet certi denique fines.

*Quos ultra, citraque nequit consistere rectum.*¹⁸⁰

This is the cause of great anxiety to us, and with them a cause of great happiness to see us grow impatient, even though it cost them some blows, which they take very willingly because they make us impatient. They celebrate this in a lively manner in the kitchen. There is nothing that the Indian regrets more than to see the Spaniard or the father calm, and that he patiently and with forbearance restrains his hand from them when it is necessary; for but rarely do they do anything willingly, and hence the most prudent among them are wont to say that "the rattan grows where the Indian is born."¹⁸¹ *Virga in dorso ejus, qui indiget corde* (Proverbs x, 13).

They resemble in this a mischievous lad who served a good cleric. One day his master sent him to buy a hen, and he stole and hid a leg.¹⁸² His master was silent, and overlooked the incident. It came to pass that the master and the lad walked into a field, where they came upon some cranes, all of them with one foot lifted high in the air. Thereupon the lad said to his master, "Sir, the hen was like these birds which have but one foot." The cleric answered, "No, my

lad, for these birds have two feet; and if you do not believe it, look." So saying, he threw a stick at the cranes, which flew away in fright, showing the other foot. At this the lad said, "O, sir, had you done the same with me, the hen would also have had two feet." Doubtless, this lad must have been of the same disposition as these good brother, who do nothing good without a beating. *Tu virga percuties eum* (Proverbs XXIII, 14). ¹⁸³

It happened that an Augustinian religious—who still lives and is very well known for his great learning, arrived in these islands in the year 1684, and was given, shortly after his arrival, a lad of eight or nine years for his service. The lad was so clever and lively, that he was held in esteem,¹⁸⁴ and the said religious was very fond of him, because of his great activity. The lad considered that the father was very patient with him, and chid his neglect very mildly. One day he said to the father "Father, you know that you are new. Consider the Indians like myself. You must not overlook anything. If you wish to be well served, you must keep a rattan, and when I commit any. fault, you must strike me with it; and then you will see that I shall move as quickly as a sparrowhawk. For you must know, Father, that the rattan grows where the Indian is born. So have I heard said by the old Indians." ¹⁸⁵ Trouble enough do the poor wretches have, for one may say of them: *Oderue peccare mali formidinae penae.* ¹⁸⁶

45. One can give them nothing, even if it be given,¹⁸⁷ for if he happen to give one anything in the presence of others, even if it be a needle,¹⁸⁸ all will demand that in justice the same be given to them. In this they closely resemble the laborers of the twentieth chapter of St. Matthew, who construed as an injury the favor that the householder showed to their companions. This is covetousness and lack of consideration. So far is this foolishness carried that the Indian will take fifty lashes willingly, if he knows with certainty that all the others are to get as much. Surely they cause great trouble with this wretched habit, and those who might confer some benefit on them often avoid doing so.

46. They are so distrustful that they think that the ground on which they walk and the air which they breathe are about to fail. This does not make them more provident and industrious, but more foolish and dull. Therefore, if there are many to confess they troop together all in a body, each one desirous of being first. This causes extraordinary trouble and impatience to the confessor. But, if there are but few, they come a legua apart; and one must summon them, and they take an hour to come. If the father rises in anger, or because it is late, then they all come together in a crowd, and say "Father, me only." This is a bit

of foolishness in which one can trace the great deficiency of their understanding.¹⁸⁹

47. As they are so curious, and fond of knowing whatever does not concern them, what occurs when many of them confess together is wondrous to see. For all of them keep a steadfast gaze on the one who is confessing. One is astonished and amused to see all the women with their faces turned backward¹⁹⁰ so that they seem to be biformed Januses, or paid dancers with a mask at the back of the head. In this manner, they remain until the end of the function. The same is true on Ash Wednesday or at the adorations of the cross on Holy Friday, when all of them wish to kiss at one time, or in other similar functions.

48. They are much given to the sin of blasphemy,¹⁹¹ because of their natural vileness, their pride, and, their presumption. Hence it is quite usual for them to complain of God, whom they call *Paghihinanaquit*, asking why He does not give them this or that, and health or wealth, as He does to other creatures. They utter words of nonsense that horrify those who do not know, that it proceeds from their great lack of understanding and consideration, and from their very great disability for conforming themselves with the divine will.¹⁹² Thus the royal prophet David, when compelled by his superior enthusiasm to touch what he considered inferior matter, and [when he] lifted up his complaints of the divine Providence, was excused by his ignorance, as will be seen in Psalm LXXII, [23], where he humbles himself, saying: *Ut jumentum factus sum apud te: et ego semper tecum.*¹⁹³

49. They are very vain,¹⁹⁴ and they spend their money never more willingly than in functions of vanity; for they consider themselves highly; and wish to be esteemed without doing anything worthy of esteem. The men especially, even though they do not have anything to eat, must not for that reason fail to have a shirt and a hat, and to dress in style. They give banquets very frequently, for very slight causes; and everything resolves itself into eating, drinking, and great noise. Their vanity is the only thing that causes them to lessen their laziness, in order to get the wherewithal to keep up this esteem, and applause from their compatriots.¹⁹⁵

50. They are revengeful to an excessive degree—so much so that they are vile and cowardly; and the ministers have great trouble in reconciling them with their enemies; and although they do it through fear, it is never with the whole heart, for this passion has great influence over them. And since they

need magnanimity and manliness to overcome it, and these virtues are foreign to them,¹⁹⁶ hate generally forces its roots into them so deeply that it is impossible to eradicate it in a whole lifetime.¹⁹⁷

This is the reason why they are so inclined to litigation, and to going before the audiencias and courts with their quarrels,¹⁹⁸ in which they willingly spend their possessions for the sole purpose of making others spend theirs and of causing them harm and trouble. For that they are even wont to pledge their sons and daughters.¹⁹⁹

51. In order to be contrary in everything to other nations, they have lust but no love. This is in regard to the illicit love; for in the supernatural love which grace causes in the sacrament of marriage (since divine impulse works in this) their evil disposition is conquered and most of them make very good husbands. But in illicit intercourse the men have no other purpose than bodily appetite, and to deprive [of virginity] as many women as they have done, in order to sport with it. For it is a long established custom among them that the women shall give to the men, and the latter shall be the ones served and feted; while only blows, kicks, and trouble are given to the women. So true is this that one might say that they have an inferno both in this and in the other world. Hence the women are very poorly clad, for the men want everything for themselves.²⁰⁰

52. But in the midst of this, which appears inhuman, one may praise them for having succeeded in treating their wives as they deserve, in order to keep them submissive and happy; for this submission makes them better, and humble, and prudent, and conformable to their sentence of being subject to man. And if the Europeans would learn this useful and prudent management from them, they would live in greater peace and with less expense; and marriage would be more mild and quiet, and well ordered, according to reason, and better directed toward the end for which it was instituted—as we see is the case with these people, with a fertility that causes our wonder.

53. They have another remarkable custom, which has been taught them by the infernal Machiavellian²⁰¹ Satan, which is good for their bodies, but bad for their souls. This is that they observe very strictly the concealment of one another's faults and wrong-doing. They endeavor to see that no transgression comes to the ear of the father minister, or alcalde, or any Spaniard. They observe this with peculiar secrecy, although they may be at enmity among themselves; and ready to kill as they say. Consequently, the most serious crime that can happen among them is to tell the father or alcalde what is passing in

the village.²⁰² They call that *mabibig*, because it is the most abominable fault and the only sin among them.²⁰³

54. This worst of customs is very prejudicial and troublesome to the Spaniards and to the father ministers. For it might happen that one has one servant (or all) who wastes and destroys the property of his master, and there is [no one] who will tell him what is passing.²⁰⁴ But if it happens that the wasteful servant leave, then all the others tell what he did; and, whatever is lacking afterward, they throw the blame on that absent servant. If the Spaniard reprove the servant whom he most esteems and benefits, asking him why he did not tell of the evil that the other servant was doing, he replies with great dudgeon that they must not accuse him of being *mabibig*, or talebearer of what happens. This is what takes place, even if the servants know that they are flaying their master. Consequently, the first thing that they do when any new servant comes is, to threaten him if he turn *mabibig*, and afterwards make him do all the work that belongs to them all, while the old servants are quite free from toil. Hence the fewer servants a Spaniard has, the better served will he be; for only the newcomer works and does everything, and the others not only do, nothing, but are all served by him.²⁰⁵

55. They have another peculiarity, which always causes me great wonder. I am trying to discover the cause therefore, but I only find, so far as I can make out, that it is due to their incapacity and ingratitude and their horror of the Spaniards. This is, that while the difference between the poverty, wretchedness, and want of their houses and the anxiety and poverty in which they live, when compared with the abundance, good cheer, good clothes, and comfort which they enjoy in the service of certain Spaniards is almost infinite, if they happen to be discharged, or to leave for some very slight cause occasioned by their pride and vanity, they turn from one extreme to the other, so contented with the present misery that they do not remember or even consider the past abundance. If they be asked in what condition they lived better, they answer that everything is one and the same, and hence we do not get revenge by sending them away in anger [*en embiarlos con Dios*]. But what great happiness is theirs!²⁰⁶

56. They would rather scorn the goods of the father or of the Spaniards than enjoy them and profit by them. Hence what they lose is greater than what they spend.

57. They are greatly lacking in foresight. Hence the servants and stewards do not advise their master to procure any article until it is completely gone.

Therefore when they say that there is no more sugar or no more oil, it is when there is not [oil] enough to whet a knife.²⁰⁷ Consequently, great deficiencies and annoyances are suffered because of this custom.

58. If there are visitors or guests to dine with the master, they do not consider the guests at all, thus causing the poor master of the house great shame; ²⁰⁸ and it is necessary for him to excuse himself by the poor instruction that the devil gave them in this matter. No misfortune can be greater to him than to offend against his civility; and in a manner that seems good to them, for doubtless they are so persuaded by the devil. It is also their custom, when there is company, for all to go to the kitchen and leave the master alone.²⁰⁹

59. Their stomachs are like sackbuts, with systole and diastole;²¹⁰ and thus they contract and expand them in a wonderful manner. For although they observe parsimony in their own houses, it is a matter for which to praise God to see them gorge themselves and gulp down things at the expense of the Spaniards, as Quevedo said there of Galalon: "Galalon, who eats but little at home, overloads his goodly paunch at another's expense." ²¹¹

60. But say to them, *Buen provecho*;²¹² for usually these losses are well retrieved when they row. They are horrifying and frightful in venting, their anger, both against one another, and against the father ministers; and there would be so much to say in this that it would never be finished.²¹³ They are able to make their complaints in such a manner and to such purpose that they persuade those who know most about their, falsity and trickery that they are telling the truth. I remember that an alcalde of experience ²¹⁴ was heard to say, when the Indians came to him with complaints: *Audivi auditionem tuam, et timui.*²¹⁵ There are usually Indians, both men and women, in the suburbs of Manila, who hire out as mourners in the manner of the mourners of the Hebrews, and such as were in style in Castilla in the time of the Cid. The authors of the quarrel go first into the house of some lawyer ²¹⁶ well known for his cleverness, who is one of those called in law rabulas,²¹⁷ who do not know which is their right hand. These men keep books of formulas and of petitions directed against all the human race; for example, in this form, "suit against alcalde;" and then follow all the crimes and excesses that can be committed by alcaldes.²¹⁸ The same thing is true of suits against ministers and curas, and in them is enclosed all possibility of irregular conduct. Then the said "smith of calumny,"²¹⁹ as the Italian says, takes the names of the plaintiffs and defendants, and a few facts; and then puts it all in the book from beginning to end [*de pe á pa*], without omitting one iota. And this is not to speak

uncertainly; for in the archives of the court will be found the chart which was discovered in the possession of a certain rabula named Silva, who, in addition to this had skill in counterfeiting royal decrees and documents.

61. When the petition has been made, they go with it to the mourners, and they go to press their suit with a lamentation like that of Magedo for King Josias, which would soften stones.²²⁰ That has been investigated by several governors in my time. I remember one investigation by Don Juan de Vargas, and another by Don Gabriel de Cruce-laegui; and many who are living remember them. Let them judge, then, the pity that ought to be expressed for the father ministers, whose honor is exposed to so great danger.

62. Their cunning and diabolical cleverness in making an accusation is not the equal [*i.e.*, is more than the equal] of their capacity; and it is known that they have the special suggestion of the father of discord, Satan. I remember that they brought to a certain provincial a complaint against the father minister, saying that he kept twelve Indians busy in caring for but one horse. The provincial made an investigation and found that the father had but one Indian, and that he used the said horse a great deal, in order to attend to the administration of souls. When the calumniators were chidden for the falsity of their complaint, they explained it by saying, "Father, that Indian is, in truth, but one; but he is changed every month, and at the end of the year there are twelve men." Just see what subtlety, and what confusion in their arithmetic; in order to make their accusation—the Indians maliciously speaking of a year in order to give color to their calumny.²²¹ So many cases of this sort can be stated, that they are unending. And with all this, these natives have such persuasiveness, or powers of enchantment, that they generally deceive and persuade the most experienced with their lies.

63. Inasmuch as any sort of complaint is received, without subjecting the accuser to a penalty in case that he cannot prove his allegations²²²—as ought to be the case, and according to the orders of the Mexican Council—no one's honor is safe. For, if they prove their accusations, they are the gainers, while if they do not prove them they return home as cool as ever, for they always go to gain and never to lose.²²³

64. They are very fond of ceremonial acts and festivals where there is some novelty; and fond of long pilgrimages²²⁴ to images of some new miracle, while they forget about the old.²²⁵

65. They are especially fond of comedies and farces, and therefore, there is no feast of consequence, unless there is a comedy. ²²⁶ If possible they will lose no rehearsal, and in all they pay attention only to the witty fellow who does innumerable foolish and uncouth things, and at each of his actions they burst into hearty laughter. He who plays this part acceptably receives his diploma as an ingenious fellow, and has permission to go and come anywhere, and even to cajole the women before their husbands; and the latter must laugh, even though they have no wish to do so. It is very necessary that these representations be not harmful, for many of them are printed. Accordingly, they receive considerable benefit from these functions and external acts, such as the descent from the cross, and other representations, which are patterned after those called *escuitales* ²²⁷ in Nueva España—in which is verified the truth of the sentence in the *Ars Poetica* of Horace, verses 18[0-181]. ²²⁸

Segnius irritant animos demisa per aures,

Quam quae sunt oculis conspecta fidelibus.

66. Consequently, those who have experience are wont to declare that the faith enters into the Indians through the eyes; and hence it seems worthy of consideration that it was the apostle St. Thomas whom our Lord ²²⁹ had prepared for the teaching of the Indians—he who desired that the belief in his glorious resurrection might enter through the eyes: *Nisi videro . . . non credam* (John xx, 25).

67. They are extreme in their observance of their usages and customs, which they call *ogali*. To be found wanting in these, is a great infamy; and, consequently, in order not to break them they will trample everything under foot. The ceremonies and abuses, practiced in their weddings and funerals are numerous and curious, and no success has been had in suppressing them; notwithstanding all the efforts that have been made; for all they want from the Spaniards is their clothes, and all the evil that they see in them. I believe that these customs will never be suppressed. ²³⁰

68. Another curious peculiarity is that although there are generally some few who are jealous, if, they have any business with the Spaniards, they will not go themselves, but will send their wives or daughters without any fear of danger, in order that their business may be, well despatched. ²³¹

69. They are very material and literal in their conversations, and one cannot say the slightest word to the women in jest, however slight it be; for the most discreet thing that they will answer to one will be, Tampalasanca, which means, "You are a ²³² shameless fellow;" and, if not that, ²³³ a tempest of words, that will make him repent having given occasion for them. ²³⁴ This alone is their custom with the Spaniards. ²³⁵

70. It is a thing to be wondered at that even the dogs have another disposition; and have a particular aversion toward Spaniards. When they see Spaniards, they choke themselves with barking. And when the children see a father they cry immediately, ²³⁶ and thus from their cradle they begin to hold every white face in horror. ²³⁷

71. They are so cowardly that they fear any Indian who becomes a bully among them—so much that, if they only see him with a poor knife, they fear him so greatly that he can do whatever he wishes. All the village together will not be bold enough to arrest him, for they say that he is *posong* which is the same as "bold." I have had many examples of this. ²³⁸

72. The vice of drunkenness is regarded by them as rank in the fourth degree, ²³⁹ and they have made it a point of nobility; for the chiefest men think that they are the best workmen, at this occupation. ²⁴⁰ It is a fact that those most given to this vice are the Ilocans, then the Visayans, and then our Tagálogs. ²⁴¹ The Pampangos can be exempted from this rule, for they are very temperate in this wretched habit, as well as in all the other things which we have mentioned. They are very different: for they are truthful, and love their honor; are very brave, and inclined to work; and are more civil, and of better customs. In regard to the vices here mentioned (for they are, in the last analysis, Indians like the rest), they keep them more out of sight and covered. In all things the Pampangos have a nobleness of mind that makes them the Castilians of these same Indians. Consequently, that people must be distinguished from the rest in its character, in all that we have said.

73. Returning now to the others, in general, they possess vanity without honor; for among them it is no reason for less esteem to be drunkards, robbers, or connivers in evil deeds, or [to practice] other like virtues. ²⁴² They lose reputation and honor only if they get the reputation of being sorcerers. Consequently, in the opinion of a very learned minister, there is no case of a restitution of honor, unless some, accusation of this infamous sin is imputed to

them. In their marriages and among their kindred their disgust is not moved except by this, for the others are excused by self-interest, but this fault is not.²⁴³

74. All that I have said of the men is very different in the women, *saltem quoad modum*.²⁴⁴ For they are of better morals, are docile and affable, and show great love to their husbands and to those who are not their husbands. They are really very modest in their actions and conversation, to such a degree that they have a very great horror of obscene words; and if weak nature craves acts, their natural modesty abhors words.²⁴⁵ The notion that I have formed of them is that they are very honorable, and, most of all, the married women. Although beans are boiled, it is not by the kettleful, as in other regions.²⁴⁶ Scarcely will one find a Tagalog or Pampango Indian woman, who will put her person to trade; and they are not so abandoned as we see in the women in other regions. They are very averse toward the Spaniard, and love the equality [in marriage] of their own nation; and, as a foreign religious said, are suited "each man to each woman." They rarely have any love for a Spaniard. They have another peculiarity, which if the Indian women of America had, that land would not be so full of mulattoes, who are a ferocious and wicked race. This is their horror for Cafres and negroes, which is so great that they would sooner suffer themselves to be killed than to receive them. The Visayan women, however, are ready for everything, and are not so fastidious. On the contrary, they are very ready to consent to any temptation.²⁴⁷

75. The women are very devout, and in every way of good habits. The cause for this is that they are kept so subject and so closely occupied; for they do not lift their hands from their work, since in many of the villages they support their husbands and sons, while the latter are busied in nothing else but in walking,²⁴⁸ in gambling, and wearing fine clothes, while the greatest vanity of the women is in the adornment and demeanor of these gentlemen, for they themselves are very poorly and modestly²⁴⁹ clad.

76. In all that I have said, to this point, concerning the nature and morals of these poor people, I have done no more than to approximate [to the truth], as the mathematicians have done in the squaring of the circle. For an essential substantial, and exhaustive definition²⁵⁰ is for some other person, to whom divine Providence chooses to communicate this difficult matter.²⁵¹ Very praiseworthy is Barclayo, for in his *Eupormion* and his *Argenis*,²⁵² he succeeded in discerning the natures of nations; as did Juan Rodemborgio,²⁵³ and our Gracian in his *Criticon*.²⁵⁴ But had they treated of the Filipinos, they would not have been so successful.

77. The bishop of La Puebla, Don Juan Palafox,²⁵⁵ wrote a keen treatise on the virtues of the Indians of Nueva España, in which his uncommon intellect and his holy and good intention are displayed more clearly than is the truth of his argument on the subject; for in a curious way he endeavors to make virtues of all their vices and evil inclinations. For in what they merit before God through their wills, they do not merit if it be the impelling force of their natural inclination and manner of living, because *absuetiis non fit passio*.²⁵⁶ One cannot, indeed, compare the voluntary poverty of St. Francis with that of the Indians, which is born of laziness and full of greed; for theirs is the infamous *poverty* which Virgil places in hell: *et turpis egestas*.²⁵⁷ And just as the economy of a poor wretch is not reckoned as fasting, so it will not be proper to say that if St. Anthony²⁵⁸ went barefoot, the Indians do the same and that they live on certain roots, as did the fathers of the Thebaid.²⁵⁹ For the fasting and the austerities of St. Arsenius²⁶⁰ had a different impelling motive—since he left the pleasures and esteem of the court of the emperor Theodosius²⁶¹—than that which they can have, being so born and reared, and never having seen anything else. Hence, Ovid says of the Getas that they left the delights and comforts of Roma, and returned to seek the poverty and misery to which they were accustomed in Pontus:

Roma quid melius scyt[h]ico ²⁶²*quid frigore peius?*

Húc tamen ex illa Barbarus urbe ²⁶³*fugit.*

78. It is not my intention to include the Sangley mestizos here, as they are a different race. For although they were the children of Indians at the beginning, they have been approaching more and more to the Chinese nation with the lapse of successive generations. *Et compositum ex multis atrahit ad se naturam simplicis dignioris*.²⁶⁴ Consequently, I leave their description for whomever wishes to undertake that task; for I fear that I shall succeed but very ill with the task which I have here undertaken, as it is so difficult.

79. Finally, summing up all the above, the inference will be that all the actions of these wretched beings are such as are dictated by nature through the animal, intent solely on its preservation and convenience, without any corrective being applied by reason, respect, and esteem for reputation. Consequently, he who first said of a certain people that if they saw the whole world hanging on one nail and needed that nail in order to hang up their hat; they would fling the world down in order to make room for the hat, would have said it of the Indians had he known them. For they think only of what is

agreeable to them, or of what the appetite dictates to them; and this they will put in action, if fear, which also dwells in them, do not dissuade them.²⁶⁵ Hence they will be seen dressed in the shirts and clothes of their masters, for the sole reason ²⁶⁶ that because they no sooner, enter any house than they become the owners of everything in it. And the worst thing is that, although they are not good and faithful servants, *intrans in gaudium domini sui.*²⁶⁷

80. They also have other qualities worthy of envy, *non quoad causam sed quoad efectum.*²⁶⁸ Such is their contentment with their lot, for they believe that there is no people in the whole world better than they, and that if they possess a bamboo nut, a little rice for a few days, a few small fish, and a couple of leaves of tobacco, they do not envy the tables of Xerxes or Eliogabalus,²⁶⁹ and can sing with Lucan :

O tuta potestas Augusti parvique laris.

Proh! munera nondum intellecta Deum quibus hoc

Contingere templis, vel posuit muris nullo

*Trepidare tumulto, Caesarea pulsata manu.*²⁷⁰

81. They are also worthy of envy for the calmness and conformity with which they die, with so wonderful peace, as if they were making a journey from one village to another—the Lord working in these creatures as the Lord that He is,²⁷¹ for in that transit His mercy shines forth more; and thus said David (Psalm, XLVII, 21) *Domini, Domini, exitus mortis;*²⁷² whence that reduplication which the Hebrew grammar calls *sohatsere*,²⁷³ signifies the superlative in name and action. The same is the declaration of divine wisdom (Proverbs, XX): *In viis justitiae ambulo, in medio semitarum judicii, ut ditem diligentes me.*²⁷⁴ The Father celestial summons them for the relief of their burdens, and of the troubles which they have had during life: *Venite qui laboratis, et onerati estis, et ego reficiam vos*(Matthew xi, 28).²⁷⁵

For it is a fact that if one consider the life and lot of most of them, they resemble that merchant in the gospel of Matthew (chapter 13), who gave all that he had for the precious pearl; for it costs them more than is apparent to become Christians, with so much cutting of timber; and many personal services; and thus God gives them the true rest of death, as to poor and needy

ones. *Parcet pauperi, et inopi, et animas pauperum salvas faciet* (Psalm, xii, 13).²⁷⁶ *Exiguo enim conceditur missericordia*(Wisdom, vi, 7).²⁷⁷

82. In all the aforesaid, I find no more than the claw by which this lion can be recognized, because of the difficulty of the matter; therefore I refer the matter to another who has greater talent and experience; who can tell more, since I cannot do everything.²⁷⁸ I remember once to have heard from an inexperienced preacher this ingenious bit of nonsense, that in praising St. John the Baptist he cited that passage of St. Matthew (chapter xi, [7]), *caepit Jesus dicere [ad turbas] de Joanne*;

83. And he said that John was so great a saint, that even in the mouth of Christ our Lord it was [only] possible to begin speaking of him, but that no end could be reached. The same I shall say of this matter, in all candor.

84. There is no little to learn and study in the matter, concerning the manner in which one must behave with them—especially we ministers, who come from remote lands in order to assist and teach them; for because of not understanding this aright many have become disconsolate, and have conceived a horror of the Indians, and have returned to España, or they have lived amid great hardship, in a continual combat of impatience and anxiety, thus frustrating the good vocation which brought them to these islands, a vocation so acceptable to God our Lord. For, as says the angelic doctor St. Thomas, 22, book 188, article 4: *Deo nullum sacrificium est magis acceptum, quam celus animarum*.²⁷⁹ To those who take this charge upon them, the words of the Lord in His revelations to St. Brigida are of great consolation. Among many others, he says (book 2, chapter 6): *Vos ergo amici mei qui estis in mundo procedite securi, clamate, el anuntiate voluntatem meam. Ego ero in corde et in ore vestro. Ego ero dux nester in via et consolator in morte. Non relinquam vos, procedite alacriter quia ex labore crescit gloria*.²⁸⁰ For it is a fact that all this exhortation is necessary, in order to combat the friction that is caused to the European disposition by dealing with people of customs so different, and which has caused so many to lose their reason.

85. Therefore the compass to which the navigator must always be attentive, in the gulf of the customs of this exasperating race, is patience. For this is the only remedy which Christ our Lord left to His disciples for the attainment of this ministry: (Luke xxi, [19]) *In patientia vestra possidebitis animas vestras*; and St. Paul, in Hebrews x, 36: *patientia est vobis necessaria, ut reportetis, repromissionis*.²⁸¹

86. With this knowledge and without losing ²⁸² this strong protection one must continually consider that all these vices and evil traits are dictated and impelled by their nature, at times aided by the suggestion of the common enemy when he hopes to succeed in causing us impatience. Very worth considering in this are the words of St. Paul (2 Cor., xi, 19, 20): *Libenter enim suffertis insipientes cum sitis ipsi sapientis. Sustinetis enim si quis vos in servitutem redigit, si quis devorat, si quis accipit, si quis extollitur, si quis infaciem vos caedit.*²⁸³ For all these hardships, and greater, must be suffered here among these brothers.²⁸⁴

87. I confess for my part that, at the beginning, I was afflicted and was greatly tormented, until with the lapse of time I came to realize that such was their disposition and nature, and that these trees could give no better fruit. In time it became to me a motive for praising God to see the variety of conditions and ²⁸⁵ customs which He has placed in human nature, which is so beautified with variety; and I took particular pleasure in seeing youths and boys doing all things backward—without any malice, and without having prompters, like actors; but moved only by that hidden peculiarity that makes them so different from all other nations, and so uniform among themselves, [a likeness] which is so great that any one who has seen one of these *monopantos* has seen them all. With these considerations I lived consoled, and succeeded in making of them wax and wick, as the saying is. ²⁸⁶

88. First, one must not shout out at them, for that is a matter that frightens and terrifies them greatly, as can be seen if one cries out at them when they are unaware—when the whole body trembles; and they say that a single cry of the Spaniard penetrate quite to their souls.

89. One must not strike them with the hands, for if we are of flesh, they are of iron, and the hand will suffer greatly, for God does not choose that they be corrected so indecently.²⁸⁷

90. All of their faults must not be overlooked, for they will become insolent and worse daily. Consequently, it is necessary for the father ministers to give them some lashes as a father, with great moderation, for it is enough to give lashes for vanity and haughtiness. This must be observed especially in the lads, as is the order of the Holy Spirit (Proverbs, xxiii, 13, 14): *Noli subtrahere a puero disciplinam; si enim percussieris eum virga, non morietur. Tu virga percuties eum: et animam ejus de inferno liberabis.*²⁸⁸ The command of St.

Gregory shall be observed carefully (2 p. pastoral, chapter 6): *Curandum quippe est ut rectorem subditis, et matrem, et patrem se exhibeat disciplina.*²⁸⁹

91. Nothing must be taken away from them, or received from them, without paying for it; for they are very poor, and the least thing produces a great want with them. It must be considered that their greatest misery arises from their laziness and rude condition, and that that habit keeps them in its grasp, and they suffer great poverty; for *Egestatem operata est manus remissa* (Proverbs, x, 4). We must consider also that they support us and that they pay as they are able for our labors. If anything be given to them, let it be purely ²⁹⁰ for God's sake and as an alms, for if it be lent it will be entirely lost, both the merit and the patience ²⁹¹—considering their necessity and not their ingratitude, as a thing ordained by God. *Propter miseriam asume pauperem, et propter inopiam eius ne dimittas eum vacuum; et caetera* (Ecclesiasticus, xxix; 12).²⁹²

92. It is better, in selecting servants among the Indians for the inside of the house, to see that they be the sons of caciques or chiefs. They must be shown neither love nor familiarity. They must indeed always be treated well, but with uprightness and seriousness of face. It must be considered that in proportion as they are better caressed and clothed, the worse and more insolent they will become. This is the teaching of the Holy Spirit in Proverbs xxiv, 21: *Qui delicate a pueritia nutrit servum suum, postea sentiet eum contumacem*. They must be taught their duties, and must always be ordered to perform them with prudence and circumspection, for otherwise they will come gradually to lose respect for their master, and for the character which God presents to them in the Spaniard in order to dominate them; and then will result the same thing that happened to the log which, Aesop says, was placed in the lake by Jupiter to be king of the frogs. But the frogs, seeing after a time that it did not move, made sport of it, and jumped on top of it, etc. Not many things should be ordered of them at one time; for their memories are very poor, and they will only keep the last one in mind. The keys of the pantry or to the money must not be entrusted to them for that would be placing opportunity and temptation in their hands, and they never resist it. Good instruction and subjection in the house, and above all, the good example of life which they see in their masters, instil much into them; and under such conditions they generally become good servants, especially those of the Pampango nation. On the other hand, also, one must not expect a good servant in the house of a bad master.²⁹³

93. One must not exhaust them or squeeze them much beyond what they can give of themselves, as we do with the lemon, for all that will be pressed out will

be bitter, as says the proverb of the commentary; *qui nimis emungit, solet extorquere cruorem*.²⁹⁴ Neither is it well or proper to go about visiting the caciques or going up into their houses, except when necessity requires it; for immediately the whole village will be filled with envy and complaint, and the esteem of the father ministers will suffer considerably. Besides, their stench and vice do not render this diversion desirable.²⁹⁵

94. When ²⁹⁶ they are sent with a message to any place, one must very patiently await some notable failure caused 'ordinarily' by their natural sloth and laziness.²⁹⁷ *Sicut acetum dentibus, et fumus oculis, sic piger his qui miserunt illium* (Proverbs, X, 26).²⁹⁸

95. I do not believe that I should omit mention, *saltem per transenam*,²⁹⁹ of a matter very worthy of consideration—namely, that if God chooses to chastise the flourishing the Christianity of these islands for our and their sins, by placing it in the hands of Indians ordained as priests (as appears about to threaten us very soon); if God do not apply a remedy, what abominations will not follow! For to declare that they will change their customs ³⁰⁰ and the aforesaid vices is impossible. On the contrary, their arrogance will grow worse with exaltation to so sublime an estate; their cupidity with. power will be better fed; their laziness, with the lack of necessity; and their vanity, with the applause that they would wish to have; for they would desire to be served by those whom they would in another estate respect and obey; and the villages would suffer from the curse mentioned in Isaiah xxiv, 2, *sicut populus, sic sacerdos*. For the Indian who is ordained does not become a priest because it is the calling that conduces to the most perfect estate,³⁰¹ but because of the great and almost infinite advantage that comes to him with the new estate that he chooses. How much it differs from being a father cura, to be a *baguntao* or sexton! From paying tribute, to being paid a stipend! From going to the [compulsory] cutting of timber, to being served in it! From rowing in a banca, to be rowed in it! That does not count with a Spaniard, who, if he become a cleric, often give up an office as alcalde-mayor, captain, or general, with many other comforts in his native place, while his house is exalted above all the nation of the Indians. Let one contrast this with the vanity with which one who has been freed from the oar, ³⁰² or from an ax in the cutting of timber, will give his hand to be kissed! What a burden for the village will be the father, and mother, sister and nieces ranked as ladies, when many other better women are pounding rice! For if the Indian is insolent and intolerable with but little power, what will he be with so much superiority! And if the wedge from the same log ³⁰³ is so powerful, what

will it be if driven by so great authority! What plague of locusts can be compared to the destruction that they would cause in the villages?³⁰⁴ What respect will the Indians have for him, seeing that he is of their color and nation—and especially those who consider themselves as good, and even better perhaps, than he who became a cura, while they do not become anything better than *bilango* or servant? How severely the good cura will chastise them, and for trifling offenses!³⁰⁵ as we see the Indians do when they act as *gobnadorcillos* of their villages for even a single year—when the first thing that they do, and in which they most delight, is immediately to place the *picota* ³⁰⁶ in front of their houses, in order to apply lashes with the hangman's strap [*penca*]. What tyranny will the cura practice on them, such as they are wont to practice if they have any power and authority! How well the wedge of the same wood will force its way, without there being any one to say to him, *curita facis?* [*i.e.*, "Dost thou play the cura?"]³⁰⁷

96. Therefore, if any insurrection or mutiny should arise, how well could it be arranged and prepared, ³⁰⁸ if the cura entered also into the dance, as he is also an Indian and interested? For, in all the insurrections that have occurred in these islands, respect for the father ministers has been of great importance; but the very opposite would have happened if these were Indians. Then in the frequent carousals and feasts of which they are so fond, and on which their vanity and their chieftainship are founded, without any doubt there would be great indecency; for the cura would be very tender of conscience who would not pledge them in their cups. In that and other temptations would happen what Lucian relates in the second of his dialogues.

97. A noble youth had a very beautiful and gentle female kitten, which he esteemed so highly that he begged the goddess Venus to change it into a beautiful maiden, in order that he might marry her. The goddess did so. Thereupon, the youth ³⁰⁹ immediately arranged the wedding, to which he invited the best people of the city. While, then, the bride was richly adorned with jewels and surrounded by many other women,³¹⁰ and the guests, a mouse happened to appear, and began to approach them in order to eat some crumbs of bread which were scattered about. The bride saw it, and, without power to control herself, ran after the mouse throughout the length of the hall, and the guests were unable to restrain her. The groom was ashamed, and said,³¹¹ "Gentlemen, your pardon; for this girl was formerly a cat, and will always have the habits and bad traits of that animal."

98. I believe that the same thing would happen with the Indians,³¹² even when they belong to the caciques or nobility; for it is incredible that they can strip themselves of the peculiarities of their nature. I at least do not believe it at present, although God our Lord can very easily do it, for He is the One who raises up sons of Abraham from the stones. But we must not ask for miracles needlessly, but allow the Indian to remain an Indian, and go to his labor as before. If it is desired to prepare them for the high ministry of the priesthood, it is advisable to test them in the offices of alcaldes-mayor, captains, regidores, and councilors; for it appears to me that there is no one who can say that these said offices are greater and of higher rank and dignity than the priesthood, at least where the Inquisition exists. Then, if they conduct themselves well in the said employments, they can be given the management of the body and blood of Jesus Christ our Lord; and then one can say with reason: *Quia in pauca fuisti fidelis supra multa te constituam*.³¹³ For, as the Church teaches us through the mouths of the holy fathers, the dignity of the priesthood is so great that that of the kings or emperors of the world cannot compare with it. Thus says St. Ignatius the Martyr in his epistle to Smyrna, chapter x, *Sacerdotium est apex bonorum omnium, quæ sunt in hominibus*.³¹⁴ St. Ambrose, in chapter 2 of his book *De dignitate sacerdotum*³¹⁵ says so still more clearly.³¹⁶ Father Molina³¹⁷ has considerable to say on this in the first treatise of his *Libro de sacerdotes* [i.e., "Book of priests"] as has Father Señeri³¹⁸ in his *Cura instruido* [i.e., "the cura instructed"].

99. Then is it possible that, even though they are Catholics and faithful sons of the Church, we must exalt to so lofty an estate men against whom there would be so many complaints if they became alférezes of a company in the regiment of Manila? Can the sacred habit of St. Peter, which we religious venerate as that of the greatest dignity, and to which we yield the most honorable place—which, as said the patriarch of Antiochia³¹⁹ to the emperor of China, is the first rank and order of the Church—be obliged not to experience disgust at such low creatures? I do not know in what it [i.e., the proposal to ordain Indians] can consist, unless it be that in it is realized the vision that the said St. Peter had in Caesarea when the sheet was let down from heaven filled with toads and serpents, and a voice commanded him to eat without disgust—as is read in chapter x of the Acts of the Apostles. For although it signified the calling of heathendom, it must not be understood in moral things of the barbarous and mean nature of some peoples that compose that heathendom, in order to constitute the ecclesiastic hierarchy.³²⁰ When I come to discuss this

matter, I find *no* end, and I find that we can only say: *Domine adauge [nobis] fidem*(Luke [x]vii, [5]). ³²¹

100. It is also a fact that the sacred canons do not demand from those who are ordained more than an honorable life and example, and a sufficient knowledge. Then, in order to dispense the spurious and legitimate³²² and the mestizos, there is a brief of Gregory XIII which begins "*Nuper ad nos relatum est*,³²³ issued at Roma, January 25, one thousand five hundred and seventy-five. For all that, I regard them [*i.e.*, Indians as priests] as irregular, not only for the reasons given and stated above, but also because they lack the ecclesiastical and priestly mental ability, and the prudence necessary; and without these all the rest serves as almost nothing, as Pedro Urceolo sang with graceful elegance in his "Epigrams:"

Sis licet ingenuus clarisque parentibus ortus;

Esse tamen vel sic bestia magna potes.

Adde locus patriae et claros tibi sume propinquos;

Esse tamen vel sic bestia magna potes.

Sint tibi devitae ³²⁴ sit larga et munda supellex;

Esse tamen vel sic bestia magna potes.

Denique, quidquid eris, nisi sit prudentia tecum;

Magna quidem dico, bestia semper eris. ³²⁵

101. May God our Lord preserve your Grace for the many years of my desire. Manila, June 8, one thousand seven hundred and twenty.³²⁶ Your humble servant, who kisses your hand,

FRAY GASPAR DE SAN AGUSTIN

[On a loose paper inserted in the copy of this letter owned by the Museo-Biblioteca de Ultramar (which as stated above, is unsigned), which was formerly owned by the well-known Spanish scholar Pascual de Gayangos, is the following: "According to paragraphs [of this letter] which Paterno inserted in his work *La antigua civilizacion de Filipinos* (Madrid, 1887), p. 241, this letter must have been written by father Fray Gaspar de San Agustín; and according to Sinibaldo de Mas, who inserts entire passages from this MS. in his *Informe sobre el estado de Filipinas en 1842*, i, pp. 63-132, and attributes it to Father Gaspar." Paterno has not had access to the document itself, but has used Mas.]

83 Juan José Delgado was a native of Cadiz; the time of his birth is not known. In 1711 he left Spain for Filipinas, and perhaps remained for some time in Mexico: it is probable that he reached Filipinas as early as 1717. He seems to have spent most of his life in the Visayan Islands—Sámar, Cebú, Leyte, etc.—but to have visited most of the peoples in the archipelago at some time or other. His *Historia* was written during the years 1751-54; the date of his death is not known. See sketch of his life in the *Historia* (Manila, 1892), pp. x-xi. [[back to text](#)]

84 Mas used the MS. of the Museo-Biblioteca de Ultramar, which is wrongly dated. See post, pp. 278-280.. Of the letter itself he says (i, "Poblacion" p. 63): "These paragraphs and other ancient documents will show us ...how little the individuals who now occupy us have changed since that time." [[back to text](#)]

85 For instance, Mas says (p. 63): "Here follows what the author of the celebrated work on the Philippines, called *Cronicas franciscanas* [referring to San Antonio's *Chronicas*] says: 'The very reverend father, Fray Gaspar de San Agustin, an Augustinian from Madrid,'" etc. Bowring makes this: "Among the most celebrated books on the Philippines are the 'Cronicas Franciscanas' by Fr. Gaspar de San Agustin, an Augustine monk of Madrid;" and following gives the impression that he makes the selections directly from San Agustin—a ridiculous error.

In regard to the word "monk" used by Bowring, that author is again in error, technically at least, an error that is quite often met with in many works. As pointed out by Rev. T. C. Middleton, O.S.A., in a letter dated December 8, 1902, the only regulars in the Philippines who could rightfully be styled "monks" were the Benedictines. The members of the other orders are "friars," the equivalent of the Spanish "frailes." The monks are strictly cloistered. The friars appeared first in the thirteenth century, and do not live a strictly cloistered life. [[back to text](#)]

86 M. reads on the outside wrapper: "Letter by Fray Gaspar de San Agustin;" and the heading of the letter is as follows: "+Letter written by an aged religious of Philipinas to a friend in España, who asked him as to the nature and characteristics of the Indian natives of these islands." D. reads: "Letter written by the very reverend father Fray . . . giving him an account . . ." [[back to text](#)]

87 M. and D. read "mathematical side;" and continuing D. reads "of the double of the cube of the sphere." [[back to text](#)]

88 i.e., "I was with this generation for about forty years, and I said 'These people always err from the heart.'" M. omits the Latin phrase and reads in its place "and I have only learned that they are almost incomprehensible." D. reads as M. and then adds "and therefore I shall only say," followed by the Latin phrase. [[back to text](#)]

89 i.e., "He himself knew our formation." The last word of the Latin phrase is omitted in M. [[back to text](#)]

90 D. reads "excuse myself from the burden and difficulty." [[back to text](#)]

91 i.e., "It is difficult to know man—a changeable and variable animal." M. gives only the first four words of this Latin phrase. [[back to text](#)]

92 i.e., "I see men as trees walking." [[back to text](#)]

93 Not set off into lines in the Ayer MS. A literal translation of the citation, which is rather freely translated in the text, is: "Spring makes me green; burning summer, yellow; autumn, white; and chill winter, bald." M. omits all the quotation after the first three words; D. reads "Glaucumque" instead of "flavamque." The poet mentioned by San Agustín was a Welsh man by the name of John Owen, or, according to his Latin name, Joannis Audoenus. He was born about 1560, at Armon, Wales, and died in London, in 1622. He studied law at Oxford, and afterward became a teacher at various places. He imitated the Epigrams of Martial, and his *Epigrammata* were published first in three books at London, in 1606, but were later augmented by seven more books. They were reprinted many times in various countries and even translated into other languages—among the latter, into English, French, and Spanish (Madrid, 1674-82). One of the best editions is that printed at Paris in 1774. [[back to text](#)]

94 D. omits this last phrase. [[back to text](#)]

95 M. omits the epigram. It is the forty-seventh epigram of the twelfth book, and is translated thus in Henry G. Bohn's *Epigrams of Martial* (London, 1877): "You are at once morose and agreeable, pleasing and repulsive. I can neither live with you nor without you." It has been several times translated into English verse. [[back to text](#)]

96 i.e., "As many opinions as persons." [[back to text](#)]

97 From the Greek words *μῶνος*, "one," "single," and *πᾶς*, "all;" thus meaning, "homogeneous." [[back to text](#)]

98 The Monophysites held that there was but one nature in Christ. They were condemned at the fourth general council held at Chalcedon in 451, but the decision of that council was a few years later set aside by an imperial encyclical issued by the emperor Basiliscus. During the next century the Monophysites split up into many sects, and fought among themselves. The Monophysites still exist in Armenia, Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia; and are represented by the Armenian National church, the Jacobite Christians of Syria and Mesopotamia, the Coptic church, and the Abyssinian church. The schismatic Christians of St. Thomas are now connected with the Jacobites: See Addis and Arnold's *Catholic Dictionary*, pp. 597, 598. [[back to text](#)]

99 M. greatly abridges this paragraph, among other things omitting all mention of the Monophysites. D. also omits the latter. [[back to text](#)]

100 At this point M. adds "who are the true Indians, so named from the River Indus or from Indostan, for our Indians are so by catachresis or misusage." [[back to text](#)]

101 The title of the Franciscan Juan de Torquemada's book, is as follows: *I^a (-III^a) Parte de los veynte y un libros rituales y monarchia Indiana con el origen y guerras de los Indios occidentales de sus poblaçones, descubrimiento, conquista, conversion y otras cosas maravillosas de la misma tierra* (Sevilla, 1615; in three parts). [[back to text](#)]

102 The title of Antonio de Remesal's book is *Historia general de las Indias Occidentales, y particular, de la governacion de Chiapa, y Guatemala. Escrivese juntamente los principios de nuestro glorioso Padre Santo Domingo, y de las demas religiones* (Madrid, 1620).

Remesal was born in Allariz in Galicia, and took the Dominican habit in Salamanca, where he also became doctor of theology. He was sent to Central America in 1613, and on his return wrote his book. See Moreri's *Dictionaire*, vii, p. 68; and Hoefer's *Nouvelle biographic générale*, xli, col. 956. [[back to text](#)]

103 See VOL. VIII, p. 38, note 1. [[back to text](#)]

104 Bartolome (*not* Bernardino) de las Casas, the great apostle of the Indians. He first went to the New World in 1502 as a planter, became a Dominican religious in 1510, and in 1514 began to preach against the cruelty inflicted on the Indians by the Spaniards, for the purpose of alleviating their misfortunes, making numerous trips to Spain. He finally obtained from Carlos I the "New Laws," which were so rigorous that an attempt to enforce them resulted in an insurrection in Peru under Gonzalo Pizarro, for an account of which see Pedro Gutiérrez de Santa Clara's *Historia de las guerras civiles del Peru, 1544-1548* (Madrid, 1904-05). He finally returned to Spain for the last time, and died after a few years in the Dominican convent of Valladolid. His writings are many, and important. The reference in the text may be to his *Brevissima relacion de la destrucción de las Indias* (Sevilla, 1552); or to his *Historia general de las Indus*, which existed only in MS., until 1875. [[back to text](#)]

105 See VOL. XXIX, p. 189, note 42. San Agustin probably refers to his *Virtudes del Indio* (1650?). Palafox left many writings, a number of which are of a controversial nature. [[back to text](#)]

106 In D., "taught." [[back to text](#)]

107 In D., "collect." [[back to text](#)]

108 M. and D. call these last two peoples the "Mogores" and the "Camarines." [[back to text](#)]

109 Baltasar Gracian was born in Calatayud, Aragon, in 1601, and entered the Society of Jesus in 1619. He taught belles-lettres, philosophy, moral theology, and the Holy Scriptures, and preached for several years. He was rector of the college at Taragona, Catalonia, where he died December 6, 1658. His first book, *El Heroë*, appeared in 1630. The most famous of his numerous works was his *Criticon*, which is probably the book referred to in the text. It is a sort of satire on the vices and customs of the times; and in places reminds one of *Pilgrim's Progress*. It was published in three parts, the first in 1650 at Madrid, and the other two at Huesca, in 1653. Most of his works were published under his brother Lorenzo's name. His talent in writing is vitiated by his affectation and other faults. See Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature* (New York, 1854); Sommervogel's *Bibliothèque*; Moreri's *Dictionaire*, iv, p. 174; and Hoefer's *Nouvelle biographie, générale*, xxi, cols. 570, 571. [[back to text](#)]

110 M. and D. add "For most of the defects and vices of these Indians are common, on account of the," and continue as above. [[back to text](#)]

111 This passage is badly confused in the three copies. The transcriber of M. has wrongly made the *viviendo acephalos* of the Ayer copy, *bebiendo a sed* [i.e., drinking when thirsty?] which hardly makes sense. That

MS. continues, "and in confused anarchy," which is better than the Ayer reading. D. reads "Who besides having been living as the greatest barbarians, leaderless, and in confused anarchy." [[back to text](#)]

112 Both M. and D. omit the passage referring to the influence and dominion of the moon. M. gives the names as "Beyerlinhe," and D. as "Bayarlinch."

Laurentius Beyerlinck was a noted Flemish savant and litterateur. He was born at Antwerp in 1578, and, after studying in that city with the Jesuits, went to Louvain, where he enjoyed a benefice until 1605. In that year he was recalled to Antwerp to become head of the seminary, and soon afterward obtained a canonry and then an archdeaconry there. His death occurred in Antwerp. June 22, 1627, at the age of forty-nine. Notwithstanding his short life and his religious labors, he wrote a surprising amount. An edition of his *Magnum Theatrum Vitae Humanae* appeared in London, in eight volumes, in 1678. See Moreri's *Dictionaire*. [[back to text](#)]

113 "When they grow delirious in their sickness, they are never frantic, but calm." (Mas, p. 64.) [[back to text](#)]

114 M. and D. add here "slow." [[back to text](#)]

115 In the Ayer MS. "serithnophagos." D. makes it "ictiófagos," which reading we have adopted; and M. omits the phrase. [[back to text](#)]

116 The abundance of fish is one of the means by which nature aids their necessities. In the rainy season, all the creeks and ravines are full of water and fish. The very rice fields swarm with eels, shrimps, and a species of fish called dalag, which is about two palmos long and more than two inches thick. It is especially interesting for an European to see a crowd of people in the month of October on the high-road, busily fishing in the sowed fields. As the rice is now grown, it is impossible to see the water that bathes and wets its roots, and consequently, when the hooks are drawn out with fish two palmos long on them, it appears to be enchantment, or the inconsequential things of a dream. As the water dries up, the fish, still living, gather down in toward the hollows where there is yet some water; and they are there caught with the hand, or killed with clubs.

"The Indians have three meals [per day]: breakfast, dinner, and supper. These three meals consist of rice boiled in water but dry like the rice cooked in the Valencian style, or like the Turkish pilao. In addition they eat a trifle of fresh or salt fish, some sort of meat stew, camotes, etc.; but rarely do they have more than two different dishes, unless it is the occasion of a banquet. In the dearest provinces, the [expense of] common food cannot be estimated at more than one-half real of silver per day per adult; and since the daily wage that they earn is at least one-half real and their food, it results that this race have great opportunity to save and acquire considerable wealth. But their vices, their few necessities, and their disposition, which is indifferent and lacking in foresight, does not allow them to better the condition of their birth; and they remain in the wake of the mestizos, who are always the wealthy people of the villages." (Mas, pp. 64, 65.) [[back to text](#)]

117 Mas says (p. 65): "It is not easy for anyone to explain them, so long as he tries to consider these men equal to the Europeans." [[back to text](#)]

118 This sentence is omitted in M. and D. [[back to text](#)]

119 All the matter above between the word "father" and this point is lacking in M. [[back to text](#)]

120 The solidus was a coin of the Roman empire, which was at first called "aureus," and worth about twenty-five denarii, but afterward reduced to about one-half that value. It is used in the same manner as "farthing" or "cent" would be in English. [[back to text](#)]

121 These passages are translated as follows in the Douay version of the Bible:

4. Many have looked upon a thing lent as a thing found, and have given trouble to them that helped them.

5. Till they receive, they kiss the hands of the lender, and in promise they humble their voice.

6. But when they should repay, they will ask time, and will return tedious and murmuring words, and will complain of the time:

7. And if he be able to pay, he will stand off, he will scarce pay one-half, and will count it as if he had found it:

8. But if not, he will defraud him of his money, and he shall get him for an enemy without cause:

9. And he will pay him with reproaches and curses, and instead of honour and good turn will repay him injuries. [[back to text](#)]

122 *i.e.*, "Scarce does he return the half." [[back to text](#)]

123 In the Douay version: "The sinner shall borrow and not pay again;" being only one-half the verse. M. omits the reference, but gives the passage. [[back to text](#)]

124 Delgado (Historia, p. 306) commenting on this passage say:

"I find noted many actions of the Indian boys who serve in the houses and convents; and all are ridiculous things which we ourselves did in our own country when we were boys like them."

He objects to San Agustin's quotation from Scripture on the ground that it is too general, and that those words were not written merely for them. "If twenty cases have been experienced where the Indian borrower has failed to return what he borrowed, it cannot be said that the entire Tagalog nation are sinners, let alone other nations, which may not have been seen. Such a supposition is illogical." [[back to text](#)]

125 The paragraph structure of M. and D. differs from our text in the above two paragraphs, and in other places throughout this letter; and the paragraphs are also unnumbered in both of these versions. The copy owned by Eduardo Navarro, O.S.A., Valladolid, agrees with the Ayer MS. in having numbered paragraphs, but the numbering is not in all cases the same. [[back to text](#)]

126 At this point the following paragraphs which are not contained in either the Ayer MS. or in D. occur.

"They think that it is a fine thing to meddle and take part in things where they are not invited. Consequently, if any of Ours wishes to attend to any bodily necessity, not fit to mention, even when he least wishes it, there comes an Indian before or behind him even though he leave the banca and seek the most retired spot to do what no other can do for him.

"They cruelly treat the animals that serve them, and the danger of losing them does not move them to the contrary. Thus following the very opposite of St. Paul's command: *Non alligavis vos vobis*

tritueranti [i.e., "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn,"—I Tim. v, 18, a quotation from Deut. xxv, 4], they tie the poor cow or carabao to a post after it has worked all day, and, if it is a horse, they feed it without removing bit or bridle. And if they have to look after their carabao it must be on condition of their being atop of it while it moves from place to place; and on the road they make sores on its buttocks."

That the Indian does not shut a door that he has opened, etc.; Delgado says (p. 306) : "This is done by boys, and is common in our own country. It is not because of laziness, but perchance, for lack of attention, or the liveliness or mischievousness of boys, in which the aged and prudent Indians cannot be included." He has often seen the carpenters carefully collect their tools and take them away, so that they should not be lost. San Agustin's criticism is too general and has proceeded from what he has experienced in a few foolish lads. [[back to text](#)]

127 "This," says Delgado (p. 307) "is peculiar only to some workmen; and not to all the nations of these islands, and the same thing happens also in our own country among cobblers, tailors, and other deceitful and tricky workmen."

Mas comments as follows (pp. 66, 67): "There is no tailor, cobbler, or workman of any kind, who does not begin by begging money when any work is ordered. If he is a carpenter, he needs the money in order to buy lumber; if a laundryman, to buy soap. This is not for lack of confidence in receiving their pay, for the same thing happens with those who have the best credit, with the curs of the village, and even with the captain-general himself. It consists firstly, in the fact that the majority have no money, because of their dissipation; and secondly, because they are sure that after they have received a part of their price, their customer will not go to another house, and that he will wait for the workman as long as he wishes (which is usually as long as what he has collected lasts), and that then the customer will have to take the work in the way in which it is delivered to him." [[back to text](#)]

128 M. reads, "in the region of the genitals;" and D., "ears." [[back to text](#)]

129 Delgado says of this: "Let us give thanks to God that our parents reared us in civilized ways; for if they had not, we would do the same. But how many blows and lashes we had to take to become so! And indeed it must be noted that it is not so much because of rudeness that the Indian scratches himself, or does other things somewhat more indecent and coarse, as has happened to me at times when with them; but because of a sort of fear or respect, that so confuses them that they do not know at times what they are doing, or even what they are saying." The criticism, like others of San Agustin, is too sweeping. Delgado has not noticed this among the Visayans, although he has noted it among the Tagálogs. Because some women are coarse, coarseness cannot be charged in general upon all the women of the islands. [[back to text](#)]

130 D. reads "And as yet they have not gotten over the difficulty of folding a cloak with the right side in." [[back to text](#)]

131 M. and D. read "make gestures of wonder." [[back to text](#)]

132 "I have observed that they are very stupid in making anything when one tries to give them instructions, but not when one allows them to work in their own manner. For example, one desires to have the cork which has slipped down into a bottle drawn. The best thing to say then, is 'See here, get this cork out without breaking the bottle. Take care!' Thereupon the Indian goes and fixes it as well as he can. Once I asked an old woman for some fire to light my cigar. There were many live coals on the ground remaining from a fire. She took a handful of earth in her palm, and atop of that placed a coal which she presented to me. In this way they do things that at times show sufficient ingenuity and skill, especially with bamboo and rattan. General Alava declared that their, brains were in their hands." (Mas, pp. 67, 68.) [[back to text](#)]

133 These last six words are lacking in M. This refers to the well-known myth of Orpheus and Eurydice. By Auresteo, San Agustín means Aristæus, probably an early Greek poet, but deified as a beneficent god and worshiped in various parts of Greece and other places. He was said to be the son of Apollo and the Thessalian nymph Cyrene, and was reared by Hermes, who made him immortal; although he is also sometimes called the son of Urana and Gaea. His connection with the Orpheus myth was probably an innovation of Virgil (*Georgics*, iv, ll. 315-558) who tells how he caused the death of Eurydice, who was killed by a serpent while fleeing from his persecutions. See Smith's *Dictionary of Greek, and Roman Biography and Mythology*, and Seyffert's *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities* (London, 1891).

"It is still the custom in many of the churches for the men to take their positions in the center toward the upper part, and the women in the lower half." (Mas, p. 68.) [[back to text](#)]

134 The last two words are missing in M. and D.

Curiosity, says Delgado (p. 307) and impertinence is a characteristic of all the peoples of Asia.

"They have asked me often as to my employment or occupation, my manner of living; and the amount of my pay. This proceeds from the tolerance and benevolence that they generally find in the Spaniards." (Mas, p. 68.) [[back to text](#)]

135 This argues only their wildness and lack of civilization, says Delgado (pp. 307, 308), and they ought to be taught civilized manners by their masters or at least by the missionaries. The Spanish houses generally have porters, so that the Indians cannot penetrate into the most retired apartment. It may happen at times in Manila, or in some of the missions; but it is not the custom in the Visayas, or in the province of Tagálos. Delgado has never had such a thing happen to him, for the Indians have always announced their arrival before entering. [[back to text](#)]

136 "This proves the severity with which they are treated by their own people, and the kindness that they experience in us." (Mas, p. 68.) [[back to text](#)]

137 "Thank God," says Delgado (p. 308) "that I find the prognosis above that says 'they are great sleepers' absolutely false." [[back to text](#)]

138 This sentence is lacking in M. and D. [[back to text](#)]

139 In D., "where the women go."

"They do this because they are humored like children in the convents." (Mas, p. 69.) [[back to text](#)]

140 M. and D. omit "and perukes." [[back to text](#)]

141 Literally, "the flower of the saints;" perhaps alluding to some book of lives of saints, thus entitled. M. has "the isles of the saints." [[back to text](#)]

142 M. and D. omit the last three words. [[back to text](#)]

143 "Nearly all the villages have theaters for cock-fighting. Before fighting, some very sharp knives are fastened to the spurs so that one or the other is killed at the first meeting. On this account the cockfight does not offer the interest or sport that it does in España, and other places, and it occupies the attention of these people solely as a means of winning or losing money. In reality, a cockpit is a house of play. Before

the two fowls are placed in attitude of fight, the bets are placed on two spindles. One of them generally offers a great sum in favor of the black cock, while others bet on the white one, until the sum is matched. The leading cocks are loosed and one of them is killed in less than two minutes. This is in fact a 'monte,' as is playing the races or betting on the jack [at cards]. The Filipinos, by nature idlers and greedy, are passionately fond of play, for they consider it an excellent and unique way of getting money without working; and they gather like flies to these pernicious places, in order to spend what they have and what they can succeed in borrowing or robbing; abandoning their most sacred and peremptory obligations. Furthermore, they pass many hours, both in their houses and in the cockpit, teaching a cock how to fight and to have no fear of the people; and examining the other cocks, in order to ascertain by certain rules and marks which will triumph and which will succumb. There is nothing more commonly seen even in the very streets of Manila itself, than a man squatted down on his heels with one of these fowls, in order that it might become accustomed to the noise, so that it might not grow confused or become frightened in the pit. There are men who take heed of nothing else or have other thought during the day than of their cocks.

"The government authorizes these wretched gatherings, not only on Sundays, but also on Thursdays or fair-days, which are not few, and has rented out the right of opening these theaters. Last year this department produced about 40,000 pesos fuertes. A sad recourse which must have occasioned and will occasion so many tears, crimes, and punishments, since so much vagabondage is thereby caused. There are often serious quarrels, which two judges of the theater end by deciding according to the laws. When any one of the contestants does not conform to the sentence, he has recourse to the *alcalde*, who takes the evidences in regard to the matter; and these quarrels generally go on appeal to the superintendency, and to the upper litigious assembly. These causes are judged according to existing instructions, which were written in America.

"The Indians are also very fond of cards. They play *brisca*, *burro* (which is distinct from that of España), and *panguingui*, which is a game played very commonly by the Chinese. In this occupation they often pass all the night until dawn; and the *cabezas de barangay* lose the tributes of their subjects, and they have to go immediately to jail, or take to the mountain.

"They generally play *duplo* at their parties—a game consisting in arithmetical combinations—and also our game of forfeits." (Mas, pp. 69-71.) [[back to text](#)]

144 Delgado (p. 308) admits that the youthful servants do break dishes, but they are cheap. "There are Indians in Manila who make and repair watches and other delicate baubles, and do not break them. Consequently, not only can they handle bamboo, rattan, nips, and bolos, but also other things; and they make and handle them lovingly."

"This is because they are generally heedless, sometimes through stupidity, and at other times because they are thinking of their sweetheart, or of something else, instead of what they are doing. When the Filipino drops a dish, the Spaniard, says nothing, or is satisfied by calling him only a brute, animal, or savage; while in his own home, he would not escape without some buffets, which have more effect on this race than would the Philippics of Cicero." (Mas, p. 71.) [[back to text](#)]

145 "The father must have said this of the country people, or of those who are servants; for among those who devote themselves to the arts there are some who turn out work very delicate and difficult to execute, even in Europa—as, for instance, the textiles and embroidery of *piña*, and the gold chains or *bejuquillos*, etc." (Mas, pp. 71, 72.) [[back to text](#)]

146 D. adds "or [rather] not eating." This incident is related in the second part of *Don Quixote*, chapter xlvii. [[back to text](#)]

147 This sentence is omitted in M. The following is there a question, "And what shall we say if they bring four eggs?" [[back to text](#)]

148 A Dominican and the assistant of Archbishop Pardo, who became acting archbishop after the death of the latter. See Ferrando's *Historia de los PP. Dominicos*, vi, p. cxlvii; and our VOL. XXXIX, "The Pardo Controversy." [[back to text](#)]

149 Don Fernando Valenzuela, a grandee of Spain, marquis of San Bartolomé de los Pinales and of Villasierra, chief master of the horse, gentleman of the chamber, etc., the favorite of the mother of Carlos II of Spain, Mariana of Austria (with whom his connection was said to be dishonorable), was, as a youth, page to the Duke of Infantado. He went to Rome with the duke, who was appointed ambassador to the papal court. On his return he gained the favor of the queen's confessor the German Jesuit Nitard, who introduced him into court circles. His rise to favor was rapid, for he was talented and handsome. After the downfall of Nitard, he gained entire ascendancy over the weak queen, who showered honors upon him. Finally he was exiled to the Philippines (1676), through the efforts of Don Juan of Austria, uncle of the king; and was imprisoned in the fort of Cavite where he landed March 29, 1679. On the death of Don Juan, the first act of the queen was to have Valenzuela freed from his exile, and a special ship was sent to the Philippines to take him to Spain. It is reported, however, that he died in Mexico, while on his way to Spain, from the kick of a horse. He built the bridge over the Manzanares at Toledo, at the cost of one million ducats. See Harrison's *History of Spain* (Boston, 1881); Montero y Vidal, i, p. 364; and Concepción, *Hist. de Philipinas*, vii, pp. 349-364. A document in Ventura del Arco's MS. collection (vol. iii)—which is a compilation from original documents in the Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid—gives an account of the reception accorded to Valenzuela on his arrival at the Philippines, and some details of his life there. [[back to text](#)]

150 M. reads "rice in the husk." [[back to text](#)]

151 M. and D. add "pesos." [[back to text](#)]

152 Delgado says (p. 308): "If they had as much understanding as the reverent: father, they would not do it." The cases cited prove nothing general, since they are only particular cases. "But it must be borne in mind that all the Indians of these islands are very poor, and dress very poorly and live meanly; and when they see that the Spaniards, and especially these bishops and marquises, bear themselves with so great ostentation, and are so free and magnanimous and liberal, as their nobility demands, some Indians of little capacity are emboldened to beg from them things that they ought not; for they think that such men will never remain poor even though they give much." We beg God often for things out of season.

"This is because they know beforehand that they ask nonsense, and assume that their demand will not be granted, but they only are trying to see whether it might be met by any chance; for they are accustomed to the extreme goodness of the Spaniards, and do not fear making them angry by an absurd demand." (Mas, pp. 72, 73.) [[back to text](#)]

153 M. and D. read: "Although the Sangleys cheat them, as if they were simpletons, and they are satisfied to be cheated by them."

Delgado says (p. 309): "This I absolutely deny, for I have more than once seen that after the Indians have traversed, the whole Parián of the Sangleys to sell their goods, if they are not offered more than four they immediately carry their goods to the Spaniards or to the fathers, in order to get eight for them; and this must be *tongod sa calooy*, that is, for charity, which the Spaniard and the father always practice with them."

"This is a fact, but it needs explanation. The Filipino is by nature phlegmatic, and especially when it is a question of buying or selling anything; for he exerts himself to get the largest profit possible, and the calculation of that costs him much trouble. A countryman comes, for instance, to sell two or three quintals of indigo to a merchant. Thereupon, he does not come alone, but is accompanied by relatives and friends, and sometimes women. Very often the indigo belongs to four or five owners, who all come in the wake of the seller. Each proposition must be communicated to the society that is squatted there in a circle on their heels. The matter is discussed at length, and then it is decided to lower the price one peso per quintal. The buyer claims that the price should be three pesos. Finally this point is settled. Then another discussion begins, namely, that the indigo is damp, and that some pounds must be allowed for waste. In short the transaction is so tiresome and so eternal, that there are very few Spaniards who have the patience to endure so much impertinence and importunity; and they generally end by saying dryly, 'Will you or will you not give it?' And then they order them angrily into the street. The Chinese and mestizos do not hurry them, but on the contrary invite them to eat, and keep them in their houses for three or four hours, and sometimes days. Finally, they get the goods for what they wish to give, and more often cheat them like Chinese. For the Filipino is very stupid even in matters of self-interest. Once I was with a Spaniard who was buying indigo. After the trading had cost him more patience than Job must have had, the indigo was weighed before him, the account was reckoned, the money made ready and placed on the table in piles of 20 pesos, while there was one of 7, which was placed separately, and another of reals and copper coins. The man who had been most attentive to everything took the piles of 20's and left the pile of 7. We called him back to tell him to take that money which he had left. Thereupon he took the seven pesos, and it was necessary to call him back the third time to tell him that all the money on the table belonged to him. He himself had determined that the price should be 52 or 53 per quintal, and then he took what was given him. The majority are the same. Then it is learned that a Chinese has bought for 20 the same quantity of indigo for which a Spaniard offered 25. It is said that a Filipino would rather receive one real from a Chinese than one peso from a Spaniard, as we have just seen was written by Father Gaspar." (Mas, pp. 73, 74.) [[back to text](#)]

154 "And tell me, your Paternity," says Delgado (p. 309), "who is not given to this vice in this land?"—an interesting commentary on social conditions. [[back to text](#)]

155 Commenting on this, Delgado (p. 309) says: "Who are the ones who cut the timber, and build the ships, galleys, and galliots, as says Father Murillo, and work in the ships in the port? Then they do this stretched out in their houses, as says our father master? It is true that they are always poor, but the true cause of that is different. Let them not admit into Manila so many heathen Chinese, who possess in themselves all the trades and employments, by which one may seek his livelihood. The Indians would apply themselves to these trades, and would not lie stretched out in their houses, for the Sangleys do not allow them to engage in these or to seek their livelihood."

Mas says (pp. 75-77): "I have never read a single manuscript or printed book about the Filipinos that does not speak of their laziness.

"I, accustomed to hear the term 'lazy' given to Spaniards, and to other men who have been or are idle—rather through the influence of bad laws or because of the lack of laws, than because of the impulses of their physical organization—was ready to believe that the Filipinos would be found to exhibit the same characteristic in regard to this—especially when I remembered the system of delivering the provinces to trading governors and monopolists and the prohibition for so many years of trading with foreign ports, which still exists, with the exception of the city of Manila. But in spite of the fact that these things powerfully influence the obstruction of the fountains of wealth and choke incentives to work I have seen things that have made me change my opinion. For instance, I have desired to send people to get grass for my horses; and, in spite of the facts that it was very abundant and near, and there was not the slightest doubt about the pay, I have been unable to get anyone to go for it. On arriving at a village, I have endeavored to get a guide to accompany me to the next village; and, in spite of the facts that the distance was not more than one hour and the road excellent, I have found it difficult to obtain him. And even I have

obtained it by means of the justice, as [a carrier of] baggage; although one pays for this service, according to the schedule, one silver real, with which a Filipino has enough to live on for at least two days. A few weeks before my departure from Filipinas I was at an estate belonging to religious, where there are various individuals who enjoy an annual salary sufficient to support themselves, on condition that they guard the estate against robbers, and that they work whenever necessary, in which case their day's wage is paid them. The question was raised of transferring the rice in the husk from one granary to another, distant about 20 paces, and they were not to work more than the hours usual in that country, which are very few, for which they were to be given one silver real daily, besides their food. All this was in addition to their annual pay. It is to be noted that the season was the driest and coolest of the whole year, namely, the month of January, and a Filipino's support cost then about five cuartos per diem. However, by no means would they consent to work consecutively all the days, for they said that when night came they were exhausted, and needed rest on the following day. Had I not been present there I would not have believed it. I have been in many Filipino huts where I saw many men and women pass the day without doing anything, while everything was indicative of their poverty. I have examined the condition of the fields, and I have discovered that any man may become wealthy, and yet all live in wretchedness. I have been much surprised to hear that they must be ordered by edict to sow the fields, so that the propitious season may not pass by; and that those who allow their houses to burn are punished. Especially have I noted that the Chinese mestizos, who are partly of the same blood as the most diligent Chinese immigrants, are always comfortable, and some of them have accumulated considerable wealth. This might all be in the hands of the Filipinos, who are the most ancient inhabitants, have enjoyed and enjoy greater protection, and have been owners of all the estates that are now possessed by the mestizos, which the latter have bought by the fruits of their industry and their economy. It is to be noted that all the Chinese who come to Filipinas are very poor, and come from a colder country. Gentil says that the Filipinos have acquired their laziness from the Spaniards; but if they have learned indolence from the Spaniards, why did not the mestizos learn it also, who are on the contrary so active and industrious? Why have they not learned to be diligent from the mestizos, since they have a more continual and intimate intercourse with them than with the Spaniards? I conclude by saying that after examining and weighing everything thoroughly, I am of the opinion that there exists in the nature of the Filipino, quite independent of any accessory and modifying cause, an element of quiet and inertia that is but slightly neutralized by the ambition of acquiring consideration and wealth." [[back to text](#)]

156 Delgado (pp. 309-310) says: "This happens perhaps among the boys who serve in the convents in Tagalos and in no other missions; and I have also seen them awakened in another manner. And although this seems a matter for laughter among us Spaniards, it is not so for them. For they do it in order not to make the other impatient by waking him suddenly, and it serves among them as a kind of prudence and respect. The same thing happens when they call at the door of any house. But generally they enter without the formulas of etiquette."

"This is a hard fact and has been called to my attention often. For in any other matter whatsoever, it is well understood that ignorance makes an unpolished man appear quite distinct from a civilized man. But when it comes to waking one who is sleeping, I cannot conceive that wisdom, or even a knowledge of reading, can have the least influence. But I believe that I have discovered the origin of this peculiarity. The remontados Filipinos of Abra have the greatest respect for a sleeping man. Their deepest curse is 'May I die when asleep.' Their oath, when they come to the province of Ilocos for the election of gobernadorcillos, for causes, etc., is 'May I die when asleep,' 'May a bolt of lightning strike me,' etc.' This same fear of dying when asleep exists also in other tribes and in the provinces of Ilocos, and must have been formerly a general idea, since, as we have already observed, the origin of our Christianized Indians and those at present remontados and, called infidels was the same. Whether this fear arose from some disease in which the people slept And did not awaken, or whether only from the similitude of sleep to death, it is difficult to ascertain. However, it is always surprising that, since no one now dies or becomes sick because his rest is interrupted, the Indians still constantly preserve this so stupid dread; so that even after a master has ordered his servant to awaken him, the latter has great difficulty in doing it in a quick and positive manner, although he knows that, if he do not execute it, it will put his master out greatly: That shows at least the

most powerful influence of habit on the minds of these men. Somewhat similar to this is our custom of saying 'Jesus,' when anyone sneezes —a custom which I have heard expressed by 'God bless you,' 'A vous souhaits,' 'Salute,' etc, among all the peoples of Europa. . . This custom generally allows the man who receives an accident to die without aid; because of not awaking the physician or cura." (Mas, pp. 77, 78.) [[back to text](#)]

157 This is because the Indians do not appreciate the danger, says Delgado (p. 310). This happens often on narrow roads, and not to Indians, but to Spaniards or mulattoes, and neither will yield to the other, whereupon quarrels ensue. But the lesser always yields to the greater. It has happened once or twice to Delgado.

"This is a fact, and a proof of their indifference and stolidity." (Mas, p. 78.) [[back to text](#)]

158 The *lengua franca* is the trade-jargon of the Orient. The original of the passage above is as follows: "Deo grande nopillar fantacia; mondo cosi cosi; si estar escrito in testa andar andar; sino acá morir." M. reads "an andar andar," and has other slight differences. D. reads "ha (de) andar" and has. also other slight differences.

The full name of the author above mentioned is Gabriel Gomez de Losada, and his book is *Escuela de trabajos, in quarto libros dividida: Primero, del cautiverio mas cruel...Segundo, Noticias y gobierno de Argel: Tercero, necesidad y conveniencia de la redemption de Cautivos Christianos: Quarto, el mejor cautivo rescatado . . .* (Madrid, 1670). [[back to text](#)]

159 M. and D. add (though with a slight difference in wording) "for they will not believe that he who loves danger will perish in it."

Some Indians are fatalists, but not all, says Delgado (p. 310). The Visayans are generally careful, and watch out for the crocodiles. Those who have been devoured by those reptiles have always been evil, and were so punished by God for their sins. Mas says (p. 79), that this fatalism must have been imported from Asia. [[back to text](#)]

160 Delgado says (p. 310): "This proceeds from their barbarous condition, and because the Spaniards commonly deceive them, and teach. them things that are not very good, especially the convict *guachinangos*, of whom this country is full. But that they cannot be persuaded that it is a sin to steal from the religious or from the Spaniards, I regard as a in misapprehension, or at least it is not common for this to happen, although his Paternity brings forward such evidence, that one cannot doubt him. For I have seen the contrary in many villages."

Mas (pp. 80, 81), says: "It is a fact that some Indians have but little scruple in stealing from Spaniards, for they say that all that the latter possess is of the Philippines and consequently theirs. But do not believe that they have any consideration for their fellow-countrymen. In its proper place we shall see that theft is the greatest part of the criminality of the islands...It is to be noted that they generally rob on a small and rarely on a large scale; for their ambition is limited to satisfying a vice or to bettering their present condition, but not in changing it.

"The father provincial of the Augustinian religious, said in his printed report, in the compilation made concerning the causes of the insurrection in Ilocos in 1807:

"The Indians of Ilocos have become highwaymen, like those of the other provinces. They steal cows, horses, and carabaos from their own countrymen; and those who are occupied in this trade are ready for all sorts. of evil. It is not surprising that many of these should have come with the deserters who first rebelled

in the mountains of Piddig, and that others should unite with them when the fire was fanned. But one can not call this a cause for insurrection, nor do I believe that for such thefts the means should be to take the stealers of carabaos to Manila so that they might be punished; but it is enough for the alcaldes-mayor to watch over their province and punish these thefts. By so doing they would succeed in lessening thefts, for the extermination of them is as impossible as is making an end of the classes of the thieves according to the proverb of the Indians, 'When the rats die, then the thieves will come to an end.'

"It is true that perhaps one ought not to ascribe all this demoralization to a perverse disposition. One must, not have lived among the Filipinos, or have been very blind in regard to them, to say that they are all thieves. There are very many who, although they could steal with impunity, do not do so...The frequency of theft may proceed from other causes. Perhaps the system of mercy and impunity that has dictated and is dictating the sentences of the Audiencia of Manila has contributed thereto..." [[back to text](#)]

161 M. and D. omit "of which I heard," and the latter reads "and I shall only tell of two of which I was a witness."

Spaniards also, says Delgado (pp. 310, 311), recount things that are not credible, and "it is not to be wondered at that some rude and ignorant people should believe such nonsense; and if they believe some things that are told them by some scholars, it is because of the authority of those people among them...This happens commonly in other places, besides among the Indians." [[back to text](#)]

162 See an account of this matter and the trouble caused by it, in VOL. XXXIX. [[back to text](#)]

163 *i.e.*, "Silver and gold have I none"—a reference to Acts III,6. [[back to text](#)]

164 M. and D. read "miners." [[back to text](#)]

165 "When the ship 'Santa Ana' arrived at Manila in the year 1832 with 250 Spanish soldiers, it was rumored among the women of the tobacco factory that those soldiers were coming to take away their children in order to irrigate the mines in España with their blood. All were aroused and fled to their homes, took their children, and began to take refuge in the houses of the Spanish women, and they could not be persuaded that it was all nonsense. The house of Doña Dolores Goyena was filled with them. Also many men armed with spears came out on the streets; but the disorder gradually subsided." (Mas, p. 82.) [[back to text](#)]

166 M. and D. add "for all the ministers cannot free them from this deceit." [[back to text](#)]

167 This is not so in general, says Delgado (p. 311), but is true only of some individuals among the various nations. [[back to text](#)]

168 M. reads "respect the Spaniard more." [[back to text](#)]

169 "The truth is that any Spaniard, with rare exceptions, has more penetration, more vivacity, more nobility, more talent, and more courage than a Filipino. This superiority can do no less than have its effect. For the rest, few in Manila have an exact idea of the Filipino character. Their arrogance may be seen in the importance which the gobernadorcillos give to themselves. They go daily to the city hall, but they make two regidors go to their houses to get them. There the regidors wait until the gobernadorcillo is ready to come out, and the latter then goes in solemn state to the city hall, preceded by the regidors and the alguacils, with staffs in hand. When these officers reach the door of the city hall, they stop in order to allow the gobernadorcillo to pass between them; and he enters without noticing the salutes given him by the guards, who take off their hats to him. He immediately takes a seat which is on an elevated platform, and

there he thinks himself to be on a throne; and even the Spaniards who enter casually, especially in the villages on the highroad, appear of but little importance to him. This is the place where the auditors of the Audiencia of Manila, and all others who have any share in the government of Filipinas, ought to come incognito, and as if in passing, in order to know the Filipinos—instead of forming an opinion of their character from the servants of their house, or from those who go to the capital with clasped hands and a downcast look in their eyes to ask some favor of them. The strange thing is, that the Indians do not learn from the *alcaldes-mayor*, who administer justice with the greatest equality, and who do not sit in an elevated place, or even sit down, and go into the street without any following. This aristocratic spirit may be observed in the church. All the *principales*, who consist of the *gobernadorcillos*, *cabezas de barangay*, and all others who have the title 'Don' and wear a jacket, seat themselves in the central aisle or nave; and the following order of etiquette is in general scrupulously observed: the *gobernadorcillo*; the ex-*gobernadoral*, who are called past captains, in order of their seniority; the actual first lieutenant, who must be a *cabeza de barangay*; the two lieutenants; and nine present officials; the ex-*cabezas*, in order of seniority. If any ex-captain from another village is present, he takes a seat among those of his class, and is given the first place, out of courtesy. When the lieutenants and officials leave their posts, they are not called *principales*, as are the others, but *titulados*. (Mas, pp. 83, 84.) [[back to text](#)]

170 D. reads "petty sextons." [[back to text](#)]

171 Delgado says (p. 311): "It is a fact that nature always inclines rather to evil than to good. But in order to correct their vices there are fervent and zealous ministers in all parts, who preach to and teach them."

Mas says (pp: 85-89): "In fact some Indians practice ceremonies in their marriages which date from before the conquest.

"On the birth of an infant, the newborn child is sometimes taken to another house in order to free it from the Patianac; and, when the child is taken out for baptism, aromatic substances and incense are burned for the same reason.

"When a person dies, they celebrate a novena in his house at night, where the relatives (and sometimes those who are not relatives) assemble. After praying, it is not seldom that they sit down to gamble. On the last day there is a great banquet, and sometimes a dance. These mortuary feasts are practiced even yet, in all their purity, in the mountains, as we have already seen.

"If possible, both men and women bathe daily in the river. The women enter the water wrapped in their *tapices*, taking care that the bosom is covered. When they are in the water they take that garment off to wash themselves. The men enter the water with wide pantaloons and the body bare. They enter the river at any hour and before everybody; but one must confess that they do it with great decency and modesty. When I was in Santa Cruz de la Laguna, the cura published an edict ordering men and women not to bathe in the same place. That gave rise to many jokes and jests, and it is to be supposed that they continued their old-time customs. They consider us as not overcleanly, because they see us make less use than they of the bath . . . It is also the custom for the families of the country and many Europeans to bathe together. During the outdoor sports of Manila, at the summer houses of Mariquina, or other neighboring towns, the chief diversion is the bath. The women generally enter the water wearing a kind of blouse, and the men with wide pantaloons and the body uncovered. Newcomers from Europa do not consider this amusement at all decent.

"They kiss by bringing the nostril near and drawing in the breath. This is the plain kiss in the mountains, but some Filipinos of the-plains, especially of Manila, have also become accustomed to kiss with the lips; but they always put the nose to the face at the same time, and if they have a sincere affection, they always smell as if they were giving a deep sigh with their mouth closed...When they look at a person from a distance, and desire to express their desire to kiss him, they constrict the nose in the manner of one

smelling. A very extreme kind of kiss is given by rubbing the nose on the spot that they wish to feel, and drawing in the breath as long as possible.

"I am greatly surprised that no one of the writers on the Filipinos has spoken of this remarkable fact, which springs from their exquisite sense of smell. It is so great that a servant can tell his master's shirt, after it is cleaned and ironed, even though it lies with ten or twelve other shirts resembling it and belonging to other persons, by simply smelling them. They also assert that if a man be near a woman for whom he experiences a feeling of love, she knows it by the odor of his perspiration, and vice versa. As a pledge of affection, they ask for a shirt that has been worn—which they return after it has lost its odor, and replace by another, just as we beg for a lock of hair.

"They had the custom of circumcision, a customs which they did not acquire from the Arabs, since it is still practiced on the peaks of the independent mountains. They practice it still, and that against the will of the curas. Ancient customs have, very great force. It is to be noted that the manner of operation is not the same as that practiced by the Jews, for the cut is made from the upper to the lower part.

"They had the custom that the suitor for a maiden's hand went to serve in the house of his future father-in-law for three or four years, and did whatever he was asked—in general, the most onerous duties. Then the parents of the bride had to give him a house, clothes, etc., and the marriage was celebrated. In many provinces, as for instance, in Bulacan, there is now no trace of this custom, because of the abuses which were committed. This custom, which we meet in the first pages of the Old Testament, could not have been acquired from the Mussulmans, who by their Koran hold laws diametrically opposed. This custom is still followed in Laguna, although the young man does not live in the house of his loved one, for the cura does not permit it. The friars have done their utmost to destroy this custom.

"They scarify new-born infants in order to draw blood from them; and then apply lighted matches to various parts of the body, which cause them burns, and serve the place of caustics.

"Women in childbirth they suspend by the hair in order to stop the flow; and, after parturition, they compress the abdomen, and press down with great force on both thighs at once, in order to make the organs return to their former position; and they perform other things of like nature, which we consider as injurious and nonsensical. But they hold one of their old women higher than the best Paris physician.

"They consider the balete tree as sacred. At marriage, they carry it dishes of food as an offering; and it is very difficult, or impossible, to make them cut one of them. It has happened that they have begged incense from the cura on various pretexts in order to go immediately and burn it under a balete tree.

"They are very fond of telling tales of love adventures, of witches, and enchantment, and everything else that is rare and marvelous, even though it be nonsense and against common sense.

"They believe that all diseases are cured by drawing out the air that has been introduced into the body; and, consequently, their favorite remedy is to supply a kind of cupping-glass of Chinese origin, which they drag over two palmos on any part of the body, and which leaves a great red streak.

"They respect their fathers and mothers greatly, and even the younger brothers the older. I have seen a married woman, on entering her house, kiss the hand of a sister older than herself.

"In order that a young man may marry, he must give the bride the money or other things up to her value; and that price is often kept by the parents. The parents would rather have their daughter remain single, even though she be with child, than to give her without a dowry. It is not seldom that one can hear a mother say that she will not give her daughter for less than one hundred pesos, or fifty, etc.

"In order to strike fire they take a bit of bamboo, and slit it down the middle lengthwise. In the hollow or inner part, they dig out one portion near the center, which leaves the bamboo much thinner. Then on the outside they open a chink, lengthwise. Then they take the knife, and scraping the upper part of the other half-bamboo, they make some very fine shavings. These they roll about between the two palms of the hands until they form a small ball, and that they place in the hollow of the half-bamboo. The latter they place on the ground, with the shavings below. Then with the other half-bamboo, they rub (while singing) across the one which has the shavings below it, upon the same point where the shavings are placed, and in a few seconds they begin to smoke. Thereupon they rub faster and blow, and a blaze starts. All this is the work of one minute.

"On going out between people, or when passing in front of anyone, they bend the body and clasp the hands, which they then move forward as if they wished to open a path or cut the air. This is a sign of respect, or their method of asking leave to pass.

"The women ride, horseback, not astride, but with a side-saddle, as do Europeans." [[back to text](#)]

172 M. reads "most of them." [[back to text](#)]

173 This is common throughout the world, says Delgado (p. 311). "That they do not know their age happens commonly among rude and wild people, wherever they may be; but their age is known very well by their *datos* and chiefs, in order to assign them their place in the tribute readily. In what pertains to their ancient beliefs, there is no doubt that these are preserved in some parts, and there is no lack of *babailanes*, who are their priestesses or *diuateras*; but one must consider that all these peoples of the Indias are new Christians, and the seed that the enemy had sown, and which had thrust so deep roots into them, has not yet been completely destroyed." [[back to text](#)]

174 M. and D. omit "than the word of the whole world."

Mas says (pp. 90-96): "The superstitions of these people can be divided into three classes. The first consists in believing that certain monsters or ghosts exist; to which they give names and assign special duties, and even certain exterior forms, which are described by those who affirm that they have seen them.

Such are the Tigbalan, Osuang, Patianac, Sava, Naanayo, Tovac, Nono, Mancuculan, Aíasip, the rock Mutya, etc.

"The *Antinganting* is any object which promises wealth or happiness, as we would speak of the girdle of Venus, or the ring of Giges.

"Many Spaniards, especially the curas, imagine that these beliefs are not very deeply rooted, or that they have declined, and that most of the Filipinos are free from them. This is because in the presence of such the Filipinos do not dare tell the truth, not even in the confessional, because of their fear of the reprimand that surely awaits them. I have talked to many about these things, some of whom at the beginning began to laugh, and to joke about the poor fools who put faith in such nonsense. But when they saw that I was treating the matter seriously, and with the spirit of inquiry as a real thing, they changed their tone, and made no difficulty in assuring me of the existence of the fabulous beings described above.

"The second class consists in various practices, like that of burning incense under the balet tree; putting ashes at the door of the house where a person has died, in order that they might recognize the tracks of the soul of the dead one; leaving a plate for the dead man at the table, etc.

"When Don G. Piñeiro went to Culamba in 1841, for the purpose of climbing a lofty mountain, he encountered innumerable difficulties in getting people to accompany him, in spite of the orders of the superior government; and he had to desist and climb from the village of Los Baños accompanied by the cura, who had the road opened for him. The reason for that, as the said religious assured me, was the fear of the Filipinos for the anito, although the excuses that they offered were quite different.

"In the said village of Los Baños, they believe that there is an antinganting in one of the hot water springs, which has water at 67° Reaumur. This consists in the Divine Child, who appears and hops about in the water on Good Friday; and he who catches Him obtains the antinganting. This last year, 1841, a man tried to get too near, and fell in. His entire body was scalded, and he was bled; but not one drop of blood could be drawn from his body, and he died on the following day.

"The third, and to me the most remarkable, class is found not in certain personages or superstitious and determined proceedings, but in sudden and capricious scenes, and in improbable and inexplicable apparitions.

"There is scarce a Filipino, even the most enlightened, who does not tell marvelous things that have happened to him—wondrous visions, mute and speechless; ghosts, goblins, strange figures; dead people; dogs, and fabulous and never imagined animals; castles, and balls of fire, that have appeared to him; frightful noises of all sorts that have scared him; and, finally, the most improbable stories and bits of nonsense that could be invented by the most raving maniac.

"On hearing them recount so many of these extravagances, and seeing that they distinguish them from dreams, I have been unable to believe that they were deceptions; and observing their faces very carefully during the narration, I have been convinced that they were intimately persuaded that they had seen the things that they described. Whence can this mental weakness come? It is not from ignorance, for I have noticed the same thing as in the others, in several clerics who have studied in the university for ten or twelve years. One day I was in a convent where the boards of the floor began to creak because of dryness, and the coadjutor became so frightened that he went away to sleep in another house; and the Christian reflections, jests, and anger of the Spanish cura could not restrain him. . . The Filipino cura, Don J. Severiano Mallares, committed and caused to be committed fifty-seven assassinations, because he believed that he could by this means save his mother, who, he had persuaded himself, had been bewitched; and was hanged in the year 1840. The attorney on that cause talked in pathetic terms of the *indescribable and barbarous prodigality of blood shed by that monster*. Reflecting upon this phenomenon, I am inclined to think that it is based on their natural timorousness. [[back to text](#)]

175 In D., "indolent." [[back to text](#)]

176 From the word "islands" to this point, is omitted in D. [[back to text](#)]

177 "That they are tyrants, one over the other," says Delgado (p. 311), "I do not deny. They inherited this peculiarity from their ancestors, and it has as yet been impossible to uproot it entirely, as many others which they learned from their ancestors. However, these vices are not so common as they were formerly. And not only would the Indians of these islands have been consumed if the Spaniards had not come hither, but they would have been conquered and enslaved by the neighboring nations, such as the Borneans, Chinese, and Japanese, as we see in the books of history.

" . . The *principales* were the aim of the popular wrath in the Ilocan insurrection in 1807. 'Kill all the lords and ladies' was the cry, while the people hastened toward the capital to petition for the abolition of the monopolies and the fifths. The same thing happened in the year 1814." (Mas, p. 97.) [[back to text](#)]

178 M. omits "and bring it back as cold as ice." [[back to text](#)]

179 This is a general statement that is not true, says Delgado (pp. 311, 312), for the example given is merely from boys; and, besides, it never freezes in Filipinas. [[back to text](#)]

180 This citation is missing in M. It is from Horace's *Satires*, book i, ll, 106, 107. E. C. Wickham (*Horace for English Readers*; Oxford, 1903, p. 163), translates the passage as follows: "There is measure in everything. There are fixed limits beyond which and short of which right cannot find resting-place." [[back to text](#)]

181 "That they need beatings and the rattan," says Delgado (p. 312), "as examples prove, is a fact, and they confess it; but they resemble all other nations in this particular. . . But it must be employed with prudence and moderation, as the discipline is employed by our fathers in our own lands, regarding them as sons and small children, and not as slaves or as our enemies. For God has brought us to their lands, in order to watch over them, and maintains us here for love of them. We must note that the Indians are not so bad as they seem to us It must also be observed that there are many Spaniards, and even ministers, who are melancholy and crabbed, and so ill-conditioned and moody, that everything wounds them, and they are contented with nothing. All the actions of the Indians displease them, and they even believe that the Indians do them purposely to make them impatient and to jest with them. From such ill-conditioned people the Indians suffer much, and tolerate and endure much, because of their respect for them. Consequently what the reverend father says below, namely 'that it costs them more to be Christians than one would believe' is a fact and true."

"The Spaniards cry out and are in despair at seeing the continual and great acts of rudeness of the Filipinos, some of which are done maliciously, with the sole object of making us angry, when they contract hate for us. At times after they have wearied and disgusted the Spaniards grievously, and have caused the latter to give them a buffet, this is a cause for great sport among them, and they celebrate it in the kitchen amid great guffaws, as I have heard many times. Especially is it so if those who are made angry are women. But the Spaniards persist in not being convinced of this fact, nor will they ever learn how to treat this people. The old men of the country say that the Spaniard is fire and the Filipino snow, and that the snow consumes the fire." (Mas, pp. 97, 98.) [[back to text](#)]

182 M. and D. add "His master chid him, but the lad replied that the hen had but one leg." [[back to text](#)]

183 This quotation is lacking in M. and D. [[back to text](#)]

184 M. and D. read "in love and esteem." [[back to text](#)]

185 "I shall not at present enter upon a discussion of whether one ought or ought not beat the Filipino. I shall only remark, as a matter pertaining to this section, that the first thing that one sees in any of their houses is the rattan hanging in a corner. When a father places his son in any Spanish house, this is his charge: 'Sir, beat him often.' To educate the young people, or to establish order in any place without the use of the rattan, is a thing that they do not understand." (Mas, p. 99.)

It is said that even at the present day a Filipino father will not hesitate to chastise his son corporally, even after the latter has attained his majority. [[back to text](#)]

186 This last phrase and the Latin quotation are lacking in M. Englished that quotation is, "The evil hate sin for fear of punishment." [[back to text](#)]

187 This phrase is omitted in D. [[back to text](#)]

188 In D. this is "even if it be a leaf." [[back to text](#)]

189 "Delgado says (p. 312): "But if his Paternity knows of this lack, how surprising that this and other things happen in regard to them, such as that all keep their faces turned toward him who confesses. If his Paternity would then preach them a sermon and correct them, I assure him that they would correct themselves, and these backward-looking dancers who are so immodest in the church, when they ought to be modestly thinking of their sins and repenting of them, would correct themselves, and would not cause wonder and laughter." [[back to text](#)]

190 M. omits the remainder of this sentence. For "Januses," D. reads "worms." [[back to text](#)]

191 Because some of the Indians are given to blasphemy, says Delgado (p. 313); it does not follow that all of them are blasphemous. [[back to text](#)]

192 "I shall here attempt a delicate and interesting investigation, namely, the religiousness of the Filipinos. There are opposite opinions on this matter, and serious errors are liable to arise..."The women always wear scapulars about the neck, and usually some sort of a small cross; and a reliquary, containing the bones of a saint and a bit of the wood of the cross. But this has become apart of the dress, like earrings or necklaces, and both the devout women and those who are not devout wear them.

"The walls of the houses are often covered with the engravings of saints, and on the tables are many glass globes and urns containing saints, virgins, and little figures of the Divine Child, which generally have the face as well as the hands of ivory, and silver clothes richly embroidered. In well-to-do houses there are so many that they resemble a storehouse of saints rather than a habitation. In many houses this is a matter of vanity and ostentation; and they regard valuable saints as they do bureaus and mirrors elsewhere.

"In the church great sedateness and devotion or silence reigns. In the villages the church is divided into three parts. In one end the women are seated, in the other the men, while the *gobernadorcillos* and *principales* occupy the center. However, this is not observed very strictly in some villages. In some churches there are men in the front half and women in the back half. When a small village is founded, in order to get the concession for a settlement and for a cura they offer to give the latter, in addition to paying the *sanctorum* tribute [a tribute paid to the Church by all Philippine natives of sixteen years and over], a monthly quantity of rice, eggs, fowls, etc., but they are afterward very remiss in living up to their offer. Many friars have had to have recourse to the *alcaldes* and to the officials of the district; and I have even heard of one of them who had to take a musket and kill the fowls in the yards, and carry them to the convent.

"They are very fond of singing the passion or history of the death of Jesus Christ, which is written in Tagalog verse. During the evenings of Lent, the young men and women assemble in the houses for this purpose. But although this was a religious gathering at the time when it was originated, at the present time it has been converted into a carnival amusement, or to speak more plainly, into a pretext for the most scandalous vices; and the result of these canticles is that many of the girls of the village become enceinte. So true is what I have just said that the curas have prohibited everywhere the singing of the passion at night; and some of the curas go out with a whip in order to disperse them—or rather, send the fiscal of the church to ascertain who is singing, and send for such person immediately to beat him.

"They say that all the saints are Spanish, since the patrons of their churches are always of this class. They would have no veneration for a saint with a flat nose and the physiognomy of a Filipino.

"When any sick person refuses to confess, his relatives request him to do so. In this case they do not tell him that he will be condemned, etc., but, "Consider what a shame it, will be; just think what people will

say; consider that you will be buried outside of holy ground.' The idea of being buried on the beach is what gives them most fear. This can only be explained by saying that they have seen the cemetery and the beach and not hell, nor the other world, which, as one would believe, costs them much to conceive—although in reality they do believe in it, in the same way as many Europeans believe in it, but without understanding it, and only because the sages give assurance of it.

"In spite of this indifference regarding the future life, they generally order masses said for the souls of their ancestors, and not because of compromise or vanity, but true faith. and devotion, although this does not argue much in favor of their religiousness. For the Igorots, who are the type of the Filipinos, although they do not believe in the immortality of, the soul, have many superstitions in regard to the shades of the dead...

"In some places the curas have to lock the doors of the church after mass, so that the people will not depart without hearing the sermon, and this in places quite religious, as is Pangasinan. Many of those who are carried to Mindanao or to Jolo as captives become renegades with the greatest ease; and then they will not return, even though they may.

"Some make the sign of the cross as they go down the stairways. All stop on the street at the sound of the prayer-bell; and the same thing happens in the houses, where they often pray on their knees with true devotion. They all remove their hats when passing in front of the church, and many stop to pray. Nevertheless, all the curas assert that they make a false confession, for they only confess the three following sins: absence from mass, eating of meat during Lent, and vain blaspheming; although it is apparent to the curas that they have committed other greater sins. It is a great trouble to get them to take part in the procession, and those who can do so escape through the cross streets. In Manila it is necessary for the regimental heads to appoint soldiers to go to take part in this act, and to pay them one-half real; and, were it not for this expedient, it would sometimes be impossible to do it. The curas have considerable trouble in the villages in getting them to confess. They are given forty days of grace, and many come after being threatened with twenty-five lashes; while many of the degree of captain, and many who are not, get along in spite of all without confession. In the village of Lilio, on the brow of Mount Banahao, where there are 1,300 tributes, there were more than 600 persons who did not confess in the year 1840; and this has not been one of the most remiss villages in the fulfilment of its religious duties."

[Father Juan Ferrando, who examined Mas's MS., says that 'the Filipinos confess according to the instruction that is given them. In Manila, as I know by experience, they confess as well as the most fervent Spaniard, and I have heard many fathers say the same of many Indians of the provinces.']

"Very many of them also never go to mass in any village where the cura is not especially zealous. In the city of Vigan, where there are about 30,000 persons, not more than 500 or 800 went to church during my stay there on any feast-day, except one of especial devotion to celebrate a virgin patroness of the city. There has been and is much talk of the influence of the curas in the villages. No doubt there is something in it, but their respect and deference toward the parish priest is influenced not a little, in my opinion by their idea (and one not ill founded) of the power of the priest, of the employment that he can give; and of their hope, that he will protect them, in any oppression that they receive from the civil government or from the soldiers. In reality, the friar usually addresses his parishioners in the language of peace, which is the method which fits well into the phlegmatic Filipino. He constitutes himself their defender, even without their having any regard for him—now from the injuries that the avarice of their governors causes them, now from the tendency of these to acquire preponderance and to command, which is the first instinct of man. Consequently, the friars, by resisting and restraining in all parts, and at so great a distance from Madrid, the tyranny or greed of the Spaniards, have been very useful to the villages, and have been acquiring their love. And since the islands are not kept subject by force, but by the will of the mass of the inhabitants, and the means of persuasion are principally in the hands of the religious, the government is necessarily obliged to show the latter considerable deference. From this fact originates their influence in

temporal affairs, and the fear mixed with the respect with which they inspire the people. Three facts naturally result from all this. The cura, speaking in general, is the one who governs the village. Consequently, when a new village is formed its inhabitants do not care to be annexed or dependent on another village in regard to spiritual things; but desire and petition for a parish priest of their own, in order that they might have in him a powerful defender in their differences and suits with other settlements, or with the alcalde of the province. Lastly, the ascendancy that the minister is seen to enjoy is perhaps as much civil as religious, if it is not more so. And in fact ... although they have often succeeded in pacifying seditions by their mere presence alone, and the insurgents, for instance, in Ilocos in the year 1807, surrendered to the friar the cannon that they had captured from a band of 36 soldiers and two patrols of the guard, who were routed, yet at other times not only have individuals but whole masses refused to listen to the admonitions of the religious, have completely lost respect for them, have insulted them, threatened them, wounded them, and even assassinated them, and have not lacked the complement of all this, profaning the churches.

I shall not mention the thefts in the churches, such as one which happened in the capital of Pangasinan when I was there in that province; for these might be considered as single individual deeds, isolated and insignificant. I deduce then, as the resultant conclusion of all these observations, that there are many Filipinos, especially among the feminine sex, who have the true fear of God, but many others who feel a great natural indifference in this matter. They exhibit scarce a disposition toward religion, a fact that I believe must proceed from their little consideration of the wonders of religion... which is a mark of their small amount of intelligence, for they show great indifference for the punishments of the other world, and even the ecclesiastical punishments of this. Nothing shows this so clearly as the insincere confessions which they make in order to finish with it. It is to be noted that almost the same thing happens at the hour of death, and that this is seen in the small and remote villages where Spaniards have never been. Neither, can it be the result of errors or faith or philosophic reading, since the people know no other books than those of the doctrine or the passion.

"Combining the above data and observations with what I have heard recounted, and what we see in manuscripts and printed books about the method by which the old-time religious have maintained devotion in these islands—which has, been by calling the list in order to ascertain those who did not observe their obligation to attend mass and confession, and by punishing in the church courtyard those who are remiss—I am inclined to believe that the law of Jesus Christ is learned here superficially; and that if the system adopted some years ago be continued, of obliging the curas to reduce themselves only to the means of preaching, prohibiting them rigorously from compulsive and positive means, before a century passes there will be but few pure-blooded natives in this archipelago who are true and devout Christians. (Mas, pp. 100-106.) [[back to text](#)]

193 M. and D. omit all of this last sentence and quotation. [[back to text](#)]

194 A vice common to all the world, says Delgado (p. 313). [[back to text](#)]

195 "Although they have but little honor, they have in effect only too much vanity. When one goes to their houses, they make a great effort to show off their wealth, even if they have to beg a loan in order to meet the expense. They do not care to bury their relatives for the love of God, although they try if possible to avoid the payment of the funeral expenses. A cura told me that after a man had paid him the burial expenses *abaguio* or hurricane began; whereupon the man came to get his money, saying that he wished the burial of a pauper, *because in the end, no one would have to see it.*" (Mas, p. 107.) [[back to text](#)]

196 Delgado (p. 313) utters a warning against judging on this particular, and says "that virtues are not so distant from them, as his Paternity writes." [[back to text](#)]

197 M. omits this sentence to this point. [[back to text](#)]

198 What fault do the Indians have in trying to get and defend their own? There may be excess in this matter, says Delgado (p. 313), but the Indians do not go to law only to cause trouble. [[back to text](#)]

199 M. and D. omit this sentence. [[back to text](#)]

200 In regard to this Delgado says (pp. 313, 314) that "there is no dish more relished in this land than defamation and complaint... This is a country where idleness sits enthroned; for when the ship is despatched to Nueva España there is nothing to do for a whole year, but to complain and discuss the lives of others." Delgado does not believe that lust is the only feature in the intercourse between men and women. Neither does he believe that women are treated, as they deserve, with kicks and blows; nor that such treatment is in accordance with conjugal love, or with the text of women being subject to men. San Agustin's advice to Europeans is not good. [[back to text](#)]

201 The Ayer MS. and M. read "Machiabelo;" D. reads "Macabeo," *i.e.*, "Maccabaeon." [[back to text](#)]

202 From this point M. and D. read: "They call this *mabibig*, and this is a thing that will rouse up the entire village against one, the stones, and the land itself. Hence, the concubinages among them, and other evils, have no human remedy, nor can have; for no one wishes to be *mabibig*, for that is the most abominable fault and the only sin among them." [[back to text](#)]

203 The Indians do not tell tales of one another for a more potent reason than that of being declared *mabibig*, is Delgado's commentary (pp. 314, 315)—namely, the fear of private revenge. "But the prudent Indians always advise the father minister, if there is any scandal in the village; now in confession, so that it might be remedied without anyone knowing, the person who has told it; now by a fictitious and anonymous letter, as has happened to me several times. One must exercise prudence in this matter, for all what is written or spoken is not generally true." [[back to text](#)]

204 M. and D. read with some slight verbal differences, which translate the same: "For one might happen to have a servant or two who waste and destroy the property of their master, and no other servant; however kindly he has been treated by his master, will tell him what is happening;" [[back to text](#)]

205 "This league of the caste of color for mutual protection and defense from the domineering caste is very natural. The Filipinos are not so constant in maintaining it, however, that it is not broken by two methods: by offering money to the accuser, or by bestowing so many lashes on each one who is implicated in the crime." (Mas, p. 109.) [[back to text](#)]

206 Delgado (p. 315) finds this very natural, and dismisses it by the reflection that liberty is dear. [[back to text](#)]

207 In M. and D. this reads: "Therefore when they say that there is no more sugar or no more oil; it is when there is not [sugar] enough to make a cup of chocolate, or oil enough to whet a knife." [[back to text](#)]

208 M. and D. read: "They will place the best cup and plate, [D. mentions only the plate] which are much different than the others, for the master, and will only look after him, and pay no attention to the guests." [[back to text](#)]

209 M. and D. omit this sentence. [[back to text](#)]

210 Spanish, *sacabuches consistol y deresistol*, a transcriber's error for *con sistol y diastol* (this phrase omitted in D.); a play on words; as the sackbut forms the various tones by lengthening an d shortening the instrument. The phrase systole and diastole is now applied to the alternate contraction and expansion of the heart; San Agustin apparently uses it through fondness for a learned phrase. [[back to text](#)]

211 The citation from Quevedo is lacking in M. San Agustin has slightly misquoted; though it translates the same as the correct version. The lines are as follows:

Galalon, que en casa come poco,

y a costa agena el corpanchon ahita.

The citation is from Quevedo's *Poema heroica de las necedades y locuras de Orlando el enamorado*. [[back to text](#)]

212 That is, "Much good may it do you," an expression used at eating or drinking. San Agustin evidently refers in the following clause to the scanty fare supplied to those who row in the boats as compulsory service. [[back to text](#)]

213 This is not a general rule among the Tagálogs, and much less among the Visayans. Neither are all the Indians forgers. (Delgado, pp. 315, 316.) [[back to text](#)]

214 M. omits "alcalde" and reads "prudent and experienced man." D. reads "a prudent and experienced alcalde." [[back to text](#)]

215 *i.e.*, "I heard your evidence, and feared." [[back to text](#)]

216 M. reads "some Indians;" D. "some erudite Indians." [[back to text](#)]

217 *Rabula*, "an ignorant, vociferous lawyer;" cf. English "pettifogger." [[back to text](#)]

218 This sentence is omitted by M. D. reads "all the alcaldes." [[back to text](#)]

219 The Italian phrase *fabro de calumnia* is used. [[back to text](#)]

220 King Josiah or Josias was slain at Mageddo. See IV Kings (II Kings of the King James version), xxiii, 29, 30; and II Paralipomenon (II Chronicles of the King James version), XXXV, 22-25. [[back to text](#)]

221 M. reads: "the Indians making use of a whole year in order to increase their calumny." D. reads: "Just see what subtlety and moderate arithmetic they use in order to make their accusation; the Indians lumping together a whole year in order to give pasture to one single horse;" and then adds: "And there are so many cases of this that if I mentioned them all I would never end." [[back to text](#)]

222 We have thus freely translated the original *sin afianzar calumnia*, which is a regular law term. [[back to text](#)]

223 "But a short time ago, when Señor Seoane was regent of the Audiencia, as the result of an urgent complaint against a Spanish cura, a verbal process was ordered to be made, and from it not the slightest charge resulted against the priest. Another judge was entrusted with the forming of another verbal process,

with the same result. The supreme tribunal, being persuaded that the matter was not all calumny, sent an expressly commissioned judge from Manila, who found no more crime than did the others.

"I personally saw a representation signed by the gobernadorcillo and all the principales of a village, in which they affirmed that their cura had forced the wife of the first lieutenant; had punished the lieutenant for opposing her being kept to sleep in the convent; went out on the street drum; went into the town hall to beat individuals of the municipality; and had not celebrated mass on Sunday for the same reason of being drunk. When a verbal process was made of it, all retracted. I became acquainted personally with this friar, who is a fine fellow..." (Mas, pp. 113, 114.) [[back to text](#)]

224 From this point, M. and D. read: "but it is to images of some new miracle. They have the habit of devotion, but they seek the newest and forget the old." [[back to text](#)]

225 As to the Indians being fond of making pilgrimages to new and distant shrines where some notable miracle has occurred, Spaniards often have the same love. See Delgado, p. 316. [[back to text](#)]

226 San Agustin is speaking of the Indians of Manila and its environs, says Delgado (p. 316): "For this is rarely seen in the other islands. Hence in the twenty-four years that I have lived in the Visayas, only in the city of Cebú have I ever seen any other than some religious drama [*auto sacramental*], or the pieces of the school children." [[back to text](#)]

227 In M. escuitiles; and in D. miscuitiles. [[back to text](#)]

228 The verse number is given correctly in M. San Agustin quotes incorrectly, the proper version being:

Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem,

Quam quae sunt oculis subiecta fidelibus...

The translation given by Wickham (*ut supra*, p. 349), is as follows: "What finds entrance through the ear stirs the mind less actively than what is submitted to the eyes, which we cannot doubt."

"They are very fond of seeing theatrical pieces They make some translations from our dramas, and they make a piece out of anything although it is destitute of the rules of art. They are especially fond of very long comedies, that last a month or more, with many hours of representation daily. These are drawn from histories or from stories, and they stage them. In Tondo there was played, for instance, *Matilde, ó las Cruzadas* [*i.e.*, "Matilda, or the Crusades"]. The *Celestina* was probably the origin of this taste. Filipino poets have written several dramas of this kind, as well as some epic, religious, and love poems. But in the epoch previous to the arrival of the Spaniards, it appears that there existed only a few love songs, of whose merits I cannot judge, as I know the language so slightly.

"They have verses of as many as twelve syllables, which are the ones generally used in their poems. They are divided into quatrains, whose four verses rhyme among themselves. The Filipino rhyme, however, consists in the last letter being a vowel or a consonant. . . They read all their verses in a singing tone, and the quatrains of the twelve-syllable verse are read with the motif of the *comintan*, which is their national song. The custom of singing when reading poetry is a practice of China, and of all the Asiatic peoples whom I have visited. The kind of versification which I have just cited is evidently anterior to our conquest, as is also the above-mentioned air, which is adjusted to it. This air is melancholy and does not resemble at all any Chinese or Indian music that I have heard. There are several *comintans*, just as there are different boleros, Polish dances, or Tyrolian dances. Some of them have a great resemblance to the music of Arabia.

On the slopes of Camachin [which is a mountain in southern Mindanao], I heard a song which is exactly and purely of that sort. . . " (Mas, pp. 115, 116.)

The *Celestina* mentioned by Mas is a noted dramatic story—probably written about 1480, and by Rodrigo Cota, of Toledo, and others—which has exercised a very strong influence on the Spanish national drama. It has great literary merit, admirable style, and well-drawn pictures of human nature; and it attained so extensive and continual popularity that even the Inquisition did not place *Celestina* in the Index until 1793, notwithstanding its grossness of thought and language. (Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature*, i, pp. 262-272.) [[back to text](#)]

229 M. and D. read "Christ our Lord." [[back to text](#)]

230 "In the Visayas," says Delgado (p. 317) "very rarely do the Indians imitate the Spaniards in their dress; for almost all of them go barefoot, according to their custom, and wear long black garments that cover the entire body (which we call cassocks or *lambong*), very wide breeches, and the shirt outside. For they can never accustom themselves, as do the Spaniards, to gathering it inside, as is the custom of the country. I have seen the same among the Tagálogs, with the exception of some servants of the Spaniards, and some officials and clerks, among them. But these men do not make the rule for the other nations of this archipelago, who are numerous and different. I can truly tell what I see among the Spaniards of Visayas, who dress in the same manner as the Indians; and very rarely do they put on shoes and stockings or slippers, except on an important feast-day when they go to the church, for they cannot endure it any other way. It is a fact that the Indians do preserve somewhat their ancient customs in districts where there is less civilization and instruction; but where they are well taught and directed, they have almost forgotten these."

"A cura told me that he had surprised a man and three old women crouched down beside the corpse of the former's dead wife. The four people were all covered over with sheets, and were in the attitude of listening with the closest of attention to see whether the deceased would say anything to them. They practice many simplicities like this in all their solemn ceremonies of which we have spoken. So general is this that in the ordinances of good government in force, there is an article that orders the persecution of idolatry and aniterias." (Mas, pp. 116, 117.) [[back to text](#)]

231 "If father Fray Gaspar had been in Madrid, he would not have been so greatly surprised that those soliciting anything should send their wives to obtain favors. Moreover, the Filipinos, not only fearing, but with full consciousness, generally send and even take their wives to the Spaniards to obtain some employment, or merely for money. The most direct means for a general to obtain the friendship of a married woman is to win over the husband, just as in order to get a single woman one must gain over the mother. I have known very intimately a steward who was very much in love with his wife, and was jealous even of her shadow. Nevertheless, at the least insinuation of his master he took her to the latter's apartment, and it appears that he desired her to go there very often. Upon thinking over this matter, I am convinced that a partial cause of it is the little importance that they attach to the act of love; and especially in the fact to which they are persuaded that no one of their women will ever love us; and they are only handed over for the profit; and are lent us as a personal service, just like any other; and when the woman goes away from us, she takes her heart with her, which is all for the Filipinos." (Mas, p. 117.) [[back to text](#)]

232 M. and D. add "most." [[back to text](#)]

233 This phrase is omitted in D. [[back to text](#)]

234 It is not to be wondered at that they are literal and material in their conversation, for they know only their villages. See Delgado, p. 317.

"I have observed none of this, especially in the women to whom I have talked. Almost all of them are always attentive, courteous, and kind." (Mas, p. 118.) [[back to text](#)]

235 M. and D. omit this sentence. [[back to text](#)]

236 M. adds: "and run away, for he is the bugaboo, with which the children are frightened." [[back to text](#)]

237 Dogs do not bark at the Spaniards only, in any country, but at those who are strange to them. Neither do the Indians detest the fathers from birth. The fact that the Indians yield to anyone who assumes a boasting attitude, especially if he be drunk, and have a knife, is not so much cowardice as prudence. "I believe that the reverend father was very melancholy, and tired of the ministry, when he began to write his letter." (Delgado, pp. 317, 318.)

"If our father had traveled, he would have known that dogs bark at anyone whose clothes are unfamiliar to them. In regard to their horror of white faces, he at least exaggerates. It is not at all strange that a child should cry at an object being presented to him that he has never had in his ken before. I have seen many children burst into sobs at the sight of my eye-glasses. It is a fact that some of them have just as little as possible to do with us, either for contempt, embarrassment, or antipathy; but there are a very great number who profess affection for us. When the government secretary, Cambronero, died in the year 1840, all his servants shed tears abundantly. A serving-maid of the Señora de Recaño was left desolate, when the latter embarked for España a short time ago. An old woman on the occasion of [the engagement of] Movales in the year 1823, gave Col. Santa Romana proofs of great affection and fidelity. During the same engagement, while Don Domingo Benito was haranguing his artillery sergeants and telling them 'I shall die the first,' one of them answered, 'No, Sir, I shall die before you.' When the Jesuits were exiled, the villages that they administered grieved exceedingly. In the archives of St. Augustine, I have seen the relation of one of the friars who went there for their relief, and he paints in lively colors the memory preserved of the Jesuits: 'Here they cannot look upon a white habit; notwithstanding the kind words that we speak to them; and the presents that we make them we cannot attract to ourselves the good-will of these people; hence, when we call a child, he runs away instead of coming to us.' I have seen some servants ready and anxious to go with their master to any part of the world; and, if the Spaniards would take them, many would go to España. When some insurgents, in the island of Leite put Alcalde Lara in the stocks, his servant feigned to be in accord with them. He made them drunk, and then took his master from the stocks. He fitted up a barangay quickly, in which they attempted to escape, but the night was stormy, and all were drowned. And finally, I myself have received several disinterested proofs of their good-will." (Mas, pp. 118, 119.) [[back to text](#)]

238 It is difficult to ascertain whether the Filipino is a brave man or a coward. On one side, we see, any braggart terrify a multitude; and on the other, some face dangers and death with unmoved spirit. When one of them decides to kill another, he does it without thinking at all of the consequences. A man of Vigan killed a girl who did not love him, six other persons, and a buffalo; and then stabbed at a tree; and killed himself.

Another servant of the tobacco superintendent killed a girl for the same reason, before a crowd of people, and then himself. A soldier killed a girl for the same reason while I was passing in front of Santo Thomas. A coachman, in November, 1841, tried to kill another man, because of a love affair; and, failing in the attempt, killed himself. Filipino sailors have committed many cruelties, and have a reputation throughout the entire Indian Sea as turbulent fellows and assassins. The [insurance] companies of Bengal do not insure at full risk a vessel in which one-half the crew is of islanders. When I was in the island of Pinang, at the strait of Malacca, I tried to get passage to Singapore, in order to go to Filipinas, in the brigantine "Juana" and to take in my company as a servant one of the seventeen sailors of Manila, who had been discharged from a Portuguese vessel because of a row that they had had with the captain. The commander of the "Juana" was a Chinese, and the crew Malayan; counting sailors and Chinese passengers there were about 40 persons aboard. Under no consideration would the captain admit me together with the servant, telling

me: 'No, no, even if you give me a hundred pesos; I will take no man from Manila.' In fact, after much begging, I had to resign myself and leave him ashore, and take ship without knowing who would guide and serve me; for I understood neither Chinese nor Malayan. At the same time, I have heard that the Filipinos are cowards in a storm. The infantry captain Molla told me that the captain of a pontón which encountered a heavy tempest began to weep, and the sailors hid in order not to work; and he had to drive them out of the corners with a stick, for which they began to mutiny and to try to pitch him overboard. Ashore they have given some proofs of boldness by attacking Spaniards to their faces....Sergeant Mateo was boldly confronted in the insurrection of 1823. The soldiers have the excellent quality of being obedient, and if they have Spanish officers and sergeants, will not turn their backs on the fire; but alone they have never given proof of gallantry. In the war with the English, they always fled...and the few Europeans whom Anda had were his hope, and the soul of all his operations. I have asked many officers who have fought with Filipinos, either against the savages in the mountains, or against ladrones; and they all have told me that when it comes to fighting, they preferred to have twenty-five Europeans to one hundred Filipinos. Many allege, in proof of their bravery, the indifference with which they die; but this is rather a sign of stupidity than of good courage. From all of the above data, we might deduce that the individual whom we are analyzing is more often found to be cowardly than impassive and fearless; but that he is apt to become desperate, as is very frequently observed. They express that by the idea that he is hot-headed, and at such times they commit the most atrocious crimes and suicide. He is cruel, and sheds blood with but little symptoms of horror, and awaits death calmly. This is because he does not feel so strongly as we do the instinct of life. He has no great spirit for hazardous enterprises, as for instance that of boarding a warship, breaking a square, gaining a bridge, or assaulting a breach, unless he be inflamed by the most violent passions, that render him frantic." (Mas, pp. 119-121.) [[back to text](#)]

239 In M., "to a great degree;" and in D., "in a certain manner." [[back to text](#)]

240 D. reads "on this occasion." [[back to text](#)]

241 Delgado says (p. 318) that the sin of intoxication is overstated. Among the Visayans, intoxicating beverages are indulged in in differing degrees, while many are abstemious. "I would like to hear what the Tagalog Indians who live among Spaniards in Manila would say to this stain, that is imputed to them alone."

"Perhaps this may have been so in the time of Father Gaspar, as the Filipinos preserved more of their ancient customs than now, for we see that intoxication is very common in the independent tribes living in the mountains; but today it is not observed that the [civilized Filipinos] drink more than the individuals of other nations who are considered sober." (Mas, pp. 121, 122.) [[back to text](#)]

242 Delgado denies that the Indians are robbers (p. 318). [[back to text](#)]

243 Delgado says (p. 318): "This passage is absolutely malicious, so far as the Visayans are concerned; for no Visayan woman of good blood will marry with other than her equal, however ever poor she be. And although all are of one color, they make great distinctions among themselves."

"The same thing is recounted by Father Mozo to be the case among the mountain savages." (Mas, p. 122.) [[back to text](#)]

244 i.e., "At least as to manner." [[back to text](#)]

245 D. omits this last clause. [[back to text](#)]

246 An adaptation of an old proverb, probably meaning here, "Although sins are committed here, they are not so frequent as in other places." [[back to text](#)]

247 San Agustin speaks without sufficient authority, says Delgado (pp. 318, 319), for he only remained a short time in Panay, and learned nothing of the other parts of the Visayans. "I know very well that what he imputes to the Visayan women is not absolutely true. For generally they detest not only Cafres and negroes, but also inequality in birth. They are not so easy as his Paternity declares in admitting any temptation, and there are many of them who are very modest and reserved." Bad women exist everywhere, even among the whites.

"There is no doubt that modesty is a peculiar feature in these women. From the prudent and even humble manner in which the single youths approach their sweethearts, one can see that these young ladies hold their lovers within strict bounds and cause themselves to be treated by them with the greatest respect. I have not seen looseness and impudence, even among prostitutes. Many of the girls feign resistance, and desire to be conquered by a brave arm. This is the way, they say, among the beautiful sex in Filipinas. In Manila no woman makes the least sign or even calls out to a man on the street, or from the windows, as happens in Europa; and this does not result from fear of the police, for there is complete freedom in this point, as in many others. But in the midst of this delicacy of intercourse there are very few Filipino girls who do not relent to their gallants and to their presents. It appears that there are very few young women who marry as virgins and very many have had children before marriage. No great importance is attached to these slips, however much the curas endeavor to make them do so. Some curas have assured me that not only do the girls not consider it dishonorable, but think, on the contrary, that they can prove by this means that they have had lovers. If this is so, then we shall have another proof that these, Filipinos preserve not a little of their character and primitive customs; since, according to the account of Father Juan .Francisco de San Antonio, it was a shame for any woman, whether married or single, before the arrival of the Spaniards, not to have a lover, although it was at the same time a settled thing that no one would give her affection freely.

"That they are more affectionate than men is also a fact, but, this is common to the sex in all countries...

"That they rarely love any Spaniards is also true. The beard, and specially the mustache, causes them a disagreeable impression, and he who believes the contrary is much mistaken. Besides, our education, our tastes, and our rank place a very high wall between the two persons. The basis of love is confidence; and a rude Filipino girl acquires with great difficulty confidence toward an European who is accustomed to operas and society. They may place themselves in the arms of Europeans through interest or persuasion; but after the moment of illusion is over, they do not know what to say and. one gets tired of the other. The Filipino girl does not grow weary of her Filipino, for the attainments; inclinations; and acquaintances of both are the same. Notwithstanding the Filipinos live, as I am told, convinced that not one of their beauties has the slightest affection for us, and that they bestow their smiles upon us only for reasons of convenience, yet I imagine that sometimes the joke is turned upon themselves—especially if the Spaniard is very young, has but little beard, and is of a low class, or can lower himself to the level of the poor Filipino girl." (Mas, pp. 123-125.) [[back to text](#)]

248 M. reads "fishing." [[back to text](#)]

249 D. reads "gloomily." [[back to text](#)]

250 M. reads "For to define them categorically, with an essential and real definition." D. reads "For to define them categorically, with an essential and real substantial definition, awaits another." [[back to text](#)]

251 M. omits the remainder of this paragraph; and the last sentence in D. reads: "But if they had undertaken the task of defining the Indians, they would not have been so successful." [[back to text](#)]

252 This was the French poet and theologian John Barclay, who was born at Pont-à-Mousson, in 1582, and died at Rome, August 12, 1621. He refused to enter the Society of Jesus, and followed his father to England where he published a poem at the coronation of James I, which found considerable favor. While in London he was accused of heresy, and was summoned to Rome by Paul V. In London he published a continuation of his *Euphormion*, the first part of which had appeared in 1610. This consists of a Latin satire in two books. His *Argenis* was published in Paris in 1621, and there was a Leyden edition in 1630. It is a story, written in prose and poetry, of the vices of the court. It was very popular and was translated into many languages. See Hoefler's *Nouvelle biographie générale*. [[back to text](#)]

253 Probably Joannes Rodenborgh, who wrote the fifth part of *Logicae compendiosae* (Utrecht, 1676). [[back to text](#)]

254 See *ante*, p. 192, note 109. [[back to text](#)]

255 See *ante*, p. 191, note 105. [[back to text](#)]

256 *i.e.*, "Passion does not come from custom." This is lacking in M. [[back to text](#)]

257 *i.e.*, "And infamous need." This is from the Aeneid, book vi, line 276. [[back to text](#)]

258 St. Anthony of Thebes was the founder of monachism. He is said to have been born at Koma, Egypt, near Heraklea, A. D. 251, and to have died A. D. 356. In early life he retired to the wilderness, and lived in seclusion until 305, when he founded the monastery of Fayum, near Memphis and Arsinoë. He is the patron of hospitallers, and his day is celebrated on January 17. His life was written by St. Athanasius, a condensed translation of which is given by S. Baring-Gould in his *Lives of the Saints* (London, 1897, 1898), i, pp. 249-272. See also Addis and Arnold's *Catholic Dictionary*, p. 596; and *New International Encyclopedia*. [[back to text](#)]

259 Formerly called Thebaica regio, one of the three great divisions of ancient Egypt, and equivalent to Upper Egypt. This district was famous for its desert which became the habitation of many of the early Christians, among them both Sts. Anthony and Arsenius. See Larousse's *Grand Dictionnaire*. [[back to text](#)]

260 St. Arsenius was a Roman of a noble and wealthy family, who became the tutor of the two sons of Theodosius at Constantinople. He fled to Egypt after the death of Theodosius, in shame at the poor results of his teaching. There he lived in the desert, where he was called "the father of the emperors." He died about 440, after a long life of seclusion. He figures in Kingsley's story of Hypatia. His day is celebrated on July 19, and he is especially revered in France and Belgium. See Baring-Gould (*ut supra*), viii, pp. 446-448. [[back to text](#)]

261 D. reads wrongly "Theodorico." [[back to text](#)]

262 D. reads "gético." [[back to text](#)]

263 In the first line of the above citation, which is from the *Epistolarum ex Ponto*, book i, epistle 3 (to Rufinus) read "littore" in place of "frigore." The translation of the two lines is as follows: "What is better than Rome? What is worse than the Scythian shore? Yet the barbarian flees thither from that city." [[back to text](#)]

264 i.e., "Though composed of many, it draws to itself the nature of the more worthy simple form." [[back to text](#)]

265 "Among the Filipino Indians there are many who are very good, and are very capable of being directed and taught in good and holy customs; and because there are many bad ones, who govern themselves not by reason, but by the pressure of public opinion, it cannot be said rightly and conscientiously that all are bad." (Delgado, p. 320.)

"This paragraph appears admirable to me, and a more exact idea of the Filipino cannot be given in so few words—at least such as he is at present, either because of circumstances, or because of his physical constitution, or of the two things together." (Mas, p. 127.) [[back to text](#)]

266 M. and D. add "it is in favor of their comfort, and they commit other greater acts of insolence, for." [[back to text](#)]

267 i.e., "They enter into the joy of their lord;" a reference to Matthew XXV, 21, 23. [[back to text](#)]

268 i.e., "Not as to the cause, but as the effect." D. reverses the position of the negative. [[back to text](#)]

269 Heliogabalus the Roman emperor, who ascended the throne in 218 A. D., at the age of fourteen, and was assassinated after three years. He is known chiefly for his acts of madness and bestiality, and his cruelty. [[back to text](#)]

270 San Agustin has quoted these lines incorrectly. They are found in ll. 527-531 of Marcus Annaeus Lucanus's *Pharsalia*, and are as follows:

...O vitae tuta facultas Pauperis angustique lares!

O munera nondum Intellecta deum! Quibus hoc

Contingere templis Aut potuit muris nullo

Trepidare tumultu Caesarea pulsante manu?...

The translation of this passage is as follows: "O secure opportunity of life, and lares of the needy poor man! O gifts not yet recognized as a god! What temples could enjoy this blessing, or what walls be in confusion in any tumult, if the hand of Caesar move?" [[back to text](#)]

271 "All religious agree that they die with the utmost indifference, and that when they come to the bedside of the dying one, in order to comfort him, they remain cold upon seeing how little those people are changed by the words that their approaching peril inspires in them. Confessions at such a time are generally somewhat more sincere, but always very short and stupid. The relatives are not at all careful about talking of his death in the presence of the sick person—as, for example, one of them remarking to the cura in a very natural and quiet voice in his uncle's presence (who still fully retained his feeling and hearing): 'See, Father, it would be wise for you to consecrate the winding-sheet, for I think that he is about to die soon.' The same indifference is to be observed in a criminal condemned to any punishment. He is seated on his heels on a bamboo bench, smoking. Every few moments the religious enters to give him a Christian word, to which the criminal generally answer.: 'Yes, Father, I know quite well that I have to die; what am I to do about it? I am an evil man; God so decrees; such was my fate;' and other things of this sort. He eats regularly, and sleeps as on any other day . . . [This] is only one additional proof, and in my opinion, a not

slight one, that the Filipino race is inferior, at least in spiritual matters, to our race." (Mas, pp. 128, 129.) [\[back to text\]](#)

272 The location of the above quotation is not given in the Ayer MS., but is given in both M. and D. [\[back to text\]](#)

273 D. reads "chatcere." [\[back to text\]](#)

274 Possibly a reference to Proverbs ii instead of xx (where there is nothing that corresponds to this passage). The translation of the above is: "I walk in the ways of justice, in the midst of the paths of judgment, so that I may call myself diligent." [\[back to text\]](#)

275 This is not quoted correctly, but should be: *Venite ad me omnes, qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego reficiam vos*. The editor of D. has emended this passage. [\[back to text\]](#)

276 This is the wrong reference. In the King James version, it is lxxii, 13, and in the Douay version, lxxi, 13. [\[back to text\]](#)

277 *i.e.*, "For to him that is little, mercy is granted." This is not in M. [\[back to text\]](#)

278 The remainder of this paragraph, and all the next, are lacking in M. [\[back to text\]](#)

279 *i.e.*, "No sacrifice is more acceptable to God than the zeal for souls." [\[back to text\]](#)

280 *i.e.*, "Ye therefore, my friends who are in the world, proceed with security, and cry out and announce my will. I will dwell in your heart and in your mouth. I will be your leader on the way, and your consolation at death. I will not leave you. Proceed with eagerness, for glory increases from the labor." D. reads "audacter," "boldly," instead of "alacriter." M. gives but a portion of the citation. [\[back to text\]](#)

281 This quotation is not exact, the correct version being as follows: *Patientia enim vobis necessaria est: ut voluntatem Dei facientis. reportetis promissionem*. It is not in M. [\[back to text\]](#)

282 In D. "placing." [\[back to text\]](#)

283 M. is the only one of the three versions of this letter that locates this citation correctly. We adopt the reading of the Latin Vulgate, as San Agustin has not quoted exactly. [\[back to text\]](#)

284 M. and D. omit these last four words. [\[back to text\]](#)

285 M. and D. read "variety of combinations of." [\[back to text\]](#)

286 Of the remainder of the letter, Delgado says (p. 323): "In regard to all the rest that the reverend writer adds, concerning the manner in which those who live with the Indians ought to comport themselves, I have nothing more to say or to add. For it is all well written and noted, and those who come new to these islands will do very well to read it and to do as the reverend father prescribes, teaching the Indians to read and write and other knowledge, for they have great capacity of all and at the same time, civilization, which is very necessary to them and where they fail and sin, punish them as children, and not as slaves. By so doing they will obtain from them whatever they wish."

Mas says (pp. 130, 131) of the advice given by San Agustin: "I would be very glad, and it would be very advantageous for them, if all the Spaniards would adopt this system which is both wise and unique. But quite to the contrary, many persons think that the Filipinos ought to understand them at the slightest insinuation and very readily. For any fault they become impatient and call the Filipinos brutes, and carabaos, and express themselves in the presence of the Filipinos in the most violent manner, and in the most insulting terms about the race in general, even to the point of wishing to destroy them and other barbarous and sanguinary ideas of which their heart is not capable. And they do not take note that such outbreaks of wrath only serve the purpose of confusing the Filipinos, rendering them more stupid, and rousing up hatred against them and all the Spaniards." [[back to text](#)]

287 In M. "mildly." [[back to text](#)]

288 M. gives the reference wrongly as the nineteenth verse. [[back to text](#)]

289 i.e., "Care must, in fact, be taken that the teacher and the father and the mother give discipline to their subjects." [[back to text](#)]

290 Not in M. [[back to text](#)]

291 In D. "and the merit lies in the patience." [[back to text](#)]

292 i.e., "Help the poor because of the commandment; and send him not away empty-handed because of his poverty, etc." M. and D. add the thirteenth verse, as follows: *Perde pecuniam propter fratrem et amicum tuum; et non abscondas illam sub lapide in perditionem*. The English of this is: "Lose thy money for thy brother and thy friend: and hide it not under a stone to be lost." To the above paragraph M. and D. add the following: "For the merit becomes greater in proportion to their ingratitude if we fulfil our obligation and if they act according to their disposition For, as says the royal prophet David (Psalm xxxvi, 21), *Mutuabitur peccator, et non solvet: justus autem miseretur et tribuet*." [[back to text](#)]

293 This paragraph is divided into two paragraphs in M. and D. and is very much abridged. It is as follows: "It is necessary that those Indians who are taken as servants, be shown no love if they are children, but always uprightness, for one must consider it as most certain that in proportion as they are better clothed and caressed, the worse they will become when they grow up. This is the teaching of the Holy Spirit: [the verse from Proverbs as above follows]. They must be treated with great uprightness and prudence, for otherwise they will gradually lose their respect to the character that God presents to them in the Spaniard. [The fable of King Log follows as above.]" [[back to text](#)]

294 i.e., "He who blows his nose too violently generally draws forth blood." [[back to text](#)]

295 M. and D. make two paragraphs of the above, and read as follows: "One must not press them to give more of themselves than they can, as we do with the lemon, for that which will be expressed will be bitter, and, as says the proverb [in D.— "and as says a law commentary"] *Qui nimis emungit solet extorquere cruorem*. We must remember in all this the teaching of the holy Council of Trent, session 13 [in D.— "3"] *de reformat*, chapter I, whose words, although they are very well worth reading, I omit on account of their length. It is not proper to go up into their houses, except when necessity requires it, keeping therein the evangelical precept (Luke x, 7 [wrongly cited as xx]): *Nolite transire de domo in domum*. For one will lose much in estimation, while their vices [in D.— "coldness"] do not make this a desirable diversion." [[back to text](#)]

296 M. and D. add: "anything is entrusted to them." The remainder of San Agustin's letter is omitted in D. [[back to text](#)]

297 M. and D. add here: "for thus does the Holy Spirit advise us."

"One day a friend of mine ordered a servant in my presence to go to a certain house to ask in his name for the last gazettes from Europa. I advised my friend to give the servant a note, since the latter would doubtless give expression to some bit of nonsense. He took no notice of me, and sent the servant. In fact, the man understood "aceite" [*i.e.*, "olive oil"], for "gaceta" [*i.e.*, "gazette"], and returned with a bottle of olive oil. His master was very much put out, while I burst into a roar of laughter. A peculiar thing is often observed in servants, namely, when one of them is ordered, 'Go to the house of Don Antonio,' before the message is finished the servant begins to go; and one has to call him back and say to him, 'But, man alive, where are you going?' and, if he is allowed to go, he reaches his destination and says that he has been sent there, and then returns whence he came, or utters some foolish remark." (Mas, p. 133.) [[back to text](#)]

298 In the Vulgate, the last word of the Latin in this citation is *eum*. [[back to text](#)]

299 *i.e.*, "at least in passing." This is not in M. [[back to text](#)]

300 M. reads "denude themselves of their customs." [[back to text](#)]

301 M. reads: "For the Indian who is ordained does not give himself a trade because of the more perfect estate." [[back to text](#)]

302 M. has instead of "from the oar," "from handling a bolo." [[back to text](#)]

303 Spanish, *la cuña del mismo palo*; another application of an old Spanish proverb. [[back to text](#)]

304 M. adds "and those farthest from Manila, where also the remedy is very far away." [[back to text](#)]

305 Spanish, *sobre quítame allá esas pajas*—literally, "regarding 'carry away these straws from me,' " defined by the Academy's dictionary as, "about a thing of little importance or value." [[back to text](#)]

306 Picota: "a column [the insignia of jurisdiction] or gibbet of stone, which is usually placed at the entrances of towns or villages; on which are ignominiously exposed the heads of persons executed or of criminals" (Bárcia, *Dicc. etimológico*). [[back to text](#)]

307 M. adds "to the father cura." The reason for this letter may be found possibly in this paragraph, in the hostility of the religious orders to admitting the Filipinos to the priesthood. [[back to text](#)]

308 M. reads "How well it could be subdued and composed." [[back to text](#)]

309 M. adds "in his happiness." [[back to text](#)]

310 M. reads: "And while they were all gallantly seated in the hall, and she was, very finely adorned with jewels, in the room, surrounded by many ladies." [[back to text](#)]

311 M. reads: "The bride spied the mouse from a long distance, and, not being able to restrain herself out of respect for that function, she arose and began to run the length of the hall. She overthrew the people, and they were unable to restrain the fair bride, and cause her to desist from her undertaking. The angry groom said to them." [[back to text](#)]

312 The rest of this sentence reads in M., "even though they should become bishops." [[back to text](#)]

313 Matthew XXV, 21. [[back to text](#)]

314 i.e., "The priesthood is the apex of all good things which exist among men."

St. Ignatius the Martyr was born about the middle of the first century of the Christian era, and is said to have been baptized by the apostle John. He was bishop of Antioch for forty years. Arrested by the Roman authorities because of his preaching, he was sent to Rome, where he was killed by wild beasts in the arena, probably about 107 A. D. He met the famous Polycarp while on his way to Rome. Many epistles exist which are said to have been written by him, although some of them are probably spurious. His day is celebrated on February 1. See S. Baring-Gould (*ut supra*), ii, pp. 1-5, and *New International Encyclopedia*. [[back to text](#)]

315 i.e., "Concerning the dignity of the priesthood." M. adds: "*Nihil est in hoc seculo excellentius sacerdotibus* [i.e., 'There is nothing more excellent in this world than the priesthood']; and above, *horor igitur, et sublimitas sacerdotalis nullis poterit comparationibus adequari si regum fulgori compares, et principum Diademati longe erit inferius, quam si plumbi metallum aduri fugorem compares*. [i.e., 'Therefore the priestly reverence and height can be equaled by no comparisons. If it be compared to the splendor of kings and the diadem of princes, the comparison is far more inferior than if the metal lead were compared to gleaming gold.'] And of this Father Don Antonio Molina speaks at length in his admirable book." [[back to text](#)]

316 St. Ambrose was one of the four doctors of the western church. He was born at Trèves about 340 A. D., and received a good education in Rome, and entered into the Roman civil service. Elected to the office of bishop of Milan, in what was regarded as a miraculous manner, he soon became one of the great strongholds of the young religion of Christianity. To him was due the honor of receiving the great Augustine into the Church. His death occurred in 397 A. D. His day is celebrated on December 7; and in Milan he is regarded as a patron saint. The Ambrosian Library of that city is named for him. See S. Baring-Gould (*ut supra*), xv, pp. 74-104; and *New International Encyclopaedia*. [[back to text](#)]

317 Antonio de Molina was a Spanish theologian, who was born at Villa-Nueva-de-los-Infantes (Castilla). Entering the Augustinian order, he taught theology, until he later retired to the house at Miraflores, where he died September 12, 1612. He wrote a book called *Instruccion de Sacerdotes*, which was published in various places in Spain, and later translated into various languages, among them the Latin. See Hoefer's *Nouvelle biographie générale*, xxxv, col. 892. [[back to text](#)]

318 Paulo Segneri, S.J. was one of the most illustrious men that the Jesuit order has produced. He was a native of Nettuno, Italy, being born March 22, 1624, and entered the Society December 2, 1637. He early became deaf through his excessive study. After teaching the humanities and rhetoric, he became a preacher and missionary, traversing Italy on his missionary journeys during the years 1665-1692. In 1692 he was called to Rome by Innocent XII, to take the place of his preacher-in-ordinary. His death occurred at Rome, December 9, 1694. His influence on Italy is ranked by some only second to that of Savonarola. His style in writing is regarded as of chief rank in purity and accuracy for his century. His writings were numerous, and have been translated into many languages, some of them into Greek and Arabian. The book mentioned in the text is *Il parroco instruito: opera in cui si dimostra a qualsisia curato novello il debito che lo strigne, e la via da tenerse nell' adempirlo* (Firenze, 1692). See Sommervogel's *Bibliothèque*; and Hoefer (*ut supra*), xliii, cols. 685, 686. [[back to text](#)]

319 The dignity of patriarch in the Catholic church (leaving aside the papal rank) is the highest grade in the hierarchy of jurisdiction. Antioch early occupied a high place among the patriarchates, although with the

lapse of time it lost its high position; and finally, after the schism between the eastern and western churches, the appointee to that dignity did not actually assume the office. See Addis and Arnold's *Catholic Dictionary*, pp. 35, 36, and 640. The patriarch mentioned in the text was the famous Cardinal Charles Thomas Millard de Tournon. See VOL. XXVIII p. 118, and note 56; Concepción, ix, pp. 1-123; and Crétineau-Joly, v, pp. 38-54. [[back to text](#)]

320 These last two sentences are missing in M. [[back to text](#)]

321 At this point the letter proper in M. ends with the words: "May God preserve you for many years," and no signature follows. This is followed by the questions for men and women of Murillo Velarde. [[back to text](#)]

322 In the text, *legitimos*; probably a transcriber's error for *ilegitimos* ("of illegitimate birth").

Other papal letters give leave to dispense with the above classes, who could not, otherwise, be promoted to holy orders. Both classes could, also, be raised to church dignities, but only to minor dignities, and not to high ones as bishoprics, etc. The distinction between *espurios* and [*i*] *legitimos* seems merely to have been a legal one, as both terms mean the same in effect.—REV. T. C. MIDDLETON, O.S.A. [[back to text](#)]

323 *i.e.*, "It was lately related to us." [[back to text](#)]

324 In the *copy* of this letter conserved in the collection of Fray Eduardo Navarro of the Colegio de Filipinas, Valladolid, Spain (of which we have the transcription of a few pages at the end) , this word reads *divina*. [[back to text](#)]

325 Antonio (not Pedro) Urceo, who was also called Codrus, was an erudite Italian, who was born August 14, 1446 at Rubiera, and died at Bologna in 1500. He was a good educator of youth, but of choleric temper. While acting as tutor in one of the noble Italian families, a fire destroyed most of his papers, which so worked upon him that he retired into almost complete seclusion for six months. In 1482 he went to Bologna, where he taught grammar and eloquence. Although during his life he gave doubts of his orthodoxy, his death was all that could have been wished. His works were published in four editions, the first being at Bologna in 1502, under the title *In hoc Codri Volumine haec continentur Orationes, seu sermones ut ipse appellabat Epistolae. Silvae. Satyrae. Eglogae. Epigrammata*. The translation of the above citation is as follows:

"Although thou be freeborn and sprung from noble parents;

Still even yet thou mayst be a base beast.

Add that thou art an honor to thy country, and claim the noblest kin;

Still even yet thou mayst be a base beast.

Thou mayst have wealth, thou mayst have abundance of elegant furniture;

Still even yet thou mayst be a base beast.

In short, whatever thou shalt be, unless thou have prudence,

I declare that thou wilt ever be a base beast."

Of the native priests of the Philippines, Delgado says (pp. 293-296): "I know some seculars in the islands, who although Indians, can serve as an example and confusion to the European priests: I shall only bring forward two examples: one, the bachelor Don Eugenio de Santa Cruz, judge-provisor of this bishopric of Santísimo Nombre de Jesús, and calificador of the Holy Office, a full blooded Indian and a native of Pampanga. And inasmuch as the author of this letter confesses that the Pampangos are a different people, I shall name another, namely; the bachelor Don Bartolomé Saguinsin, a Tagalog, a cura of the district of Quiapo (outside the walls of Manila), an Indian, and a native of the village of Antipolo. I knew his parents, and had friendly relations with them while I was minister in that village. Both men were esteemed for their abilities and venerated for their virtues, in Tagalos and Visayas." In addition, "those reared in any of the four colleges in Manila, for the clerical estate are all the sons of chiefs, people of distinction among the Indians themselves, and not of the *timaua*, or of the class of *olipon*, as the Visayan says, or *maharlica oralipin*, as the Tagalog calls the slaves and freedmen. The reverend fathers of St. Dominic or of the Society rear these boys and instruct them in virtue and learning; and if they have any of the vices of Indians, these are corrected and suppressed by the teaching and conversation of the fathers. Furthermore, when the most illustrious bishops promote any of these men to holy orders, they do not proceed blindly, ordering any one whomever to be advanced—but only with great consideration and prudence, and after informing themselves of his birth and his morals, and examining and testing him first before the ministry of souls is entrusted to him; and to say the contrary is to censure the most illustrious prelates, to whom we owe so much veneration and reverence. Furthermore, there are among these Indians, many (and perhaps most of them) who are as noble, in their line of descent as Indians, as is any Spaniard; and some of them much more than many Spaniards who esteem themselves as nobles in this land. For, although their fate keeps them, in the present order of things, in an almost abject condition, many of them are seigniors of vassals. Their seigniorship has not been suppressed by the king, nor can it be suppressed. Such we call *cabezas de barangay* in Tagalog; and *Ginhaopan* in Visayan. They and their children and relatives lose nothing of their nobility because they serve the king in cutting timber, in the fleets, or in other personal services which are necessary in this land. As they lose nothing, it is also much honor for them that the king be served by them. Accordingly, there are sargentos-mayor, masters-of-camp, captains, governor of the villages, and lieutenants, and all are Indians of distinction. These would not go to row in a banca, and their hands would certainly be freed from handling a bolo or an ax in the cutting of timber, and their mothers, wives, and daughters would not have become spinners, if it were not for España. And although all the Indians seem of one color to the father, this color is well distinguished among them; and they are very respectful to their chiefs and much more so to their priests, even though these be Indians like themselves." Delgado continues by saying that, although some of the native priests have turned out badly, that is not sufficient to condemn them all. It is arbitrary to declare that the Indian enters the priesthood solely for his own comfort, and because of the respect shown him, and not because of the spiritual blessings. Many Spaniards also enter the ecclesiastical estate merely for a living. There are examples of Negro, Japanese, and Chinese priests. "Consequently, it is not to be wondered at that the most illustrious prelates and bishops should ordain Indians here and in Nueva España, and in other parts of the Indias." [[back to text](#)]

326 The date of the Navarro copy is wrongly given as 1725. [[back to text](#)]